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The Hellenistic Galatians: Representation and Self-Presentation

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Signed Declaration

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Signed:

Abstract

This thesis explores Greek and Roman representations of the Hellenistic Galatians with a focus on how the concepts of the ‘barbarian’ and ‘Hellenisation’ influenced the creation, development and persistence of perceptions. Evidence for self-portrayals among the Galatian elite, and how an active approach to Hellenisation enabled greater integration into the political and cultural spheres of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, are also addressed. Part One treats the place of the Galatians in previous scholarship and elucidates terminological issues related to their study. Part Two focuses on stereotypical responses to the Galatians in Greek and Roman sources and explores how the concept of the barbarian influenced the relationship between the Galatians and those behind the sources. Part Three explores evidence for more nuanced and less stereotypical perceptions of the Galatians in the sources and highlights the importance of the Hellenised Galatian elite in influencing these responses. Part Four puts the arguments and findings of the previous sections into practice to show how modern scholarship can be adversely affected when it fails to appreciate the intricacies behind the Galatians’ image. Underpinning each of these four sections is the argument that a new picture of the Galatians emerges from the sources when stereotypes are rejected and the complexity of Greek and Roman responses is acknowledged.

Chapter 1 addresses the difficult question of ‘what is a Galatian?’ as well as other terminological issues. It provides a brief overview of the Celtic debate and locates the Galatians within this controversy. Chapter 2 explores the concepts of Hellenisation and ethnic identity and how these concepts will be employed throughout this present thesis. Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the image of barbarian that comes through in epigraphic and sculptural materials from the third century BC, while chapter 5 looks at how the Galatians have been presented in a stereotypical manner in textual sources from the first century BC onwards. Chapter 6 explores epigraphic, sculptural and textual sources that present a more complex view of the Galatians in a similar context to those sources discussed in Part Two. Chapters 7 and 8 then explore the characters of Deiotarus and Ortiagon; reveal how active Hellenisation enabled the Galatians to become more culturally and politically integrated into the Hellenistic and Roman worlds; and illustrate how the sources could be sensitive to such endeavours. Chapter 9 presents a case study which elucidates the issues discussed throughout this thesis. In modern scholarship, the Galatians have often been described as a nation of mercenaries due to a reliance on more stereotypical portrayals in select sources. Chapter 9 shows that when they are viewed as people with more agency, their activities can instead be interpreted as those of allies. It also addresses how approaches like this fit into current trends in ancient history, especially efforts to see peripheral and marginalised groups in a more sympathetic way.

Lay Summary

This thesis explores how the Hellenistic Galatians, peoples who migrated into Asia Minor during the early third century BC, were represented in the texts, inscriptions and art of the ancient Greeks and Romans, as well as how members of the Galatian elite successfully portrayed themselves with Greek cultural features. Ultimately, it argues that the Galatians occupied a complex place in the sources and that to perceive them in only one way leads to inaccuracies. I focus on four distinct areas. First, terminological issues are addressed. The term ‘Galatian’ has proven problematic and a background to this issue as well as a definition grounded in the unique context of the Galatians is provided. Hellenisation and ethnic identity, both controversial topics, are also tackled as they recur throughout the present work. Second, I look at how the Galatians have been portrayed in a stereotypical way, often as barbarians, in inscriptions and sculpture from third century BC Asia Minor and in textual sources from the first century BC onwards. Third, I address evidence that is similar in nature to the sources already discussed but that presents the Galatians in a more complex and nuanced way. This helps set the stage for longer discussions on the second century BC Galatian leader Ortiagon and the first century BC King Deiotarus. Ortiagon shows how active Hellenisation was occurring among the Galatian elite from an early date. It is argued that the writings of Polybius and other sources responded to his Hellenised persona by framing him within the ideals of Hellenistic kingship. Deiotarus illustrates how, by displaying a Hellenistic public persona, it was possible to become better integrated into the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. His close relationship with Cicero reveals that authors could respond positively to those who exhibited familiar cultural traits. Fourth, a case study that helps to elucidate many of the issues brought up throughout the thesis is examined. The Galatians have often been interpreted as a nation of mercenaries in modern scholarship but when we perceive them to be sophisticated peoples with agency, it is possible to re-interpret them as allies of the kings they fought alongside.

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Note on Abbreviations and Editions

Throughout this thesis I have abbreviated both Greek and Latin authors after the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. For those authors not included in the *OCD*, I have used their full titles. All Greek and Latin translations and quotations are from editions of the Loeb Classical Library, unless otherwise stated. Texts and translations of authors who are not published by the Loeb series, such as Justin, are included in the footnotes and bibliography. Complete consistency regarding the use of Greek and Latin names is impossible and I make no pretence to it. I favour the Latin form throughout (Attalus, Pergamum etc.).

Abbreviations

<i>AE</i>	<i>Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn.</i> Vienna, 1877-1897.
Austin	M. Austin, <i>The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest.</i> Cambridge, 2006.
<i>BD</i>	R.S. Bagnall and P.S. Derow, <i>The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation.</i> 2 nd edn. Oxford, 2003.
<i>BMC</i>	<i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum.</i>
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>Brill's New Jacoby.</i>
Burstein	S.M. Burstein, <i>The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Cleopatra VII.</i> Cambridge, 1975.
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i> Cambridge, 1923-.
<i>CIRB</i>	V.V. Struve, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani.</i> Moscow, 1965.
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.</i> Berlin, 1863-.
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker.</i> Berlin, 1923-.
<i>I.Didyma</i>	A. Rehm, <i>Didyma, II Teil: Die Inschriften.</i> Berlin, 1958.
<i>I. Erythrai</i>	H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, <i>Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai II.</i> Bonn, 1973.
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae.</i> Berlin, 1873-.
<i>I.Priene</i>	F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaetringen, <i>Die Inschriften von Priene.</i> Berlin, 1906.
<i>I.Priene²</i>	W. Blümel, R. Merkelbach, and F. Rumscheid, <i>Die Inschriften von Priene.</i> Bonn, 2014.
<i>IvP</i>	M. Fränkel, E. Fabricus, and K. Schuchardt, <i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon, (2 Vols).</i> Berlin, 1890-1895.
<i>LGPN</i>	P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews, <i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, (5 vols).</i> Oxford, 1987-2005.

- P.Col* *Catalogue general des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Zenon Papyri*, (ed.). C.C. Edgar (4 vols). Cairo, 1925-31; (vol.5), (ed.). O. Guérard and P. Jouguet. Cairo, 1940.
- RC* C.B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*. New Haven, 1934.
- RIG M* J.B. Colbert de Beaulieu and B. Fisher, *Des Inscriptions Gauloises IV, Les Legends Monétaires*. Paris, 1998.
- SB* D.B. Shackleton Bailey, *Epistulae ad Familiares*. Cambridge, 1977.
- SC* A. Houghton and C.C. Lorber, *Seleucid Coins, a Comprehensive Catalogue, Part 1, Seleucus I through Antiochus III*. New York– Lancaster, PA/London, 2002.
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden, 1923-.
- SNG Cop* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Denmark, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum*. Copenhagen, 1942-1979.
- SNG Von Aulock* H. von Aulock, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum von Aulock*. Berlin, 1957-1968.
- Svoronos* I.N. Svoronos, *Ta Nomismata tou Kratous tôn Ptolemaiôn*, (4 vols). Athens, 1904-1908.
- Syll³/ SIG³* W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edn. (4 vols). Leipzig, 1915-1924.
- TAM* *Tituli Asiae Minoris*. Vienna, 1901-.

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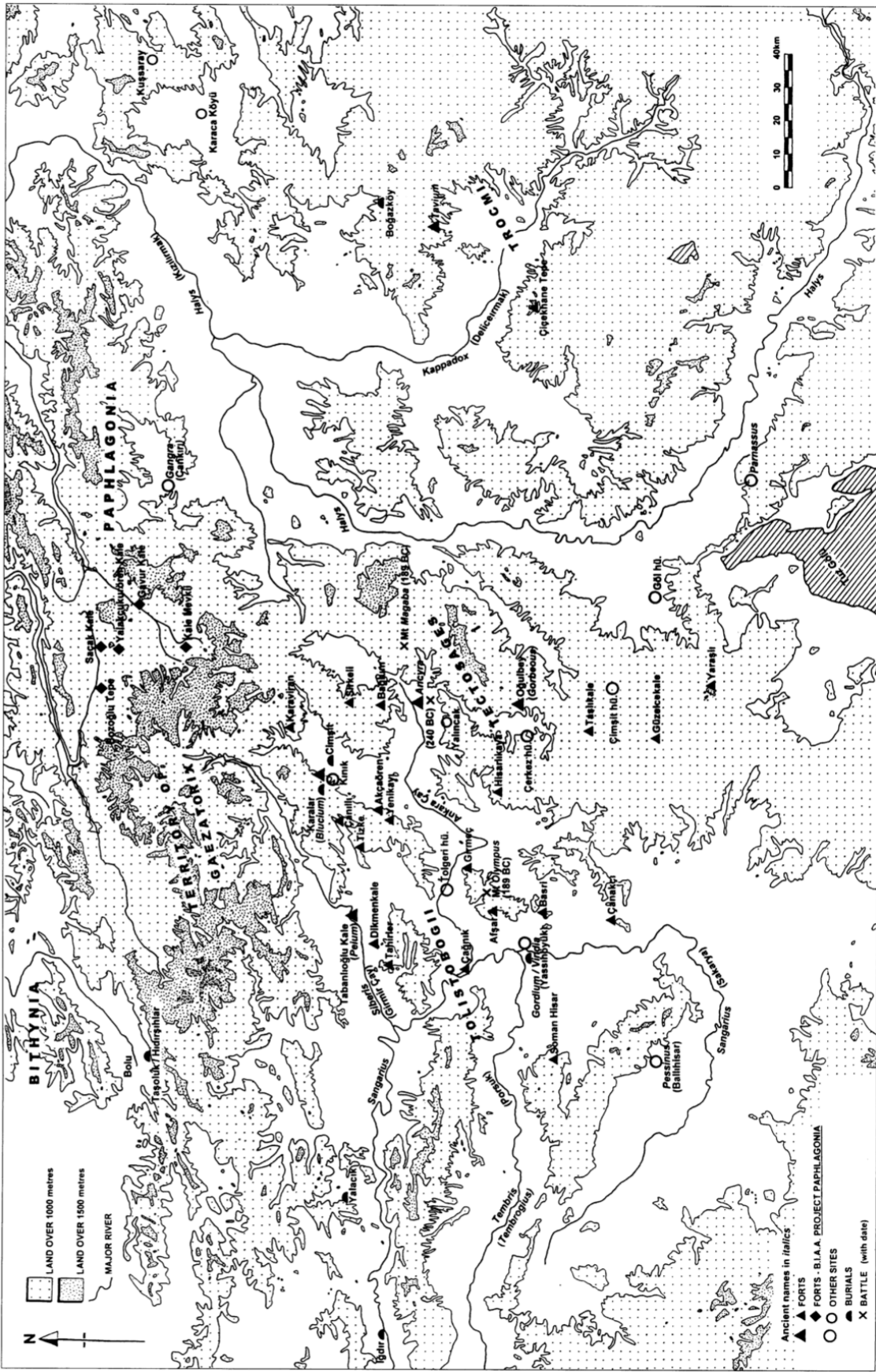


Fig. 1. Map showing the region of Galatia. From Darbyshire, Mitchell and Vardar, 2000: 80.

Introduction

The Galatians have occupied a complex place in both the ancient sources and modern scholarship. To some they were barbarians to be feared, and to others, sophisticated and innovative peoples. The former perception appears to have, until recently at least, been the principal way to approach them and such thinking can still permeate modern scholarship. This has led to an inaccurate image, a barbarian image, and an image which is often at odds with the ancient sources. It is only within the last two decades that scholars have begun to strip away many of these established views. Recent work has focused on better understanding the Galatians by placing greater emphasis on archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic material - in effect limiting the typical reliance on Greek and Roman textual sources. This fresh approach has been successful in providing a whole new range of theories regarding the Galatians, their origins, society and culture. Most importantly, it has revealed that the Galatians were not merely passive barbarians, but were instead more sophisticated and were more integrated into the Hellenistic and Roman worlds than has previously been believed.

While this interest in examining the Galatians outside of a Greek and Roman framework has yielded fresh approaches, it cannot be forgotten that most of what we know comes from Greek and Roman sources. Therefore, understanding how the Galatians were perceived in antiquity and the reasons behind these perceptions is necessary to complete a fuller picture. This thesis will analyse many of the stereotypical responses to the Galatians and the effects that these have had on modern scholarship. It can then be shown how responses to the Galatians in the ancient sources were in fact complex and that a divergent picture emerges when this is appreciated. Such an approach demonstrates that while the Galatians were positioned on the periphery of the Greek and Roman world, they were of course at the centre of their own world. Understanding this enables scholars to explore how the Galatians influenced the writings of the Greek and Romans and contributed to a shared history. But before these issues are explored, it is first necessary to briefly introduce the Galatians and to discuss previous research to better understand the context this research inhabits.

A Brief Outline of the Galatians

The origin of the Galatians lies in the Celtic migration into south-eastern Europe during the early third century BC. These Celts invaded Greece under the command of their leader Brennus and attacked Delphi in 279 BC. However, the tribes that would eventually become the Galatians, instead of attacking Greece, crossed the Hellespont into Asia Minor at the invitation of the Bithynian King Nicomedes. After aiding Nicomedes, the tribes raided the Greek cities along the coast during the 270s and 260s BC. They eventually settled in central Asia Minor, the region that became known as Galatia, sometime during the mid-third century BC, and were divided into several tribes – the most important of which were the Tolistobogii, the Tectosages and the Trocmi. The term ‘Proto-Galatian’ will be used throughout this thesis to describe the Celtic invaders of Macedonia and Greece, while those that subsequently migrated into Asia Minor and settled there will be called ‘Galatians’

The Galatians had a complex relationship with the cities and kingdoms of Asia Minor for most of the third and early second centuries BC. The tribes took part in a variety of alliances and wars, and helped shape the geo-political history of the region. The Attalids famously took advantage of their conflicts with the Galatians and publicised their victories in order to gain prestige across the Greek world. The Romans then entered the scene and Consul Manlius Vulso inflicted two serious defeats on the tribes in 189 BC.

Roman power increased in the region during the first century BC and the Galatians began to seek the friendship of Rome. It was during this period of Roman hegemony that the Tolistobogii, led by Deiotarus, became pre-eminent. Deiotarus managed to bring control of the three tribes under his sway during the mid-first century BC, and was even granted the title of king by Rome. This state of affairs did not last long, as in 25 BC Augustus annexed Galatia and turned it into a Roman province. Elements of Galatian culture survived over the next few centuries, but the Galatians themselves eventually lost their distinctiveness.

Overview of Previous Scholarship

Before the 1990s scholarship on the Galatians was limited in both quantity and focus. Most writings on the Galatians were tangential to works on topics such as the Attalids of Pergamum or other issues related to Asia Minor.¹ Despite this, the history of the Galatians did garner attention from some scholars.² Interest in the Galatians during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was governed by the New Testament. Scholars sought to understand the context of St. Paul's letters to the Galatians and they naturally wanted to learn more about the Galatians.³ Early work also tended to view the Galatians as barbarians and mercenaries without agency and with little integration into the Hellenistic or Roman worlds. Writings such as those of Sir William Ramsay approached the Galatians within the framework of empire (the British Empire in his case) and as such had no qualms about the perceived divide between the civilised and the barbaric.⁴ Such thinking had an important influence on modern perceptions of the Galatians and stereotypical and even caricatured views can still be observed in more recent research.⁵

A feature of this early scholarship was also the failure to define accurately what a Galatian was and thus the Galatians were studied within the framework of the Celts. This meant that theories and models commonly associated with the Celts (also noted for their complexity and lack of homogeneity) were applied to the Galatians and the subtle and overt differences were often ignored. Moreover, when the Galatians appear

¹ Such as Launey, 1949/50; Will, 1966; Hansen, 1971.

² Stähelin, 1907; Moraux, 1957; Nachtergaele, 1977 focused on the Celtic invasions of Macedonia and Greece in 280/279 BC, but not the history of the Galatians in Asia Minor.

³ Ramsay, 1899 provides a long and detailed late-nineteenth century understanding of the Galatians, their history, culture, religion and society. This is included in his work on St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians.

⁴ Ramsay, 1939; Ramsay, 1899: 58-66; Ramsay, 1899: 53 argues that Rome in fact preserved the freedom of the Galatians through their conquest, a claim that smacks of empire. Ramsay, 1899: 70 also structured the world into a division between eastern and western cultures (he saw the Galatians as belonging to the western component), a concept alien to the ancients and which is now generally avoided as it disregards the great connections and similarities shared by cultures.

⁵ Rawson, 1985: 17; Mellor, 1975: 89 described the denizens of Galatia as 'little more than savages'.

in general works on the Celts, they are usually not differentiated from other Celtic groups to the degree that good scholarship now attempts to achieve as standard.⁶

The 1990s saw the establishment of a new approach to the Galatians, beginning with Stephen Mitchell who produced the most thorough assessment of Galatian history.⁷ Although his work was not solely focused on the Galatians, but the experiences of Asia Minor from the third century BC into the period of Roman rule, it did provide a background characterised by a rejection of many of the stereotypes extant in previous works and was a pragmatic approach which avoided moralisation. While this heralded a new age for Galatian studies, Mitchell was mainly focused on providing a workable and comprehensible narrative, and an understanding of the social, political and religious situation of the Galatians, rather than the evolution of Greek and Roman perceptions. His interweaving of textual, epigraphic and archaeological evidence, however, did provide a valuable framework for future scholars.

Karl Strobel then provided a reappraisal of the history of the Galatians. Strobel approached the Galatians on three fronts.⁸ First, he focused on how Greek and Roman writers have misrepresented the Galatians. Second, he sought to re-evaluate what we know about Galatian society and culture by comparing it to research on other Celtic groups across Europe to reduce the reliance on Greek and Roman histories. Third, he reassessed the extent of Galatian settlement in Asia Minor and argued that not only did the tribes occupy larger swathes of territory but that central Anatolia was more fertile than previously believed. Despite the importance of some of his claims and his subsequent work on the survival of Galatian identity into the Roman period, his work did have some notable flaws. His claims were often sweeping and his comparison with other Celtic cultures, such as those of medieval Ireland, can be described as tenuous at best.⁹

⁶ Rankin, 1987; Cunliffe, 1999; Maier, 2003; Ó hÓgáin, 2002 do not treat the Galatians as distinct groups. They are sometimes completely ignored, see Aldhouse-Green, 1995.

⁷ Mitchell, 1993. Mitchell has also worked on the archaeological record of Asia Minor, with a focus on Galatian remains, see Mitchell, 1974; 1990; 2012; Darbyshire and Mitchell, 2000.

⁸ Strobel, 1996.

⁹ Strobel, 2002: 13-15; Coşkun, 2013c: 76-78.

Strobel's most useful contribution to this current work was his claim that Galatian history needs to be rewritten due to the distortion of the sources. This was a complete rejection of the negative and stereotypical approaches taken by many earlier scholars. Strobel claimed that ancient and modern accounts were affected by an anti-Celtic bias, which had its roots in the propaganda of those who defeated the Galatians and that this resulted in the subsequent portrayal of the Galatians as barbarians.¹⁰ He argued that the Galatians were in fact integrated into the Hellenistic world and desired land rather than booty, and even became promoters of Hellenisation. While Mitchell sought to provide a sympathetic and unbiased background to the Galatians, Strobel attempted to revolutionise the topic altogether and completely rethink their place in the ancient world.

The most recent influential work on the Galatians has been completed by Altay Coşkun who built upon what Mitchell and Strobel had begun.¹¹ Much of Coşkun's work has focused on deconstructing what is known about Galatian history and he argues that long-standing inaccuracies have permeated scholarship and continue to affect modern accounts. He has correctly argued that many of these inaccuracies have occurred due to an improper understanding of what it means to be a 'Galatian', and as such has attempted to delineate the boundaries of this identification.¹² Coşkun has made clear the importance of viewing the Galatians not as a homogenous group, but as a collection of peoples with their own political and social aims in the ancient world, and calls for the use of tribal names when possible to help distinguish different

¹⁰ Strobel, 1996: 10 'Die Konfrontation zwischen den Kelten und der hellenistischen Welt des 3.Jh.v.Chr. zeigt sich in einem politischen Mythos funktionalisiert, der zu einem grundlegenden ideologischen Element in der Selbstdarstellung und in den Legitimationsstrategien von monarchischer Macht und hegemonialem Anspruch wurde und dessen Schemata und Bilder bis heute das Geschichtsbild prägen.' (The confrontation between the Celts and the Hellenistic world of the third century BC shows itself to be functionalised in a political myth that became a fundamental ideological element in the self-representation and in the strategies of legitimisation of monarchic power and hegemonic claims, whose patterns and images shape the historical picture to this day.); Strobel 1994. This theme has also been addressed by Schmidt-Dounas, 2000: 232-244; Barbantani, 2001; Strootman, 2005; Koehn, 2007: 89-127; Coşkun, 2013c: 74-78.

¹¹ Important publications for this work include: Coşkun, 2005; 2008; 2011; 2012a; 2012b; 2013a; 2013b; 2013c.

¹² Discussed further in chapter 1.

Galatian groups. This has proven useful for identifying the involvement of the Galatians of Asia Minor rather than other Celtic groups, an issue that plagued earlier scholarship. However, despite his huge contributions to Galatian studies, his model for the Galatians can be too rigid and sometimes fails to appreciate the major similarities between the tribes. Moreover, his work often attempts to recreate the Galatian narrative through speculation, often at the expense of what the sources actually record.

A feature that ties these three scholars together is their desire to see the Galatians in a new way. This thesis builds on the foundation laid by Mitchell and follows Strobel and Coşkun's rejection of a Greek and Roman bias. Modern attempts to re-write Galatian history by limiting the influence of these sources have proved effective in producing a picture of the Galatians as distinct peoples with agency. What has not been done, however, is to try and understand how the Greeks and Romans perceived the Galatians, the complexities of these perceptions, and the ways they went about doing this, nor how these perceptions evolved throughout the centuries. This present thesis does not ignore the importance of Greek and Roman accounts or reject them as sources but instead seeks to evaluate what they can do to illustrate the place of the Galatians in the ancient world and in effect complements what Strobel and Coşkun have achieved. Instead of detaching stereotypes, this work wishes to understand where these stereotypes originate and how they have influenced not only modern views on the Galatians but also those of the ancient authors. Modern scholarship has also been occupied with recreating Galatian history and filling in the gaps. Seeing history as a series of gaps that need to be filled can be a useful way to form tentative ideas on many issues, but it is also necessary to ask what the sources are truly trying to tell us and to fully appreciate what evidence is available, rather than seeking to build on uncertain foundations.

The issues relating to Greek and Roman perceptions of the Galatians and the outcomes of research on the topic are not, however, confined to Galatian studies. Understanding how and why the Galatians are perceived and depicted in a stereotypical and barbarian way helps to elucidate similar processes at work with other peoples on the peripheries of the Greek and Roman worlds.¹³ As some of these

¹³ Boundaries should not be thought of solely as physical. Reger, 2014: 115-116 points out that a number of metaphoric spaces may also serve as peripheries.

peoples, like the Galatians, did not record their own history (or if they did, it does not survive), Greek and Roman sources are dominant, which means that it is difficult to study them without looking through the lens of the ancient authors. It is therefore helpful to use approaches that have proven successful elsewhere to minimise the influence of stereotypical thinking. By attempting to understand Greek and Roman perceptions in the sources, instead of merely disregarding them, this thesis can provide a structure which may be useful to those scholars who wish to better grasp perceptions in other contexts.

While attempting to understand the role played by Greek and Roman sources and how they have affected modern understandings is a relatively recent phenomenon in Galatian studies, it has been ongoing in other areas of research for some time. The Gauls (Celts who inhabited the region of modern-day France) have been the recipients of such interest and a more distinctive picture has emerged in recent decades.¹⁴ Work on ancient perceptions of the Jews during the Hellenistic and Roman periods has been carried out over the past four decades and has brought about a more accurate and less stereotypical picture.¹⁵ More recently, the Nabataeans have been examined and scholarship has tried to correct the perception that the Nabataeans were unwarlike and easily defeated, a notion that has pervaded modern scholarship.¹⁶ This was achieved, just as with this thesis, by going back to the sources and re-evaluating what they convey.

The present work, therefore, is part of a wider attempt to understand how different peoples in the ancient world interacted and how these interactions contributed to their shared histories. While opinions are changing in Galatian studies, this thinking

¹⁴ Woolf, 1998; Williams, 2001 and Gruen, 2011 addressed Roman perceptions of the Gauls and provide bibliography on the topic.

¹⁵ Stern, 1974 provides a useful (albeit dated) commentary and bibliography; see Nongbri, 2010: 1-15 for an introduction to Greek authors on the Jews and Judaism; Bar-Kochva, 2010 on the Jews in Greek literature; Schäfer, 1997 on attitudes to the Jews in the ancient world and the concept of 'judeophobia'; Feldman, 1993 for the relationship between the Jews and non-Jews in the ancient world; Gruen, 2011: 179-196 for Tacitus' views of the Jews. There has also been a long-winded terminological debate about whether scholars should use 'Jew' or 'Judaean' as a translation of *Ioudaios*, which is bound up with whether the Jews are viewed as an ethnos or not in antiquity. The most cited English language article on the subject is Mason, 2007.

¹⁶ Al-Otaibi, 2011 re-evaluates the place of the Nabataeans.

has often not diffused into other works in which the Galatians are mentioned more generally.¹⁷ It is important to better understand the place of ‘peripheral’ and so-called barbarian peoples so that stereotypes do not continue to create a highly-distorted picture in scholarship. The Galatians were of course not ‘peripheral’ to themselves, an important issue to keep in mind in order to avoid placing them at the margins of someone else’s historical narrative. On the one hand, this work does not attempt to speak for the Galatians, or as Moyer puts it, to ‘disingenuously simply [allow] the subaltern to speak’.¹⁸ On the other hand, the experiences of the Galatians should be central to this work and it is important to question how the Galatians managed to influence the many ways in which they were recorded in the sources of the Greeks and Romans.

This is an important matter for the modern world - how should people perceive those from other cultures (especially cultures previously subject to Western imperialism) and how much do the media influence these perceptions? More recent issues such as migration into Europe and the effects of globalisation show that such concerns are just as relevant to modern times as they were to the ancient world.

Methodology

The Galatians have been the subject of study for two centuries and as such have been shaped by academic fashions that have come and gone. Early scholarship was quick to view the tribes through the lens of empire which resulted in a lack of sensitivity to their agency, complexity and distinctiveness.¹⁹ Although the area has benefited from more recent attention, free from many of the constraints imposed by older approaches, some distorting perceptions have continued to live on and influence.

Galatian studies remains seriously affected by a disregard of, and an insensitivity to, the importance of proper definitions and boundaries. Terminological clarity is therefore central to this thesis. The challenges relating to terminology affect

¹⁷ See note 7 for the place of the Galatians in general works on the Celts.

¹⁸ Moyer, 2011: 34. Moyer’s work is discussed in more detail in chapter 2. As opposed to Vlassopoulos, 2007: 10, who wants to ‘save the peripheries, the subalterns and the marginal’. For more on the concept of the ‘subaltern’ see Zuchriegel, 2017: 8-10.

¹⁹ Such as Ramsay, 1899.

this work at its deepest level, to the very question of what a Galatian is. This is a question too complex to address here, but for now it is sufficient to say that the improper use of terminology often leads to confusion with other Celtic groups because the sources generally did not have a term to differentiate the Galatians from others around the Mediterranean and beyond. This means that the Galatians are approached with preconceived notions of how they should appear and be represented by modern scholars. Chapter 1 will elucidate this issue and seek to provide a clear, but adaptable, model to work from.

Tied to the issue of terminology is the goal of studying the Galatians with minimal influence from Celtic studies. As shall be shown in the next chapter, the Galatians can be considered Celts, but this identification is itself very loose and highly complex. Whereas Strobel attempted to recreate Galatian history by reconstructing it with comparisons drawn from Celtic studies, this present work tends to follow Coşkun's approach of viewing the tribes as their own distinct entities in Asia Minor, with their own historical and cultural trajectories. Moreover, as this thesis focuses on Greek and Roman perceptions, the inclusion of a Celtic context is often unnecessary and can sometimes hinder.

Identity is another chief concern for this work. Concepts such as Hellenisation, identity and ethnicity are central to understanding the place of the Galatians in the eyes of the Greeks and Romans. These concepts have received a great deal of attention, especially over the past few decades, and this has fuelled interest in, and provided avenues for further exploration into, how the Greeks and Romans interacted with other peoples, and how these interactions influenced everyone involved. Such work has enabled scholars to better grasp the problems associated with the representation and self-representation of foreign cultures, and the cultural connections of the ancient Mediterranean.²⁰ As the terms 'Hellenisation' and 'identity' will recur throughout this work it is necessary to be aware of the intricacies of such complex concepts, the history of scholarship behind them, as well as how they influenced ancient perceptions, and will be addressed in full in chapter 2.

²⁰ A few examples include Hall, 2002; Gruen, 2011; Skinner, 2012; Vlassopoulos, 2013.

The issues mentioned above reveal how Galatian scholarship has been unduly influenced by antiquated perceptions and that the need for definition and clarity is the only way to progress. It is therefore necessary to continue to deconstruct the traditional narrative; to achieve this, scholars must return to the primary sources without pre-existing biases and re-evaluate what they present. In addition, such a focus on the primary sources allows us to appreciate the wider historical context and utilise new theoretical approaches.

Evidence

The time frame of this work is wide. Although it mainly focuses on the period between the third century BC and the first century BC, the evidence discussed ranges far beyond this. Textual sources as far back as Homer and as late as the Byzantine period are utilised and therefore the evidence is diverse. Galatian scholarship can be characterised by limited primary evidence and although at times concentrations of evidence do survive, it is generally piece-meal. Textual sources tend to dominate and have been relied upon by scholars in the past. More recently, however, emphasis has been placed on the epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological record; this has opened new avenues free from a total reliance on texts and has helped spur on the research of scholars like Strobel and Coşkun. These types of sources do of course present their own unique challenges and create certain obstacles, which will be explored more in Parts Two and Three.

Despite the new possibilities presented by utilising a variety of sources, texts remain the most important window on the Galatians and this present work is often restricted to literary and epigraphic sources. These sources also reveal how little evidence is Galatian in origin, as what survives is overwhelmingly Greek and Roman. Texts relating to the Galatians occupy a wide timespan and tend to, on the one hand, form clusters of evidence (especially regarding important individuals), while on the other, leave large gaps in the rest of the historical narrative. The textual sources can generally be divided into two groups: contemporary and non-contemporary sources. Contemporary authors such as Polybius and Cicero flourished during a time when the Galatians existed as agentive and distinct peoples, before the region was integrated as

a Roman province in 25 BC. Polybius offers a valuable insight into the activities of the Galatians during the second century BC.²¹ Although much of his work survives as fragments and his interest in the Galatians is fleeting, some of these refer to important members of the second century BC elite such as Ortiagon and his wife Chiomara (discussed in chapter 7) and to events like the invasion of Manlius Vulso in 189 BC. Cicero, writing a century after Polybius, also shines a light on Galatian individuals of his own day.²² His relationship with the Galatian tetrarch and then king, Deiotarus, and his personal dealings with Galatian matters both in Asia Minor and Rome, show a particular sensitivity to the sophisticated side of the Galatian elite. His work provides the main narrative for the mid first century BC, along with smaller offerings such as the writings of Caesar.

In contrast to these contemporary authors are the writings of the Romans Livy and Justin and the Greeks Pausanias, Strabo and Memnon of Heraclea. These authors will be discussed further throughout the work but for now a brief introduction is useful to highlight issues associated with such evidence. Livy provides an Augustan-era understanding of the Hellenistic Galatians during the second century BC and Justin, who wrote an epitome of the first century BC author Pompeius Trogus, exemplifies the complexity of the sources as his work simultaneously represents not only his second century AD views but also Trogus' position.²³ Pausanias, although he writes primarily about the Celts and their invasions of Macedonia and Greece in the early third century BC, provides an anachronistic second century AD view of the events; Strabo, a brief Augustan-era presentation of the political trajectory of the Galatians, right up to his own time; and Memnon, a second century AD view of the early history of the Galatians from the perspective of their interactions with his mother city of Heraclea.²⁴ These later authors contrast with more contemporary sources as they

²¹ Thornton, 2013a and 2013b.

²² Fantham, 2013a.

²³ Finding a precise date for Justin is difficult. AD 144 or 145 have been suggested, Steele, 1917: 24-41, to as late as AD 395, Syme, 1988. Yardley, 1994: 4 believes that Justin most likely flourished during the second century BC, although he admits that this is a cautious claim. Livy's dates are addressed in Chaplin, 2013.

²⁴ Hutton, 2013 for Pausanias' dates; Roller, 2013 for Strabo's; Muccioli, 2013 for Memnon's. Memnon probably flourished during the second century AD, although the first century AD has also been suggested, see Burstein, 1976: 3.

generally record a Galatian narrative from centuries before their own flourishing and reveal how this gap in time had a profound effect on portrayals. They also often relied on older Greek and to a lesser extent Roman sources for their information, making for more complex and layered representations. It is also important to point out that while the authors mentioned above constitute the main textual sources, snippets from numerous other authors appear throughout this work and are generally used to either substantiate or challenge the claims of the core texts.

Inscriptions constitute another important body of evidence for the study of the Galatians. This is especially true for the early third century BC, during the migrations into Asia Minor, a time characterised by very limited contemporary textual information. Most of these inscriptions come from the Greek *poleis* of Asia Minor as there is little Galatian epigraphic evidence from this period. Inscriptions also continued to play an important role throughout the next two centuries and help scholars to glimpse the usually opaque self-presentation of the elite. The contemporary nature of inscriptions creates a valuable snapshot of their contexts but they also have their limitations. The inscriptions discussed are often fragmentary, making reconstruction necessary, which can lead to confusion and this allows the biases of scholars to diffuse. Most of the inscriptions discussed in this work are civic decrees and these represent the final word of the *demos*, but they are also usually only one interpretation of the *demos*' opinion and as such do not always reflect every member of a city. Other types include funerary and royal inscriptions, which provide both a more private and public picture. Inscriptions prove to be most useful when compared with literary sources and have at times challenged the veracity of such sources.

Other sources include numismatic, sculptural and archaeological evidence. Coinage appears at times throughout this work and becomes especially useful during the first century BC when the Galatian king Deiotarus and his rival Brogitarus began minting their own coins. This enables scholars to witness how these figures wished to broadcast their kingship both at home and abroad and reveals how Greek styles were adopted and remained prevalent even during the period of Roman hegemony. The Galatians are also well known from Pergamene sculptures. These primarily third century BC statues were copied by later Roman artists, which helped to import a particular view of the Galatians into Roman society and subsequently, into modern

scholarship. Sculptures, however, are difficult to study as art by its nature is especially open to interpretation, but they do allow scholars to move away from rigid opinions and can elaborate on the complexity of perceptions. Finally, archaeological evidence does crop up, which is especially useful for exploring those peoples who left little in the way of a written record. It also helps scholars to move away from a Hellenocentric world view. However, it must be remembered that this type of evidence generally survives for the elite and is less visible for the rest of the population.²⁵ Despite its usefulness, little excavation work has taken place at sites related to the Galatians, and because the focus of this thesis is on Greek and Roman perceptions, archaeological evidence plays a small part. A key feature of Galatian studies is the wide variety of sources that are sometimes needed to paint even the faintest of pictures. Scholars must not scoff at even the most minor pieces of evidence as these can play a critical role and open new avenues of thought.

Outline of Thesis

This thesis explores Greek and Roman perceptions of the Galatians and seeks to show that although a stereotypical image does appear in the sources and has heavily influenced modern scholarship, portrayals were in fact often more complex and nuanced. It consists of four parts, with each part exploring a major theme of the thesis, and is made up of nine chapters in total. Part One: Preliminaries, focuses on understanding and explaining terminological and conceptual issues related to the Galatians. Part Two: Deconstructing the Barbarian Galatians, focuses on the more stereotypical responses to the Galatians in Greek and Roman sources and explores how the concept of the barbarian influenced the relationship between the sources and the tribes. Part Three: Beyond the Barbarian, explores evidence for more nuanced and less-stereotypical depictions of the Galatians and highlights the importance of the Hellenised Galatian elite in influencing these responses. Part Four: A Case Study, puts the arguments and findings of the previous sections into practice and shows how

²⁵ Vlassopoulos, 2007: 222.

modern scholarship can be affected when it fails to appreciate the complexities of the Galatians' image.

Chapter 1 addresses the difficult question of 'what is a Galatian?' as well as other terminological issues. The chapter opens by providing the definition of a Galatian and then explains how much of the confusion surrounding the Galatians comes from the imprecise usage of the terms Κελτοί and Γαλάται and their Latin equivalents *Celtae* and *Galli* in the sources. The ways in which different Greek and Roman authors have employed these terms in their writings are then explored and the focus will be placed on prominent authors such as Polybius, Cicero and Livy. It provides a brief overview to the Celtic debate and locates the Galatians within this controversy, but does not seek to address the debate directly. The chapter concludes by explaining how there is little consistency in the sources and that contextual information is often necessary to identify the presence of Galatians or other Celtic groups.

Chapter 2 seeks to introduce and provide an understanding of Hellenisation and identity - concepts that are central to this current work and useful for exploring intercultural interactions. The chapter begins by looking at the term Hellenisation and investigates its use in scholarship as well as its origins in the concept of 'Hellenismus'. The benefits and drawbacks of this term, as well as the different ways it has been employed by scholars, will be examined in order to provide a definition which suits the context of this thesis. As part of this, the work of Kostas Vlassopoulos will be valuable for providing an up to date understanding of Hellenisation as well as how the concepts of globalisation and glocalisation have helped elucidate the intricacies of cross-cultural influences. The same will be done for identity, a multifaceted idea that diffuses a variety of disciplines. The importance and complexity of identity will be addressed, and ideas such as the 'middle ground', which can help frame the varying ways in which different peoples approached each other and constructed identities, will be introduced.

As Part Two focuses on stereotypical and barbaric portrayals of the Galatians it begins by discussing the term barbarian in Greek thought and provides a background to the concept to better understand the connotations of the term in a Galatian context. Chapter 3 then examines epigraphic evidence from western Asia Minor from the 270s

and 260s BC and provides a brief introduction to the strengths, weaknesses and intricacies of using epigraphic evidence as a source. The inscriptions discussed throughout chapter 3 constitute the oldest contemporary evidence in which the Galatians are presented in a stereotypical and barbarian way. Inscriptions from Cos, Erythrae and Priene illustrate how the Galatians could be portrayed as barbarians and they also suggest that this type of language might have originated from Delphi, through the Delphic *theorodokia*.

Chapter 4 focuses on how the Galatians were stereotyped in sculpture and how a barbarian portrayal developed throughout the third century BC. Early sculptural examples from western Asia Minor show how the Galatians were of artistic interest from an early date and the chapter then concentrates on the famous statues from Pergamum. The context behind these statues is emphasised and the chapter goes on to explore how the sculptures found at Pergamum and Athens aided in the formation of a barbarian image and became an important element of Attalid propaganda. The second part of the chapter explores how these Attalid statues were later copied by Roman sculptors and therefore, how the image of the Galatian barbarian was imported into Rome and continued to influence perceptions. It is an example of older perceptions being given a new lease of life, a central point of the following chapter.

Chapter 5 completes Part Two by looking at textual sources from the first century BC onwards. The sources discussed are characterised by a wide temporal and cultural gap between the authors and the historic Galatians they wrote of, which helped to sustain a barbarian and often caricatured image of their subjects. The chapter reveals how Livy's Galatians were the result of an inaccurate association with other Celtic peoples and that these perceptions were themselves the result of an amalgamation of Greek and Roman traditions. His reliance on Polybius as a source for the Galatians and other Celtic peoples was a central cause of this. Livy's portrayal of the Galatians in book 21 appears to mirror his Celts (in the west) in book 5, which were in turn likely influenced by Polybius' Celts in book 2 of his *Histories*. Justin's Galatians illustrate the challenging nature of the sources as his work presents not only a second century AD view but also a first century BC interpretation through his use of Pompeius Trogus' writings. Later Greek textual sources, those of Pausanias and Memnon of Heraclea, reveal how a perceived link with the Celts in the west could influence views

of the Galatians, and Pausanias presents the most stereotypical and exaggerated picture of the supposed barbarity of the Celts who invaded Greece.

Part Three explores more complex and nuanced responses to the Galatians. Chapter 6 looks at epigraphic, sculptural and textual sources from similar contexts to those discussed in Part Two that present a divergent picture of the Galatians. These examples reveal that more nuanced perceptions existed at times when stereotypical ones appeared more frequently. Inscriptions from Thyateira, the villages of Neoteichos and Kiddiokome, and the *polis* of Cyzicus, other interpretations of the Attalid sculptures, and the writings of the Augustan-era writer Strabo are all addressed.

Chapter 7 then commences the focus on Galatian individuals, beginning with Ortiagon, the second century BC leader of the Galatian Tolistobogii. Evidence for Ortiagon's position as an important political player and the increased integration of the Galatian elite into the Hellenistic world is indicated by his place of prominence on an inscription from Telmessus. It is then argued that Ortiagon was perceived in a variety of sources as a βασιλεύς and that Polybius fashioned him with language associated with the Hellenistic kings, suggesting that his Hellenised persona was recognised by the ancients. Evidence for Ortiagon's self-presentation appears in the Greek name of his son, and the travels of his wife Chiomara throughout the Hellenistic world demonstrate how the Galatian elite was becoming more Hellenised and integrated from this early date.

Chapter 8 examines the character of king Deiotarus whose Hellenised public persona and close relations with important Romans present a very different image of the Galatians, especially when compared to the supposed barbarians from Part Two. The chapter begins by providing a historical background to Deiotarus and locates him within the context of the mid-first century BC. Deiotarus' wish to portray a Hellenised persona is shown by the funerary inscription of his son in which he and his family are identified using Greek titles. Numismatic and archaeological evidence reveals that Deiotarus continued his portrayal of Hellenistic kingship through the inclusion of the term βασιλεύς on his coins and the building of his royal fortresses. These endeavours reveal a desire to be perceived as a Hellenised figure, although this was not without some influence from Roman culture. The chapter closes by looking at how Deiotarus was presented in Greek and Roman texts, how his relationship with Cicero evidences

his integration into the political and cultural spheres of the ancient world, and to what extent he partook in the creation of a shared history with Cicero. He demonstrates how active Hellenisation enabled the Galatians to become more culturally and politically integrated into contemporary political and cultural affairs and shows how the sources could be sensitive to such endeavours, a great contrast to the stereotypical picture witnessed elsewhere.

Chapter 9 presents a case study which illustrates the issues discussed throughout this thesis and puts into practice the argument that a more informed picture of the Galatians emerges when stereotypes are rejected and when they are approached as sophisticated peoples with agency. The Galatians have often been described as a nation of mercenaries in modern scholarship due to a reliance on more stereotypical images in select sources. This chapter argues that when they are viewed in a subtler way their activities can instead be interpreted as those of allies. The definition of a 'mercenary' is first addressed, followed by a discussion of the military activities of the Galatians. The roles played by the tribes in four campaigns are explored, the war between Ariobarzanes and Mithridates during the 260s BC, between Nicomedes and Ziaelas during the 250s BC, the War of the Brothers during the 240/30s BC and the Battle of Magnesia in 190 BC. The Galatians have often been viewed as mercenaries in these engagements, but when their agency is appreciated and the episodes are re-evaluated, the Galatians instead appear to act as allies. This role changes the dynamic of their relationships with the Greeks and makes the Galatians more active players in the military and geopolitical spheres of the ancient world.

PART ONE
PRELIMINARIES

Chapter 1: Κελτοί, Γαλάται, *Galli*: Identifying the Galatians.

1.1: Introduction

Much of Galatian history has proven to be controversial. Scholars have long argued over many fundamental questions relating to these peoples for whom so little evidence survives. It is precisely this lack of evidence that allows space for interpretation by modern authors. No area has proven as fruitful for debate as the question ‘how do we identify the Galatians?’ and scholars such as Mitchell, Strobel and Coşkun have worked hard to try and address this.²⁶ An equally important question, however, is how did the Greeks and Romans identify the Galatians and by what name did they know them? To explore ancient perceptions of the Galatians, it is pivotal to come to terms with the terminology used to describe them, a central factor in our understanding of this complex and often opaque relationship.

There is no unique appellation for the Galatians in Greek and Roman texts and this issue confronts all scholars studying the topic. Instead, The Galatians often share their identifiers with other groups around the Mediterranean. Moreover, ancient (and modern) scholars employ an inconsistent array of terms to describe the Galatians, which makes identification in the primary sources difficult and often leads to confusion and inaccuracy. The issue is embedded in the use of the Greek terms ‘Κελτοί’ and ‘Γαλάται’, as well as Roman names such as ‘*Galli*’ and to a lesser extent ‘*Celtae*’, ‘*Galatae*’ and ‘*Gallograeci*’. The identifiers Κελτοί and Γαλάται were often applied to specific groups within a defined region, but they also appear in a less clear-cut fashion and were employed for a myriad of related and unrelated peoples right across the arc of Europe. The two terms were even conflated in authors such as Polybius and Pausanias and used interchangeably, adding another layer of complexity.

Roman terms on the other hand present a slightly less ambiguous situation, but were often influenced by Greek authors and make no specific allowance for the Galatians. This issue has left its mark on modern scholarship and it is not uncommon to see the Galatians called ‘Celts’, ‘Gauls’ or ‘Galatians’ (without further explanation

²⁶ Mitchell, 1993; Strobel, 1996; Coşkun, 2013c.

of what these terms signify in the context of Asia Minor) in many studies and translations.²⁷ This in effect mixes the Galatians with other possibly unrelated peoples. Furthermore, uncertainties like this may also be influenced by modern understandings of the Celts and the improper application of this concept in a way that does not reflect the perceptions of the ancients.

The extent to which the Galatians were related to the Celts in the West and other areas is not known and has been the focus of research by scholars such as Strobel, Mitchell and Campbell. Despite this, it is evident that the ancient Greek and Roman sources perceived that a connection (through their shared identification) existed between the Galatians and other peoples they described as Κελτοί, Γαλάται, *Galli* etc. The problem remains that there are no standardised definitions for these terms in either ancient or modern sources and therefore defining who or what a Galatian was and whether they were Celts (with a modern understanding of the term) is problematic. The question for this work, however, is not ‘were there Celts?’ but rather, did the Greeks and Romans believe in a Celtic ethnic group and did they view the Galatians as Celts?²⁸ It is important to recognise the fact that, for the ancient authors, there existed peoples known as Celts, made up of the Galatians in the east and other groups across Europe called Κελτοί, Γαλάται, *Galli* etc. This is a prominent issue for modern scholars and shall be explored later in this chapter.

The present chapter aims to explore the evolution and application of Greek and Roman terms from the sixth century BC right through to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It will show how the issue of identification has its roots in the inconsistent application of Greek terminology and will explain how this is important for our understanding of both Greek and Roman perceptions of the Galatians and the Celtic question.

²⁷ For example, the use of ‘Gaul’ in Paton’s translation of Polybius. Paton, 1960: 453 = Polybius, 4.45-46 describes Cavarus, the king of Tylisian Thrace, as one of these ‘Gauls’ (Γαλάται) without elaborating further on the nuances of the term. This is especially relevant here because the Celts inhabiting the Balkans were far removed from Gaul. Yardley’s translation of Justin’s epitome of Pompeius Trogus employs ‘Gaul’, Yardley, 1994: 198. ‘Galatians’ can be found in Bar-Kochva, 1976: 51-52.

²⁸ Chapter 1.2 addresses the term ‘ethnic identity’.

1.2: The Meaning of ‘Galatian’

The shared terminology between the Galatians and other peoples described as Κελτοί, Γαλάται, *Galli* (among others) across Europe is useful for revealing how the ancient authors conceptualised a commonality between these groups. It also adds to the argument that the Greeks and Romans perceived that a people known as the Celts existed (even if some question the validity of such an ethnic identity), although how to define this group has proven to be problematic. This shared terminology is also challenging because it does little to help modern scholars treat the Galatians as a distinct people. There is now growing recognition of the need for appropriate terminology in order to keep the Galatians distinct from other peoples described as ‘Celtic’, in particular, related groups such as the Tylistian Celts (the Celts who settled near Byzantium).

In light of this issue it has become more common for scholars to limit the term ‘Galatian’ to the ‘Celts of Asia Minor’.²⁹ This is an effective way of distinguishing the Galatians from peoples such as the aforementioned Tylistian Celts and helps scholars to avoid mistakes such as labelling Celtic mercenaries in Egypt as Galatians without any actual evidence that they originated from Asia Minor.³⁰ Narrowing the definition of Galatian to those Celtic peoples who occupied Asia Minor is clearly necessary to avoid confusion with other related and un-related peoples. Despite this, it may not be completely adequate because, as Coşkun points out, the ‘Celts of Asia Minor’ would therefore include other Celtic groups that moved into the region at later points.³¹ We know that Asia Minor bore witness to the migration of Celtic groups after the original settlement of Galatia. The Aegosages for example entered north-eastern Asia Minor in 218 BC after an invitation from Attalos I of Pergamum to aid him in his war against Achaeus.³² These newcomers would have been distinct from the tribes that had been

²⁹ Rankin, 1987: 188; Coşkun, 2013c: 79.

³⁰ Freeman, 2006: 47.

³¹ The Ambitouti, Tosiopi, Toutobodiaci, and Voturi can be viewed as Galatian, but not the Aegosages, whom Attalos I had recruited as mercenaries, and likewise the Rhigosages, who served Antiochos III. See Freeman, 2001: 65-77; Plin. *HN*. 5.146; Plut. *Mor*. 259 and Coşkun, 2012a.

³² Polyb. 5.77.2; Mitchell, 1993: 22.

living in central Asia Minor for almost a century and so it would be inaccurate to apply the same terminology.³³ Therefore, this work will use Coşkun's definition of the Galatians, who he describes as 'the Celts that occupied the region on both sides of the Sangarios bow and the middle Halys, as well as their descendants.' This includes the three main tribes, the Tolistobogii, the Tectosages, the Trocmi as well as the other 'Celtic tribes that were over time absorbed by one of the former three, unless they were extinguished.'³⁴

This focused definition should be adopted by all Galatian scholars in order to create consistency for a subject that has been at the mercy of unpredictable terminology and inaccuracy in secondary scholarship. Such a consensus means that the Galatians can be discussed as distinct entities from other related groups and helps reach a necessary level of clarity. While agreement on modern terminology is a very possible and desired outcome, such a situation cannot be mirrored in the ancient sources. A central issue of Galatian studies revolves around how the ancients defined a Galatian. As mentioned earlier, the ancient authors usually identified the Galatians using the terms 'Κελτοί' and 'Γαλάται' in Greek and '*Galli*' and '*Galatae*' in Latin, and this is the root of much of the confusion for both ancient and modern sources. These definitions are not just employed to identify the Galatians, but are also used to define a whole range of Celtic and non-Celtic peoples throughout Europe and Asia. Therefore, it can be difficult, and sometimes impossible, to distinguish the Galatians from other Celtic and non-Celtic peoples in textual sources.

Κελτοί and Γαλάται are terms that were used by many different authors from the fifth century BC right through to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It is too much to expect a meaning to stay static over such a long period of time and it is no surprise that the meaning of these terms differ in the works of authors who were often separated by time, geography and culture. This is not the full picture, however, as some ancient authors appear to consciously or subconsciously employ the terms interchangeably and authors often have very different conceptions when writing about the same people. The result is confusion. This is especially true for the Galatians who were the result of a splintering from a larger migratory group and because their early history is difficult

³³ Mitchell, 2003: 289 inaccurately describes the Aegosages as Galatian.

³⁴ Coşkun, 2013c: 79.

to disentangle from the historical narrative. Therefore, to study the Galatians, an understanding of the terms Κελτοί, Γαλάται, *Galli* and *Galatae* is necessary; this can be accomplished by focusing on the varying ways Greek and Roman authors employed these and by charting their evolution throughout the centuries.

1.3: Greek Terminology

The argument of this section is that the Greek terms used to describe the Galatians are inconsistent and can be applied to other Celtic peoples across Europe. The Galatians are labelled almost exclusively as ‘Γαλάται’ in the sources, but there are also occasions where the term Κελτοί is used.³⁵ As these two terms are closely related, it is impossible to understand Γαλάται without also being knowledgeable of Κελτοί. How the Greek terms were employed, and how this affects our study of the Galatians, will be explored. It is clear, from this investigation, that additional contextual information is necessary to confidently identify Galatians. Campbell has previously studied how Κελτοί and Γαλάται appear in Greek sources and therefore a full analysis is not necessary and beyond the remit of this thesis. His work will be referred to throughout this section.³⁶

1.3.1: ‘Κελτοί’ in the Greek Sources.

Κελτοί (and other forms of Κελτ-) appears in the sources far earlier than Γαλάται. The etymology of the word is unknown but it became part of Greek vocabulary from an early date.³⁷ The first unquestionable use of Κελτοί can be found in Herodotus, but it is very likely that his predecessor Hecataeus also used the term. Hecataeus of Miletus is the first ancient author to provide any mention of the Celts. He was an Ionian ethnographer and mythographer who lived during the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC. He was also well-travelled, having ranged widely in Egypt and Asia.

³⁵ Luc. *Alex.* 51, describes the Galatian language as Celtic. It has also been argued that the Galatians are labelled as Κελτοί in App. *Mith.* 111, an issue explored later in this chapter.

³⁶ Campbell, 2009: 114-169.

³⁷ Strobel, 1996: 126.

With this experience, he completed his *Periegesis*, a pioneering work on geography. His work survives in fragments, mainly in Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnika* from the sixth century AD.³⁸ Hecataeus relates three important pieces of information. He describes a Celtic town and trading place in southern Gaul called Narbo (ἐμπόριον καὶ πόλις Κελτική). He also records that Massalia was near Celtic territory (Μασσαλία, πόλις τῆς Λιγυστικῆς κατὰ τὴν Κελτικὴν) and highlights another Celtic city named Nyrax (Νύραξ, πόλις Κελτική).³⁹ Despite the fragmentary survival of Hecataeus' work and the supposed allusion to, or quotation of, his works in later authors, it is clear that at this early point Κελτοί was used to describe peoples in the western Mediterranean. The western Mediterranean is a recurrent location for the Celts as shall be shown below. The location of Nyrax on the other hand is unknown, although Noreia in southern Austria has been put forward as a possible match.⁴⁰

Herodotus was the next author to refer to the Celts. He compares the Danube and the Nile and twice reports that the Danube rises amongst the Celts.

Ἰστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρρήνης πόλιος ῥέει μέσην σχίζων τὴν Εὐρώπην: οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ εἰσὶ ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων, ὁμοῦρέουσι δὲ Κυνησίοισι, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων.⁴¹

...ὁ Ἰστρος, ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων μετὰ Κύνητας οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ...⁴²

³⁸ Hunt, 2013: 3092-3094. For more on Hecataeus see Bertelli, 2001: 67-94. Pauli, 2007: 12 points out that the validity of his evidence is questionable as it impossible to know whether the Celtic label was assigned by Hecataeus, Stephanus of Byzantium, or one of Stephanus' other sources. Campbell, 2009: 114.

³⁹ Hecataeus, *FGrH* F54, F55, F56.

⁴⁰ Rankin, 1996: 8.

⁴¹ Herodotus, 2.33 'For the Ister flows from the land of the Celts and the city of Pyrene through the very middle of Europe; now the Celts live beyond the Pillars of Heracles, being neighbours of the Cynesii, who are the westernmost of all the peoples inhabiting Europe.'

⁴² Herodotus, 4.49.3 'for the Ister traverses the whole of Europe, rising among the Celts, who are the most westerly dwellers in Europe, except for the Cynete.'

The Celts are again located in western Europe, but these are confusing passages. Aside from the fact that Herodotus clearly had no idea as to the source of the Danube, the mention of the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar, at the southern tip of Spain) makes the Celts some of the most westerly peoples in Europe and therefore, far beyond Massalia and Narbo as claimed by Hecataeus.⁴³ Campbell points out that this may have been a rhetorical device, a way for Herodotus to exaggerate the distances involved and to make the Celts appear even more distant and alien.⁴⁴ Secondly, the location of Pyrene is difficult, although Heuneberg, located near the Danube in southern Germany, is a possible contender for identification with the city.⁴⁵ Collis points out that Herodotus seems to have understood that the Danube rose in the south-west of France, which would match Hecataeus' writings.⁴⁶ These claims include large swaths of land stretching from southern Germany, to France, to the southern tip of the Iberian Peninsula. It is important of course not to overestimate Herodotus' geographical knowledge, especially when he describes anything east of Sicily: it is possible that Herodotus' inaccurate information is because he never travelled east of the island and therefore was relying on second-hand references.⁴⁷

It is clearly impossible to identify a suitable, unambiguous location for the Celts. The works of Hecataeus and Herodotus allow for few safe conclusions to be drawn and reveal how difficult a task it is to locate peoples known as Κελτοί and to fix boundaries upon their settlement at this early period, let alone build a historical narrative. Thus far, references to Κελτοί have been fixed within western Europe, but these sources are by no means infallible. More references to Κελτοί in various forms also appear in numerous other Greek authors during the Classical period. Campbell's findings are very useful for piecing together the sporadic uses of Κελτοί in sources before Polybius. He writes that Hellanicus of Mytilene (c.480-400), an author whose

⁴³ Pind. *Ol.* 3.44 locates the Pillars of Hercules at the limits of the world.

⁴⁴ Campbell, 2009: 115.

⁴⁵ Roberts, 2015. Pauli, 2007: 12 argues that Germany cannot be identified as a Celtic area due to Herodotus' insufficient geographical knowledge.

⁴⁶ Collis, 1997: 196.

⁴⁷ Campbell, 2009: 115, from Burn, 1954: 27, n.1; Strobel, 1996: 129. Karttunen, 2002: 470-472 argues that Herodotus' lack of information for the north and west of Europe is because these regions had less interaction with the Persian Empire, a central focus of his work.

twenty-three books are lost save for over two hundred fragments, identified a people known as the Celto-Scythians (Κελτοσκύθαι).⁴⁸ Xenophon records that Celtic and Iberian mercenaries were hired by Dionysius I of Syracuse to fight for Sparta in 369/368 BC.⁴⁹ Importantly, Plato associates the Celts with other peoples who were firmly established in the Greek mind. He describes them as drunkards like the Scythians, Persians, Carthaginians, Iberians and Thracians.⁵⁰ Aristotle contains eighteen references to the Celts, more than any other author before Polybius, although some of these are included in the *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* and the *De Mundo* (pseudo-Aristotelian works).⁵¹ Aristotle and Pseudo-Aristotle make varied references to the Celts. The texts characterise the Celts as warlike,⁵² discuss their child-rearing practices,⁵³ their tin-smelting abilities,⁵⁴ and also claim that they were not under the sway of their women-folk, like other ancient peoples supposedly were.⁵⁵ Aristotle also makes geographic references, describing regions in Iberia, Gaul, Germany and somewhere near Scythia as Celtic.⁵⁶ Pseudo-Skylax ascribes a geographical location to the Celts, locating them in the north-eastern Adriatic.⁵⁷ The Hellenistic poets Callimachus and Lycophron write about a ‘Celtic war’ and a ‘Celtic stream’

⁴⁸ Hellanicus, *FGrH* 4 F185.7 = Strabo, 11.6.2 and 1.2.27. Brodersen, 2013.

⁴⁹ Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.20 and 7.1.31.

⁵⁰ Pl. *Laws.* 1.637.d.9; Campbell, 2009: 134.

⁵¹ From Campbell, 2009: 135, fig. 4.4, Arist. *Gen. An.* 748a26, ‘Κελτοῦς’; *Hist. An.* 606b04, ‘Κελτικῆ’; *Mirab. Aus.* 834a06, ‘Κελτικὸν’; *Mirab. Aus.* 837a14, ‘Κελτῶν’; *Mirab. Aus.* 834a07, ‘Κελτολιγύων’; *Mirab. Aus.* 837a07, ‘Κελτικῆς’; *Mirab. Aus.* 837a12, ‘Κελτοῖς’; *Pol.* 1269b 26, ‘Κελτῶν’; *Pol.* 1324b 12, ‘Κελτοῖς’; *Pol.* 1336a18, ‘Κελτοῖς’; *Mund.* 393b 09, ‘Κελτικῆν’; *Mund.* 393b 13, ‘Κελτούς’; *Frag. Var. cat.* 1 tit. 3 frag. 35 line 4, ‘Κελτοῖς’; *Frag. Var. cat.* 6 tit. 37 frag. 264 line 1, ‘Κελτικον’; *Frag. Var. cat.* 8 tit. 45 frag. 610 line 2, ‘Κελτῶν’; *Eth Eud.* 1229b 29, ‘Κέλτοι’; *Eth Nic.* 1115b 28, ‘Κελτούς’; *Mete.* 350b 2, ‘Κελτικῆ’. References specifically from Ps. Aris: *Mir. ausc.* 837a 14; 834a 07; 837a 07; 837a 12 and from *Mund.* 393b 09; 393b 13. Weinberg, 1953; Ryan and Schmitt, 1982; See Kraye, Schmitt and Ryan, 1986, for more on these pseudo-Aristotelean works.

⁵² Arist. *Pol.* 1324b12.

⁵³ Arist. *Pol.* 1336a18.

⁵⁴ Ps. Arist. *Mir. ausc.* 834a06.

⁵⁵ Arist. *Pol.* 1269b26.

⁵⁶ Arist. *Hist. An.* 606b04 (possibly Gaul); Ps. Arist. *Mirab. Aus.* 834a07 (Iberia and Gaul); *Mir. ausc.* 837a07 (Iberia and Gaul); *Mund.* 393b13 (Scythia).

⁵⁷ Ps.- Skylax, 18-19.

respectively.⁵⁸ Finally, Apollonius of Rhodes also locates the Celts in southern France, alongside the Ligyans.⁵⁹

Aside from Aristotle, these authors usually contain only one or two references to the Celts. While the infrequency of the entries makes it difficult to form comparisons between texts and often do not contain enough contextual information to draw definite conclusions, it is significant that the term crops up in so many different authors. What can be said, however, is that these authors did think that there existed ancient peoples called the Celts, but how they were defined and where they were located remains problematic. According to the authors discussed above, the Celts lived as far west as Spain, France and Germany and as far east as lands near Scythia. Such a vast area, without clearly defined boundaries, reveals that an unambiguous image of a Celtic homeland did not exist (although France does crop up most often in the sources). Moreover, geographical features could also be described as Celtic, mainly land and rivers. It is Aristotle who provides the clearest evidence that there were peoples who were perceived to be Celtic. His portrayal of discernible characteristics helps build a picture of a distinct ethnic group, but again their geographical boundaries are far from clear and probably too vast to be considered accurate. It has been argued that Aristotle used the term Celt to identify various peoples in northern and western Europe, as a collective term for the many barbarian tribes beyond the knowledge of the Greeks.⁶⁰ Issues like this have been the fuel for celtoscepticists, those who argue that there was no Celtic ethnic identity and that the Celts were actually an assortment of loosely-related and unrelated tribes and cultures, an issue that will be discussed later in the chapter.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Callim. *Hymn to Delos IV*, 171-184; Lycophron, 189. Lycophron's work reads 'Κέλτρον'. Hornblower 2015: 166, points out that it is generally agreed that this is a reference to the Danube (known to the ancients as the Ἰστρος) and that the misspelling is a result of the partial intrusion of Ἰστρος or a syncopation of 'Κελτικοῦ Ἰστροῦ'.

⁵⁹ Ar. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.646

⁶⁰ Campbell, 2009: 134; Coşkun, 2013c: 79. It has also been argued that the Celts took over from the vaguely defined Hyperboreans, see Collis, 2007: 26, Bridgman, 2004 and Skinner, 2012: 62-64 for more.

⁶¹ There has also been a much more general move to question claims of ethnic homogeneity and identity, see Luraghi, 2008: 8-14.

1.3.2: ‘Γαλάται’ in the Greek Sources

More important for our understanding and identification of the Galatians in the primary sources is the term Γαλάται. Γαλάται is a more reliable identifier for the Galatians and is most often employed by major authors such as Polybius, Strabo and Plutarch. Unfortunately for modern scholars, the term is ill-defined and this can lead to misconceptions. Γαλάται has its roots in the Celtic languages and can be translated as ‘brave fighters’ in Gaulish, a description that matches their military prowess and reputation.⁶²

Callimachus is the first author known to have used the term Γαλάται in reference to a Celtic people. He writes that the Galatians were as numerous as snowflakes and connects them with the idea of a Celtic war.

καί νύ ποτε ξυνός τις ἐλεύσεται ἄμμιν ἄεθλος
ὔστερον, ὅππότε ἄν οἱ μὲν ἐφ’ Ἑλλήγεσσι μάχαιραν
βαρβαρικὴν καὶ Κελτὸν ἀναστήσαντες Ἄρηα
ὀπίγονοι Τιτῆνες ἀφ’ ἐσπέρου ἐσχατόωντος
ῥώσωνται νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότες ἢ ἰσάριθμοι
τείρεσιν, ἠνίκα πλεῖστα κατ’ ἠέρα βουκολέονται,
φρούρια καὶ [κῶμαι Λοκρῶν καὶ Δελφίδες ἄκραι]
καὶ πεδία Κρῖσσαῖα καὶ ἠπεῖροι [ο φάραγγες]
ἀμφιπεριστείνονται, ἴδωσι δὲ πίονα καπνὸν
γείτονος αἰθομένοιο, καὶ οὐκέτι μῶνον ἀκουῆ,
ἀλλ’ ἤδη παρὰ νηὸν ἀπαυγάζοιντο φάλαγγας
δυσμενέων, ἤδη δὲ παρὰ τριπόδεσσιν ἐμεῖο
φάσγανα καὶ ζωστήρας ἀναιδέας ἐχθομένας τε
ἀσπίδας, αἱ Γαλάτησι κακὴν ὁδὸν ἄφροني φύλῳ
στήσονται.⁶³

⁶² Strobel, 1996: 131-132; Coşkun, 2013c: 84.

⁶³ Callim. *Hymn* 4: 171-184. ‘Yea and one day hereafter there shall come upon us a common struggle, when the Titans of a later day shall rouse up against the Hellenes barbarian sword and Celtic war, and from the furthest West rush on like snowflakes and in number as the stars when they flock most thickly in the sky; forts too [and

Callimachus flourished under Ptolemy II Philadelphus and therefore was contemporaneous with the Celtic invasion of Greece, which he most certainly makes reference to when he describes the Celtic war in his hymn to Delos.⁶⁴ He makes a clear connection between the Proto-Galatians (Γαλάτησι) and the Celts through his description of a ‘Celtic’ war (Κελτὸν). Callimachus also compares the Celtic invasion to the war in heaven against the Titans.⁶⁵ The depiction of the Celtic invasion of Greece as one of the supreme struggles of the Greek world was a common motif.⁶⁶ Not only was it compared to the war between the gods and Titans by Callimachus, but it was also frequently equated with the Persian invasions of Greece.⁶⁷ The Aetolians led the defence of Delphi and gained much prestige from the defeat of Brennus in 279 BC. They hung the shields of the vanquished in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, opposite to where the Athenians had placed the shields of the defeated Persians.⁶⁸ Such a display was undoubtedly an attempt to associate Aetolian glory with that garnered by the Athenians during the Persian Wars.⁶⁹

The invasion and the defeat of Brennus not only had a profound effect on the literature of the period but also influenced Callimachus’ writings, especially his presentation of the invaders, whom he presented as a significant threat to Hellenic civilisation. Writing in Alexandria, one would assume that he was far removed from the invasion of Greece and any personal experience of the Celts. This is not the case, however, as in 278 BC a revolt took place in his hometown of Cyrene. The revolt was led by Magas of Cyrene, and Ptolemy II Philadelphus sent an army to crush the rebels. Ptolemy II’s forces included four thousand Celtic mercenaries. These mercenaries then

villages of the Locrians and Delphian heights] and Crisaeian plains and [glens of the mainland] be thronged about and around, and shall behold the rich smoke of their burning neighbour, and no longer by hearsay only; but already beside the temple behold the ranks of the foemen, and already beside my tripods the swords and cruel belts and hateful shields, which shall cause an evil journey to the foolish tribe of the Galatians’.

⁶⁴ Petrovic, 2013.

⁶⁵ Callim. *Hymn* 4: 174, with the inclusion of ‘Τιτῆνες’.

⁶⁶ Strootman, 2005: 101; Polyb. 2.35.7 for example.

⁶⁷ Champion, 1995; Strootman, 2003: 111; Mitchell, 2008: 282. Scholten, 2000 investigates Pausanias’ use of this image as well as his influences.

⁶⁸ Paus. 10.19.4.

⁶⁹ Strootman, 2005: 111.

plotted to turn on their employer and were defeated by being marooned on a deserted island on the Nile and left to starve or murder one another.⁷⁰ No contextual information relating to the origins of these mercenaries exists, but the date of 278 BC makes it quite likely that they were Celts who had taken part in the invasion of Greece a year earlier and had subsequently hired themselves out after the invasion had failed and the tribes had splintered.⁷¹

Campbell argues that Callimachus' use of both Κελτοί and Γαλάται to describe the same group of people was the result of misidentification. He claims that Callimachus must have confused the Proto-Galatians with the Celtic mercenaries under Ptolemy II, as the Greek poet writes that Brennus' army came from the west rather than the north.⁷² The invasion of Greece did indeed originate in the Balkans (north of Macedonia and Greece) and it does make sense to assume that Callimachus envisioned a northern origin for the Proto-Galatians, but there are problems with this interpretation. First, it is also equally possible that Callimachus conceptualised a western origin for Brennus' army. In fact, both ancient and modern scholars often suggested that Gaul or Germany was the most likely origin for Galatian tribes.⁷³ On a more poetic point, Callimachus describes the invaders as snowflakes rushing on from

⁷⁰ Paus. 1.7.2. 'Γαλάτας ἐς τετρακισχίλιους'.

⁷¹ Campbell asserts that Ptolemy II's mercenaries most likely originated in the west because Dionysius I had previously hired Celtic mercenaries from Iberia and southern France to help the Spartans during the Peloponnesian War (Xen. I. 7.1.20; Diod. Sic. 15.70.1) and Agathocles had employed mercenaries from Italy and southern France in 307 BC (Diod. Sic. 20.64.2). Dionysius' mercenaries were employed over a century before the revolt of Magas and Agathocles had hired his mercenaries twenty-eight years previously in 307 BC. For more on these mercenaries see Griffith, 1935 and Bettalli, 2013. It is difficult to substantiate this claim with such isolated examples that are separated by a large time period. It is far more likely that these were mercenaries from the east as there were numerous bands of Celts in Greece and the Balkans after the defeat at Delphi in 279 BC. Celtic mercenaries were also in the employ of Antigonos Gonatas and Apollodorus of Cassandreia in northern Greece during the 270s, Polyaeus, 4.6.17; 6.7.2; Diod. Sic. 22.5.2. Moreover, Galatian mercenaries from Asia Minor were employed as part of Hellenistic armies during the Chremonidean war of the mid to late 260s BC (only a decade after the revolt in Egypt), Welles, 1970; Barbantani, 2014: 306-308.

⁷² Callim. *Hymn* 4: 174;

⁷³ Strabo, 4.1.13, 7.5.1, believed that the Tectosages most likely originated in Gaul and left the region due to internal fighting. See also the Volcae Tectosages who lived near the Hercynian forest in Germany, Caes. *B Gall.* 6.24.

the west. This fits in with the Greek conception of the west wind as a carrier of storms and rain.⁷⁴ Campbell also claims that because Dionysius I of Syracuse and Agathocles hired mercenaries from the west, the Celtic mercenaries in Egypt were most likely from the west too. This, however, is a weak argument as Dionysius' mercenaries operated over a century before the revolt in Egypt and similarly, Agathocles' mercenaries fought twenty-eight years previously. Moreover, Celtic manpower must have been readily available in the eastern Mediterranean as the invasion had taken place so recently. It is likely that Callimachus was indeed referring to the Proto-Galatians who invaded Greece and that his account was also influenced by the activities of the Celts in Egypt.

1.3.3: Κελτοί and Γαλάται in Polybius

Callimachus may have been the earliest extant author to use Γαλάται in reference to a specific people, but the infrequency of the term in his writings, as well as the lack of comparable use in other contemporary sources means that it is difficult to draw any definitive conclusions. It was not until Polybius (c. 200-118 BC), who flourished a century later, that we see a dramatic increase in the use of the term Γαλάται, as well as Κελτοί.⁷⁵ Polybius was the first ancient author to write extensively about the Celts of Europe and Asia and is the most important Greek source for the Galatians.⁷⁶ He used the term Γαλάται 132 times and Κελτοί 124 times in his extant work.⁷⁷ Polybius, for the most part, appears to use the two terms interchangeably when referring to the European Celts. What is more, he often employs both terms to describe the same people within the same paragraph, just as Callimachus does.⁷⁸ The frequent use of the terms within the same context implies that Polybius was either consciously or subconsciously employing them interchangeably, rather than making a recurring mistake. This means that he can and does use both terms for the people of Cisalpine

⁷⁴ Theophr. *On Weather Signs*. 22; Sider and Brunschön, 2007.

⁷⁵ Thornton, 2013a and 2013b.

⁷⁶ Freeman, 2001: 6.

⁷⁷ Campbell, 2009: 125 & 128 records the frequency of Γαλάται and Κελτοί in the writings of Polybius.

⁷⁸ Polyb. 2.32.8–9; 2.30.8; 2.18.6–8; 2.31.5–8; 3.67.8.

Gaul, Gaul and Spain. Significantly, in the sections of his history that focus on the Balkans and Asia Minor he restricts himself to Γαλάται and never uses Κελτοί.

Why Polybius uses both Κελτοί and Γαλάται for peoples in the west and only Γαλάται for those in the east is difficult to answer. It does little to help our definition of a Galatian (a Celt that occupied the region on both sides of the Sangarios bow and the middle Halys). The use of Γαλάται to describe the Celts of Asia Minor, the Balkans and diverse regions in the west means that the only way to make solid identifications is through additional contextual information. This is sometimes possible due to the inclusion of the name of a tribe, a city, or a region; or in the case of inscriptions, the location. Often, however, there is not enough information to confidently argue for an identification. What we can say with confidence is that Polybius is never referring to the Galatians when he uses Κελτοί.

1.3.4: Κελτοί and Γαλάται after Polybius

Polybius may be the most prolific Greek writer on the Celtic peoples, but his work does little to clarify the issue of identification. While his generally indistinct use of Κελτοί and Γαλάται did not help to establish a standard terminology for later authors, he is noteworthy for being the first extant historian to employ these terms widely throughout his work. Other major Greek authors of the later Hellenistic period continued to employ Κελτοί and Γαλάται in their writings and these terms also appear far more frequently than in the works of authors who flourished prior to Polybius. This can be partly explained by the increased interaction with both Celtic peoples and the Galatians throughout the ancient world. Despite this rise in usage, no clear and static definition emerges in the sources.⁷⁹

Diodorus Siculus, a Greek historian of the first century BC, used both Κελτοί and Γαλάται for peoples in the western Mediterranean. The Gauls for example are described as Κελτοί and Γαλάται within the same context by Diodorus, in a manner similar to Polybius. When discussing the gold-working abilities of the Gauls, he

⁷⁹ A study of how often Κελτοί and Γαλάται appear in the works of Greek authors from the Hellenistic period can be found in Campbell, 2009: 143-162. He performed a statistical overview and presents the information on a set of charts.

describes the people as Κελτοί in one passage and almost immediately as Γαλάται in the next.⁸⁰ Diodorus (working from the writings of Posidonius of Arameia) also mentions the ‘land of the Celts’ and claims that the people who dwelt above Massalia, those who were bounded by the western Alps and the Pyrenees, were known as Κελτοί, while the people north of the Celtic lands, along the Hercynian Mountain (the Black Forest region) and towards Scythia, were called Γαλάται.⁸¹ This explanation does not prevent Diodorus from using both terms for the denizens of Gaul, but this lack of definition is contrasted in his descriptions of the eastern Mediterranean where he is more consistent and adheres to his own use of Γαλάται. He described the Celts of the Balkans (those who settled in the region of Tylis shortly after the failed invasion of Greece) and Asia Minor solely as Γαλάται. Essentially, Diodorus never employs Κελτοί for the Galatians, but he does use Γαλάται for the Galatians and other Celtic groups in the east and west.⁸² It appears that, by refraining from using Κελτοί for the Galatians, he perceived a distinction between the Celts on both sides of the Mediterranean. Diodorus did not depart far from the writings of Polybius and it was not until Strabo that we see the first breakdown in the east-west distinction.

Strabo (c. 65 BC – c. AD25) uses both terms in a familiar way, Κελτοί for most groups in the western Mediterranean, with the occasional Γαλάται for the occupants of Gaul, Cisalpine Gaul and Germany.⁸³ It is interesting, however, that Strabo also refers to the Celts of the Balkans more frequently as Κελτοί and less so as Γαλάται. Despite this, the Galatians of Asia Minor are referred to exclusively as Γαλάται. Strabo appears to employ Κελτοί in a more general way and asserts that the Tolistobogii, Tectosages and Trocmi all originated from ‘Celtica’ (Gaul).⁸⁴ The use of Celtica by Strabo is like that of previous authors, particularly Diodorus Siculus, and affirms that by this point the geographical term was an established concept in the Greek tradition.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Diod. Sic. 5.27-28.

⁸¹ Diod. Sic. 5.24.1 ‘τῆς Κελτικῆς’; 5.32.1 for the boundaries of settlement. Tierney, 1959/60 for more on Posidonius’ influence.

⁸² Diod. Sic. 31. 13-14.

⁸³ Roller, 2013.

⁸⁴ Strabo, 4.1.13 ‘ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς’.

⁸⁵ Bridgman, 2004/5: 160; Diod. Sic. 5.24.1.

This terminological loosening was spurred on further by later authors such as Plutarch (c. AD 45–125)⁸⁶ and Appian (c. AD 85–95 to c. 165)⁸⁷ who demonstrate almost no distinction between the terms and use both without any clear differences for the western Mediterranean and the Balkans. Despite this, Plutarch, when talking about the Galatians, only uses Γαλάται, in line with other previous authors.⁸⁸ It has been argued that Appian was the first author to use Κελτοί for the Galatians. Appian, according to Freeman, recorded that Mithridates employed a certain Bituitus whom he describes as a leader of the Celts (ἡγεμόνα Κελτῶν).⁸⁹ As no more information on the origin of these Celts is available, it is impossible to tell whether this Bituitus was a Galatian or a soldier from another region. Many variants of the name Bituitus (Βίτιτος) can also be found across the Mediterranean, from Gaul to Asia Minor, further challenging the assumption that he was a Galatian.⁹⁰ Moreover it questions why Appian did not apply Κελτοί to any other discussion of the Galatians, but did so to many other Celtic peoples, particularly, those in the Balkans. This is not to say that Bituitus was irrefutably *not* a Galatian; rather, the uncertainty is too great and the evidence against a firm identification is strong.

Pausanias (c. AD 115-180) is the final Greek author discussed in this chapter and he mirrors previous authors by using both terms for the same peoples across Europe.⁹¹ He also makes his own terminological observations, indicating an awareness of the issue, and claims that Γαλάται was merely a more modern word for the Celts and that in older times Κελτοί was more popular and was actually used by the Celts to describe themselves.⁹² This is a very interesting claim to make and shows a unique level of understanding on the part of Pausanias as it can be backed up by both textual

⁸⁶ Tatum, 2013.

⁸⁷ Bucher, 2013.

⁸⁸ Campbell, 2009: 149.

⁸⁹ Campbell, 2009: 151-152; Freeman, 2001: 6 n. 10; App. *Mith.* 111. Mithridates VI was a prominent employer of Celtic mercenaries according to Strobel, 1996: 159 n. 18; Müller-Karpe, 2006; Bouzek, 2013: 230. Strobel, 1996: 79, n. 106 also addresses land claims between Mithridates and the Galatians.

⁹⁰ See Freeman, 2001: 30, n. 69; Bituitus, Livy, *Per.* 61; Βιτιτίος, Strabo, 4.2.3; Βιτιουκος, *RIG M* 71; Βιτιουιστουος, *RIG M* 73; Bitukus, *CIL*, 12.3114; Bitucius, *CIL* 12.4178.

⁹¹ Hutton, 2013.

⁹² Paus. 1.4.1.

and epigraphic evidence. First, Γαλάται, as has been shown, did not begin to appear in textual sources until Callimachus during the third century BC. Second, Κελτοί shows up much earlier in textual sources from the fifth century BC, as well as in Etruscan inscriptions from the seventh century BC.⁹³ Despite this attempt to explain the distinction, Pausanias does use both Κελτοί and Γαλάται in the same passage to describe the same people. He defines Celtic mercenaries under Antigonos as Γαλάται and then goes on to relate how Pyrrhus defeated them and hung Celtic armour (ὄπλα τῶν Κελτῶν) in the sanctuary of Itonian Athena.⁹⁴ Pausanias also states that the Phocians were keen defenders against the Γαλάται and a Celtic army.⁹⁵ It appears that Pausanias used the two terms in the same passage for stylistic reasons. When the Γαλάται are mentioned, they are often closely followed by something relating to ‘τῶν Κελτῶν’, particularly, ‘στρατιὰν δὲ τὴν Κελτικὴν’.⁹⁶ It is likely that such a usage of both terms was done to avoid the repetition of Γαλάται.

Campbell claims that what truly sets Pausanias apart and complicates matters is the fact that unlike other ancient authors who described the Galatians solely as Γαλάται, his work contains one reference in which he calls them Κελτοί. A reference for this claim is not provided and when all examples of Κελτ- in Pausanias are examined, there is only one time where he employs a form of Κελτοί in relation to Asia Minor.⁹⁷ This, however, is problematic as the passage describes the crossing of the Celts into Asia, which means that Pausanias is using the term Celt before the settlement of Galatia and likely still perceives this group as part of the original invasion rather than the Galatians in central Asia Minor. Pausanias presents the culmination of this imprecise terminology, best illustrated by his possible use of Κελτοί rather than Γαλάται for the Galatians, and shows a definite stylistic approach to his application of both terms for the same people within the same passage.

⁹³ Strobel, 1996: 125.

⁹⁴ Paus. 1.13.2.

⁹⁵ Paus. 10.3.4, ‘Γαλάτας δὲ καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν στρατιὰν’.

⁹⁶ Other examples include Paus. 10.15.2; 10.19.5; 10.20.7; 10.23.9.

⁹⁷ Campbell, 2009: 153-155; Paus. 10.23.14.

1.4: Roman Terminology

Freeman, in his book *The Galatian Language*, claims that the Romans generally knew the inhabitants of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul as ‘*Galli*’ and that the Galatians were mainly known as ‘*Galatae*’.⁹⁸ Such a definition would make Roman identifications of the Galatians an easier and more open process than its Greek equivalent. Unfortunately, this is not the case. When the sources are examined closely it appears that *Galli* is applied far more regularly than *Galatae* to identify the Galatians, mirroring the issues presented by Greek texts. This is especially true for those sources that are rich in information relating to the Galatians such as Cicero and Livy. An analysis of Roman authors reveals that the Galatians were most often described as *Galli*, a term that was also used for peoples across western Europe. While *Galli* was most common, the Galatians were also identified as ‘*Galatae*’ in a range of authors and it appears that this generally had a more defined usage, restricted to Asia Minor. It was, however, utilised less by the major sources. Finally, two other related terms crop up regularly. ‘*Celtae*’ appears as a term for the peoples in the west but not for the Galatians of Asia Minor, and ‘*Gallograeci*’ is used from time to time to describe the Galatians. While *Galli* has been discussed by previous authors, other terms such as *Galatae* have not been the focus of much interest in the major works.⁹⁹ This section will explore the Roman use of *Galli*, *Celtae*, *Galatae* and *Gallograeci* and how they were applied to the Galatians and other peoples across the Mediterranean.

The Galatians of Asia Minor were most often described as *Galli* in Roman texts. This term was, however, not restricted to the Galatians and was the principal label for other peoples of the Mediterranean variously known as Κελτοί and Γαλάται. A pertinent point was made by the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus who interestingly attempted to explain Roman definitions. He states that while the Greeks identified the people living in Gaul as Κελτοί, the Γαλάται were those peoples living to the north and east, all the way to Scythia. The Romans on the other hand, or so he says,

⁹⁸ Freeman, 2001: 6.

⁹⁹ For example, Strobel, 1996 makes few references to other Latin terms aside from *Galli*.

combined these peoples together under one name: Γαλάται.¹⁰⁰ While this distinction is not mirrored in other Greek sources, it does reveal that the Romans might have held a more generalised view of the peoples of Europe or considered these peoples to share some sort of common ethnic identity. It is important to keep in mind of course that this information comes from a Greek author, but at the very least it shows that Greek authors were attempting to come to terms with not only their own definitions of the Celts, but with those of the Romans as well. Such an interest speaks to the importance of the topic at such an early point, something still being assessed by scholars to this day. Diodorus Siculus did, however, get one thing right; he was accurate when he claimed that the Romans used *Galli* for the denizens of Gaul as well as those further east, namely, the Galatians.

1.4.1: *Galli, Galatae, Celtae and Gallograeci* in Roman Sources

Many important Roman writers, namely Cicero, Caesar and Livy, all employed *Galli* more regularly than other available terms to describe peoples known in Greek as Κελτοί and Γαλάται, but this was not the only Roman identifier. It can be said that Cicero (106-43 BC) repeatedly used *Galli* for the Gauls, viewing this term as most accurate.¹⁰¹ For the Galatians, however, we do find one use of *Galatae*, when he describes his Galatian auxiliaries as ‘*Galatarum*’.¹⁰² Identification as Galatians is possible as they are described fighting alongside Pisidians and Lycians, other inhabitants of Asia Minor, a very strong indicator of an Asian origin. Interestingly, although Cicero cultivated a close relationship with king Deiotarus, a relationship that can be characterised as the most intimate between a Roman and a Galatian in any of the sources, he avoids using terms such as *Galli* and *Galatae* in reference to Deiotarus in his letters and most strikingly in his *Pro Deiotaro*. As he was such a prolific writer on Galatian affairs we would expect more mention of these terms, but their absence is

¹⁰⁰ Diod. Sic. 5.32.1

¹⁰¹ Cic. *Rep.* 3.15; *Flac.* 102; *Off.* 112; *Att.* 362 (14.8), 134 (7.11). For Cicero’s dates see Fantham, 2013a.

¹⁰² Cic. *Att.* 119, 6.5.3.

partially explicable. It can be attributed to his desire to prevent an othering of Deiotarus within Roman elite circles, an issue explored further in chapter 8.

Caesar (100-44 BC) played a very important role in shaping Roman perceptions and attitudes towards the Celts. He was one of the first Romans' to acquire extensive first-hand knowledge of the affairs of Gaul due to his conquest and governance of the region; much of this was recorded in his *De Bello Gallico*.¹⁰³ He appears to have had a stricter attitude to defining the peoples inhabiting Gaul than Greek authors, most likely to help justify his military and political intervention in these lands to his readers.¹⁰⁴ He would have also gained familiarity with the tribes due his dealings with the Gauls on a daily basis. This work is not only important for the history of the conquest but does much to explain Roman understandings of Gaul and the Celts, and proved to be influential for future authors.¹⁰⁵ In fact, Caesar begins his work with an analysis of the ethnography of Gaul.¹⁰⁶ He claims that Gaul was divided into three parts inhabited by the *Belgae*, the *Aquitani* and by a third people who were known as *Celtae* in their own language and *Galli* in Latin. This is Caesar's only mention of *Celtae* within the context of Gaul and he otherwise consistently described them as *Galli* throughout his work.

His use of *Galli* is not restricted to the Gauls. He included the Galatians under the umbrella of *Galli* in his *De Bello Civili*. He writes that Deiotarus led six hundred Galatians (*Galli*) to aid Pompey.¹⁰⁷ This application implies a wider meaning for *Galli*, making it similar to the Greek Γαλάται. He also describes Galatia as *Gallograecia* on two occasions in his *De Bello Alexandrino*.¹⁰⁸ Importantly, he appears to call the Galatians *Gallograeci* directly when he remarks that Caesar awarded the tetrarchy of the *Gallograeci* (the Trocmi) to Mithridates. This Mithridates was the son of the Galatian tetrarch Brogitarus, who himself was a loyal ally of Caesar, and his wife Adobogiona. Deiotarus had previously held the position of tetrarch but had supported Pompey during the Civil War and was now paying his dues.¹⁰⁹ He describes this

¹⁰³ Osgood, 2013.

¹⁰⁴ Bridgman, 2004/5: 161.

¹⁰⁵ See Riggsby, 2006 for more.

¹⁰⁶ Caes. *B Gall.* 1.1.1.

¹⁰⁷ Caes. *B Civ.* 3.4. 'ex quibus de Gallos Deiotarus adduxerat'.

¹⁰⁸ Caes. *B Alex.* 67, 78.

¹⁰⁹ Caes. *B Alex.* 78; Mitchell, 1993: 35.

position as the ‘*tetrarchiam Gallograecorum*’, defining the Galatians as *Gallograeci* in this instance, a term that would be used later by Livy. The Trocmi are again associated with the term *Gallograeci* in another passage. Caesar, in the same passage in which he identifies Deiotarus’ troops as *Galli*, describes the Trocmian forces under Domnilius as coming from *Gallograecia*.¹¹⁰ This in itself does not mean that the Trocmian Galatians are being called *Gallograeci* - it might have merely been a geographical descriptor in this case, but nonetheless there appears to have been an association between the Trocmi and the term *Gallograeci*. Whether there is significance in this association is difficult to say.

The Roman author who wrote most extensively on the Galatians is without a doubt Livy (c. 64 BC-AD 12).¹¹¹ His account of the Roman consul Manlius Vulso’s campaign in Galatia in 189 BC presents the most extensive writings on the military confrontations between the Romans and the Galatians. Livy routinely utilises the term *Galli* for the Celts and the Galatians, but the terms *Gallograeci* and *Celtae* do also appear in his works. Livy states that the *Celtae* govern a third of Gaul under their king.¹¹² He then goes on to use *Galli* for the further development of this story as well as for the Celts in general throughout his work. This was very likely influenced by Caesar’s own introduction to Gaul in his *De Bello Gallico*. Caesar’s work opens by introducing the term *Celtae* but then employs *Galli* throughout.

Unsurprisingly the term *Galli* is generally used to identify the Galatians, as well as Celtic peoples in the west.¹¹³ Livy describes the Galatians as *Galli* throughout his account of the invasion of Galatia in books 37 and 38. While *Galli* is the principal term employed for the Galatians, *Gallograeci* does appear in its place on a few occasions.¹¹⁴ Livy seems to adhere to the Roman tradition of using *Galli* to describe peoples in Gaul as well as Galatia, and it does seem to be a conscious choice rather than purely a result of influence from Greek authors. Livy’s account of the campaign was taken directly from Polybius, who relied on another detailed source.¹¹⁵ As

¹¹⁰ Caes. *B Civ.* 3.4.

¹¹¹ Chaplin, 2013.

¹¹² Livy, 5.34 ‘*Celtarum quae pars Galliae tertia est*’.

¹¹³ For the west, see Livy, book 5.

¹¹⁴ Livy, 37.38; 38.45.

¹¹⁵ Mitchell, 1993: 23. See Walbank, 1967: 6 for a list of the corresponding passages in Polybius. Livy and Polybius’ sources are discussed further in chapter 5.

discussed earlier, Polybius made use of both Κελτοί and Γαλάται. For the Galatians in Asia Minor, however, he only used Γαλάται. Since Livy was working from Polybius, but chose to employ the Latin *Galli* rather than *Celtae*, *Galatae* etc, the Greek and Roman terms appear to have become equated at this point.

Although *Galli* is the most commonly used term for the Galatians in Latin authors, others such as *Galatae*, *Celtae* and *Gallograeci* do crop up less regularly.¹¹⁶ As mentioned earlier, *Galatae* is used infrequently, but it deserves a little more inquiry. Pliny the Elder, writing during the first century AD (AD 23/24-79), said that Antiochus Hierax fell in battle with the Galatians (*Galatis*).¹¹⁷ Tacitus (AD 55-120) recorded that Galatian (*Galatarum*) auxiliaries fought alongside those from Pontus and Cappadocia.¹¹⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus, writing much later during the fourth century AD, provides an alternate use for *Galatae*.¹¹⁹ Ammianus attempted to explain the history of the Celts as well as the etymology of identifiers such as *Celtae*, *Galli* and *Galatae*. He believed that the term *Celtae* came from the name of one of their kings and that the Greek term for these people was *Galatae*, which came from the name of the king's mother.¹²⁰ *Galatae* appears to have been slightly more common among later authors but was still relatively rare. It seems to have mainly been applied to the Galatians but Ammianus's writings show that this was not always so clear cut.

1.5: Summary of Terminology

There is no doubt that identifying Galatians is complicated by the inconsistent and inaccurate labelling in both ancient and modern sources. The examples above reveal how little uniformity there is within the ancient sources, which is exacerbated by authors who employed the terms in varied contexts and with diverse meanings. Upon examining the evidence, it is no surprise that even the ancient authors themselves were aware of the issues behind Κελτοί and Γαλάται, as well as Roman terms, and attempted

¹¹⁶ Strobel, 1996: 124 for more.

¹¹⁷ Plin. *HN*, 8. 1.159. Isager, 2013 addresses the dates of Pliny the Elder.

¹¹⁸ Tacitus. *Ann.* 15.6; Rutledge, 2013.

¹¹⁹ Rohrbacher, 2013.

¹²⁰ Amm. Marc. 15.9.

to explain their different usages. Despite these problems, patterns do appear within the sources and we are lucky that authors such as Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, Cicero and Livy wrote so extensively on the Celts.

While Κελτοί was the original term used by ancient authors until the fourth century BC, how this was defined, and more importantly, who exactly was defined as a Celt presents a significant obstacle for modern scholars. The passages above show that the term was generally applied to peoples living within the boundaries of modern France, but this is not the full picture because authors such as Aristotle appear to have used Κελτοί as a collective term for various peoples living in areas from Spain to Scythia. Γαλάται came into use at least two centuries later, during the third century BC, with Callimachus's poetry containing the first example. However, it was not until Polybius during the second century BC that Γαλάται became truly widespread and both terms regularly appear in Greek writings from this point on (although Κελτοί appears slightly more frequently). Interestingly, authors such as Polybius and Pausanias used the two terms interchangeably, sometimes within the same sentence. It can be argued therefore that the terms were considered to be very similar, if not interchangeable, by some authors and could be used as a synonym for stylistic reasons, mainly to avoid the repetition of any one particular term. When comparing the two, Κελτοί comes out as more problematic due to its more diverse usage in the ancient sources. Γαλάται on the other hand is often precise in certain contexts. The Celts of western and central Europe were usually described as Γαλάται, as were the Celts of the eastern Mediterranean. Important for this work, however, is the fact that the Galatians almost never appear to be called Κελτοί, even by authors who use the term interchangeably and even when the Celts in the Balkans are described using both terms.¹²¹ Therefore, although it is not possible to say that Γαλάται refers solely to the Galatians, it does mean that when Γαλάται appears in the sources it could be referring to the Galatians, while Κελτοί is very unlikely to do so.

¹²¹ Freeman claims that there are two examples of the use of Κελτοί for the Galatians in the writings of Appian and Lucian. App. *Mith*, 111 was discussed previously and was shown to be unclear. He also reports that Lucian. *Alex*. 51 describes their language as Celtic 'Κελτιστί'. This is not a sufficient argument as language does not necessarily equate to ethnicity, something explored further in chapter 2.

A similar picture is painted by the evidence in Roman texts. Ancient Roman authors such as Cicero, Caesar and Livy show that *Galli* was the main term used to describe the Celts of Gaul as well as the Galatians. It appears to have worked in a very similar way to the Greek Γαλάται and it is quite possible that the terms were equated by authors such as Polybius and Livy. This use of *Galli* groups the Galatians with peoples in the west under an umbrella term in a similar fashion to the Greek texts. *Gallograeci* and *Galatae* are other Latin terms applied to the Galatians but they appear far less regularly than *Galli*. *Gallograeci* in fact appears to be a term reserved solely for the Galatians.¹²² Despite this, they do appear to have a more specific association with Asia Minor, although this distinction is not always upheld, particularly by later authors.

To sum up this section, identifying Galatians is impossible through terminology alone and any identification must be supported by additional contextual information, such as tribal names and the inclusion of locations within Galatia. Nevertheless, scholars are often at the mercy of sources that do not include contextual information. The Galatians are regularly described as Γαλάται in texts and inscriptions while their tribal names are omitted. This was often because the victors would have gained more prestige by defeating ‘the Galatians’, a people with a terrifying reputation in the Greek mind-set, rather than a specific and less well-known tribe such as the Tectosages.¹²³

1.6: The Galatians and the Celtic Debate

The complications surrounding the identification of the Galatians in Greek and Latin texts have old roots. The issue lies within both the complex and inconsistent ancient terminology as well as modern understandings of terms such as ‘Galatian’ and ‘Celt’. The modern term Celt is repeatedly used throughout this work as an umbrella term for many peoples in the western and eastern Mediterranean described by the Greeks as Κελτοί and Γαλάται and the Romans as *Galli*, *Galatae*, *Celtae* and *Gallograeci*. This

¹²² See also Strobel, 1996: 124.

¹²³ Coşkun, 2013c: 79.

term is, however, highly controversial as many scholars have argued that a ‘Celtic’ culture never existed. On the other hand, some scholars have gone too far and argue for an unsubstantiated level of political cohesion between different Celtic groups and have labelled some far-flung peoples as Celtic without just cause.¹²⁴ Great controversy has raged around this question for the past few decades. Collis writes that ‘if it were not for the Classical texts written mainly by Greek and Italian authors, we would never have heard of the Celts’.¹²⁵ This quote highlights the centrality of Greek and Roman texts to ancient and modern thought on the Celts, and while we are lucky that they do survive, as the Celts did not leave their own written history, it also inflates our reliance on the words of an outgroup with their own perceptions and biases.

Much of the uncertainty surrounding the Celts stems from the inconsistent use of *Κελτοί* and *Γαλάται* in Greek sources and the failure by ancient authors to find a standardised identification for these peoples. These terms have been applied, on the one hand, to specific groups in Gaul and on the other hand, to peoples living across the spread of Europe, from Spain to Scythia. This has influenced scholarship throughout history as attempts to define what is Celtic have been based on such unsteady foundations. The two opposing camps have been dubbed the ‘Celtomaniacs’ and the ‘Celtoscepticists’ and they often present highly contrasting views.¹²⁶ Some scholars have also argued that modern politics have influenced this debate, particularly in Britain where British identities conflict with Scottish, Welsh, Irish etc.¹²⁷ The truth, as often is the case, probably lies somewhere between both camps. Despite these uncertainties, to completely deny the existence of a Celtic people is a stance that cannot be substantiated by the evidence. It is correct to question many of the assumptions about the Celts, such as their cultural, archaeological and political homogeneity. It is also important to question whether many of these peoples would have defined themselves as Celts. However, the fact remains that the Greeks and Romans, as

¹²⁴ See Collis, 2003: 93-133 for refutations of some of these claims.

¹²⁵ Collis, 2003: 13.

¹²⁶ A good summary of this issue can be found in Koch, 2007:1-17. See also Witt, 2003. Certain works ignore the issue almost entirely, Cunliffe, 1999, Maier, 2003 and Ó hÓgáin, 2003. Collis, 2003 and 2007 do a good job of elucidating the issues involved as well as pointing out many of the flaws associated with the traditional interpretation of the Celts.

¹²⁷ Collis, 1997; Especially Megaw & Megaw, 1996.

evidenced in a great number of works, believed that there were Celtic peoples, although an exact definition eludes modern scholars.¹²⁸ That the Greeks and Romans believed in the existence of the Celts is what matters to this thesis. Therefore, an analysis of modern scholarship on the subject, as well as an answer to the question of the Celts' existence, is beyond the remit of this work and on a general level, is probably not very helpful for this topic.

That being said, it is necessary to explain how this work utilises 'Celt' in its various forms. 'Celt' and 'Celtic' are employed to denote the ancient ethnic communities known to the Greeks as Κελτοί and Γαλάται and to the Romans as *Galli*, *Celtae*, *Galatae* and *Gallograeci*.¹²⁹ 'Celt' will be passed over in favour of more relevant and less controversial terms when possible, such as this work's use of 'Proto-Galatian' to describe the peoples who took part in the invasions of Macedonia and Greece in 280-279 BC. It is pivotal to remember that this use of 'Celt' refers only to the ethnic category, which was externally imposed by the Greeks and Romans and therefore does not question whether these peoples defined themselves as Celts. Fortunately for Galatian scholars, however, this pointed issue is softened by the fact that the Galatians were consistently grouped under similar Greek and Roman identifiers. To the Greeks and Romans, they were Γαλάται, *Galli* etc. and this means that there is far less uncertainty when classifying them so. As this work is focused specifically on the Galatians and has provided a very focussed definition of the term Galatian, it is easier to navigate the complexities of the Celtic debate and avoid many of the areas of intense controversy.

¹²⁸ Strobel, 2002: 120-122 explores the claim that there was never one common Celtic identity.

¹²⁹ Influenced by Williams, 2001: 13-14.

Chapter 2: Conceptualising Identity

2.1: Introduction

So much of what is known about a diverse array of ancient peoples survives solely in the writings of Greek and Roman authors, whose biases and prejudices undoubtedly coloured their depictions and have left a legacy that can be difficult to interpret. This is especially true for the Galatians. It is difficult for modern scholars to build a picture of peoples who did not leave their own words, who did not clearly state ‘this is who I am, this is what I am not... This is who we are, this is what we are not’. What survives is often an external, rather than an internal perspective. Despite this, it is possible to penetrate the many complex and misleading layers presented by the sources and learn much about the Galatians. Similar work has been done for other ancient peoples, such as the Celts, the Graeco-Bactrians and the Jews.¹³⁰ Recent research into the fields of identity and ethnicity has also yielded fresh ways to approach ancient peoples and has enabled scholars to conceptualise the interactions between cultures, societies and individuals in new ways. This chapter will introduce and explore two concepts pertinent to this thesis, Hellenisation and identity, and explain how they are employed. Appropriate terminology that is sensitive to individual contexts is also necessary, but it is essential to acknowledge the weaknesses of such terminology and build upon this awareness by suggesting more tailored definitions. This work employs widely-used but sometimes controversial terminology to better understand the Galatians and their place in the ancient world. Definitions suited to the unique context of the Galatians shall be suggested where necessary to stay faithful to the issues and complexities presented by both the topic and this terminology.

2.2: Hellenisation

The term ‘Hellenisation’ is used frequently throughout this work, but it presents a problem. Mairs defines it as ‘the spread of Greek culture and its adoption by non-

¹³⁰ For example, Momigliano, 1975; Mairs 2013 and 2014; Mason, 2007.

Greek peoples'.¹³¹ Ubiquitous in countless works, it promises the tantalising possibility of explaining a central feature of Greek relations with foreign peoples in a relatively straight-forward way, principally, the apparent adoption of Greek cultural expressions. This is especially relevant for the Hellenistic period, a time when the boundaries of the Greek world were pushed towards all points of the compass. It is no surprise then that this concept appears widespread in scholarship on the Hellenistic period and that scholars have latched on to such a seemingly all-encompassing word. It must therefore be equally unsurprising that the realities and complexities presented by the Hellenistic world, a period marked by vast variances in Greek relations with a whole host of other cultures, cannot be distilled into any single term, let alone if its definition remains static across multiple contexts. This is not to say that the term is of no use, rather, the issue lies in its traditional interpretation, and like all controversial terminology, it has been construed in many ways in the past.

The first to tackle the idea of Hellenisation was the early nineteenth century German scholar J.G. Droysen, whose work *Geschichte des Hellenismus* laid the foundations for modern thought on the subject.¹³² He believed that the achievements of Classical Greece had enabled Alexander to unite the Greeks with one language, culture and political system, and to elevate them above the local into a world power.¹³³ The Hellenistic period, which was often maligned and ignored, was then revaluated by Droysen, who saw it as an era of the highest importance in world history. Droysen, who was heavily influenced by Hegel's philosophy of history, argued that the Hellenistic period, which he defined as the 'modern period' of Greek history, was characterised by the extension of Hellenic culture into the east, which led to a fusion between Greek and Oriental.¹³⁴ This thinking had its origins in his earlier work on Alexander the Great, in which he traced the passage of Greek ideas to non-Greeks in

¹³¹ Mairs, 2013. The term 'culture' itself is also problematic and far from being stable and quantifiable, is fluid and disputed, see Wallace-Hadrill, 2008: 29 for more. Siapkas, 2003: 21, goes further and views culture as elusive and indescribable because users re-interpret and appropriate culture.

¹³² Droysen, 1877-8.

¹³³ Droysen, 1877-8: 3.20.

¹³⁴ Droysen, 1893-4: 2.70; Wallace-Hadrill, 2008: 66. Droysen accepted Hegel's presupposition that history moved forward by thesis (Greek culture), antithesis (Oriental culture) and synthesis (a Hellenistic *Mischkultur*), Momigliano, 1970: 141-142.

the wake of Alexander's conquests.¹³⁵ Droysen defined this process of Greek cultural influence as 'Hellenismus', a term which had previously been used to describe the Greek *koine* employed by non-Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean after the conquests of Alexander.¹³⁶ Droysen's use, however, departed from former views as it avoided privileging language over other cultural expressions; he instead stressed interaction and exchange, rather than conflict and polarity.¹³⁷ He argued that the Hellenistic period was central to world history as it prepared the groundwork for the later spread of Christianity. He believed that the global aspect of Hellenistic culture created an environment in which Christianity could take root and spread across the ancient world.¹³⁸ It was in his forward to the second edition of his *Geschichte des Hellenismus* where this link between Hellenisation and Christianity was made most explicitly.¹³⁹ While Droysen's idea of cultural fusion did not define the Hellenistic world, it has proved to be influential to this day.¹⁴⁰

Many important works on the Hellenistic era employ the term Hellenisation freely, but without fully engaging with what exactly is meant by the term, its connotations, its strengths and weaknesses.¹⁴¹ Despite this, scholars have recently become more willing to use Hellenisation with an awareness of its limitations. General definitions tend to follow a similar pattern. Mairs' definition (above) is the broadest to be found, but such an unfocused explanation is not useful in practice as it fails to lay out definable criteria for inclusion. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt on the other hand define Hellenisation as being 'not merely the adoption of Greek coinage, names institutions and Greek words, but also Greek political practices, lifestyle, and literary, artistic and architectural ideas'. This definition is more helpful as it expresses a set of criteria for

¹³⁵ Droysen, 1833; Southard, 1995: 24.

¹³⁶ Droysen, Bosworth, 2006: 9. For the evolution of the concept, see Bichler, 1983: 33-54; Bosworth, 2006: 9-11; Prag, 2013: 3-10.

¹³⁷ This was not without controversy. Lacquer, 1928 argued that in the Greek texts 'ἑλληνίζειν' (to speak Greek) and 'ἑλληνισμός' (imitation of Greeks) denote linguistic usage rather than other forms of cultural expression. ἑλληνίζειν for example was used in a narrow linguistic context by Thucydides, 2.68. See also, Bichler, 1983: 5-32 and Wallace-Hadrill, 2008: 21. The idea of conflict and polarity has also been very influential, see Hall, 1989.

¹³⁸ Momigliano, 1970: 139-153.

¹³⁹ It is reprinted in Droysen, 1893-4: 298-314.

¹⁴⁰ Lane Fox, 2010: 2.

¹⁴¹ For example, Burstein, 1993; Chamoux, 2002; Chaniotis, 2005.

inclusion, but again these are not readily quantifiable and the authors question how it is possible to tell whether expressions of Greek culture are not just a sort of approximate translation into the appropriate ‘language’ of the other culture rather than a new development.¹⁴² More recent definitions of Hellenisation continue to follow suit, and are more likely to address not only what criteria Hellenisation does include, but also what it does not include. Van Dommelen and López-Bertran for example state that Hellenisation ‘centres on the appearance, presence and adoption of Greek (material) culture and traditions, regardless of time and place’, and question whether this also includes the idea of ‘ethnic identity’.¹⁴³

It appears then that a broad definition of the concept can be useful for providing a framework, but scholars must be willing to acknowledge the shortcomings of the term and adjust its meaning to suit their own contexts. Even the broadest definitions are of course, when put into practice, not flexible enough to deal with many pertinent examples from around the ancient world. Nonetheless, these authors do address Hellenisation within their own specific contexts (such as Seleucid-Iran and the Punic world), just as this work aims to do within a Galatian context, to reveal how it can be useful for exploring ancient cultures.

A central problem presented by the traditional approach to Hellenisation is that it is too hellenocentric. As Key argues, ‘Hellenisation is an asymmetrical term which privileges the Greek over other traditions...on the implicit basis that Greek cultural traditions were somehow superior and, as a consequence, the cultural standard to which peoples around the Mediterranean aspired’.¹⁴⁴ It also suggests a one-way diffusion of culture, from Greek to non-Greek peoples. This is a salient point to make and the issue is best illustrated by examples from the ancient world that reveal how the perception of a one-way influence does not do justice to the complex realities. One of the most prominent examples is that of Greek influence on Roman culture.

There is no doubt that Greek culture had an immense impact on its Roman counterpart, but to assume that this was a one-way cultural influence would be a mistake. The idea that Rome was an unrefined backwater before 200 BC, an image

¹⁴² Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, 1993: 145.

¹⁴³ Van Dommelen and López-Bertran, 2013: 276-277.

¹⁴⁴ Key, 2013: 318.

promulgated by the Romans themselves, is a fantasy. Instead, Greek cultural influence was visible in Rome from as early as the archaic period and the idea of an evolution from barbarian to Hellenic is a fallacy. It is far more likely, as Wallace-Hadrill suggests, that Rome can be seen as ‘a perpetually renewable dialogue, a set of exchanges whereby the Hellenic...is constantly imitated, without in any way diminishing Roman or Italic identity’.¹⁴⁵ The same issues are perpetuated to this day. Do the Chinese, avid consumers of many aspects of American culture, its technologies, media and products, consider themselves American? Let alone any less Chinese? The Romans themselves were also intensely aware of this Greek influence and actively engaged with debate on the subject. Cato the Elder was perhaps the most famous and possibly the most ferocious critic.¹⁴⁶ But while these authors might have railed against such proclivities as Greek literature and education and perceived them as threats to their own picture of what constituted a Roman, this also makes them unaware (or dismissive) of the many Roman characteristics that did have underlying influences in Greek culture.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, it did not stop the Romans from further cultural appropriations, something that was engaged in whole-heartedly by the elite.¹⁴⁸

A comparable term within a Roman context is ‘Romanisation’, which has generated far more controversy and debate than Hellenisation and can, therefore, be helpful to frame and better understand the issues surrounding Hellenisation. Scholars have long sought to understand the complex processes behind the spread of Roman cultural elements, such as baths, villas and amphitheatres, across its empire, especially in western and northern Europe. Scholars during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, who were no doubt influenced by a world under the sway of colonial imperialism, saw the Romans as bringers of civilisation.¹⁴⁹ Romanisation was thought to have been carried out by the Romans themselves in order to ‘Romanise’ their conquered subjects, who were to be passive recipients of this gift of Roman culture.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Wallace-Hadrill, 2008: 26.

¹⁴⁶ Henrich, 1995; Issac, 2004: 388; Schultz, 2016: 71-72.

¹⁴⁷ Gruen, 1983: 253-255; Plin. *NH*, 29.14; Gruen, 1990: 79-123 explores how Latin literature emulated Greek literature during the third century BC.

¹⁴⁸ Gruen, 1990 and 1992; Wallace-Hadrill, 2013: 35-43.

¹⁴⁹ Mommsen, 1887: 4-5; Haverfield, 1905-6, for more on Haverfield see Hingley, 2000 and Freeman, 2007.

¹⁵⁰ Erskine, 2010: 58.

The development of a universal Roman culture is reminiscent of the Greek-influenced global culture from the Hellenistic period. Scholars now generally agree that native populations actively engaged with Roman culture and often sought to emulate aspects in order to gain position within the system, while preserving their own indigenous expressions of identity.¹⁵¹ This is not to say that the Roman administration and the elite did not directly and indirectly encourage the spread of Roman culture, rather, many processes occurred simultaneously.¹⁵² The debate behind Romanisation is important for our understanding of issues such as conquest and cultural appropriation and compels scholars to avoid many of the incorrect assumptions that have been made in the past and also to shed the constraints of issues like the influence of colonialism on scholarship.

The Jews of Hellenistic Judea provide another example where the relationship with Greek culture was complex and cannot be satisfactorily explained through a one-way and static interpretation of Hellenisation. Scholars had portrayed the relationship between Hellenism and Judaism as a conflict, but this does not reflect reality as there are abundant examples of active Jewish expression of Greek culture from the region.¹⁵³ The case can be made time and time again for numerous peoples, such as the Babylonians under Seleucid rule, the mixing of Greek and non-Greek art and architecture, the Cappadocians, as well as examples where there is an even more complex and unclear mixture of cultural forces at work, such as more recent research on Hellenistic Numidia.¹⁵⁴

These examples reveal how Hellenisation *can* be an unsatisfactory term when dealing with such complex relationships. The term inherently implies that people were passively influenced by Greek culture and were fundamentally transformed into semi-Greeks. This of course does not take into account the active participation of individuals

¹⁵¹ Millett, 1990 was a proponent of this idea, arguing that the natives of Britain were active participants of Roman cultural appropriation.

¹⁵² Erskine, 2010: 60.

¹⁵³ For the idea of conflict see, Tcherikover, 1958: 345 who saw ‘Hellenization perpetrated... by numerous byways... [but that] Jerusalem Jewry was strong enough to defend itself, to counter force with force, and intellect with intellect’; Hengel, 1973: 254-307; Momigliano, 1975: 74-96; Mairs, 2013; Gruen, 1993: 238-274.

¹⁵⁴ For the Babylonians see Sherwin-White & Kuhrt, 1993; for Asia-Minor, Colledge, 1987: 134-162; for Cappadocia, Van Dam, 2002; for Numidia, Kuttner, 2013: 216-272.

and peoples. It takes for granted that it was often a conscious transformation based on what appropriations could be useful or needed, and that seemingly Greek cultural expressions may have been used in completely different contexts to illustrate something about the traditional culture, such as the local and global messages embedded in the outwardly Greek-style visual monuments of Numidia or the presence of non-Hellenistic elements at Pergamum.¹⁵⁵ Mairs provides an elegant illustration of this issue. She writes that ‘we may perceive a Corinthian column as a Greek ethnic indicator, but how do we know that it was? Might it have had other, primary associations to the people who saw it every day, asserting socio-political status, for example, rather than solely or principally Greek identity? Or was a column something people might not have seen as an appropriate vehicle for the expression of Greek identity at all, focusing rather on dress, food, or social behaviour?’¹⁵⁶ This was not restricted to a Greek context. The Ptolemies, for example, made use of Egyptian-style statuary in native temples, presenting themselves as Egyptian rulers in an Egyptian context. This was not through a desire to become Egyptian; rather, it was a conscious choice to gain the support of the Egyptian priestly caste to help solidify Ptolemaic rule and legitimise their dynasty.¹⁵⁷ It is therefore vital to disassociate Hellenisation from the idea of unilateral Greek influence, and instead envision a process by which influence could flow both ways and elements of non-Greek culture could also spread.

2.3: Globalisation and Greek Culture

While Hellenisation in its traditional sense may be useful for exploring the influence of Greek culture on Galatian identity, it is less suitable for the Galatian side of the exchange. This is because Greek culture emanated not just from the Galatians’ Greek neighbours, but also their non-Greek neighbours such as Bithynia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Armenia and Commagene, states famous for their promotion of Hellenistic

¹⁵⁵ Kuttner, 2013: 216-272; Kuttner, 2005: 137-206.

¹⁵⁶ Mairs, 2006: 16.

¹⁵⁷ Ashton, 1999: 70-94; Brophy, 2015: 57. Moyer, 2011, by focusing on the interactions between Egyptian priests and the Ptolemaic power structure, explores how Egyptian culture survived and thrived.

kingship and culture.¹⁵⁸ Hence, it may be more worthwhile to think of Greek culture during the Hellenistic period as more of a global ‘language’ of interaction. This idea has become prominent in recent years and has influenced much of the discourse on inter-cultural interactions. Vlassopoulos sees globalisation as the ‘intensification of economic, social, political and cultural processes that tend to expand on the scale from local to global’, which eventually leads to a situation in which ‘individuals and communities come to participate in a world of shared symbols and meanings, as expressed, for example, in literature, intellectual exploration and religion; use shared forms of material culture; employ shared means of communication; and even partake of shared forms of identity.’ This cross-cultural participation and sharing of symbols and meanings can then result in the formation of a *koine*, either through the adoption of a previously existing cultural system or by the creation of a novel cultural system which incorporates elements from varied origins.¹⁵⁹

Vlassopoulos’ interpretation of globalisation owes much to the work of scholars who have been shaped by the unprecedented level of globalisation across the modern world. Such thinking has also benefited from a greater sensitivity to foreign cultures and from viewing others through a post-colonial lens.¹⁶⁰ Where yesterday’s views of the Roman empire might have been interpreted through the lens of nineteenth and twentieth century imperialism, contemporary views are now formed through a better understanding of the complexities of globalisation. Scholars now see that ancient peoples shared a common Roman culture due to migration and the expansion of networks, rather than by merely mirroring what was found in Rome.¹⁶¹

The idea of globalisation provides a framework for exploring how and why people from north-west Africa to Bactria expressed Greek cultural characteristics in both public and private contexts.¹⁶² Greek culture had long influenced the peoples of

¹⁵⁸ Vlassopoulos, 2013: 310.

¹⁵⁹ Vlassopoulos, 2013: 19-20.

¹⁶⁰ Hopkins, 2002. See Bose, 2006 for a comparative perspective on the Indian Ocean. Parker, 2010 addresses connections during the early modern period. Wolf, 1982 and Bayly, 2004 explore the modern era. Globalisation and Roman culture has also been the focus of interest over the past decade, for a very clear overview see Hitchner, 2008.

¹⁶¹ Erskine, 2010: 61ff; Witcher, 2000; Hingley, 2005; Gegarthy, 2007; Hitchner, 2008.

¹⁶² Vlassopoulos, 2013: 21 defines the related concept of ‘glocalisation’ as the ‘variety of ways in which local communities adopt and adapt the global *koine*’.

the Mediterranean prior to the Hellenistic period, which most likely created a foundation for the future adoption of cultural markers in areas such as Asia Minor. The global power of Greek culture truly reached its zenith after the conquests of Alexander and is illustrated most clearly by the Successor kingdoms, as well as the many smaller Hellenistic states and *poleis* that were scattered across the ancient world.¹⁶³ Globalisation also allows for the presence and impact of other cultural influences. As mentioned earlier, while the dominant cultural force of the period was Greek, non-Greek cultural markers, such as Egyptian, were felt throughout the Mediterranean and were spread through similar processes.¹⁶⁴

What does this mean for a work with a focus on the Galatians? The idea of a global language, grounded in Greek culture, is important for our understanding of how the Galatians were influenced not just by direct contact with Greek kingdoms and cities themselves, but also by the myriad of non-Greek but highly-Hellenised kingdoms that surrounded Galatia on all sides. These kingdoms, although influenced by Greek culture to different degrees, were part of the globalised culture of the Hellenistic world, in which the expression of Greek language, architecture and customs was readily visible.¹⁶⁵ Beginning with the Bithynians, the Galatians encountered the kingdoms of Asia Minor for reasons of war and peace, as enemies and allies, many times between the third and first centuries BC. Greek cultural characteristics that were displayed by the Galatians and the influences behind these displays shall be explored further in chapters 7 and 8. Globalisation and a global language of culture are useful concepts to keep in mind when investigating such depictions, especially when evidence for the Galatian elite and its desire to be incorporated into the power structures of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds is focused on in later chapters.

¹⁶³ Vlassopoulos, 2013: chapters 2 and 7.

¹⁶⁴ Vlassopoulos, 2013: 302-309. Egyptian cultural influence is illustrated by the circulation of portable objects such as scarabs and statuettes made from materials like faience and alabaster, see Hölbl, 1979 & 1986. A comparable situation is evidence for Carthaginian influence in Rome, Erskine, 2013.

¹⁶⁵ Vlassopoulos, 2013: 310. For example, the *poleis* system in Cappadocia, a region which had no equivalent urban community prior to the Hellenistic period, Robert, 1963: 457-523. Also, the *gymnasia* in Bithynia and the adoption of Greek sporting culture, Vlassopoulos, 2013: 291-292.

2.4: Hellenisation in the Galatian Context

In light of these much-discussed issues and with a desire to avoid discarding a controversial, but potentially useful concept, this work suggests a specific use for Hellenisation. Such a definition must be suited to the unique context of the Galatians and not seek to create a canonical definition applicable in diverse settings.

The key aspects of what might be best termed Hellenisation in the context of Galatia are as follows:

1. The active and/or passive adoption, and expression of, Greek cultural characteristics by non-Greek peoples - e.g. language, customs, architecture, material culture etc.
2. The expression of these cultural characteristics in a way that matches Greek practices, i.e. taking care to identify cases where these expressions are used to express purely local ideas.
3. The appreciation that an individual or a group may desire to appear Greek, but this may be dependent on context and environment.
4. There is no implicit assumption that people who adopt Greek customs wish to *become* Greek.
5. Greek culture can be spread by peoples who are not traditionally considered Greek and who have themselves been Hellenised.

Expressions of Greek culture among the Galatian kings and aristocracy are central to this work. The reasons behind, and consequences of, such expressions, as well as what they can say about the Galatians on a more general level, are important for forming an understanding of their place in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. It may appear surprising that a people so often characterised as barbarians were great proponents of Greek culture, which can be partly attributed to the active engagement of Galatian individuals such as the second century BC chieftain Ortiagon (chapter 7) and the first century BC kings Deiotarus and Brogitarus (chapter 8). While the term Hellenisation is useful in a Galatian context, because more evidence survives for expressions of Greek culture than any other (an investigation of which forms the bulk

of two chapters), it is not suitable for studying how the Galatians portrayed Galatian cultural markers, nor does it always help scholars to understand how identities were constructed through individual interaction. Research into identity and the related concept of ethnicity has done much to spur on the formulation of new theoretical approaches to understanding cultural exchange and interaction in the ancient world.

2.5: Identity

Identity, like Hellenisation, is a complex idea, but can at times be more useful for exploring the many shades of cultural expression exhibited by the Galatian elite. Identity can be defined as ‘the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their relations with other individuals and collectivities’.¹⁶⁶ Such a definition is nice and succinct, but the realities of defining such a complex idea go beyond tidy interpretations. Scholars have approached identity in a variety of often contradictory ways and the concept has often been articulated in a vague and contradictory manner.¹⁶⁷ Hellenistic Asia Minor was ethnically and culturally diverse, and the Galatians were but relative newcomers to a land occupied by a rich tapestry of peoples. It is impossible therefore to avoid discussing identity in a region where so many cultures overlapped and so many peoples vied for dominance. As discussed above, Hellenisation is a useful term for exploring the spread of Greek culture during the Hellenistic period. However, the Galatians also came under the influence of Roman culture, most notably during the first century BC, and evidence for Galatian cultural expression also survives.

Identity works hand in hand with this, as the concept enables scholars to study how individuals and groups were affected by the processes of cultural change that occurred during the Hellenistic period. Identity also allows a freer manipulation of meaning, does not naturally prioritise the Greek influence and, as Mairs points out, the term has become ‘a more usual trope in discussions of interaction between different ethnic or cultural groups in the ancient world’.¹⁶⁸ Centrally, an individual or group can

¹⁶⁶ Jenkins, 2008: 18.

¹⁶⁷ Skinner, 2012: 19.

¹⁶⁸ Mairs, 2013.

have and display more than one identity at the same time. For example, a person from Glasgow might consider themselves to be Glaswegian, Scottish, British or European, depending on the context. Moreover, this thesis will illustrate how certain Galatian individuals did indeed express Greek, Roman and Galatian cultural identifiers simultaneously, or often combinations of these in different contexts.

Identity therefore can be relative. The most important aspect of identity, and the most salient for this topic, is that identity is not static but fluid and contextually dependent.¹⁶⁹ Greek identity for example is now generally described as a complex system of constructions which include multivocalities and ambiguities. This of course makes it difficult to define identity, but to better grasp the concept it is perhaps worth thinking about how it has been used by people in the past. Within classical scholarship, debate has focused on whether the creation of Greek identity was part of a gradual or ongoing trend, or was due to an abrupt realignment of concepts due to a specific historical event.¹⁷⁰

Ethnicity was also a topic much explored during the ancient era. The Greeks had a long-running interest in the alien and the foreign since at least the archaic period, and authors such as Herodotus, Demosthenes and Isocrates (although they might not have thought in terms of ethnic identity as scholars do today) are famous for asking the question ‘who is Greek?’¹⁷¹ Herodotus was especially preoccupied with ethnicity and many scholars have attempted to figure out why.¹⁷² It has been argued that it was in part attributed to the context of the Persian wars and the binary opposition these conflicts helped affect, although this binary structure has been questioned in more recent research.¹⁷³ He was also a native of Halicarnassus, a city of mixed Dorian, Carian and Ionian culture, and this might have made him more sensitive to politically

¹⁶⁹ Boozer, 2013.

¹⁷⁰ Skinner, 2012: 20-25.

¹⁷¹ Skinner, 2012: 4. See 151-199 for a discussion on how the Greeks were engaging with questions of cultural difference before the fifth century BC.

¹⁷² Thomas, 2000; Herring, 2009: 126-128; Anson, 2009.

¹⁷³ This binary construction is explored further in Part Three. Skinner, 2012: 239-253 examines this issue.

motivated ethnic claims and the inadequacies of blanket assumptions about Greek identity.¹⁷⁴

Perhaps the most notable ancient debate on ethnicity occurred during the fourth century BC expansion of Macedonia under Philip II. Philip's actions on the Greek mainland brought him into conflict with Athens, and a famous episode from this period comes in the form of a broad and extended debate over the dangers and advantages of an alliance with the Macedonian king. The most prominent characters of this wrangling were the orator Demosthenes and the rhetorician Isocrates. Their writings show how even within a city which had a firm Greek identity, arguments over who was to be accepted as Greek and what the boundaries of 'Greekness' were, could flourish. Demosthenes criticised Philip in the harshest terms for being a barbarian, describing him as 'neither a Greek nor a remote relative of the Greeks, nor even a respectable barbarian, but one of those cursed Macedonians from an area which in former times you could not even buy a decent slave'.¹⁷⁵ This was in contrast to Isocrates who defended Philip's lineage through his descent from Heracles and his claimed Argive origins.¹⁷⁶ These examples reveal that figures in the ancient world were actively engaging with the socially constructed boundaries between peoples and questioning how and why these formed, as well as most centrally, who is 'us' and who is 'them'.

Ethnic identity and more modern understandings of the concept is a highly complex and controversial idea, with a difficult history. Modern conceptualisations of ethnicity have also changed dramatically over the last century.¹⁷⁷ Before World War Two, ethnicity was discussed in terms of race, physical appearance and collective mentality.¹⁷⁸ Nazi Germany also adopted this idea as a tool for racist supremacism.¹⁷⁹ It was the work of Barth, however, which was responsible for constructing a highly influential understanding of ethnicity. He focused on the role of ethnic boundaries and how people delineate between in-groups and out-groups, and the cultural foundations

¹⁷⁴ Thomas, 2001: 227-228; see also Konstan, 2001 for more on the binary opposition in Herodotus, as well as the issue of ἔθνος in ancient Greece.

¹⁷⁵ Dem. 3.16; 3.24; 9.31; J.M. Hall, 2001: 159.

¹⁷⁶ Isocrates, *Philippus*, 32-34 and 76-77. J.M. Hall, 2001: 159.

¹⁷⁷ Siapkas, 2014: 75.

¹⁷⁸ Isaac, 2013.

¹⁷⁹ Bentley, 1987: 25.

for these boundaries. Barth's own work was influenced by Moerman's argument that analytically useful units could not be inferred from observed distributions of cultural traits.¹⁸⁰ Barth argued that boundaries between groups can be delineated in cases when there is little externally observable difference between the languages, cultures, and societies of the groups concerned, and that many different forms of behaviour and culture can be given ethnic weight.¹⁸¹

More recently, ethnicity in the ancient world has again been at the forefront of research and despite the interest from scholars, conflicting ideas persist - especially regarding the processes underpinning the formation and maintenance of ethnic groups and boundaries. Vlassopoulos, who had previously explored ways in which scholars could get beyond hegemonic discourses, for example wants to rethink the distinction between ethnicity and nationality as he believes that a distinction should not be modelled between the modern concept of nationality and the ancient phenomenon of ethnicity. He argues that the formation of identities is rather usually tied to the role of organised communities and the complex processes in which this takes place.¹⁸² He also makes a distinction between 'collective' and 'communal' identities as a way of distinguishing identities which do, and do not, correspond to an organised bounded group. Jonathan Hall on the other hand believes that Vlassopoulos' model - in which ancient Greek collectives can be located on a spectrum which classifies identities according to whether they are individual, collective or communal - is a modern presupposition.¹⁸³ Jonathan Hall has also criticised Vlassopoulos' community-based model, claiming that it is not substantiated in his work.

Ethnicity, and the general understanding of the concept, has also been challenged by Johannes Siapkis, who has argued that the drive for analytical precision when discussing matters of identity reduces ethnic identities to essentialised abstractions. Moreover, Siapkis, who examined the different approaches of the primordialist and instrumentalist positions, also claimed that because terms such as 'nation', 'race' and 'Greek' meant different things to different people at different

¹⁸⁰ Moerman, 1965 and 1968.

¹⁸¹ Barth, 1969; Mairs, 2014: 9. Jones, 1997 looks at identity and ethnicity in archaeology.

¹⁸² Vlassopoulos, 2015: 12-13.

¹⁸³ J.M. Hall, 2015: 18.

times, ethnicity is an elusive phenomenon and that any strict definitions become easily invalidated.¹⁸⁴ On the other hand, he points out that definitions that are comparatively applicable to a variety of situations tend to become tautological statements which makes their analytical value marginal. How then can scholars balance the need for analytical precision with the complexities of identity?

Skinner argues that Classicists and historians can no longer conceptualise identities as essentialised or bounded entities as they are fluid and ever changing.¹⁸⁵ For Skinner discourses of identity and difference are in fact constitutive of identity and literary-led approaches can only provide a partial idea of how identities were constructed. Therefore, rigid definitions of ethnicity, such as the influential definition formulated by Jones, will be avoided.¹⁸⁶ Instead, it is important to adopt a more synthetic approach, encompass diverse media and genres, stress interconnectedness and imagine scenarios in which materials and ideas would have been experienced and employed.¹⁸⁷ This thesis will avoid viewing identity as a simple juxtaposition of one group and another, but will seek to question how interactions between groups enabled a shared construction of identity.

One useful approach to understanding how peoples constructed their identity is the idea of the middle ground. The middle ground is a concept formulated by Richard White who studied the interactions between the British, French and native peoples in the Great Lakes region of North America between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. White sees the middle ground as both a geographic region and a process where mixture created new systems of meaning and exchange. He perceives it as the place in-between cultures, peoples, and in-between empires and the nonstate world of villages.¹⁸⁸ White showed how people in North America formulated their own

¹⁸⁴ Siapkas, 2003: 14-15; Siapkas, 2014 for more on the primordialist and instrumentalist approaches..

¹⁸⁵ Skinner, 2012: 25.

¹⁸⁶ Jones, 1997: xiii. Jones' attempt to formulate a theory of ethnicity in archaeology based on differentiation was criticised by Siapkas, 2003: 33-39 who argued against her universally applicable model for ethnicity because it only focuses on certain elements to the exclusion of others and in fact de-contextualises certain elements.

¹⁸⁷ Skinner, 2012: 17-18.

¹⁸⁸ White, 1991: xxvi.

identities on the middle ground, and that these were joint creations, which were formed through exchange.

The concept of the middle ground developed by White has more recently been applied to the Roman world by Greg Woolf. Woolf showed how the Frisian Cruptorix, a veteran of the Roman army, managed to pass back and forward between societies and became to some extent bilingual and bi-cultural. Cruptorix appears to have been able to operate in worlds that seemed alien to each other and Woolf believes that the texts that survive are likely products of the middle ground.¹⁸⁹ Woolf is interested in the conversations that took place in army camps and trading bases, in indigenous settlements and mining communities, via interpreters on the frontier and envoys in the capital - which he dubs 'barbarian tales'. These 'tales' served in part to connect and coordinate world views and it was within these interactions that meaning was constructed.¹⁹⁰

Although most of the individuals discussed in this thesis were members of the elite, and thus only represent one stratum of society, the places where they intermingled, not only in courts and military camps, but in private residences and marketplaces, show that there were situations in which Greeks, Romans and Galatians could interact directly. It was in such contexts that Galatians could influence how they were recorded for posterity by partaking in a joint construction of identity. It does appear that the most complex and nuanced pictures of the Galatians were formed on the middle ground. The middle ground also allows some freedom and agency to both sides, an important aspect for this work.¹⁹¹ Many scholars have treated the Galatians as curiosities in a world they helped create, but this does not, however, mean that we should try to give voices to, and speak for, the Galatians.¹⁹² Their world was created in the midst of great and far reaching changes - migrations, centralisation, the coming of Rome - and the middle ground is a concept that will be revisited throughout this thesis, particularly in order to give meaning to situations in which individuals interacted.

¹⁸⁹ Woolf, 2009.

¹⁹⁰ Woolf, 2011: 19.

¹⁹¹ Woolf, 2009: 209.

¹⁹² Woolf, 2011: 2.

As identities are fluid and people can have and express multiple identities simultaneously, this work must be sensitive when examining Galatian expressions of Greek, Roman and Galatian cultural characteristics. We must ask how and why such characteristics were expressed, as well as avoid applying pre-existing biases. Ethnic identity is particularly useful in the case of the Galatians as some individuals exhibited varied cultural markers that were heavily influenced by their contexts and environments. It is also salient as most of what is known about these individuals survives in Greek and Roman texts and is therefore coloured by the perceptions and biases of authors who were primed to be receptive to some cultural expressions, to the detriment or exclusion of others.

2.6: Conclusions

Concepts such as Hellenisation and ethnic identity are controversial, but they can be useful when defined in relation to their contexts and when they help form new approaches to, and ways of thinking about, cultural interaction, which is why they are still widely employed in scholarship to this day. Moreover, as one of the aims of this work is to better understand how and why so much evidence for Greek cultural expression among the members of the Galatian elite survives, as well as what this can say about the Galatians more generally, appropriate terminology is clearly required.

While it is necessary to attempt to come to grips with the processes at work behind cultural interactions, it is also important to think about how we frame these interactions and present them in scholarship. Moyer, in his work on Hellenistic Egypt, argues that it is necessary to avoid (re-colonising) Egypt and that scholars must be cautious when interpreting cultural and intellectual interactions between Greeks and Egyptians.¹⁹³ Centrally, that we must be careful not to write Egyptians into a subordinate, colonised role. Moyer seeks to reconstruct what Egyptian priests said and did in a series of encounters with Greek culture, plus what actions and representations of the Egyptian priests contributed to the exchanges.

¹⁹³ Moyer, 2011: 34.

Even though much of Galatian history is contained within the sources of the Greeks and Romans, Moyer shows that it is possible to see these contributions through both Greek interests, as well as through the ideas and institutions recoverable from non-Greek interests, in his case, the archive of Egyptian texts and representations.¹⁹⁴ It is important to ask what the Galatians contributed to their exchanges with the Greeks and Romans, and while sources from the Galatian side of the exchange are scarcer than for the Egyptians, there are examples that do survive. Just as with Moyer's Egyptians, whose voices were not the pure, authentic, stable voices of Egyptian culture, the Galatians can be viewed as voices in action in particular historical circumstances, especially when representing themselves and their traditions.¹⁹⁵

The Galatians present a unique problem for scholars. Upon settling in central Asia Minor, they immediately encountered a myriad of diverse cultures and it is no surprise that these interactions influenced Galatian self-presentation. It was Greek (and to a lesser extent Roman) culture that had the greatest impact on Galatian expressions of identity. It appears that these individuals had multi-layered identities and evidence for Galatian culture reveals that such expressions were often contextually and environmentally dependent. This was illustrated most clearly by how someone presented themselves internationally as opposed to domestically.

¹⁹⁴ Moyer, 2011: 34

¹⁹⁵ Moyer, 2011: 275.

PART TWO
DECONSTRUCTING THE BARBARIAN GALATIAN

Introduction to Part Two

Perceptions change. There is no question, for example, that Roman perceptions and representations of the Greeks evolved over the centuries, and vice versa. These changes were the result of a variety of causes: war, peace, trade, travel, to name but a few. Perceptions rarely remain static for long and this makes it tricky to understand how the ancients viewed others. Although an evolution does occur, snapshots of prevailing sentiments can be captured in the ancient texts. Historical perceptions preserved within texts can also greatly influence contemporary ideas; it is not uncommon for people to look to the past to assess how to approach the future, a key feature of the modern political landscape. This is not solely a modern invention; the same was done in ancient times. Ancient authors looked to the past to interpret their own contemporary affairs and many ancient works are based on even older texts (many lost to us today). By consulting older sources, the ancient authors enabled historic perceptions to live on and, therefore, to continue to influence. This helped mould perceptions throughout the centuries and adds layers of complexity to any presentation in the ancient sources. All too often, however, the ancients, in relying on older source material, inadvertently, or sometimes purposefully, incorporated stereotypical and biased material into their own writings. This in turn affects modern understandings as scholars often take what the ancients said at face value and fail to appreciate this underlying influence. The Galatians provide an excellent example of this issue as both ancient writers and modern scholars have often relied heavily on biased and theatrical representations and have failed to appreciate the reasons behind these depictions.

The perception that the Galatians were barbarians permeates ancient writings which, as shall be explored further in Part Three of this work, does not do justice to the complex and nuanced place they occupied in the minds the ancients. This perception has also had a major influence on modern scholarship and it is only in recent decades that scholars have begun to chip away at this widespread image and explore the world of the Galatians without being completely blinded by stereotypes. To understand the complex place of the Galatians in antiquity, it is first necessary to deconstruct the prominent ancient view that they were barbarians and ask what did it

mean to be a 'barbarian' and why did it become such a widely-applied portrayal? Although this designation was present throughout antiquity, when we focus on the barbarian image in the ancient sources, the bulk of this evidence appears to come from epigraphic and sculptural material from the third century BC and textual sources from the first century BC onwards. Identifying the precise mechanisms behind such an image is difficult as, like for all ancient peoples, it evolved throughout the centuries in response to new contexts, cultures and media. The sources do, however, provide clues as to why the ancients broadcast a barbarian image at certain points while at other times they adopted a less stereotypical view.

At its core, this thesis will show that increased cultural connectivity between the Galatians and other ancient peoples, and an increase in contemporary inter-group contact, enabled a move away from the more stereotypical depictions of the Galatians in the primary sources. On the other hand, little cultural similarity, little contact, and asynchrony between the sources and their subjects, was the perfect recipe for biased and stereotypical depictions. This issue is highlighted by the Greek and Roman use of 'barbarian' to describe and portray the Galatians. The barbarian had been a familiar concept to the Greeks for centuries and has more recently been a contested issue within classical research. The Galatians entered the Greek world at a time when the image of the barbarian Persian was at its ebb; partly as a result of Alexander's overthrow of the Persian Empire little over a half a century earlier. These new arrivals not only entered this vacuum but were also incorporated into the established barbarian framework. How presentations of the Galatians were moulded by this barbarian image as well as how such portrayals evolved throughout the centuries will be explored in the following chapters.

As the concept of the barbarian is central to our understanding of Greek and Roman perceptions of the Galatians, Part Two will begin by providing a background to the idea of the barbarian in Greek thought. The next three chapters will then focus on three different types of sources: inscriptional, sculptural and textual, each of which played an important and distinct role in the promulgation and development of this stereotype. Epigraphic material from the Aegean and western Asia Minor reveals how Greek cities, driven by fear and influence from the greater Greek world, responded to the Galatians during the third century BC by almost immediately presenting them as

barbaric. Sculpture from Hellenistic Pergamum and their Roman copies reveals how from an early date the Galatian image was manipulated to gain prestige, especially by the Attalids. This was partly achieved by associating the Galatians with the Persians within the framework of the barbarian. The copying of these statues during the time of the early Roman Empire also shows how older Greek perceptions could be imported into a Roman context. The third, and largest chapter, concerns textual sources. The most theatrical, stereotypical and often monstrous depictions of the Galatians can be found in the works of the Greek and Roman authors from the first century BC onwards. Most of these authors flourished during a time when the Galatians were not independent peoples and the authors had little or no first-hand experience of, or interactions with, the people whom they wrote about. Roman beliefs regarding the Galatians were also significantly influenced by Greek thinking as well as a lack of a distinction between the Celts and the Galatians, meaning that perceptions of other Celtic peoples were incorrectly applied to the Galatians.

The Galatians were identified as ‘βάρβαροι’ almost immediately after their arrival into the Greek sphere. This became a defining descriptor in ancient Greek and Roman sources and such language can be found throughout antiquity. The term barbarian, however, had a much longer history in Greek thought and its meaning did not stay static throughout the centuries. Before beginning our discussion of the inscriptions, sculptures and texts, it is first necessary to tackle what a barbarian was to the Greeks and the connotations of such a word. Only then can we grasp how such thinking affected perceptions of the Galatians.

‘Βάρβαρος’ is a widely researched and controversial ancient Greek word and concept. The meaning of βάρβαρος did not remain stable throughout the centuries but was fluid from its earliest mentions in Homer right through to Byzantium.¹⁹⁶ To understand Greek perceptions of the ‘other’ before the Persian wars, it is natural to begin with the Homeric epics - The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. These are the earliest extant pieces of literature in Greek, as well as the Greek national epic.¹⁹⁷ Homer is generally

¹⁹⁶ Browning, 2002: 257- 277 charts this evolution from Antiquity to the Renaissance.

¹⁹⁷ Silk, 2004: 3. The concept of the ‘other’ has proven to be a useful way for modern scholarship to frame Greek interactions with other cultures. Gruen 2012: 2 states that negative images, misrepresentations and stereotypes enabled the ancient Greeks to invent the other and this concept justified the marginalisation, subordination and

free of explicit prejudice against foreign peoples in his works.¹⁹⁸ His understanding of the relationship between peoples appears to be partly based on language, specifically the ability to speak Greek.¹⁹⁹ He uses the compound adjective ‘βαρβαρόφωνος’ to describe the speech of the Carians.²⁰⁰ While this appears only once, some have argued that it is the closest Homer comes to employing the word βάρβαρος in his poetry.²⁰¹ It appears that the term barbarian (if it can be seen to have its roots in Homer) did not originally have the negative connotations that it later came to be associated with. Foreigners were people who do not share the Greek tongue. The Trojans and their allies constitute this group in the *Iliad*. The Trojans are generally portrayed as slightly inferior to Greeks but despite this they are not represented in an oppressively negative way.²⁰²

The period of colonisation, between the eighth and sixth centuries BC, was when the Greeks truly began to encounter foreign peoples to a great extent.²⁰³ Unsurprisingly, just as with eighteenth and nineteenth century colonialism, the Greeks were encouraged to feel superior to the other peoples of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea whom they encountered.²⁰⁴ Greek societies tended to have a strong military component and war was regarded as the natural result of human acquisitiveness.²⁰⁵ It appears that might was right and military strength meant superiority. The indigenous peoples whom the colonists contended with were generally unable to withstand Greek military strength.²⁰⁶ This only further bolstered Greek ideas of superiority and a

exclusion of other ethnic groups. The idea gained traction with Hartog, 1988. See also, Browning, 2002 and Nippel, 2002. E. Hall, 1989 applied the concept to Greek tragedy and J.M. Hall, 2002 argued that the Persian Wars helped to mould Hellenic identity in contrast with the barbarian. More recently Gruen, 2012 has claimed that the idea of the ‘other’ is complex and that the Greeks and Romans held far more nuanced opinions of other peoples than a simple dichotomy between Greek and others.

¹⁹⁸ Cartledge, 2002: 53; Skinner, 2012: 53-56 provides a useful overview of research on the place of others in Homer’s works.

¹⁹⁹ Anson, 2009: 6.

²⁰⁰ Hom. *Il.* 2.867;

²⁰¹ E. Hall, 1989: 9.

²⁰² E. Hall, 1989: 22-24; Coleman, 1997: 187; Mackie, 1996: 16; Erskine, 2001: 6-9; Osborne, 2009: 145 tackle the representation of the Trojans..

²⁰³ Harrison, 2002: 2-3; Osborne, 2009: 114-118; Graham, 1971: 35.

²⁰⁴ Coleman, 1997: 187.

²⁰⁵ Hanson, 2009: 227.

²⁰⁶ Cunliffe, 1988: 10.

contempt for chiefdoms, institutions for which the Greeks had little respect.²⁰⁷ Despite this, Greeks and non-Greeks could also form close friendships.²⁰⁸

Nineteenth and twentieth century Europeans generally took it for granted that the Greeks were ingenious and exemplary, in stark contrast to their antipodal enemies, the Persians, who were presented as slavish and effeminate. This developed into an east versus west dichotomy and became a very influential model.²⁰⁹ It was over the past several decades that this view was seriously questioned. The use of Barbarian as a negative descriptor was thought to have been a result of the Persian Wars. Much of this early work was carried out by Edith Hall in her book *Inventing the Barbarian*. Hall claimed that the Greeks invented the concept of the barbarian during the turbulent history of the Persian Wars, but this is not as clear-cut as claimed and scholarship has turned away from this idea, instead seeing it as a process that began long before, and continued long after, the wars.²¹⁰ Coleman argues that Greek views of non-Greeks 'became overwhelmingly negative after the Persian wars'.²¹¹ However, if this overwhelming shift did indeed occur, it should be possible to detect it in written sources from the fifth and fourth centuries BC. One would assume that earlier ambiguous views of the barbarian would have become hardened and overtly and consistently negative. This did not happen and the sources show that Greek presentations did not alter as drastically as previously believed.²¹² The wars were not the turning point as some have suggested, but rather part of a much more complex

²⁰⁷ Coleman, 1997: 187.

²⁰⁸ Cunliffe, 1988: 17; e.g. Herod. 1.163 relates how the Phocaeans won the friendship of Arganthonius, king of the Tartessians.

²⁰⁹ Wiesehöfer, 2009: 162.

²¹⁰ E. Hall, 1989; Harrison, 2002: 4-8; Skinner, 2012: 4.

²¹¹ Coleman, 1997: 189.

²¹² Gruen, 2011: 10, argues that Aeschylus' tragedy *The Persians*, once seen as the archetypical expression of Hellenic superiority over the barbarian, can also offer a precisely inverted analysis in which Aeschylus expresses sympathy for the Persian plight. Aesch. Pers: 36; Griffin, 2004: 90; Gruen, 2011: 17, reveal that the Greeks could win through deceit. Isaac, 2004: 259; Rhodes, 2005: 36 states that the idea that Herodotus wished to depict the Persians as slavish, effeminate and cruel barbarians, who wanted nothing more than to enslave the Greeks, is not a fair representation of his work and in fact Herodotus sometimes portrayed the Persians in a positive light and even reported a shared lineage between the Greeks and Persians, Herod. 7.61.3; see Morford & Lenardon, 2009: 548 for more on this. Miller, 1997 explores the cultural connections between Athens and Persia.

process that saw Greek views of the other develop over the next two centuries. It is in the work of later writers where we witness a stronger anti-Persian and anti-barbarian sentiment and a desire to illuminate the delineations between the Greeks and foreign peoples.²¹³ The fourth-century Athenian orator Isocrates made great use of the Persian Wars in his speeches and touted the idea of war against Persia as the solution to Greek self-antagonism.²¹⁴

The term βάρβαρος was used widely during Hellenistic period, and it is during this time that the Galatians became recognised as barbarians in some sources, and often identified with the Persians.²¹⁵ This had an important influence on many Hellenistic authors. Polybius for example presented a division between Greeks and others, but one defined by complexity and nuances.²¹⁶ In fact, many Greeks in Polybius's day considered the Romans to be barbarians, something that seems strange to modern readers who now view the Romans as one of the pillars of Western civilisation.²¹⁷ The use of βάρβαρος can also be seen in contemporary papyri from the Hellenistic period. A famous papyrus from Egypt reveals how a non-Greek perceived himself to have been treated unfairly by Greeks because he was a 'barbarian'. Not only does this reveal a perceived division between Greeks and non-Greeks but it may also show a non-Greek defining himself as a barbarian, as something separate to Greeks.²¹⁸ Alternatively, the episode could be viewed as a member of a non-dominant group acting and perhaps seeing himself according to the perspective of the dominant

²¹³ Examples from the fourth century include Gorg. *Testimonia*. 1; Lys, *Or.* 33 and *Epitaphios* 21, 43, 47; Pl. *Rep.* 470c-d; Rhodes, 2005: 40; Isaac, 2004: 283; Said, 2001: 279.

²¹⁴ Isocrates, *Pan.* 150f; Flower, 2000: 81.

²¹⁵ See Champion, 2004: 35-46 for the characteristics of different groups during the Hellenistic period.

²¹⁶ Champion, 2004: 30-66 discusses the background to the term and how it affected Polybius' writings. Champion 2004: 245-253 (Appendix B) lists all uses of βάρβαρος and its cognates in Polybius.

²¹⁷ Erskine, 2000: 165-182; Champion, 2004: 2; Gruen, 2011: 3.

²¹⁸ *P.Col.* 66; *BD*, 137; Austin, 307. It could also reflect the perspective of a scribe.

group.²¹⁹ It is into this context that the Galatians entered during the third century BC.²²⁰ The use of the barbarian image continued throughout antiquity. For example, later authors such as Strabo (citing Eratosthenes), who flourished during the late first century BC/early first century AD wrote of Greeks and barbarians.²²¹ Arrian, who wrote during the second century AD (although writing about Alexander's much earlier campaigns), saw the barbarian Thracians, Paeonians, Illyrians and Agrianians as robust and warlike and the Persians as indolent and soft and a nation of slaves.²²²

It is important, however, to avoid presenting a binary opposition between Greeks and barbarians and recent scholarship has moved beyond conceptualising this as a binary situation.²²³ This rationale has earlier roots in the work of Arnaldo Momigliano and Edward Said. Momigliano's research during the 1970s helped to spark more thinking on the matter through his claims that cultural exchanges in the ancient world were more complex and less one-dimensional than previously believed. His *Alien Wisdom* examined evidence for intricate interactions between Greek intellectual thought and the Jews, Romans, Celts and Persians.²²⁴ Said, on the other hand, approached the matter from a literary, theoretical perspective and criticised European colonial models of interaction with non-Europeans and the perceptions that were generated by this approach.²²⁵ More recently, Gruen's *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* questioned the theoretical emphasis on the other, and provided a discussion on the complexities of cultural interactions between the Greeks and Romans and those

²¹⁹ See also, Moyer, 2011: 269 for the example of Chaeremon whose presentation of himself as a stoic sage and his portrait of Egyptian priests as contemplative philosophers indicates the extent of Greek cultural hegemony in the Roman empire during the mid-first century AD.

²²⁰ Scholarship is now interested in not just examining the polarity between peoples, but also the connections and exchanges. While a polarity between Greeks and Persians had very clearly developed, there is much evidence for a deep exchange of ideas and culture, see chapter 2 for more.

²²¹ Strabo, 1.4.9; Isaac, 2004: 299-300

²²² Arr, *Anab.* 2.74 for slaves and 2.75 for barbarians, 'βαρβάρων τε αὖ Θραῖκας καὶ Παίονας καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Ἀγριαῖνας τοὺς εὐρωστοτάτους τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ μαχιμωτάτους πρὸς τὰ ἀπονώτατά τε καὶ μαλακώτατα τῆς Ἀσίας γένη ἀντιτάξεσθαι'.

²²³ Skinner, 2012: 44-45 notes that the concept of alterity was imported from the anthropological sciences.

²²⁴ Momigliano, 1975; Gruen, 2011.

²²⁵ Said, 1978.

often described as barbarians such as the Persians, Carthaginians, Egyptians, Celts, Germans and Jews. Siapkak's work, while it diverges from other research in many respects, also argued that it is important to attempt to practice scholarship that respects the 'other'.²²⁶

Much work now shows how culturally connected the Greeks were to many of these 'barbarian' cultures, and reveals how cultural exchange in the ancient world was a two-way process.²²⁷ This has been taken up by many contemporary scholars, Skinner, for example, has questioned the polarity between Greeks and barbarians and rejects the emphasis placed on this binary construction in modern scholarship.²²⁸ Vlassopoulos has also shown how cultural interactions between Greeks and others took place on many levels. His work problematises any simple dividing line between the Greeks and others and employs modern theories of political and cultural interaction to do this. The concepts of glocalisation and globalisation are central to his argument and he maintains that Greek culture, through Hellenisation, managed to achieve a globalising influence while other cultures worked on a smaller scale through the glocalisation of Greek models.²²⁹

Greek culture did not exist in a vacuum and therefore non-Greeks and those often described as barbarians were part of a complex relationship, part of the same processes that were occurring in the ancient world, and did not merely sit at the other end of the spectrum. Galatians were identified as barbarians in many texts and inscriptions throughout the centuries, and therefore they were framed within a concept with a long and complex history. Only through an understanding of this can we come to terms with the evolution of attitudes towards the Galatians over the centuries. The term was most often used during their initial entry on to the Hellenistic world stage; they were a people who were little known by the Greeks and came as the bearers of death and destruction and therefore, fitted the barbarian model very well. The Greek

²²⁶ Siapkak, 2003: 19-21, based much of his thought on the work of de Certeau, who works within the heterological tradition, an approach that shows a devotion to marginalised groups and pays attention to the ethical aspects of scholarship

²²⁷ Miller, 1997 is an excellent example of this.

²²⁸ Skinner, 2012: 8, 44-49.

²²⁹ More on this in chapter 2; Vlassopoulos, 2013.

and barbarian paradigm was only one aspect of the relationship between the Greeks, Romans and Galatians, but it was a hugely significant aspect.²³⁰

Stereotypes, such as the ‘barbarian’, were useful to the historians, politicians and poets of the ancient world. They enabled ancient writers to apply relevance to important historical events and to cast these events in a different light. Moreover, they offered to the ancients imagined spaces in which to examine a whole host of issues. Philosophers were able to construct ideas set in the future, the fringes of the world, or in utopias. Poets and historians could use the barbarian to create exotic settings and to portray the anti-types of emperors.²³¹ The barbarian was also heavily employed in drama, comedy and rhetoric. These stereotypes were, however, rarely simple. Stereotypes tend to emerge in particular contexts and to reflect the world views of those who employ them. Stereotypes are also an important feature of the middle ground. According to White, a defining feature of the middle ground was the willingness of those who created it to justify their own actions in terms of what they perceived to be the cultural premises of those they interacted with.²³² This sort of interaction could encourage the formation and promulgation of stereotypes. It is also possible that the Galatians themselves contributed and even encouraged stereotypes.

An aspect that might help scholars understand how stereotypes are subverted, especially on a personal level, is the idea of cognitive dissonance. Cognitive dissonance is a concept grounded in the psychological sciences and, simply put, describes the discomfort felt when someone holds conflicting values or beliefs.²³³ These conflicts need to be resolved and therefore, individuals are motivated to reduce this inner state. Often, the easiest way to do this is to change the attitude in line with action.²³⁴ For example, imagine a Greek encounters a foreigner whom he considers a barbarian. Now, imagine that this barbarian reveals himself to be Hellenised, erudite and eloquent. This might therefore contradict the Greek’s perception of a barbarian

²³⁰ Skinner, 2012: 21.

²³¹ Woolf, 2011: 113-114 also explains how stereotypes of the Gauls were full of contradictions, yet important to those who created them.

²³² White, 1991: 93.

²³³ Callaghan and Lazard, 2011: 79. Much of this theory is based on the work of Leon Festinger, who developed it during the mid-twentieth century, see especially Festinger, 1957.

²³⁴ Nicholas, 2009: 260.

and challenge him to shift his perception of barbarians. Alternatively, he might rely on another stereotype to rationalise his conflicting beliefs. This concept may help scholars to explore further some of the interactions with the Galatian elite and explain why certain Greeks and Romans appear to have held contradictory attitudes.

During the following chapters, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that the Greeks and Romans never responded in a conformist or monolithic way to the Galatians. Throughout these discussions, in contexts and at times when one would expect a barbarian image of the Galatians, there are often hints of a more subtle and nuanced view. Inscriptional, sculptural and textual evidence that can be interpreted differently and evidence that does not adhere to a barbarian view of the Galatians will be indicated, but will be discussed fully in Part Three.

Chapter 3: Inscribing the Barbarian

3.1: Introduction

The first contemporary responses to the Galatians in Asia Minor can be found on a series of inscriptions from the Greek cities on the western coast. Many of these inscriptions present the Galatians as dangerous and alien marauders and employ the term βάρβαρος to describe them. It may appear surprising that the Greek cities responded to the Galatians in this way so immediately. After all, there had been no real contact between the cities and the migrating peoples who had appeared so rapidly and recently in Macedonia and Greece. As discussed previously, depicting another group as barbarians brought with it a whole set of preconceived concepts and characterisations, and it does not necessarily have to be the default way to respond to the unknown. This can be partly explained by the fear that the Galatians caused in Asia Minor. Some of the inscriptions discussed below make little or no effort to conceal the terror inspired by the migrating people and this fear likely inflated stereotypical responses. This, however, is not the full story, as the barbarian image in Asia Minor appears to have also been influenced by the Greeks across the Aegean. The inscriptions reveal that the terminology used to describe the Galatians might have been imported through Delphic ambassadors. The sanctuary (and the Aetolians) had gained prestige by presenting the invasion of 279 BC as a victory against a barbarian menace and it is likely that the Greek cities of Asia Minor wished to emulate this.

Although the definition of a ‘Galatian’ in this thesis is truly only applicable upon their settlement in Asia Minor, the Greeks and Romans did not differentiate between the Galatians and the early migratory groups in the sources.²³⁵ In order to be consistent with the original definition, it is important to distinguish the invasion force under Brennus from those groups that migrated into Asia Minor and then settled in Galatia.²³⁶ All of these migratory groups are defined as ‘Γαλάται’ in the sources and

²³⁵ See chapter 2.

²³⁶ I.e. The Celts that occupied the region on both sides of the Sangarios bow and the middle Halys, as well as their descendants.

furthermore, the ancient authors saw those who entered Asia Minor as an offshoot of the larger umbrella group that attacked Greece (while sometimes being sensitive to tribal divisions, i.e the Tolistobogii, Tectosages and Trocmi etc.) and indeed they were an offshoot of this greater migratory group. The ethnic make-up of the migration in Europe is not known and it has been argued that non-Celtic, Balkan tribes may have constituted an important part of the invasion force.²³⁷ The term ‘Proto-Galatian’ will therefore be used to describe the invaders of Macedonia and Greece, while those that subsequently migrated into Asia Minor and settled there will be called ‘Galatians’. The ancient authors saw these groups as connected and therefore, this chapter will include responses to the Proto-Galatians as part of the evolution of perceptions towards the Galatians, because disregarding this would ignore the perceived continuity and actual continuity between the migrating groups.

3.2: A Background to the Migration

The spectacular invasion of Macedonia and Greece in 280-279 BC was without doubt the most famous exploit of the Celts during the Hellenistic period. The invasion not only imprinted itself on Greek history but was heralded as a new existential threat to the Greeks.²³⁸ The narrative of the invasion is mainly pieced together from the works of authors who were not contemporary with the invasion and its most famous chronicler, Pausanias, flourished much later during the second century AD. It is therefore difficult, if not futile, to attempt to gain an understanding of contemporary reactions to the Proto-Galatians from these texts. Instead, most of what we know comes in the form of inscriptions and sculptures from the third century BC and these written and visual sources are mainly found in the Greek cities along the coast of Asia Minor and at Pergamum, the capital of the Attalid kingdom.

The earliest inscriptions relating to the Galatians are from the 270s and 260s BC, the period directly after the failed invasion of Greece, and record the migration into Asia Minor. These inscriptions are central to understanding the early responses of

²³⁷ Campbell, 2009: 102-103.

²³⁸ Callimachus, *Hymn* 4: 171-184. Callimachus compared the invasion of Greece to the war between the gods and giants.

the Greeks and they come from numerous cities across the Aegean, the Ionian coast and its hinterland, as well as others scattered around western Asia Minor. Rather than having simply terrorised the region, the Galatians incited a range of responses.²³⁹ Inscriptions from Pergamum, attributed to Attalus I, from the later third century, also help to illustrate reactions decades after the migration into Asia Minor. Most of the inscriptions investigated throughout this chapter are public civic inscriptions that were erected by the cities of Asia Minor during the 270s and 260s BC and while often fragmentary, they offer a more localised and contemporary view of events.

Inscriptions become particularly important sources for this period as most of what we know about the migration in the 270s BC comes from texts written centuries later.²⁴⁰ A strong culture of public inscription was characteristic of Asia Minor and a standard pattern became common throughout the cities of the Hellenistic world.²⁴¹ The publication of decrees and letters between the Hellenistic kings and the cities, in particular the cities of Asia Minor and the Seleucids, was particularly prevalent.²⁴² This was part of the practice of *euergetism*, by which wealthy citizens and kings acted as benefactors of their cities and were honoured accordingly. Grateful cities often repaid royal *euergetism* through public displays of political loyalty, usually by erecting an inscription in a public place for the benefit of the *demos* and the benefactor.²⁴³ It is important to remember, however, that the *demos* was not a passive audience, but was actively involved in all aspects of the *polis* and was necessary for the vitality of Hellenistic democracy. The inscriptions should not be considered merely a reflection of the ruling circle but were also influenced by the larger *demos* and through it received much of their authority.²⁴⁴

²³⁹ Rankin, 1987: 189

²⁴⁰ Authors such as Pausanias, Memnon of Heraclea and Justin.

²⁴¹ Kosmetatou, 2013; McLean, 2002: 218-224.

²⁴² See Ma, 2000: 182-194 for more on inscriptions, the language of *euergetism*, and other forms of communication between the cities of Asia Minor and the Seleucid kings.

²⁴³ Gauthier, 1985 provides a classic discussion on Hellenistic *euergetism* as well as the context and history of this practice.

²⁴⁴ For more on the vitality of Hellenistic democracy and the importance of the *demos* as an influential agent in the formation of policy and the shaping of public life see Grieb, 2008. A similar situation can be seen in the cities of Hellenistic Pontus. Nawotka, 1997: 202 and Oppermann, 2004: 339, 341 assert that the cities of Pontus were less democratic and more under the sway of their ruling elites during the

Inscriptions, being contemporary sources, can be looked upon as somehow unemotional and more genuine. It is true that inscriptions can be useful for providing a snapshot of current events and for this reason they are often invaluable but, just like textual sources, they too can be partial. Firstly, public inscriptions were set up to broadcast a message to the *demos* and therefore there is always an agenda behind their erection. Some of the inscriptions from the 270s BC communicate the idea that the Galatians were a lawless and barbaric people to be feared. These depictions depended on the purpose of the inscriptions. If a city wished to gain prestige from defeating the Galatians, it made sense to present its enemies as more dangerous than the reality. Others, however, do not appear to exaggerate the Galatian threat and tend not to focus on the actions of the Galatians, but the reactions of the citizens. The purpose of the latter might not have been to gain prestige but to simply inform the citizens of an event of which the Galatians were not a central aspect. From looking at these inscriptions it is clear that the Galatians were often presented in a way that suited the Greeks, depicting them as others, as threats to Greek civilisation. However, this works both ways, as later chapters will explore how the Galatians, when fighting as allies or mercenaries, or when tied politically to the Greek world, could also fill different roles, as respectable and integrated peoples. The Galatians were what the Greeks wanted them to be at certain times and in certain contexts and as such, could occupy the space of a barbarian enemy or in contrast, a Hellenised ally. Nevertheless, an image of the barbarian Galatian does come through in some inscriptions, indicating that this was a common perception from an early time.

3.3: Raiding the Greek Cities (270s-260s BC)

The arrival of the Proto-Galatians into Asia Minor in 278/7 BC signalled a new threat for a region that was already full of squabbling kingdoms and cities, and made up of a

Hellenistic period, partly based on the frequency of honorary inscriptions compared to other types. This had been the belief for some time but Bugh, 2013: 111-128 now argues that the cities did indeed have a strong democratic base and that the frequency of honorific inscriptions did not necessarily mean an entrenchment of the elite.

patchwork of languages, cultures and political affiliations.²⁴⁵ The forebears of the Galatians found themselves on the other side of the Hellespont in a difficult situation. The main invasion force under Brennus had been crushed at Delphi a year earlier and its remnants had scattered northwards. Some of these invaders, however, had split away from Brennus' army before the attack on Delphi and had moved into Thrace. They were under the command of Leonnorius and Lutarius and split into two groups upon capturing Lysimacheia, one going east to Byzantium while the other, under Lutarius, crossed the Hellespont. Leonnorius and his people were initially prevented from crossing the Bosphorus by the *polis* of Byzantium but eventually negotiated passage with Nicomedes of Bithynia, agreeing to aid him in his war. The two groups of Galatians reunited on the Asian side of the strait and according to Memnon of Heraclea were pledged to Nicomedes as allies in his war against his rebel brother Zipoetas, who was supported by the Seleucids.²⁴⁶ This in effect made the Proto-Galatians part of the Northern league.²⁴⁷ Once this conflict was concluded in Nicomedes' favour (probably sometime around 277 BC), the Proto-Galatians embarked on their deluge of Asia Minor.²⁴⁸

The inscriptions that record the attacks and raids on the Greek cities of western Asia Minor remain the best contemporary sources for their invasion and migration during the 270s BC, concrete evidence in an otherwise veiled period of history. These can also be corroborated by later historical texts and together they reveal the path taken by these new invaders. They appear to have followed a route along the coast, attacking coastal cities in the north first and then moving south, sometimes altering their course to raid inland settlements. Although the exact dates of some of the inscriptions are difficult to ascertain, they do document attacks on Cyzicus, Ilium, Thyateira, Erythrae, Ephesus, Priene, Miletus and Didyma during the 270s BC. Cyzicus and Ilium, the northern-most of these cities and the two closest to Bithynia, were the first to be subjected to the Galatian migration in 276/5 BC. The inscription from Cyzicus is

²⁴⁵ Mitchell, 1993: 7.

²⁴⁶ Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F 1.1-3.

²⁴⁷ Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F 1 see commentary note 11.

²⁴⁸ For the date see Mitchell, 1993: 16. A more detailed account of these events can be found in Mitchell, 1993: 15-17. Strobel, 1996: 246-250 provides a very detailed reconstruction of the route taken by the Galatians during this time.

damaged, with only a third still legible, and speaks of how Philetaerus, the ruler of Pergamum, supplied aid to the city during the war against the Galatians.²⁴⁹ Ilium's inscription is a decree in honour of Antiochus I which dates to 278/7 BC or c.275 BC.²⁵⁰ The inland settlement of Thyateira was then attacked in 275 or 274 BC and evidence comes in the form of an inscription which was erected by a father in thanks for the safe return of his son Phanocritus.²⁵¹ Two inscriptions from the 270s BC were found at Erythrae and tell of how the city saw off the Galatian threat by paying a ransom and how a certain Polycritus was successful in negotiating with the Galatians and managed to reclaim local hostages.²⁵² Priene on the other hand took a very different approach. The city is responsible for one of the best known of these inscriptions, a partially preserved stele from the 270s BC, which bears an inscription honouring Sotas for his efforts against the Galatians and for keeping the city safe.²⁵³ It praises Sotas for gathering forces to fight the Galatians and for bringing its citizens from the countryside into the safety of the city. Didyma, the site of a major shrine to Apollo and one of the richest targets in Asia Minor, was attacked in 277/6 BC.²⁵⁴ An assault on the powerful city of Miletus (which controlled the shrine at Didyma) also took place but this is not known from contemporary inscriptions, rather from a series of later textual sources.²⁵⁵ The danger presented by the Galatians is illustrated by the

²⁴⁹ Cyzicus: *OGIS* 748; Launey, 1944; Bringmann and Steuben, 1995: I.1 241.

²⁵⁰ Ilium: *OGIS* 219; Austin, 162; Strabo 13.1.27. It is more difficult to find evidence for the Galatians at Ilium. The inscription, a decree in honour of the accession Antiochus I, does not specifically mention the Galatians but Coşkun asserts that the victories mentioned in the inscription allude to the Galatians, see Coşkun, 2012a: n. 14. The fact that Strabo also mentions a Galatian attack on Ilium makes this claim entirely possible, see also Strobel, 1996: 208 and 246. For a conflicting view see Ehling, 2003: 300–304. Hansen, 1971: 18 provides a background to Antiochus' involvement and support of the city. Some favour Antiochus III based on the dates, see Kosmin, 2014: 3012 n. 44.

²⁵¹ Thyateira: Keil/von Premerstein 1911: 14–15, no. 19 for August/September 274 BC; Otto 1928: 46, n. 5, for 275 BC (and Strobel, 1996: 247); *TAM* V.2 881.

²⁵² Erythrae: *I.Erythrai* 24 = *SIG*³ i. 410 and *I.Erythrai* 28. Also, Orth, 1977: 77ff. and Strobel, 1996: 248–250.

²⁵³ Priene: *I.Priene* 17 = *OGIS* II 765; *I.Priene*² 28; Burstein, 17.

²⁵⁴ Didyma: *I.Didyma* 426; Rehm 1958: 259–262 and Otto 1928: 22–23

²⁵⁵ Miletus: Aristodemus of Nysa *Historiae*, *FGrH* 22 = Parthen. *Erotika Pathemata*. 8 (= *Peri Herippes*, ed. Lightfoot, 1999: 320–325, with 412–418); See also Tomaschitz, 2002: 151, n. 614. For Milesian control of Didyma see Mitchell, 1993: 16–17.

list of cities that were either attacked or had to defend themselves. It is an impressive list and includes some of the major *poleis* of Asia Minor but it can also be assumed that the Galatians raided many villages and smaller settlements on their way south.²⁵⁶

The inscriptions from these cities have been discussed by scholars before, most notably by Mitchell and Strobel.²⁵⁷ This section will not repeat what has already been studied but instead intends to build upon it by picking out and further exploring specific aspects of the inscriptions, what they do to illustrate Greek reactions to the Galatians, the presentation of a barbarian image, and the purpose behind their erections. These inscriptions depict a complex and often stereotypical view of the Galatians and of special interest will be those that employ the term ‘βάρβαρος’.

3.4: Inscribing the Barbarian

Much can be learned about the initial responses to, and perceptions of, the Galatians by examining the language used to describe the newcomers on these contemporary inscriptions. A significant feature shared by some of these inscriptions was the use of ‘βάρβαρος’ to describe the Galatians. In using this term, the Greeks of Asia Minor were not only exhibiting their fear of what they perceived to be alien and potentially dangerous peoples, but were also adhering to a trend that prevailed across the Greek world, the portrayal of the invaders as barbarians. The earliest example of this did not in fact originate in the cities of Asia Minor, but comes from Cos, a small island off the south west coast. Cos was not directly threatened by the invasion of Greece but it appears that an attack on the Pan-Hellenic sanctuary of Delphi was a shared concern for all. It survives in the form of a public decree dated to the first half of 278 BC and communicates the details of a festival to be held on the island in celebration of the defeat of the Proto-Galatians at Delphi in 279 BC.²⁵⁸ This inscription is among the earliest contemporary texts mentioning the Proto-Galatians and they are identified as

²⁵⁶ The villages of Neoteichos and Kiddiokome were raided in 267 BC, *CAH* VII.1²; Wörrle, 1975: 59-87; *SEG* 47.1739; Burstein, 19; Austin, 168

²⁵⁷ Moraux, 1957; Wörrle, 1975: 63–64; Mitchell, 1993: 15–19; Biemann, 1994: 80–94; Strobel, 1996: 247–250; Tomaschitz, 2002: 150–152.

²⁵⁸ *Syll*³ 398; Austin, 60.

barbarians in the inscription.²⁵⁹ This identification is perhaps not surprising given the context. The Proto-Galatians were newcomers to the Hellenistic world and they were not only culturally distant (in fact it is very likely that the Greeks knew next to nothing about the Galatians, especially in far-removed Cos), but also arrived as invaders and marauders, not unlike the Persians who descended upon mainland Greece two centuries earlier.²⁶⁰

There is, however, another possible explanation for this. The inscription from Cos was erected in response to an embassy from Delphi and it appears that the term βάρβαρος and the language used to describe the Galatians were likely introduced by this embassy. The opening segment of the inscription below shows that ‘βάρβαρος’ was reported (ἀναγγέλλω), not by the Coan magistrate Diocles, but by the *theoroi*.²⁶¹

Διοκλῆς Φιλίνου εἶπε· ἐπειδὴ τῶν βαρ-
 βάρων στρατείαν ποιησαμένων ἐπὶ
 τοὺς Ἑλλανὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν
 Δελφοῖς, ἀναγγέλλεται τὸς μὲν ἐλ-
 θόντας ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τιμωρίας τετεύ-
 χεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 τῶν ἐπιβοαθησάντων τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν ταῖ
 τῶν βαρβάρων ἐφόδῳ, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν διαπε-
 φυλάχθαι τε καὶ ἐπικεκοσμηθῆσθαι τοῖς
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ὄπλοις,
 τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τῶν στρατευσάντων
 τοὺς πλείστους ἀπολώλεν ἐν τοῖς γε-
 νομένοις ἀγῶσι ποτὶ τοὺς Ἑλλανὰς
 αὐτοῖς.²⁶²

²⁵⁹ *Syll*³ 398 II.1-2: ‘ἐπειδὴ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατείαν ποιησαμένων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλανὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς’ and I,8: ‘ἀναγγέλλεται τὸς μὲν ἐλθόντας ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τιμωρίας τετεύχεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπιβοαθησάντων τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν ταῖ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐφόδῳ’

²⁶⁰ Paus. 10.19.4; Scholten 2000: 33 n. 11; Strootman, 2010: 4 n.4.

²⁶¹ See Nachtergaele, 1977: 295-296 for a focus on Cos’ festival and its offerings.

²⁶² *Syll*³ 398: 1-14 (the relevant section of the text); Austin 60: 1-14: ‘Diocles son of Philinus moved: since, after the barbarian expedition against the Greeks at the

Later in the inscription, those who made up the embassy are described as members of a *theoria*.²⁶³ The *theoroi* were sacred ambassadors from Delphi who travelled around the Greek cities to make announcements on behalf of the sanctuary. Such announcements could include the itinerary of festivals over the coming years and news that affected the Greek world. They travelled throughout mainland Greece, the Aegean Islands, Asia Minor and to many of the Greek colonies in the western Mediterranean.²⁶⁴ We know this from an inscription that lists the *theorodokoi*, or the people from the two hundred or so cities who hosted the members of these Delphic *theoroi*.²⁶⁵ The *theoroi* would have been provided with a prepared list of announcements and the ambassadors delivered the same programme of declarations to all the cities on their itinerary. The beginning of the inscription from Cos reflects what was announced by the Delphic embassy, showing that the sanctuary wished to broadcast its salvation from the invading barbarians, the Proto-Galatians. The language used in this inscription would therefore have been repeated in all the cities visited by the *theoroi*. The Delphians employed the term βάρβαρος for the Proto-Galatians, most likely to increase their own prestige. If Cos was consuming terminology such as this, it is likely that the other Greek cities were being introduced to the idea of the barbarian Proto-Galatians in the same way.

Much prestige could be acquired by defeating the newcomers, and other cities and kingdoms attempted to emulate and/or associate themselves with this. Prestige was not only gained through military victory but also by manipulating and propagandising these victories, something that many Greek communities engaged in wholeheartedly. Comparisons between the Proto-Galatians and the Persians were conjured and exploited soon after the invaders were defeated at Delphi. The Aetolians were the first to take advantage of this and were in the perfect position to do so as they

sanctuary at Delphi, it is reported that the aggressors of the sanctuary have been punished by the god (Apollo) and by the men who came to defend it during the barbarian incursion, that the sanctuary had been saved and adorned with the spoils from the enemy and that of the remaining aggressors the majority have perished in combat against the Greeks.’

²⁶³ *Syll*³ 398; Austin 60: 22: ‘τὸν θεωροῦς’ and 47 ‘τοῖς τε θεωροῖς’.

²⁶⁴ Erskine, 2013: 355.

²⁶⁵ Plassart, 1921 for the text and discussion.

had much to gain from their victory at the shrine in 279 BC. Any victory results in prestige for the victors, but this can be amplified by how it is portrayed and broadcast. The Aetolians intensified this newly acquired prestige by equating their victory with those of the Athenians during the Persian Wars and by styling themselves as saviours of the Greeks.²⁶⁶ As part of this, they established the Amphictyonic thanksgiving festival in memory of the invasion and subsequently, the Penteteric Soteria at Delphi, which became an important festival and widely accepted among the Greeks.²⁶⁷ This form of self-representation was then mimicked by many of the kingdoms of Asia Minor and beyond such as the Seleucids and most famously, the Attalids, who saw this as a way to present themselves as the new saviours of the Greeks and thus to gain prestige and legitimacy.²⁶⁸ The inscription from Cos appears to be working within the same vein. Although Cos was not involved in the invasions, there was a clear desire to relate a shared Greek unity in the form of a common struggle. Not only does it constantly refer to ‘the Greeks’ but it shows that the Coan *demos* desired to present a communal victory with other Greeks.²⁶⁹ The inscription also refers to the salvation (Σωτηρία) of the Greeks with language comparable to that from the Persian wars as well as from Aetolian propaganda.²⁷⁰ The language of the struggle with Persia lived on and continued to influence how the Greeks perceived and represented non-Greek invaders. It appears that by speaking of salvation and the common struggle, the citizens of Cos were attempting to align themselves with the prestige of others and to equate themselves with the glory of a collective victory.

It is clear that an ‘othering’ of the Galatians was at work from their earliest entrance into the Hellenistic world.²⁷¹ While there is no doubt that they were set up as

²⁶⁶ Strootman, 2010: 11.

²⁶⁷ Campbell, 2009: 258; Nachtergaele, 1977: 295; Parke & Wormell, 1956: 259.

²⁶⁸ See Strootman, 2010 for a detailed discussion of Aetolian, Attalid and Seleucid propaganda. Antiochus I was said to have taken the title *Soter* not long after his victory over the Galatians during the 260s BC, App. *Syr.* 65; Lucian, *Zeuxis*, 9.

²⁶⁹ *Syll*³ 398. ll. 14-16: ‘ὅπως οὖν ὁ δᾶμος φανερός ἦι συναδόμενος ἐπὶ τᾷ γεγενημέναι νίκαι τοῖς Ἑλλάσι’.

²⁷⁰ *Syll*³ 398. ll. 38-40: ‘ὁ δὲ ἱεροκᾶρυξ ἀνειπάτω ὅτι ὁ δᾶμος ἱερὰν ἄγει τὰν ἀμέραν ἐπὶ τᾷ τῶν Ἑλλάνων σωτηρία καὶ νίκαι’. For more on the Aetolian Soteria see Nachtergaele, 1977 and Champion, 1995.

²⁷¹ The Persians and the Proto-Galatians might have been set up as the enemies of the Greeks but they were presented in two very different ways. The Persians were uncivilised because they were ‘overcivilised’ due to their luxuries. The Galatians on

others by the Greeks, they were also simultaneously incorporated into the Greek mind-set through the idea of the barbarian; it was more than simply a binary opposition. There was, in a sense, a barbarian void during the early Hellenistic period. The Persians, once the archetypical barbarians to the Greeks, were now ruled by the Seleucids and were no longer a threat. The Proto-Galatian arrival occurred in this context and they, as a new threat, filled this vacuum.²⁷²

The decree from Cos reveals that this perception had a powerful effect on presentations of the Proto-Galatians and the same process can be seen at work in inscriptions from Asia Minor from the 270s and 260s BC, as well as in other representations throughout the third century BC. The inscriptions from the Greek cities on the western coast of Asia Minor lay bare the fear inspired by the migrators. This fear was not only the result of their raiding, pillaging and hostage taking, but was also heightened by their depiction as barbarians, as existential threats to the Greeks. The term ‘βάρβαρος’ is recorded on some of these inscriptions and it is likely that, just as at Cos, the cities along the coast hosted the *theoroi* from Delphi. Erythrae is one of these cities and it is mentioned on the Delphic inscription recording the *theorodokoi*. Other cities from the region are not mentioned, but this is probably because it has sustained some damage which means that large parts are missing. The inscription is broken into several parts and information for Asia Minor stops after the mention of Erythrae.²⁷³ The *theoroi* would hardly have ignored important nearby cities such as Priene and Miletus on their travels around the Greek world and it can be assumed that these names were lost due to damage. Therefore, language from Delphi was influencing Asia Minor from an early date and the Proto-Galatians entered a region that was already primed to respond and perceive them as barbarians. While the use of βάρβαρος in Asia Minor likely stemmed from a Delphic influence, its meaning evolved in the new contexts presented by the cities of Asia Minor.

the other hand were ferocious, unruly and primitive. See Strootman, 2010: 18 for more on this distinction.

²⁷² Lacey, 1976. There were of course Egyptians, Persians and other non-Greek peoples living as subjects in the Hellenistic kingdoms but this vacuum was receptive to independent and hostile barbarians.

²⁷³ See Plassart, 1921: 1.

Two inscriptions from Erythrae, dated to the 270s BC (most likely 277 or 276), describe how the city chose to pay the invaders to prevent conflict and to guarantee the safe return of hostages.²⁷⁴ It is interesting that although this agreement probably managed to see off any additional military engagements with the Galatians, they still chose to define them as threatening βαρβάροι in the inscription.²⁷⁵ The Erythraeans were not ignorant of the Galatians as negotiations were held between the two parties and the inscription also names the Galatian leader as Leonnorius; the city was clearly knowledgeable of its enemy.²⁷⁶ Rather, the identification of the invaders as barbarians appears to have partly been a conscious choice on the part of the Erythraeans. Another inscription from the city dated to 275/265 BC also describes the Galatians as barbarians.²⁷⁷ This can work in two ways. On the one hand, it dehumanises and ‘others’ the invaders, making them seem alien and barbaric. On the other hand, it can in effect make the Galatians appear more terrifying. There is power in a name and if Erythrae, in its public inscriptions, broadcast to its citizens the message that the Galatians were barbarians, the city not only dehumanised the enemy but also turned them into a more frightful prospect, a sort of bogeyman. Erythrae was also successful in its dealings with the Galatians but the choice to pay ransom might not have been considered a very courageous response. By presenting the Galatians as barbarians they perhaps demonstrated that avoiding conflict against such an aggressive enemy was the correct path to take and of course also helps protect their collective ego.

While the inscriptions from Erythrae depict a city that chose to avoid conflict, another from the southern city of Priene (dated to the 270s BC) paints a contrasting and far more dramatic picture.²⁷⁸ Priene chose to fight the Galatians rather than capitulate and pay ransom. The inscription praises a certain Sotas for organising the defence of the city and for successfully keeping the Galatians at bay. He achieved this by fortifying strategic points around the countryside, paying citizens to fight as both infantry and cavalry, and by bringing country-dwellers within the safety of the city

²⁷⁴Erythrae: *I.Erythrai* 24 = *SIG*³ i. 410 and *I.Erythrai* 28. Also, Orth, 1977: 77ff. and Strobel, 1996: 248-250. For the dates see Strobel, 1996: 248.

²⁷⁵ ‘βαρβάρους’ in *I.Erythrai* 24 and ‘τοὺς βαρβάρους’ in *I.Erythrai* 28.

²⁷⁶ Of course, even the term Galatian represents a Greek view as they were broken down into smaller tribal units.

²⁷⁷ *I.Erythrai* 28.

²⁷⁸ Priene: *I.Priene* 17 = *OGIS II* 765; Burstein, 17.

walls. Like the inscriptions from Erythrae, the Galatians are identified as barbarians (five times in total) and this is in tandem with four uses of Γαλάται.²⁷⁹ While the inclusion of the term barbarian on the inscription from Erythrae seemed to portray the city's fear, Priene instead chose to highlight its collective bravery in the face of danger. Priene emphasised the barbarian nature of the Galatians as well as the chaos and destruction they caused in order to achieve this. The use of Γαλάται alongside βάρβαρος shows an understanding of the ethnic identity of their enemies, or at least the common Greek understanding of this during the 270s BC. Priene was broadcasting the message that it recognised its enemy and wanted people to know that they had defeated fearsome barbarians.

The inscription speaks of the Galatians' lawlessness (*παρὰ νόμῳ*), savagery (*ὠμότης*), the outrages that they perpetrated against their prisoners and the sacrilege (*ἀσέβεια*) they committed against the gods and holy places.²⁸⁰ Transgressions against what should be inviolable, in particular the defilement of holy places, is a theme that is repeated throughout the inscription.²⁸¹ The erectors of the inscription chose to highlight this sacrilege as it conforms to Greek perceptions of barbarians, notably, that they had no respect for Greek religious spaces.²⁸² This is something that Pausanias would emphasise centuries later when describing the brutality and wantonness of the Proto-Galatians. The inscription also contains words that both highlight the threat of the Galatians as well as the valour shown by the city's defenders, especially Sotas. It speaks of the danger (*συγκινδυνεύοντων*) posed by the Galatians, their savagery (*ὠμότης*), their bad conduct (*φᾶῤῥον*), the salvation (*σωτηρία*) of the city and the bravery (*ἀνδραγαθία*) of Sotas.²⁸³ Those who commissioned the inscription wanted to portray a fearsome enemy, one that had no respect for Greek religion or customs.²⁸⁴ In doing this, the city would have gained more prestige than had they defeated what was

²⁷⁹ L., 15 'τοὺς βαρβάρους'; 1.16 'τοὺς βαρβάρους'; 1.21 'τοὺς βαρβάρους'; 1.32 'τοὺς βαρβ[ά]ρους'; 1.34 'τοὺς βαρβάρους'. L., 5 'οἱ Γ]αλάται'; 1.27 'τ[ῶν Γαλ]α[τ]ῶν'; 1.38 τὸν τῶν Γαλατῶν πόλεμον'; 1. 41 'τοὺς Γαλάτας'.

²⁸⁰ L., 5-13; *Paranomia*, or acting contrary to law, was a feature often associated with barbarians by the Greeks, see Erskine, 2000: 168.

²⁸¹ L., 18 'εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀσ[ε]βοῦντας'.

²⁸² Hdt. 5.102.1; Aesch. *Pers.* 807–832, for similar Persian acts of sacrilege.

²⁸³ Danger 1.26; savagery 1.29; evil 1.35; salvation 1.31; bravery 1.40.

²⁸⁴ The transgression of human and divine law (*paranomia* in Greek) is also tied to horrific and mindless violence, particularly by Polybius, see Champion 2004: 122.

perceived to be a less fearsome enemy. The purpose of the erectors was to use the Galatians to gain glory for the city of Priene in a way that is strikingly similar to the Aetolians and the Delphic *theoria*.

These inscriptions generally portray fear in response to the Proto-Galatian incursions. This is, of course, partly because the nomadic Proto-Galatians were a threat to the safety of the Greek cities. However, if the perception that the Proto-Galatians were dangerous barbarians who sought to destroy all things Greek was being promulgated across the Greek world, then the inscriptions were almost certainly being influenced by this atmosphere. Moreover, this use of barbarian for the Proto-Galatians appears on inscriptions within ten years of their arrival in Asia Minor, revealing that it quickly became a standard identification.²⁸⁵

3.5: Conclusions

The inscriptions show that the initial responses to the Proto-Galatians and the Galatians in Asia Minor were greatly influenced by language from the Greek mainland, as well as the enduring legacy of the barbarian in Greek thought. The Galatians not only came to represent and fulfil established Greek stereotypes, but a new image of the barbarian was gradually built up around them. The Galatians at this early point were culturally dissimilar and alien to the Greeks, who knew little of these new invaders, and this ignorance made it easy to call them barbarians. It can also be argued that because this portrayal originated in Delphi, the image of the Galatians from Erythrae and Priene was not formed on the middle ground. This meant that the Galatians themselves did not have the opportunity to influence and take part in a joint construction of identity in a meaningful way.

Although the inscriptions from Erythrae and Priene both present the Galatians as barbarians, they do so in different ways and for different reasons. The inscription

²⁸⁵ Athens (245 BC) *Syll*³ 408; *I.G.* IX, I² 194a; an extensive list of other editions is included in Nachtergaele, 1977: 435. For more on the date see Nachtergaele, 1977: 211-241; A decree accepting the *Soteria* festival from Chios found at Delphi (246/5 BC), *Syll*³ 402; *I.G.* IX, I² 194b; Nachtergaele, 1977: 436; A decree from Tenos found at Delphi (246/5 BC), Pomtow, 1915: 274; *I.G.* XII, Suppl. 309; Nachtergaele, 1977: 440-441.

from Erythrae portrays fear while that from Priene broadcasts the bravery of its citizens in order to gain prestige. Despite these differences, what they do reveal is a strong and clear desire to portray barbarians. Nonetheless, other inscriptions exist from cities in Asia Minor (as mentioned earlier in this chapter) that were attacked by the Galatians. These other inscriptions do not employ the term barbarian, but do show that from an early point responses to the Galatians were not uniform, but complex and varied, an issue that shall be explored in Part Three of this work.

Inscriptions may be able to shine a light on early contemporary responses to the Galatians, but they are not the only sources to do so. The region was the epicentre for contact between the Greeks and the Galatians and thus was a hot-bed for the types of depictions addressed throughout this chapter. The barbarian theme can also be witnessed in sculpture from the period. Much artistic evidence has survived which shows the development of the barbarian image in visual art, a medium which can send just as strong a message. The earliest example comes from Cyzicus during the 270s BC, but it was the actions of a local Greek dynasty that manipulated the image of the Galatians most effectively. The Attalids, a fledgling power from western Asia Minor, gained much prestige by following in the footsteps of the Aetolians and the Athenians and used sculpture to broadcast their propaganda to a truly global audience.

Chapter 4: Sculpting the Barbarian

4.1: Introduction

The inscriptions from the cities of western Asia Minor reveal that a barbarian and stereotypical image of the Galatians was being promulgated across the region in the immediacy of their migration during the 270s BC. While these inscriptions appear to show the earliest examples of such a portrayal, it was not long before it materialised in other forms of media. Some of the most prominent and best-known expressions linking barbarism and the Galatians come from the late third century BC, in the form of sculptures from the Attalid kingdom of Pergamum. The famous Large and Little Barbarians, sculptures commissioned by the Attalids, are central to modern scholars' understanding of not only third century representations but also those from the Roman Empire, whose artists fervently copied Hellenistic models centuries later. These are, however, not the only artistic portrayals as there is evidence for visual depictions from the early third century BC. Sculptures found at Cyzius and Myrina reveal that the Galatians were being incorporated into Hellenistic visual arts quite some time before the examples from Pergamum.

This chapter will explore how the Galatians were portrayed in sculpture by the Hellenistic Greeks and Romans and how the barbarian theme influenced visual depictions over the centuries. Focus will also be placed on understanding the contexts of the sculptures and the motives of their commissioners. First, the earliest surviving artistic representations of the Galatians in Asia Minor will demonstrate that from an early date (in line with epigraphic sources) the Galatians were depicted as barbarians. Second, the Attalid statues from Pergamum and Athens will be addressed and it will be argued that the Galatians were portrayed as barbarians through their stylisation as well as the statues' association with the Persians and mythological barbarians. Finally, the most prominent surviving Roman copies of these Pergamene statues will show that older Greek perceptions of the Galatians could be imported through time and across cultures and affect later perceptions of not just the Galatians, but also other Celtic peoples.

4.2: Earliest Representations

A relief from Cyzicus presents possibly the earliest artistic representation of the Galatians in Asia Minor (Fig. 2).²⁸⁶ The relief was a dedication to Heracles by the generals and phylarchs of the city and thanks to the inclusion of their names on the associated inscription has been dated to the 278/7 BC.²⁸⁷ Heracles is seen clubbing what appears to be a Galatian, identified by the characteristic oval shield and trousers.²⁸⁸ The character's identification as a Galatian has been primarily based on the shield, although Launey also points out that the trousers and the location of the sheath on the right were supposedly Celtic features.²⁸⁹ Mitchell for example takes this for granted, but other scholars have rightly questioned it.²⁹⁰ Strobel points out that although the Galatians did help spread this type of shield after they settled in Galatia, this identification is uncertain and evidence now shows that the oval shield was known to the Greeks before the Galatian invasions.²⁹¹ It therefore cannot be said for certain whether the warrior in the relief was a Galatian based on imagery alone but despite this, it remains the greatest likelihood. The relief was made during the Galatian migration into Asia Minor and the stylistic features discussed above can be associated with the Galatians and therefore it would be improper to exclude it from this discussion.²⁹²

²⁸⁶ See Fig. 2.

²⁸⁷ Launey, 1944: 217-218.

²⁸⁸ Mendel, *Cat. Mus. Imp.* No. 858; see Launey, 1944: 217 ff.

²⁸⁹ Launey, 1944: 222-223; Diod. Sic. 5.30.3 'αντί δὲ τοῦ ξίφους, σπάθας εχουσι μακράς σιδηραῖς ἢ χαλκαῖς ἀλύσει ἐξηρημέναις παρά τὴν δεξίαν λαγόνα παρατεταμέναις'. 'In place of the short sword they carry long broad-swords which are hung on chains of iron or bronze and are worn along the right flank.'

²⁹⁰ Mitchell, 1993: 16.

²⁹¹ Strobel, 1996: 249-250; Bar-Kochva, 1989: 16. Examples of oval shields can be found in Maule and Smith, 1959: 57, n. 207; Snodgrass, 1964: pl.18. For more on the Galatian shield see Couissin, 1927: 307 ff.; Launey, 1949-50: 529: i ff.; Anderson, 1970: 14 ff. Barbantani, 2001: 195-196 analyses the Galatian shield as a motif in Egypt but argues that it does not necessarily mean that there was a Celtic presence. Adam & Fichtl, 2011: 120-125 provide an up to date analysis and claim that the shield image was often associated with the Galatians and moreover, that it became strongly associated with them after the Galatian wars and can be used for identification.

²⁹² Launey, 1944: 222 and 1949: 528ff; Panagiotis, 2012: 66.



Fig. 2. A frieze from Cyzicus depicting Heracles clubbing what is likely a Galatian warrior. *Cat. Mus. Imp.* No. 858.

Launey argued that the offering to Heracles is significant because it represents the Greeks of Cyzicus' appeal to the gods for protection. They viewed the Galatian advance as a countless horde of barbarians and feared that human power was powerless to contain them.²⁹³ It was therefore divine intervention that was needed, and this came in the form of Heracles.²⁹⁴ The gods were also highlighted as players in the victory over the Galatians in the inscription from Cos and became a central feature of Pausanias' account of the destruction of Brennus' army.²⁹⁵ It is difficult to say whether the Galatian is being portrayed as a barbarian in this relief. After all, what constitutes

²⁹³ Callimachus, a contemporary of this period famously compared them to the countless flakes of snow in a snowstorm, Callim. *Hymn* 4: 171-184.

²⁹⁴ Launey, 1944: 225.

²⁹⁵ Paus. 10.23; It also adds to supra-human element according to Chaniotis, 2005: 202.

a barbarian image in art at this point? The Galatian is presented as lying down with his right arm held protectively over his face and upper body, a feeble and vanquished looking figure. Heracles on the other hand stands tall with a club in his right hand, ready to strike the final death-blow. This image of a Greek god towering over his enemy presents the supremacy of the Greeks and in turn makes the Galatian appear as a lesser individual, as a weaker foe to be vanquished. While this was a common motif in Greek vase painting (the positions are mirrored in examples from the fifth century BC), there are also connotations of the barbarian. A kylix from the fifth century BC depicting a Greek and a Persian may provide an example where this positioning could be used to represent a barbarian theme.²⁹⁶ The kylix portrays a Greek warrior standing in a similar position to Heracles, ready to smite his enemy.²⁹⁷ This was an ideal way to depict an opponent and a barbarian, literally physically below the Greek, and was a popular way to portray Persians.²⁹⁸

Another sculpture from the same period comes from the famous terracotta workshops at Myrina, an Aeolian city situated on the western coast of Asia Minor. In 1881 a terracotta sculpture was found at the necropolis of Myrina, which depicts a war elephant trampling on what appears to be a Galatian warrior (Fig. 3).²⁹⁹ The Galatian

²⁹⁶ Examples are plentiful, such as the two warriors fighting on a Lekythos from the Kestner museum, 1024, Hannover, Kestner Museum, 755. Two Greek warriors and their horses on a black Amphora, 6085, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg, F1874.

²⁹⁷ There is controversy surrounding the positioning of the Persian warrior on this vase. At first glance it appears that the Greek warrior is dominating the Persian and about to strike a death-blow. However, on closer inspection the Persian has his sword raised and aimed at the Greek warrior's vulnerable torso. The purpose the of potter is unknown and therefore this could imply many things: perhaps it is merely a stylistic pose and the Persian is not planning to stab the Greek but is merely holding his sword in his hand before being vanquished. Perhaps it is presenting the Greek as the honourable winner and the Persian as deceitful and sneaky. It is also possible that the typical image of vanquisher and vanquished is being subverted here. It is impossible to know for sure.

²⁹⁸ The sword fight between the Greek hoplite and Persian warrior on an attic red figure Kylix by Triptolemus c.460 BC from the National Museum of Scotland. An oenochoe showing a Greek warrior and a Persian archer, mid fifth century BC. Museum of Fine Arts Boston (inv.no.13.196). This image could be subverted, for example, the Amazon rhyton which shows a Persian cavalryman trampling a Greek warrior, c. fifth century BC. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (inv. No. 21.1186).

²⁹⁹ See Fig. 3.

bears many characteristics similar to the relief from Cyzicus, especially his long hair, nakedness and typical oval shield and boss.³⁰⁰ Again, it could be argued that it does not represent a Galatian specifically, but the iconography, the location and the time period of the third century BC make this the greatest likelihood.³⁰¹ Moreover, another miniature was found at Myrina which depicted a standing Galatian with the oval shield, naked torso and wild hair (Fig. 4).³⁰² These examples indicate that a standard way to represent the Galatians was being formed. The theme of the elephant sculpture appears to be triumphalism as it presents the Galatian as the enemy and inferior to the vastly more powerful Greeks. The dating of this piece has been uncertain as traditionally it has been associated with a battle that took place between Antiochus I and the Galatians. Most scholars believe that Antiochus I won a significant victory over the tribes, which became known as the ‘Elephant Victory’, and that this battle was decisive in forcing the Galatians to settle in central Asia Minor.³⁰³ This was originally dated to between 277 and 274 BC, with 275 BC being the favoured date.³⁰⁴ Wörrle, however, argued that because an inscription from near Denizli referred to the ‘war against the Galatians’, the conflict between the Seleucids and the Galatians was continuing into the early 260s BC and therefore, that the Elephant Battle had not taken place until after the creation of the inscription. This inscription is dated to 267 BC and

³⁰⁰ For an image see Pottier and Reinach (1888): pl. X (several images are now available online, e.g., [http://www.insecula.com/oeuvre/photo ME0000035475.html](http://www.insecula.com/oeuvre/photo_ME0000035475.html)). For references to similar figurines, see Mitchell 1993: 1.18, n. 69; Strootman 2005: 117, n. 65.

³⁰¹ Mitchell, 1993: 18, Strobel, 1996: 60/260 and Coşkun, 2012a: 65-66 for example do not question a Galatian identification.

³⁰² See Fig. 4; Pottier and Reinach, 1885: 490.

³⁰³ Mitchell, 1993: 18 and Strobel, 1996: 257–264 both believe that this victory had a major effect on the Galatians’ ability to threaten Asia Minor. On the other hand, some argue that the Galatians did remain a viable threat after the battle, Bevan 1902: 143–144; Strootman, 2005: 116; Wolski, 1999: 26–27.

³⁰⁴ Coşkun, 2012a: 60, n.9 lists the different dates. Tarn, 1926: 157 and 1930: 451; Otto, 1928: 22–23 and 1931: 404, n.9 and 412 were the first to propose a date of 275 BC. This subsequently influenced Rehm, 1958; *I.Didyma* II no. 426; Other claims are made by Moraux, 1957: 73, n.47; Will, 1966: 124–125; Habicht, 1970: 84, n.3; Bengtson, 1977: 403; Van der Spek, 1993: 68; Strootman, 2005: 116; Maier, 2003: 102; Meid, 2007: 49.



Fig. 3. A terracotta sculpture from Myrina depicting a war elephant trampling what appears to be a Galatian warrior. Musée du Louvre, Paris (Myr 284).

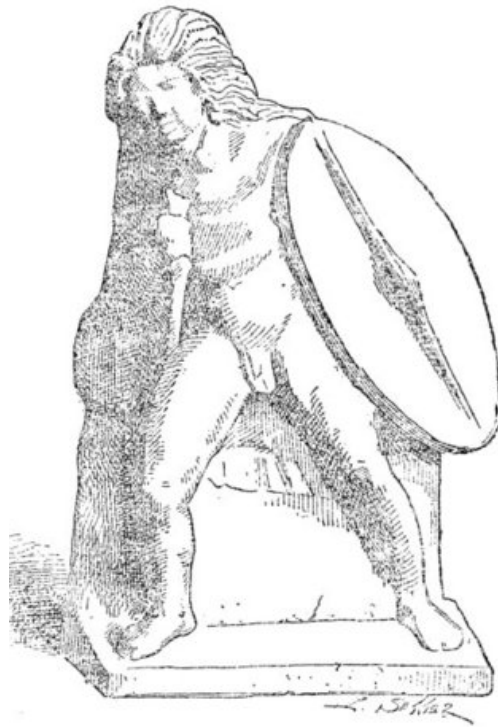


Fig. 4. A miniature from Myrina depicting a warrior with Galatian characteristics. From Pottier and Reinach, 1885: 490.

it has been used as a *terminus post quem* for the battle.³⁰⁵ A compromise of these dates seems likely and most scholars now believe that the battle took place between 270 and 268 BC.³⁰⁶

The elephant theme of this sculpture has long been associated with the Elephant Battle in modern scholarship and its origins can be found in the work of Lucian. Lucian was a second century AD Greek-speaking Syrian living in the Roman Empire who wrote a series of prose works, mostly dialogues and rhetorical show pieces. His *Zeuxis* can be assigned to the *prolaliai*, informal preliminary pieces that were used to introduce longer works and they also served to describe his literary aims and advertise himself.³⁰⁷ It provides the main account of the battle, which claims that elephants formed a part of the Seleucid army and that their presence ultimately led to a victory over the Galatians.³⁰⁸ The elephants were supposedly so alien and terrifying to the Galatians that Antiochus' poorly prepared army achieved victory, enabling him to claim the title *Soter*.³⁰⁹

This battle has naturally been assumed as the inspiration for the terracotta workshops at Myrina. Coşkun on the other hand proposes the largely heretical view that the Elephant battle never happened, arguing that proof for the battle does not rest on solid evidence. He believes that while a battle between the Galatians and the Seleucids did likely occur, the involvement of elephants is substantiated by little evidence and therefore, the title 'Elephant Battle' is incorrect and more of an assumption. He believes that Antiochus I artificially combined the victory with the motif of elephants for his public self-representation.³¹⁰ While he is right to question that a consequence of the battle was the supposed long-term supremacy of Antiochus I over the Galatians, his reasons for denying the involvement of elephants is itself

³⁰⁵ Wörrle, 1975: 59–72; *SEG* 47 1739; Austin 168. The date is secure and can be dated to the exact month (January), see also Austin 168 for another reference to this Galatian war. This date has proven to be popular and enduring, Mitchell, 1993: 18, Mitchell, 2013: 283, Tomaschitz, 2002: 152 and 166.

³⁰⁶ Coşkun, 2012a: 60, n.11 lists the different dates favoured by scholars.

³⁰⁷ MacLeod, 1991: 7.

³⁰⁸ Lucian, *Zeuxis*. 9-11. Lucian's biography is not easily established, for general information on the author see Andújar, 2013. Mention of this battle can also be found in the *Suda* s.v. Simonides.

³⁰⁹ *App. Syr.* 65

³¹⁰ Coşkun, 2012a: 68-69.

based on weak evidence. Coşkun set for himself the difficult task of disproving the validity of existing evidence, and his argument is not convincing. For example, he claims that the number of Galatian warriors reported by Lucian is ridiculously high, which is true, but this could have been a mere exaggeration in order to present the Galatians as more of a threat; it also fits in with the idea of the barbarian and their countless hordes.³¹¹ Coşkun also argues that the image of an elephant trampling a Galatian is not known from Seleucid art. However, the elephant motif was used by the Seleucids on their coinage and there are coins that bear the image of a Seleucid cavalryman trampling a Galatian warrior.³¹² It is not beyond the boundaries of reason to think that an elephant could be substituted for a horse.

These reliefs and sculptures represent the earliest visual depictions of the Galatians in Asia Minor and show that from an early date the Galatians were viewed as inferior enemies to be crushed by superior Greek might. This falls in line with their presentation in the epigraphic sources from the same region and show that the image of the barbarian was being applied to, and moulded around, the Galatians. These depictions might also have played a part in the development of later third century BC Attalid sculptures which employ similar stylistic techniques and motifs to represent the Galatians.

4.3: The Pergamene Barbarians

The very early textual and artistic responses to the Galatians in Asia Minor, those originating in the cities and workshops along the western coast during the 270s and 260s BC, reveal that the barbarian image was a central component of Greek

³¹¹ The Galatians were noted for their supposed fecundity, Livy, 38.16.13; Justin. *Epit.* 25.2.8-9. The horde motif was employed in the contemporary work of Callimachus, Callim. *Hymn to Delos IV*, 171-184.

³¹² Kosmin, 2014: 3 explored the many ways that elephants were incorporated into Seleucid iconography. Elephants were also used by the Seleucids during the third century BC, see Kosmin, 2014: 19 and Bar-Kochva, 1976: 77. Coşkun, 2012a: 65-66. Houghton and Lorber, 2002: 339 examined the elephant motif on a Seleucid coin, which depicts a Seleucid anchor on the obverse and an ambulating elephant on the reverse. A coin minted during the time of Seleucus II bears a horseman trampling a Galatian, *SC* 1. n.767-768 and Panagiotis, 2012: 66.

representations of the Galatians. Such depictions had their roots not only in recent depictions by the Aetolians, but also much older concepts of the barbarian from the fifth century BC and earlier. This barbarian image appears to have remained a major part of Greek artistic representations during the latter half of the third century BC and was built upon by the kingdom of Pergamum, exemplified by the famous series of sculptures depicting Galatians. During this time, Pergamum produced some of the most famous works of Hellenistic art, and those that depicted the Galatians are considered unparalleled. It was Attalus I who commissioned the sculptures discussed in this section, and they were from then on particularly associated with the increased prestige and global reach of the Attalid dynasty.

An extensive overview of the statues and the theories and arguments put forward by scholars is beyond the remit of this section. It will provide a general background to their production and then focus on the image of the barbarian, as well as explore how this image was promulgated in the environment of Asia Minor and probe what it can tell scholars about Greek responses to the Galatians. It will show that Attalid representations of the Galatians continued the trend of framing the Galatians within a barbarian image and that this was part of the wider pattern of Greek responses to the newcomers stretching back to the 270s BC.

Conflict between Pergamum, a fledgling but growing power situated in western Asia Minor, and the newly arrived Galatians was almost inevitable. Pergamum was located right in the path of the Galatians and although it was not attacked directly, its allied and tributary cities were threatened. Philetaerus, founder of the dynasty and ruler of Pergamum between c.282 to 263 BC, had striven to build up its stature and influence among the cities of the western coast and this work was directly affected by the migration. Philetaerus had to deal with the Galatians soon after establishing himself as ruler and was quick to support cities in their hour of need.³¹³ Pergamum under his successor Eumenes I then continued to stave off the Galatians by paying tribute. It seems that fighting was avoided for most of third century BC and the two parties existed in an uneasy tributary relationship. This situation could not last forever as Pergamum became more powerful, and it was Attalus I who brought this conflict to a head. During the second half of the third century BC, Attalus I achieved a decisive

³¹³ Judging by the provision sent to Cyzicus, *OGIS* 748.

victory over two of the major Galatian tribes, generating a great deal of prestige for his dynasty as a result of these battles. His most famous and enduring expression of this new confidence was his grand building programme at Pergamum and as part of this, his famous and celebrated Galatian sculptures.

The first major battle occurred during the Brothers' War, a war in which the Seleucid pretender Antiochus Hierax and his Galatian allies were defeated by Attalus I sometime between 241 and 230 BC.³¹⁴ The Galatian forces consisted of two tribes, the Tolistobogii and the Tectosages, and they most likely operated relatively independently of each other rather than as one body.³¹⁵ The second - and most important - battle for Attalid propaganda occurred during the 230s BC and took place at the source of the river Caecus in Mysia.³¹⁶ Although the date is uncertain, 237 BC is favoured.³¹⁷ Attalus I obviously saw these victories as significant and took advantage of them in order to increase his young dynasty's prestige and legitimacy. Like the Aetolians a half-century earlier, he manipulated the image of the Galatians and presented them as barbarians and as a threat to the Greeks. His dynasty was in turn portrayed as the saviour of the Greeks and the statues discussed below were part of this wider policy of garnering prestige.

4.3.1: The Statues

The statues were originally erected and located at Athens and Pergamum and present a striking comparison between barbarity and civilisation. The clearest example of this association in sculpture was erected in Athens. Attalus I dedicated a series of statues celebrating his victory over the Galatians to the city and these were set up on the

³¹⁴ *OGIS* 278; Polyb. 18.2.2, 18.6.4; Phylarchus, *FGrH* 81; Justin, *Prolog.* 27. Chapter 9 of the present work explores the war in more detail. See also Will, 1966: 265-270; Mitchell 1993: 20. Allen, 1983: 195-159 for the date.

³¹⁵ *OGIS* 278

³¹⁶ Thonemann 2011: 1-49 provides an unparalleled introduction to the geography and geo-political history of the region.

³¹⁷ Stewart, 2004: 181 puts forward a date of c.237 BC; Mitchell, 1993: 21 declines to provide a date. For more on the difficulty of dating the battle see Allen, 1983: 195-9.

Acropolis.³¹⁸ The statues unfortunately no longer survive except as Roman copies, but they are also known due to the work of Pausanias who recorded them *in situ* in his *Description of Greece*.³¹⁹ Pausanias described the Attalid dedication when recounting his perambulation on the Acropolis, but his exact route is unclear.³²⁰ He explains that the statues (now known as the ‘Little Barbarians’) depicted a mixture of four major mythical and real-world conflicts, the war between the giants and the gods, between the Athenians and the Amazons, the Greeks and the Persians and finally the Galatian defeat at the hands of the Attalids in Mysia.³²¹ Modern scholars tend to describe the Galatian figure as a ‘Gaul’, but it is important to remember that the Attalids were depicting their Galatian adversaries (Fig. 5).³²²



Fig 5. The Roman copy of the Galatian from the Little Barbarians group. In the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (6013).

³¹⁸ It has also been suggested that Attalus II (ruled 160-138 BC) commissioned these statues, Schober, 1951:121-34; Kunze, 2002: 221-227; Kistler, 2009: 85-87. Attalus II, however, did not win an important victory over the Galatians and therefore such an ostentatious and programmatic dedication would not have been likely. It makes far more sense that Attalus I was the commissioner because of his major victory in c.237 BC, see also Stewart, 2004: 181; Papini, 2016: 43 argues that it would be improper to rule this out completely.

³¹⁹ Paus. 1.25.2. These copies are not necessarily (and probably not) identical to the originals, see Marszal, 2000: 204.

³²⁰ Stewart, 2004: 181-182.

³²¹ For more see Picón and Hemingway, 2016: 179-181. The Galatian: a copy of a Greek bronze statue now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (6013), see Fig. 5, image from Picón and Hemingway, 2016: 181.

³²² Howard, 1983; Marszal, 2000: 191; Stewart, 2004 to name but a few.

Foreign dedications at Athens were common amongst the Hellenistic kings, a way to gain prestige on the global stage, and the culturally important city was a natural focal point for Attalus I's propaganda.³²³ Attalus' building programme was, however, most intense at home. The temple of Athena on the Acropolis of Pergamum, a once modest building, was transformed after his victory over the Galatians.³²⁴ A set of monumental statue bases were found in the temple grounds and has been the focus of much debate. The earliest was a circular base which held a colossal statue (3.2m in diameter, 2.48m high, with three steps) and was inscribed with a thanks-offering to Athena for Attalus' victory at the source of the Caecus.³²⁵ It is possible that this base carried a statue of Athena *Promachos*, just like its fifth-century counterpart on the Athenian acropolis.³²⁶ Another monumental base was built on the south side of the sanctuary (1m high, 1.1m deep, divided into sections, possibly 2.4m wide) by the sculptor Epigonos and was dedicated to Zeus and Athena in thanks for Attalus I's victory over Antiochus Hierax and his Galatian allies.³²⁷ This long base at the south wall of the sanctuary preserved a number of inscriptions relating to the battles between Attalus and the Galatians.³²⁸

These two bases have long been associated with the statues (the 'Large Barbarians') known today as 'The Dying Gaul' (The Capitoline Gaul) and 'The Gaul Killing Himself and His Wife' (The Ludovisi Gaul). These both survive as Roman copies.³²⁹ The Capitoline Gaul depicts a prostrate, naked and dying Galatian who is

³²³ McGing, 2003: 74; this practice was also followed by the native Anatolian dynasties, Michels, 2009: 133-9.

³²⁴ Mitchell, 2003: 287. For more on the Attalid building programme in the temple of Athena see Schalles, 1985a: 51-104

³²⁵ *IvP*. 20; *OGIS* 269. 'Βασιλεὺς Ἄτταλος νικήσας μά]χη] Τολιστ[οαγίους Γαλάτα]ς π[ερὶ πηγᾶς] Καίικ[ου ποταμοῦ χα]ρι[στ]ή[ριον Ἀθ]η[νᾶ]. For the measurements see Papini, 2016: 40.

³²⁶ Tuchelt, 1967: 173; Mitchell, 2003: 285; *OGIS* 269.

³²⁷ *OGIS* 280. For the measurements, see Papini, 2016: 40-41. For more on Epigonos, see Schober, 1938.

³²⁸ *OGIS* 273-279. Marszal 2000: 204-212 offers an in-depth discussion on the placement and formation of these statue bases, as well as arguments for and against certain combinations and placements of statues.

³²⁹ This idea was originally put forward by Milchhoefer, 1882. For more on Roman copies of Greek originals see Potts, 1980. Dying Gaul: copy of a Greek bronze statue from the Villa Ludovisi (ancient Horti Sallustiani), Rome, now in the Musei Capitolini, Rome (S.747). See Fig. 6, image from Picón and Hemingway, 2016: 177. Ludovisi

propped up by his right arm (Fig. 6). The Ludovisi Gaul shows a Galatian warrior, holding his dead wife in his arms, preparing to stab his breast with a sword (Fig. 7). It is very difficult to know whether these two statues were based on Pergamene originals or indeed if they were even set up in Pergamum, but the general consensus does argue for such a location.³³⁰ There have been many reconstructions, and although most believe that these two statues were placed on one or both of these bases, this has been a controversial claim.³³¹



Fig. 6. The Capitoline Gaul, depicting a stylised, dying Galatian. In the Musei Capitolini, Rome (S.747).

Gaul: copy of a Hellenistic bronze statue, now in the Museo Nazionale-Palazzo Altemps, Rome. See fig. 7, Image from Picón and Hemingway, 2016: 41.

³³⁰ See Papini, 2016: 41-42 for a clear and concise description of these statues, their provenances and the arguments for and against their placement on the bases.

³³¹ For reconstructions of the statues on these bases see, Schober, 1936; Schober, 1951: 58-61; and more recently Coarelli, 2014: 44-56 (for the circular base) or Künzl, 1971: 18-30; Hölscher, 1985: 121-22; Schalles, 1985b: 69-76; Schmidt, 1995: 169-72; Kunze, 2002: 47-51 (for the long base). Others who agree include Howard, 1983: 87, who also discusses the similarities between the statue and the older Aegina warriors; Pollitt, 1986: 85; Bernhard, 1993: 256-264; Mitchell, 2003: 285. On the other hand, Marszal, 2000: 208-209 refutes the claim that the two Galatian statues were positioned on this base due to their unsuitable size and because the Ludovisi Gaul depicts a woman on the battlefield. Marvin, 2002: 221-223 makes the important point that the statues very much adhere to typical Roman imaginings of the conquered, something not particularly Greek. For background to the history and provenance of the statues see Marvin, 2002.



Fig. 7. The Ludovisi Gaul, depicting a stylised Galatian and his murdered wife. In the Museo Nazionale-Palazzo Altemps, Rome.

The victory over the barbarian Galatians became the ideological foundation of Pergamum. Although the battle at the Caecus was most likely a rather small victory in the grand scheme of the Hellenistic world, its importance was inflated by the Attalids. Exaggerating victories in this way was not uncommon amongst the Hellenistic dynasties.³³² The Attalids began as a small kingdom with an unassuming lineage. The dynasty's founder Philetaerus was supposedly a Paphlagonian eunuch who won his kingdom through trickery and political manipulation during the Successor Wars.³³³

³³² Virgilio, 1993: 30, n.19.

³³³ Hansen, 1947: 15-22; Allen, 1983: 9. Philetaerus betrayed Lysimachus and handed the treasury at Pergamum over to Seleucus I in 283 BC. McShane, 1964: 30-35 explores the political context of Philetaerus' reign.

His successors naturally saw the need to bolster their legitimacy and defeating the Galatians helped cultivate their credentials as a kingdom to be reckoned with.³³⁴ Attalus I also gained the titles Βασιλεὺς and Σωτήρ due to these triumphs and this was intimately tied with his wider propaganda programme.³³⁵

It is no surprise that Attalus I sought to gain prestige and legitimacy through the concept of war against the barbarian. The practice of supplying the Galatians as the barbarians had its origins in the 270s BC, with roots that stretched back to the time of the Persian Wars. As discussed earlier, the Aetolians were the first to characterise the Proto-Galatians as barbarians and gained great prestige by doing so. Attalus followed their example closely and just as the Aetolians had equated their glory with that of the Athenians by hanging the shields of vanquished in Delphi, so too did Attalus equate his victory at the source of the Caecus with Athens through his sculptures on the Acropolis. The Attalids were not the great innovators of this approach, rather they perfected it and successfully broadcast it to a global audience, choosing major cities and shrines such as Athens, Delos and Delphi.³³⁶ The Attalids also held sway over a region that was particularly suited to such a display. The inscriptions and earlier sculptures from Cyzicus and Myrina all reveal that Asia Minor was harbouring an environment that was both influenced by this barbarian image of the Galatians and encouraged its expression in multiple forms. There is no doubt that the Attalids, with their close connections to the Greek cities of western Asia Minor, would have encountered such thinking from an early date.

This Attalid ideological foundation is not a new claim and has been discussed by many scholars.³³⁷ The Little Barbarian statue group from Athens exemplifies this most strongly. By placing the Galatian next to a giant, an Amazon and a Persian, Attalus was making a clear allusion to barbarity. Callimachus had also linked the

³³⁴ Strobel, 1996: 67. The creation of a descent from the legendary Arcadian hero Telephus was also part of this, see Kosmetatou, 2003: 167-168.

³³⁵ Polyb. 18.41.7 = Livy, 33.21.3; Strabo, 13.4.2; Papini, 2016: 40.

³³⁶ Marszal, 2000: 205; At Delphi, a massive statuary dedication in front of the Stoa of Attalos and large panel paintings of the stoa, *SIG*³ 682. At Delos, statuary monuments celebrating Philetaerus, Epigenes (a general of Attalus I) and Attalus I's victory over the Gauls *IG* XI.4, 11051; *IG* XI.4, 1109; *IG* XI.4, 1110.

³³⁷ For example, Strobel, 1996: 67; Gruen, 2000: 17-21; Marvin, 2002: 215; Mitchell, 2003: 287.

Galatians with the Giants who fought the Gods of Olympus, the mythological enemies of the gods who represented chaos against order, in his poetry.³³⁸ The statues not only allude to the mythical but also associate Pergamum with the prestige of Athens, just as the Aetolians had done almost a century earlier when they hung the Galatian shields upon the temple of Apollo at Delphi, mimicking the Athenians and their Persian spoils from the fifth century BC.³³⁹ Pergamum was going beyond the previous attempts of the Aetolians to make this connection and the city successfully set itself up as a kind of new Athens, a force that had rescued Greek civilisation from the fresh barbarian threat.³⁴⁰

The Large Barbarians (The Capitoline and the Ludovisi) have also been thought to portray a barbarian image. It has been argued that rather than depicting the Galatians, the statues instead represent generic 'northern barbarians'.³⁴¹ However, the similarities with the previous depictions of the Galatians from Asia Minor, the other Celtic representations in the eastern Mediterranean, the Galatian from the Acropolis, as well as the Attalid inscriptions attesting to the defeats over the Galatians, all point to a Galatian as the greatest likelihood.³⁴²

The Galatian Killing Himself and His Wife has been interpreted as a monument to human suffering. The Galatian has experienced the horrors of war and sees no other end than the heroic destruction of not only himself but all he holds dear, his family.³⁴³ Suicide in the ancient world was a complex affair but the Greeks generally saw a sharp division between honourable suicide, often the result of honour or self-sacrifice, and cowardly suicide.³⁴⁴ On the other hand, it has also been interpreted as a lack of self-

³³⁸ Callim. *Hymn* 4: 171ff.

³³⁹ Paus. 10.19.4; Scholten, 2000: 40; Scott, 2014:71.

³⁴⁰ Schalles 1985b: 54, n.31; Holscher, 1985: 129, n.26. For more on the relationship between Pergamum and Athens, see Habicht, 1990.

³⁴¹ Marvin, 2002: 212 argues that the physical features of the statues may represent a Galatian or possibly another so called 'northern barbarian' such as a German, Dacian, Batavian or Gaul. However, Marvin bases this on Diodorus' description of the Gauls specifically and not a *general* 'northern barbarian', Diod. Sic. 5.28.

³⁴² Marszal, 2000: 197-200 discusses other early representations of the Celts in the eastern Mediterranean, such as a monumental head with the typical Celtic 'wild' hair and the images of Celts on limestone stelae from Egypt. He continues with other examples from Italy and Central Europe.

³⁴³ See Van Hooff, 1990: 174.

³⁴⁴ Garrison, 1991: 33.

restraint on the part of the Galatian, a characteristically barbarian trait.³⁴⁵ These two views are difficult to reconcile but when the context of the statues is addressed, as part of a monument to Attalid victory, it is possible that the Large Barbarians represent the excessive violence of the Galatian warriors, their irrational despair and the panic they experienced upon defeat, going as far as to murder their own wives and children.³⁴⁶ Some scholars have, however, taken a very different approach to interpreting these statues. Rather than depicting savageness and irrationality, they have contended that instead the Attalid sculptors wished to portray the heroic side of defeat and that they sympathised with their subjects.³⁴⁷ While it can be argued that the Attalids portrayed the Galatians as archetypal barbarians, the varying interpretations highlight the ambiguity of these sculptural representations, a theme that shall be explored more in Part Three of this work.

4.4: Transposing the Barbarian through Time

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the Large and Little Barbarians were created as part of the greater Attalid policy of garnering prestige through depicting themselves as the saviours of the Greeks from the barbarian Galatians. While the original bronze statues that were located at Pergamum and Athens no longer survive, we are immensely fortunate that Roman marble copies have. The Roman practice of copying Greek statues not only aided in the survival of many works of Greek art that would have otherwise been lost to us, but also benefits modern understandings of how Greek culture affected its Roman counterpart. In copying these statues, the Romans also imported Greek notions of the barbarian, specifically Pergamene representations of the barbarian Galatian. These statues fossilised older, foreign perceptions from the third century BC, and enabled them to live on and influence the Romans.

The impact of Greek art in Rome had been felt for centuries, but it was not until the fall of Syracuse in 211 BC, which resulted in the influx of a huge number of Greek works of art into the city, that the Romans gained a strong taste for Hellenistic

³⁴⁵ Schalles, 1985b: 80-100; La Rocca, 1994: 2-3; Fless, 2002: 68.

³⁴⁶ Papini, 2016: 42.

³⁴⁷ Marvin, 2002: 222.

art. Rome was flooded with Greek art during this period, mostly through the plunder gained from their many successful campaigns in the East, especially the sack of Corinth in 146 BC. With such an inflow of Greek artistic ideals, it was inevitable that Hellenistic art influenced Roman tastes and sensibilities.³⁴⁸ It was the kingdom of Pergamum, however, that played a central role in the adoption of Hellenistic art at Rome. The Attalids had not only created some of the most splendid pieces of Hellenistic art found anywhere, but had also collected the works of other famous Greek artists, so when Attalus III bequeathed his kingdom to Rome in 133 BC, the Romans inherited a vast collection of Greek art.³⁴⁹ The Romans not only imported and copied these Attalid creations but were great innovators, and impressive statues based on Pergamene works have been found in the ruined villas of many influential Romans.³⁵⁰ Importantly, Classical models (art from the fifth and fourth centuries BC) became increasingly popular in Rome during the Augustan age. This was a result of contemporary politics and was partly in reaction to the Mark Antony, the great enemy of Augustus, who was reviled for having behaved like a luxurious Hellenistic prince. It was politically expedient therefore to look to the Classical era rather than to more recent Hellenistic styles as these could invoke the luxury and decadence of his defeated enemy. This, however, did not affect areas of imagery for which there were no Classical models, such as representations of Dionysius with his revellers or the nude Aphrodite.³⁵¹ The Romans could also fall back on the Hellenistic period for the portrayal of battles. It was therefore unsurprising that the depiction of the barbarian Galatian was adopted and re-employed by the Romans. The Little and Large Barbarians (copies of Pergamene originals) can be dated to the second and third centuries AD and show that Attalid art was still very influential centuries outwith its original context.³⁵²

³⁴⁸ Pollitt, 1986: 150-158 explores Rome as a centre of Hellenistic art and provides plenty of examples of Greek influence on Roman art during this period. The adoption of Greek art and customs in Rome was, however, controversial. For both the positive and negative reactions to Greek art in Rome see Pollitt, 1986: 159-162.

³⁴⁹ Zanker, 2016: 92.

³⁵⁰ Examples can be found in Zanker, 2016: 93-98. The Ludovisi and Capitoline Gauls are most likely from the Horti Sallustiani in Rome, Haskell and Penny, 1981: 224-227.

³⁵¹ Zanker, 2016: 99.

³⁵² Marzsal, 2000: 219.

The Roman copies were generally not erected in the same locations and contexts as the Greek originals. They were not set up at such public and consequential sites as the acropolis of Pergamum but were instead part of elaborate displays by the Roman elite and have been found on the sites of former villas, larger estates or even the public baths.³⁵³ While not part of a public policy of propaganda, as with the Attalids, they were nonetheless there to be seen and would have been exhibited for other wealthy Romans or in the case of the baths, a wide range of clientele. Many people, from the rich to their slaves, would have witnessed these statues and how they represented the Galatians (although it is possible that some might have thought that they represented Gauls).

By emulating the Pergamene statues, the elite were also copying Greek representations of barbarians and any Roman who exhibited his statue of the famous dying Galatian should have known of its Pergamene provenance. Copies of the Capitoline and Ludovisi Gauls were also quite popular judging by the fact that another fragmentary statuary depiction of the Capitoline Gaul was found in the Piazza di San Gregorio in Rome and that the image of the Ludovisi Gaul was copied in other media.³⁵⁴ The survival of the Small Barbarians as Roman copies also reveals that the Romans appreciated the barbarian connection between the Galatians and the giants, Amazons and Persians. The image of the dying, naked Galatian with his wild hair, beard and weaponry undoubtedly became an image of barbarity among the Romans.

The barbarian Galatian was clearly an identifiable and widely-recognised motif, at least amongst the elite. This is not to say that the Romans refrained from creating their own artistic depictions of Celtic peoples before the Augustan period, but the style of the Pergamene Gauls does seem to be reflected in Augustan art, such as in the frieze portraying the battle between the Gauls and Romans from the Palazzo Ducale, Mantova.³⁵⁵ This frieze was originally from an Augustan temple in the Augustan forum and the Gauls are depicted with the over-exaggerated musculature,

³⁵³ Marzsal, 2000: 220.

³⁵⁴ Knoll, Vorster and Woelk, 2011: n.157. We know that the Ludovisi Gaul was a popular motif as there survives a miniature reproduction on a scarab of unknown provenance, possibly from the second century BC, Pedroni, 2007.

³⁵⁵ Ferris, 2000: 13-16 contains examples from c.160 BC onwards. Marzsal, 2000: 212-222 explores both Etruscan, pre-Empire and Empire period Roman representations of the Celts.

hair styles and poses characteristic of the Attalid statues. The frieze also shares an emphasis on defeat but seems to retain an admiration for the Gauls' courage and physical prowess.³⁵⁶

In copying these Pergamene statues, the barbarian image of the Galatian was transmitted to the Roman world and therefore, lived on and continued to influence perceptions of the Hellenistic Galatians. It is unlikely that, with such interest in their production, wealthy Romans (who in the eyes of some Greeks were themselves Hellenised barbarians) could have failed to notice the barbarian characteristics of their statues and from them form opinions of the historic Galatians. Just as with the Greeks, Roman perceptions of barbarians were complex. The Romans did have their own victories over the Galatians to celebrate, such as Manlius Vulso's campaigns in 189 BC, as well as over Celts in the west like those of the consuls Quintus Fabius Maximus and Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus in the lower Rhine in 121 BC, and most significantly, Caesar's campaigns in Gaul 58-54 BC. This partly explains why the Romans were so interested in statues that were far removed from their original contexts, and were created long after the Romans had concluded their most important conflicts with Celtic peoples. The statues can be viewed as being part of elaborate displays of an idealised past in which the Romans were victors.³⁵⁷

By the Augustan period the Celts of Gaul had been incorporated into the Empire, something very uncommon by Greek standards.³⁵⁸ The Gallic elite had moved rapidly into imperial service and were accepted as bearers of the duties and responsibilities of Rome.³⁵⁹ Galatian identity was also influenced by Roman rule, although it developed in a different way to that in Gaul, as there was little Italic influence in central Asia Minor for much of the republican period.³⁶⁰ Despite this, the cultural identity of the Galatians was slowly integrated into the Roman world and

³⁵⁶ Ferris, 2000: 32-33.

³⁵⁷ Marszal, 2000: 219-220.

³⁵⁸ Ferris, 2000: 2.

³⁵⁹ Ferris, 2000: 23. Woolf, 1998 charts the cultural changes that occurred as Gaul turned Roman. See especially p.34-40 for the introduction of Roman political structures in the region, as well as examples of Gallo-Roman individual experiences within these structures.

³⁶⁰ Mitchell and French, 2012: 225-306 provide many examples of the use of Roman names among the Galatian elite on inscriptions from Ancyra.

throughout the period of the Empire, the Galatians picked up many of the trappings of their rulers, such as personal names.³⁶¹ Other aspects were more stubborn, however, as the Galatian language did survive quite late into the fourth century AD.³⁶² Over time the Galatians lost much of their local distinctiveness and new categories of identity were constructed from Roman and then Christian models.³⁶³ Why then, if the Celts in the west and the Galatians in the east were no longer the barbarians they once were, did the Romans choose to portray their ancestors as barbarians? It appears that once these peoples were integrated into the Empire and became Romans to an extent, they were not perceived to be of primordial barbarian stock like their ancestors.³⁶⁴ Roman culture seems to have been able to distinguish their Celtic forbears as barbarians, depict them as such in statues and other artistic ways, and yet sit next to their

³⁶¹ Strobel, 2007 provides an extensive exploration of the aspects of Galatian identity that survived into the Roman period, such as the ethnic *koina* (the Tectosages in this case) in Ancyra and in other cities and sanctuaries, p. 377-382. He also points out that Galatian names did survive until the fourth century AD when the Christianisation of Anatolia completely changed onomastic materials, p.382-384. Strobel's argument, however, rests on onomastic material and language. Names and the spoken language are not the only indication of culture and identity and he does not do enough to recognise the fact that Roman names were popular alongside Celtic ones. Inscriptions from Ancyra provide many examples of Galatians with Roman names who were part of Galatian *koina*, Mitchell and French, 2012: 225-272. Coşkun, 2012b shows that Roman names became popular during the latter half of the first century AD and that Celtic names disappear during the third century AD. Furthermore, the fact that Celtic was spoken well into the fourth century AD is not a strong argument as we know little about the extent to which it was spoken, it could have only been prominent in a few marginal and isolated communities. This does not, however, detract from the fact that Roman names were also popular alongside Galatian ones during the second and third centuries.

³⁶² Jerome, *Comm. in. ep. ad Galatas*, 2.3.

³⁶³ Mitchell and Greatrex, 2000: 135-139; Although Strobel, 2007: 360, n.27 argues that their strong emphasis on the consistency of the Roman administrative structure as the essential factor for the preservation or disappearance of local ethnic identities is problematic.

³⁶⁴ This idea was firmly rooted within the Roman mind. The Galatians became known to the Romans as 'Gallogreeks' (Gallograeci), indicating a less than complete 'Celtic' identity, from as early as Caes. *B Alex.* 67, 78. This term was also used during the Augustan period by Livy, 37.38, 38.45. See also Strobel, 2007: 358; Livy, 38.17.10 is perhaps the strongest proponent of the idea of degeneration, claiming that this mixing was a cause of their defeat in 189 BC.

descendants in the senate.³⁶⁵ How exactly the other senators dealt with this cognitive dissonance is difficult to say, but it did enable a barbarian image to be maintained and through Greek influences, it developed throughout the Augustan period as a literary and artistic motif. This helped the historic Galatians to again become the barbarians they once were. This trend is not only restricted to artistic evidence but is matched by Roman and Greek textual sources that similarly portray the Galatians as barbarians and show how this image was intimately intertwined with a variety of media.

4.5: Conclusions

Representing the Galatians as barbarians in sculpture was a practice that began almost immediately after their migration into Asia Minor. Just as with the inscriptions, it seems to have been an effective way of locating the newcomers within a Greek scheme of thinking. If this stereotypical depiction was shaped by influence from Delphi and the Greek mainland, then it is not surprising that such an image would have gone beyond epigraphic evidence and affected the many ways in which the Greeks responded to the Galatians. As always, however, scholars are at the mercy of the sources and must rely on what survives, but it is clear that Asia Minor was a region that embraced this motif and helped to spur on its development.

The depiction of the Galatians in sculpture developed over time and was perfected by the artists at Pergamum. They turned what appear to have been small and unrefined visual depictions, designed for local contexts, into the Hellenistic baroque works known today. These were global statues erected at Pergamum and Athens and the Attalids gained great prestige on the world stage through their self-representation as saviours against the barbarian menace. Although the Romans inhabited a very different context to the third century BC Attalids, later Roman consumption of this Pergamene material helped shape not only their perceptions of the Hellenistic

³⁶⁵ Woolf, 2011: 112 provides a comparable perspective from the Roman west. He claims that although dramatic changes occurred in Gaul during the first centuries BC and AD, such as new ritual systems and cosmologies, changes in urbanisation and monetarisation, major shifts in consumption and in production, earlier stereotypes had a good deal of staying power.

Galatians, but also other Celtic peoples. It is important, however, to keep in mind that this image was at odds with the realities of the Galatians and the Celtic groups who lived during the period of Empire, creating a dissonance between contemporary peoples and their ancestors.

Finally, as artistic creations are by their very nature open to interpretation, it is difficult to say for sure what the sculptors or the commissioners of these statues truly intended to portray. The transplanting of Hellenistic styles into Rome meant that images crossed centuries and cultures and were introduced to completely different contexts. This process created a whole new set of messages to be deciphered. Some scholars have seen these statues in a different light and have argued for contrasting interpretations, again illustrating the complex place of the Galatians in the ancient world. These differing views will be addressed in chapter 6 of this work. What is clear, however, is that the Galatians were turned into stereotypes and however the statues are interpreted, to most eyes, they look like barbarians.

Chapter 5: Writing the Barbarian

5.1: Introduction

Textual sources are central to modern understandings of the Galatians and their place in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. Most of what we know comes from a variety of ancient authors and it is within their writings that the true complexity of ancient perceptions can be found. The Galatians can be presented as both the stereotypical and ferocious barbarians discussed in previous chapters, as well as in a more nuanced fashion, often as allies with agency, and in a positive light. It may appear odd to begin Part Two with long discussions on epigraphic and sculptural evidence, less significant sources of information; these, however, constitute the earliest contemporary responses to the Galatians. Very few texts relating to the Galatians survive from the third century BC, leaving a large temporal gap, an ideal situation for inaccuracies to develop. Importantly, what little that does survive from the third century BC appears to present the Galatians in a stereotypical way. This dearth contrasts with the relative profusion of writings that appear from the first century BC onwards. Many of these later authors do little to refrain from painting the historic Galatians as barbarians, going as far as to characterise them as bloodthirsty caricatures.

The main thrust of this chapter will, therefore, focus on investigating the image of the Galatians in Greek and Roman texts from the third century BC and then the first century BC onwards. As discussed in previous chapters, the initial responses to the Galatians during the third century BC were influenced by historical Greek perceptions and these helped to form a stereotypical image of the Galatians. The Galatians in effect filled a similar role to that of the Persians from centuries earlier and became the new archetypal barbarian. This perception did not remain static as the second and first centuries BC bore witness to a time of unprecedented integration within the Hellenistic and Roman worlds by the Galatian elite, which was aided by both their public and personal Hellenised personae. Moreover, this integration enabled the Galatians to interact on the middle ground and to become active partners in the construction of their portrayals in the ancient sources. The earliest evidence for this trend comes from the early second century BC with the Tolistobogian chieftain Ortiagon, who was the first

Galatian individual to show evidence for a Hellenised public image. Although the second century BC saw the buds of Hellenisation grow among the elite, there is still evidence for the portrayal of the barbarian Galatian during this time, albeit rarely. The Attalids continued to follow their predecessors' tactics of presenting themselves as saviours and the Galatians as barbarians to gain prestige well into the second century BC.³⁶⁶

The first century BC presents what is perhaps the most complex situation of all. It was a time that witnessed the flowering of Hellenistic culture among the Galatians and was a period that saw the elite actively integrate themselves into the political and cultural world of the Mediterranean. These endeavours are exemplified by characters such as the Galatian kings Deiotarus and Brogitarus who will be explored further in chapter 8. For now, it is necessary to keep in mind that despite their Hellenised personae and their strong connections with leading Romans such as Cicero and Caesar, the barbarian image never completely disappeared during the first century BC and could be employed against individuals when expedient, although it is important to note that the term was rarely used.³⁶⁷

It is often easy to assume that cultural trends evolve in a simple linear way, that the barbarian Galatian would be subsumed by the Hellenised Galatian and pass into history. Reality is far more complex. Although the Hellenised Galatian is most prominent in our evidence for the first century BC, the barbarian Galatian never goes away. The first century BC was a time when the Galatians were closest, both culturally and temporally, to the Greeks and Romans and their chroniclers. By the Augustan period, however, this gap again began to widen and over the following centuries authors appear to regress into biased and stereotypical views of the Galatians and the barbarian image experienced a resurgence in the textual sources. This change occurred

³⁶⁶ *OGIS* 763; *RC* 52; Burstein 88. An inscription commissioned by Eumenes II identified the Galatians as 'barbarians' (l. 10). Eumenes fought campaigns against the Galatians in 184/3 BC and 168-6 BC and this inscription was erected in honour of his final victory in Phrygia, see also Mitchell, 2003: 286. Habicht, 1990 provides more information on the relationship between the Attalids and Athens during the second century BC.

³⁶⁷ Cicero described the Galatian leader Brogitarus as a 'Gallograeco, impuro homini ac nefario' (A half-Greek, an impure and nefarious man) during the mid-first century BC, *Cic. Har. resp.* 13.28.

because the Galatians were no longer an independent force nor, importantly, no longer a threat to be reckoned with, after their integration into the Roman empire. Galatian identity also slowly evolved over the centuries and became heavily influenced by Roman customs, ideas and social behaviours. In a sense, the Galatians became the memory of the Galatians and without contemporary contact between authors and their Galatian counterparts, older textual perceptions from previous centuries became more influential and had a profound effect on later depictions of the Galatians.

Stereotypical, theatrical and dramatic representations seem to have been valued, and this contributed to the resurgence of the barbarian image from the Augustan period onwards. Furthermore, Roman perceptions were also influenced by their own experiences with the mythical and historical Celtic invaders of Italy, a factor which affected Roman authors' portrayals of the Galatians in later centuries, creating an inaccurate and barbarian view of a people they had once been closely allied with. Roman presentations of the Galatians continued to be affected, especially in the case of Livy, by earlier Greek perceptions of the Celts. Livy exemplifies this tangled web of influence as his reliance on Polybius' writings resulted in an inaccurate amalgamation of traditions. Not only does this reveal how older Greek and Roman perceptions of the Galatians (and conflation with other Celtic peoples) managed to influence later depictions, it also illustrates the complexity of the image of the Hellenistic Galatians in later antiquity.

This chapter will first explore evidence for a barbarian portrayal of the Galatians in the earliest textual sources and then focus on texts from the first century BC onwards, a time when the Galatians were presented most clearly as stereotypical barbarians. It will demonstrate that Roman textual sources were not only heavily influenced by Greek thought, but that Roman authors even combined both Greek and Roman sources to create an impure depiction of both the Galatians and other Celtic peoples. This is matched by Greek texts that illustrate how the barbarian image never disappeared from the sources but was expressed more vigorously at certain times and in certain contexts. This is not to say that the Hellenistic Galatians are always represented as barbarians in the later sources, but it does appear to be the prevailing trend. Overall it reveals how the Galatians occupied, as did all ancient peoples, a complex and often contradictory place within the minds of the Greeks and Romans

and that this complexity is worth addressing to appreciate modern understandings of their position in the ancient world.

5.2: Early Textual Representations of the Galatians

The bulk of textual sources that present the Hellenistic Galatians as barbarians come from the first century BC onwards; this, however, does not mean that earlier contemporary texts do not survive. While there is no shortage of later Greek and Roman authors who wrote about the events of the third century BC, the main issue confronting scholars is that so few authors who flourished during the time of the migrations wrote about the Galatians and their activities. The earliest contemporary author to do so, or at least for whom evidence survives, was the Alexandrian poet Callimachus (who flourished 285–246 BC).³⁶⁸ Although he was contemporary, he was also geographically distant, writing in Egypt, far from the epicentre of the invasion of Greece and the migrations into Asia Minor. His poetry reveals, like the epigraphic and sculptural material, that the barbarian image was permeating textual sources quite early on.

Callimachus, in his *Hymn to Delos*, described the Proto-Galatians who invaded Greece as barbarians and attempts to other them in three distinct ways, which not only reinforced their perceived barbaric nature but also matched other contemporary and later responses.³⁶⁹ First and foremost, he employed the term ‘barbarian’, a clear evocation of their perceived nature, and links barbarism, war and the Celts within the same breath.³⁷⁰ Second, the comparison with the giants, together with the use of ‘barbarian’, also locates them within a barbarian context. This is a theme that is first found in Callimachus’ writings, but can also be seen in later Attalid representations, such as the Little Barbarians statue group from the Acropolis of Athens. The theme of the Gigantomachy represented the universal battle of order and chaos, casting the

³⁶⁸ Petrovic, 2013.

³⁶⁹ Callimachus is quoted and discussed in greater detail in chapter 1.3.2.

³⁷⁰ Callimachus, *Hymn 4*: 172-173. The text of the *Hymn to Delos* can be found in chapter 1.

Galatians as the bearers of disorder and death.³⁷¹ Finally, he describes them as being as numerous as both snowflakes in a snowstorm and the stars in the night sky, and claims that they will throng the Greek world with their numbers and cause great destruction, similar to the hordes of Persians who descended upon Greece during the early fifth century BC. Overwhelming numbers in comparison to civilised peoples was an apparent characteristic of the barbarians.³⁷²

Callimachus' writings show that stereotypical reactions to the Galatians were not merely local but global too. His position within the Ptolemaic kingdom also meant that, unlike the cities of western Asia Minor, he was likely under less influence from Delphi.³⁷³ Moreover, as has been discussed in chapter 1, his portrayal might have been influenced by the revolt of the Celtic mercenaries on the Nile, further suggesting that responses to the Galatians on a more global level might have been influenced by perceptions of the Celts.³⁷⁴

Other similar but sporadic portrayals can be found in contemporary texts throughout the following centuries but those from the second and early first centuries BC occurred at a time when the relationship between the Galatians and the Greeks and Romans was at its most complex because of Hellenisation, the cotemporary nature of the authors and their subjects, the integration of the Galatian elite into the global political order, as well as the coming of Rome to Asia Minor. Despite this, the barbarian image did not disappear and hints of this portrayal did recur throughout the early-mid first century BC and can be glimpsed in authors such as Parthenius of Nicaea and Antonius Thallus of Miletus. Little is known of Parthenius' life and his dates are highly disputed, but he probably flourished during the mid-first century BC.³⁷⁵

³⁷¹ Strootman, 2010: 31. For more on the Gigantomachy in the ancient sources see Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.6.1-3; Ovid. *Met.* 1.151- 62; Strabo, 10.5.16; Paus. 8.29.1-2; Diod. 4.21. See also Hes. *Theog.* 485ff; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.1.5-7, 1.2.1; Hyg. *Fab.* 118; Diod. Sic. 5.70; Paus. 8.8.2. for the fighting between the Gods and the giants.

³⁷² Eckstein, 1995: 120; Polyb. 2.35.8 for the Greeks; Polyb. 2.18.6-7 and Polyb. 22.6-8 for the Romans.

³⁷³ Although Callimachus' homeland of Cyrene was visited by the *Theoroi*, see Plassart, 1921: 62.

³⁷⁴ Ptolemaic cities in Egypt appear to have passed over by the *Theorodokia*, who focused on the old-world regions of the Greeks, Erskine, 2013: 355.

³⁷⁵ Lightfoot, 1999: 9-16.

Parthenius described the Galatians using the unflattering term ‘βάρβαρος’.³⁷⁶ Parthenius also spent much of his life in Rome, famously as tutor to Vergil, and so he was influenced by Roman perceptions as well as Greek. Antonius Thallus of Miletus was an epigrammatic poet who flourished during the late first century BC and received Roman citizenship. He portrayed the Galatians as impious rapists in the *Palatine Anthology*, a much later production.³⁷⁷

Both Parthenius and Antonius Thallus, Greek authors who were strongly integrated into Roman culture, show how Greek and Roman traditions had become intertwined, an important factor influencing presentations of the Galatians. Other examples of more complex portrayals from the second and early-mid first centuries BC will be addressed in Part Three of this work, where the nuanced nature of responses can be investigated thoroughly. The rest of this chapter will instead explore perceptions of the Galatians from the first century onwards, a time when the Galatians were presented as not only stereotypical barbarians, but often as monstrous and inhuman.

5.3: Later Roman Authors

Previous chapters have examined Greek and Roman responses to the Galatians in inscription and sculpture. These media have their own intricacies, strengths and weaknesses that need to be appreciated by scholars wishing to delve into what they portray and understand the motives behind their creation. Surviving contemporary evidence from the third century BC regarding the Galatians is scant, especially literary evidence, and therefore, the inscriptions and sculptures played a central role in our understanding of initial Greek responses. Contemporary literary and textual sources only truly come to the fore during the second century BC with authors such as Polybius, and became the main source of contemporary evidence for the first century BC. It was from the Augustan period onwards that a stereotypically barbarian portrayal of the Galatians became the mainstay of both Greek and Roman textual sources. These

³⁷⁶ Parthenius, 8.

³⁷⁷ Antonius Thallus, *Anth. Pal.* 7.492; Livingstone and Nisbet, 2010: 12.

sources deal with a time when the Galatians did not exist as their own independent state, having been annexed by Rome and converted into a province in 25/4 BC.³⁷⁸ It is true that text is not a piece of glass through which to view the ancient world, but rather an author's interpretation of that world, and one that has been exposed to centuries of copying and varying perceptions.³⁷⁹ This is the case for all texts but an advantage of the sources from the third to the first centuries BC is that some of them were contemporary and created by those who had direct contact with the people and individuals they wrote about. Modern scholars still have to contend with the perceptions and interpretations of the ancient authors, but the contemporary nature of some sources is a great advantage. For the authors who wrote during the period of Empire, however, things become even more complicated. The Galatians by this point were not an independent force to be reckoned with and Roman authors such as Livy and Justin did not meet the individuals, or have direct contact with the historic peoples, whom they wrote of. It is precisely this cultural and temporal situation in which an environment for stereotyping could, and did, flourish. This distance expressed itself through the resurgence of the barbarian Galatian in textual sources. The most prominent Roman authors that dealt with the Galatians during this period, such as Livy, who characterised the Galatians as uncivilised, degenerate and unintelligent, very much in the Greek vein of things, and Pompeius Trogus (Justin), who employed the term 'barbarus' to describe the Galatians, adhere to this barbarian depiction.

The term barbarian or 'barbarus' in Latin came directly from the Greek and was originally used to describe non-Greek speakers. It is onomatopoeic as it supposedly came from the incomprehensible 'bar, bar bar' sounds a foreigner would make.³⁸⁰ This concept might have been simple enough to cross cultures but its connotations were, and still are, highly controversial. Just as Greek concepts of the barbarian have moved on from Edith Hall's binary view of 'Greeks and others' and are now more sensitive to the complexities of this image, so too are Roman perceptions of the barbarian today noted for their complexities. One main difference between

³⁷⁸ Strobel, 2007: 359.

³⁷⁹ Kraus and Woodman, 1997: 1-8 explore issues surrounding the survival of Roman textual sources.

³⁸⁰ Ferris, 2000: 3. A well-known passage of Strabo, 14.2.28 also discusses the roots of the term.

Greek and Roman attitudes, however, was that the Romans were more culturally accommodating to foreign peoples within their empire and provided a way for those whom they conquered to become citizens and to assimilate.³⁸¹ Just as for the Greeks, the barbarian filled an important role for the Romans. The barbarian was a tool of Roman propaganda and helped to solidify their dominance. The triumph for example, that most Roman of customs, provided ocular proof of Rome's great foreign victories to its citizens. Captured peoples were a central part of this and helped to display to the Roman spectators their own supremacy. The barbarians themselves also constituted an audience to be convinced of Rome's greatness and in turn their acceptance of defeat provided more proof of Rome's power to all involved.³⁸² While, on the one hand, the barbarians were the defeated enemy, on the other, they provided the sustenance needed to stroke Rome's collective ego and to sustain and increase its prestige.

The Romans, a people who were once described as barbarians by the Greeks, were also unique for being the first to 'write back' and adopt a diametrically opposite response to Hellenising barbarology. The Romans had to defend their position as civilised in response to the Greeks, something that the Greeks took for granted. Early Roman historians like Fabius Pictor appropriated the language and forms of Greek historiography in order to make the Romans appear civilised and this enabled them to tell their own story.³⁸³ The Romans then went from being barbarians to a civilised people who characterised others as barbarians. Their approach differed from the Greeks in their readiness to incorporate others during later centuries and it was precisely this ability to become Roman that aided in the revival of the historic barbarian Galatian in their histories, which contrasted with how they treated contemporary Galatians.

³⁸¹ Ferris, 2000: 4; Dench, 2005 investigates the agglutinative nature of Roman identity and its conspicuous incorporation of new peoples and cultures, see especially p. 117-143 for foreigners and Roman citizenship.

³⁸² Feldherr, 2009: 304-305.

³⁸³ Feldherr, 2009: 304.

5.3.1: Livy's Galatians

It is in the writings of the Roman historian Livy that the entrenchment of the barbarian Galatian can be witnessed. Unlike previous authors, Livy broadcast this image in a more prominent and consistent way and it became the standard representation of a people whose image had been consigned to history. This section will explore the ways in which Livy portrayed the Galatians as barbarians, such as his terminology, and investigates the reasons why such a stereotypical perception of the Galatians permeated his work. It will argue that Livy's Galatians were the result of an inaccurate association with other Celtic peoples and that these perceptions were themselves the result of an amalgamation of Greek and Roman traditions. His reliance on Polybius as a source for the Galatians and other Celtic peoples was a central cause of this. Livy's portrayal of the Galatians in book 21 appears to mirror his Celts in book 5, which were in turn likely influenced by the Celts in book 2 of Polybius *Histories*.

Livy was responsible for not only one of the longest discourses on the Galatians, but his writings also constitute the most detailed account of their military tactics. His work illustrates that during the Augustan period a stereotypical and barbarian image of the Galatians had become the model. Livy was born in Patavium (modern day Padua) in 64 BC and was responsible for writing the *Ab Urbe Condita*, a monumental history of Rome, which consisted of at least 142 books (only a third of his narrative survives).³⁸⁴ He flourished during the Augustan period and died in or after AD 12. Livy relied on Polybius for much of his histories and his writings on the Galatians are no exception.³⁸⁵ Livy preserves the most detailed account of Consul Manlius Vulso's invasion of Asia Minor in 189 BC and much of book 38 is dedicated to this account.³⁸⁶ He not only provides a narrative of the campaign and of the actions of the Romans who took part, but also records much about the Galatians such as their military tactics and provides a brief background to their migration into Asia Minor.

³⁸⁴ Chaplin, 2013. Walsh, 1961: 1-19 provides a useful background to Livy's life. Patavium was in northern Italy - in Cisalpine Gaul - a region that had had regular problems with the Celts, especially in 220s BC and during early Hannibalic War.

³⁸⁵ Ogilvie, 1965: 5; Briscoe, 2008: 1.

³⁸⁶ Livy, 38.16-28.

Some of this is contained within a speech credited to Manlius Vulso who reportedly delivered it to his troops before the invasion.³⁸⁷ The speech itself is almost certainly Livy's own invention as nothing similar survives in the work of Polybius.³⁸⁸ It does much not only to reveal how he perceived the Galatians, but also to provide an Augustan understanding of Roman perceptions in the second century BC. Chapter 4 addressed the idea that third century BC Greek sculptures could influence later Roman perceptions of the Galatians. Livy's speech is a reverse of this because it is, in a way, an example of later written sources painting the past with anachronistic perceptions. Livy vividly depicts the Galatians as barbarians in his work. While he describes them using the term 'barbarus' only once, this is bolstered by their depiction as unsophisticated and erratic, basing his historic Galatians not only on Greek depictions but also on an association with the historic Celts that invaded Rome. Centrally, to understand Livy's representations of the Galatians and other Celtic peoples, it is necessary to also recognise Polybius views, as Livy used the Greek author for much of his writings on the Gallic invasions of Italy, as well as the invasion of Galatia. Livy's portrayal of the Galatians was very much influenced by Polybius' writings and this meant that earlier Greek perceptions of the Celts were in effect, influencing later Roman impressions of the Galatians.

Importantly, Livy does label the Galatians as barbarians, employing the term 'barbari'.³⁸⁹ He describes them as 'savage' (*immanis*) and claims that the cities of western Asia Minor preferred Galatian barbarism to the 'slavery' (*servitus*) of Antiochus III. This is the only time that Livy describes the Galatians as barbarians and its context is interesting. In this passage, Livy's aim is to denigrate Antiochus III and his attempt is bolstered by the depiction of the Galatians as barbarians. This is an exaggeration on Livy's part to make the threat and negative opinion of Antiochus appear greater than it probably was. The use of the Galatians as barbarians in this way

³⁸⁷ For more on this speech and an analysis of its arguments see Strobel, 1996: 114-115.

³⁸⁸ Briscoe, 2008: 76. Tränkle, 1977: 130 argued that this speech could have been developed from a brief reported speech in Polybius, but there is no real evidence to substantiate such a claim.

³⁸⁹ Livy, 38.37.3 'immanium barbarorum'.

is therefore purposeful and an effective tactic; Antiochus is essentially *worse* than the barbarians.

Livy's use of the term 'barbarus' is backed up by his portrayal of the Galatians as a deceitful, warlike and irrational people.³⁹⁰ In this way, they fulfil many of the characteristics normally associated with barbarians. They are politically unsophisticated and unable to control their emotions, the opposite of good Roman leaders.³⁹¹ They are also depicted as sneaky, using the cover of darkness to accomplish their aims and holding no aversion to making surprise attacks.³⁹² Most importantly, they are described as warlike and dangerous. They are confident in their military abilities and Livy writes that they 'terrorised' the cities of Asia Minor upon crossing the Hellespont.³⁹³ Moreover, a powerful illustration of this is the claim that the Galatians fought naked, believing themselves to be great warriors and being so prideful that they had no need for armour.³⁹⁴

Manlius Vulso's speech states that the Galatians were the most warlike of all those who inhabited Asia Minor and that they occupied a region full of the most unwarlike of peoples.³⁹⁵ As it is unlikely that this speech comes directly from Polybius, it can be said to represent an image current in the Augustan era. It describes

³⁹⁰ These characteristics are seen in the depictions of other Celtic peoples, see Gruen, 2011: 141.

³⁹¹ Livy, 38.16.2, Leonnorius and Lutarius initially broke away from Brennus' army due to strife, which caused sedition (*seditio orta est*); 38.16.5-6, Leonnorius and Lutarius subsequently argued amongst themselves (*nova inter regulos seditio orta est*) not long after their split from Brennus' invasion army.

³⁹² Livy, 38.16.6-7; 38.18.6-7.

³⁹³ Livy, 38.16. 1; Livy, 38.16.10, 'tamen tantum terroris omnibus quae cis Taurum incolunt gentibus iniecerunt'. The use of 'terroris' here is evocative and dramatic, painting a picture of the chaos and panic caused by the Galatian menace.

³⁹⁴ Livy, 38.21.8; Diod. Sic. 5.30.3 records that some choose to go naked into battle. Polyb. 2.28 also speaks of such a tactic, although it did not appear particularly common among Celtic peoples. He tells of how the Gaesatae fought naked to prevent themselves from becoming entangled in brambles, although this may have occurred during only one battle. Polyb. 3.114.4 again mentions the naked Celts; Caes. *B Gall.* 4.1 records that the German Suevi fought in nothing but skins (*pelles*), although this does not necessarily imply nakedness. On a more general note, the complex nature of the term 'Celtic' makes descriptions of the Celts (like Diodorus' account) highly problematic.

³⁹⁵ Livy, 38.17.2-3, 'Non me praeterit, milites, omnium quae Asiam colunt gentium Gallos fama belli praestare'; 38.17.3, 'inter mitissimum genus hominum'.

the Galatians as tall, with long red hair, carrying huge shields and very long swords.³⁹⁶ They also lack Roman self-control and military discipline and Livy portrays them as having no battle decorum, preferring to leap about and to cause a great din with yelling and the clashing of weapons.³⁹⁷ He makes it clear that although this was a battle tactic used to make their enemy uneasy (Greeks, Phrygians and Carians were apparently susceptible to such tactics) the Romans were made of stronger stuff.³⁹⁸ Livy then claims that the Galatians are all bark and no bite as, although they appear formidable and terrifying, they rush into battle with enthusiasm and passion but quickly lose heart with the heat, dust and tiredness.³⁹⁹ It is Roman valour that wins out against Celtic ‘madness’ when the day closes.⁴⁰⁰

5.3.2: Livy’s Greek Influence

It is clear that Livy unequivocally depicts the Galatians as barbarians, not only through his terminology but also his portrayal of their actions and group characteristics. This presentation of the Galatians was not new or unique to Livy, but stretches back to the writings of Polybius and Greek ideas of the barbarian. More can be made of these passages. First, Livy introduces the idea that the Galatians of the second century BC were a degenerate example of their ancestors and that the Galatians of the past, before they settled in Asia Minor, seemed to have filled the role of the noble barbarian before this degeneration. Second, Livy sees a direct link between the Galatians and the Celts who attacked Rome during the late third century BC.

The Galatians, for Livy, occupied an interesting place among all the barbarian peoples. Livy appears to adhere to the Greek concept of environmental determinism,

³⁹⁶ Livy, 38.17.3. ‘Procera corpora, promissae et rutilatae comae, vasta scuta, praelongi gladii’. A similar account of other Celtic peoples is provided by Diodorus Siculus (based on the writings of Posidonius), 5.30.1-2. This depiction goes beyond the ‘northern barbarian’ type as put forward by Marvin, 2002: 212.

³⁹⁷ They are represented as the antithesis to Roman *virtus*, see Strobel, 1996: 113.

³⁹⁸ Livy, 38.17.4-5, ‘ad hoc cantus ineuntium proelium et ululatus et tripudia, et quatentium scuta in patrium quendam modum horrendus armorum crepitus, omnia de industria composita ad terrorem.’

³⁹⁹ Livy, 38.17.7.

⁴⁰⁰ Livy, 38.17.8, ‘Gallicam rabiem vinceret Romana virtus’.

i.e. that the environment can influence group characteristics.⁴⁰¹ This idea can be glimpsed in the work of Herodotus who wrote that the Greeks were a hardy race due to the poor quality of their land, which meant that they needed to be tough and innovative to survive.⁴⁰² It was Aristotle, however, who made the greatest contribution to the Greek notion of environmental determinism. Aristotle believed that lands to the east were gentle and warm and that those living within them had no need to strive and therefore, were weak. On the other hand, Europeans in the west were robust, bellicose, courageous and physically impressive due to the harshness of their land.⁴⁰³ Polybius too used this kind of reasoning. In his account of his home region of Arcadia in book 4, the Arcadians threaten to become rough and barbarous because of the harshness of their soil.⁴⁰⁴

This idea clearly influenced Livy's presentation of the Galatians. He describes the Galatians from the third century BC as warlike and physically impressive as a result of their ordeals and misfortunes and that once they came into Asia Minor, a land 'which could fatten them with all sorts of things', they quickly turned indolent and lost the vigour of their ancestors.⁴⁰⁵ In contrast to this, Livy portrays the Galatians of 189 BC as the degenerate (degeneres) descendants of these initial invaders because they had mixed (mixti sunt) with local populations to become Gallogreeks (Gallograeci).⁴⁰⁶ He believes that the Galatians came to absorb the characteristics of the feeble east, of effeminacy and luxuriousness, and became weaker peoples. Malius Vulso's speech also asserts that such characteristics would make it easier for his troops to defeat the degenerate Galatians. As Livy neither met Manlius Vulso, nor would have had access to a transcript of his speech, Manlius' words partially represent Livy's own views, or at least how Livy interpreted Roman perceptions from the second century BC. They

⁴⁰¹ For the history of environmental determinism see Thomas, 1925; Johnson, 1967: 46-48; Woolf, 2011: 44-51. Williams, 2001: 68-71 and Woolf, 2011: 32-35 explore environmental determinism in the context of the Gauls.

⁴⁰² Hdt. 9.122 compares this with Persian softness. See also Thomas, 2000: 107f.

⁴⁰³ See Arist. *Pol.* 1327b 23-33. Isaac, 2004: 60-69 discusses Aristotle's take on environmental determinism. Also, Hippoc. *Air Water Places.* 16-18.

⁴⁰⁴ Polyb. 4.21.1-3.

⁴⁰⁵ Livy, 38.17.17-18, 'quae copia omnium rerum saginaret'. Livy also uses the analogy of a seed to illustrate this idea. He claims that a seed's natural qualities are controlled by the characteristics of the soil in which it is planted, Livy, 38.17.10.

⁴⁰⁶ Livy, 38.17.9.

represent what readers would expect of the speaker. In this case, Livy thought it plausible that Manlius Vulso would have said such things about the Galatians.⁴⁰⁷ The Galatians to Livy not only fulfil (through their ancestors) ancient conceptualisations of the northern barbarians, but were also transmuted into the typically weak and luxurious barbarians of the east, revealing that the resurgence of the barbarian image had much to do with Greek prejudices.⁴⁰⁸

5.3.3: Amalgamating Polybius

Another important influence for Livy was the work of Polybius, which appears to have had a profound effect on his depictions of the Galatians. This section will argue that Livy's portrayals of the Galatians actually originate not so much from Polybius' depiction of the Galatians as his depiction of the Celts. This is a complex claim, which involves investigating two authors and several sets of battles across a range of books. When Livy's book 38 is examined closely, the way in which he portrays the Galatians appears to mirror the semi-mythical Celts (Livy's book 5) who invaded Italy and sacked Rome during the early fifth century BC. Furthermore, Livy's depiction of the Celts in book 5 shares many parallels with Polybius' Celts who invaded Rome in 225 BC (Polybius' book 2). Livy also reported a clear connection between the Galatians in the east and the Celts in the west and therefore it is very possible that Livy's Galatians are actually based on Polybius' Celts.

Firstly, it is necessary to assess the connection between the Galatians and the Celts in the west. Livy makes a direct link between the Galatians and the Celts who invaded Rome during the fourth century BC under the command of their leader Brennus. Livy, through the mouth of Manlius Vulso, claims that the Romans were once susceptible to the clamour, din and terror of Celtic armies and that at the battle of Allia (c.390 or 387/6 BC) the Romans fled before the Celts, which turned into one

⁴⁰⁷ Erskine, 2013: 345, speeches in histories are problematic as it is difficult to tell whether they represent the view of the historian or the speaker.

⁴⁰⁸ The idea of behavioural degeneration among the barbarians can also be found in Polyb. 21.40.2; see also Eckstein, 1995: 122.

of their major historical defeats.⁴⁰⁹ Livy then goes on to say that since that time the Romans have learned that the Celts are quick to surrender to exhaustion and weaken once their initial charge is spent. Because of this, the degenerate Galatian tribes of Asia Minor should present no challenge to his knowledgeable and formidable Roman army in their upcoming confrontation.⁴¹⁰ This connection provides a link across centuries and cultures for Livy and meant that the Celts who invaded Italy and the Galatians were, in his mind, of the same stock.

Centrally, Livy's depiction of the Galatians is very similar in many respects to his portrayal of the Celtic invaders of Italy in book 5, which could imply that he had conflated the two peoples within a Roman tradition of presenting the Celts. Just as with the Galatians in book 38, the Celts in book 5 are described as 'barbarians', noted for their military prowess, warlike nature, lack of forethought and clear judgment, noisiness in battle, and their susceptibility to heat (being northern barbarians).⁴¹¹ Moreover, as discussed above, Livy also reports a direct (although unsubstantiated) connection between the Celts at Allia and the Galatians, seeing them as one distended people.⁴¹² This would naturally lead to the assumption that Livy's portrayal of the Galatians was at least in part conflated with his own ideas of the historic Celtic invaders of Italy. But, when examined more closely, this depiction has deeper Greek roots.

Polybius was a central source for Livy's account of the invasion of Galatia in 189 BC. Book 21 of his *Histories* (which now survives as fragments) was the main

⁴⁰⁹ For more about the battle of Allia and the invasion during the fourth century BC see Williams, 2001: 140-185. Frey, 1995: 515-532 provides a more general discussion on the Celts in Italy.

⁴¹⁰ Livy, 38.17. This appears to fit the Roman penchant for exemplary histories, i.e. that the past can offer lessons for the future, Roller, 2009: 214-215. Livy does make the point that the Galatians during the second century BC were a degenerate, mixed race, but this does not detract from the fact that their stock originated in the west.

⁴¹¹ Livy, 5.38.4, 'Barbaris'; 5.36.4, military prowess; 5.36.5, warlike nature; 5.36.6-7 and 5.49.4, lack of judgment and self-control; 5.37.5-8, noisy, described as a racial trait here 'nata in vanos tumultus gens truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta compleverant sono.'; 5.48.2, abnormally affected by the heat. This aversion to heat is based on their characterisation as northern barbarians, more suited to a place of damp and cold: 'Quorum intolerantissima gens umorique ac frigori adsueta'. See Williams, 2001: 70-79 for more.

⁴¹² Livy, 38.17.

source for the Galatian events of Livy's book 38.⁴¹³ As discussed above, Livy's representation of the Galatians in book 38 is also highly similar to his portrayal of the Celtic invaders who attacked Italy and sacked Rome during the fourth century BC. Polybius does not provide much detail on the sack of Rome in his *Histories* and therefore, it is unlikely that Livy relied on him as a source for these events. This would suggest that Livy was adding a Roman flavour to his depiction of the Celts. However, an alternative answer may be found in book 2 of Polybius.

Polybius' presentation of the Celts and the battle of Telamon in book 2 is a likely contender for the origins of Livy's Celts in book 5 and his Galatians in book 38, and this is key to understanding the link between Polybius' Celts and Livy's Celts and Galatians. Polybius provides a detailed account of the Celtic invasion of 225 BC, which culminated in the battle of Telamon.⁴¹⁴ An account of the invasion was also contained within book 20 of Livy, which unfortunately does not survive extant in full and is instead mentioned in a *periocha* (summary) of the book.⁴¹⁵ Polybius characterises the Celts in a very similar way to Livy. For example, they are warlike, politically unstable, noisy in battle, they lack good judgment and are passionate.⁴¹⁶ Therefore, it is likely that Livy's presentation of the Celts in book 5 was actually based on Polybius' Celts. Livy had access to Polybius' works and would undoubtedly have read the passages concerning Telamon and the invasion of Italy. Moreover, Polybius' account of Telamon is strikingly similar to the battles with the Galatian tribes in 189 BC. Just as with Livy's Galatians, the Celts at Telamon are described as naked, defending a hill in a comparable way, making a great clamour, succumbing to ranged weapons and rushing wildly.⁴¹⁷ The description of the battle itself is also quite analogous as both Polybius and Livy mention that the shields employed by the Celts

⁴¹³ Briscoe, 2008: 56; see p. 1 for a detailed list of which passages in Livy correspond to Polybius.

⁴¹⁴ Polyb. 2.14-2.35. For more on the war see Erdkamp, 2009.

⁴¹⁵ Bessone, 2014 provides a background to the *Periochae* and Maréchaux, 2014 explores the transmission of Livy during the Middle Ages.

⁴¹⁶ Polyb. 2.18, warlike; 2.19.3-4, politically unstable; 2.29.5-6, noisy in battle, with the war cries and trumpets matching Livy's writings; 2.30.4 and 2.35.4, irrational.

⁴¹⁷ Polyb. 2.25.9-2.30.4.

and the Galatians were too small to cover their bodies adequately.⁴¹⁸ Additionally, Polybius writes that the Celts at Telamon were pelted with javelins, which caused them great distress and perplexity, and triggered them to charge down the hill in a blind rage, a description that is closely mirrored by Livy.⁴¹⁹

However, the direct connection between Polybius' Celts who invaded Italy and the Galatians in Livy is problematic. The link is tenuous as Polybius does not report a direct relationship between the two peoples in his work like Livy does. As discussed in chapter 1, terminology is often not a good indicator of ethnicity.⁴²⁰ Moreover, the Galatians in Polybius' writings are generally not presented in a barbarian and theatrical fashion like his Celts in book 2 or Livy's in book 5.⁴²¹ Therefore, it is likely that Livy created a false link between the Celts in Italy and the Galatians, which transplanted inaccurate characteristics from the Celts in the west and applied them to the Galatians in the east. Other hints can be found, such as the description of naked Celtic and Galatian warriors, which may also provide more evidence for this false link.

As already discussed, Polybius' description of the battle of Telamon shares many characteristics with Livy's battles against the Galatians in 189 BC. Comparable is the fact that both the Celts at Telamon and the Tolistobogii at Mt. Olympus fought naked.⁴²² Fighting while naked is not as commonly reported as assumed. Posidonius (preserved through Diodorus Siculus) recorded that the Celts tended to fight naked and it is mentioned once more in relation to the Celts in Polybius.⁴²³ Polybius writes that only one of the three tribes at Telamon, the Gestatae, fought naked and that this was

⁴¹⁸ Polyb. 2.30.3 and Livy, 38.21.4. This description is not mirrored by Posidonius (in Diodorus Siculus), who described Celtic shields as being as tall as a man and that they offered good protection, Diod. Sic. 5.30.2.

⁴¹⁹ Polyb. 2.30.4-5 and Livy, 38.21.7-9.

⁴²⁰ Polyb. 2.20.6 does not make an explicit connection between the Galatians and other Celtic groups. Livy, 38.17 for the connection between the Celts in the west and the Galatians.

⁴²¹ An exception is Polyb. 3.3, in which he describes the Galatians as barbarians. This is in his summary of his history - suggesting that it does reflect the tone of the book in which he covered it. If so Livy's account, while elaborated, might not be so far from Polybius's. If we see this characterisation as Polybius', it shows how he can hold 'stereotypical' views when it is the Galatians as a group but hold a different view when thinking about particular individuals that he knows. Polybius' views on Galatian individuals will be discussed in more detail in chapter 7.

⁴²² Polyb. 2.28.8 and Livy, 38.21.9.

⁴²³ Diod. Sic. 5.30.3 and perhaps 5.29.2; Polyb. 3.114.4

not to terrify their enemies, but to make themselves more agile across the brambles and thickets on the battlefield. The practice at Telamon appears to have been, not a custom, but a reaction to the battlefield conditions. Moreover, the fact that the two other Celtic tribes remained clothed implies that this was not a particularly common practice. This is not to say that the Galatians abstained from the use of similar tactics during battle. Naked Galatian warriors are characteristic of Pergamene sculpture and were clearly a common motif, but this may have been mainly artistic rather than factual.⁴²⁴

The similarities between the texts, the descriptions of the Celts and the Galatians, the battle site, the course of the battle and the rare portrayal of naked warriors all point to an influence from Polybius' account of the battle of Telamon. Polybius' sources for the Celtic invasion are unfortunately more difficult to discern. No source for the Celtic invasion during the third century BC is specifically mentioned by Polybius, but Walbank believes that Fabius Pictor (born c. 270 BC), known as the earliest Roman historian, was a likely one.⁴²⁵ He wrote in Greek rather than Latin and was influenced by Greek historical traditions. If Fabius Pictor was indeed the source for Polybius' presentation of the Celts then it would indicate an important Roman, as well as Greek, influence in their portrayals.

Livy's work demonstrates the complex context that Greek and Roman historians were working within; to what extent Polybius was influenced by his time in Rome and his reliance on Roman historians is difficult to say. Many of these Roman authors were in fact influenced by Greek sources themselves. It appears that by the time of Livy, presentations of the Galatians had been conflated with those of the Celts in the west, which were in turn based on older Greek and Roman portrayals of the Celts. Livy in effect imported older perceptions of the Celtic barbarian and applied them directly to the Galatians.

⁴²⁴ Livy's description of wounded Galatians lying prostrate on the battlefield, defeated not just by the enemy but also their own shame, is reminiscent of the sculptures discussed in chapter 4, Livy, 38.21.11.

⁴²⁵ Walbank, 1957: 27. For more on Fabius Pictor see Rawson 1991; Badian, 1966 and Beck, 2013a.

5.3.4: Justin's Epitome of Pompeius Trogus

Unlike with earlier authors such as Cicero and Polybius, Livy was one of the first major authors who flourished during a time without an independent Galatian kingdom, and there is no evidence that he met contemporary Galatians first hand. This played an important role in his presentation of the Hellenistic Galatians as barbarians. It is easier to stereotype the foreign and the unfamiliar, and his work survives as the first source to strongly portray this after the relative acceptance of the mid first century BC.⁴²⁶ Contemporary Galatians do not feature heavily in Roman histories or writings for much for the rest of the Empire, tending to appear in snippets or as passing comments. What we do find in longer texts is a focus on the historic Galatians, rather than the Galatians who became subject to the Roman Empire. One work in which the Hellenistic Galatians do appear frequently is that of Justin, who wrote an *epitome* of the history of Pompeius Trogus.

Justin's *epitome* presents a complicated but highly interesting situation. Justin flourished sometime between the second and third centuries AD, but his work is an abbreviated version of the universal history of the Augustan author Pompeius Trogus.⁴²⁷ Pompeius Trogus' family originated from the Gallic Vocontii tribe, which came under Roman sway in 125/4 BC.⁴²⁸ His ancestors became heavily integrated into the Roman structure and thus Trogus was a third-generation Roman who retained a Gallic surname. He was born around the middle of the first century BC and we know that he flourished during the time of Augustus. His work survives in its abbreviated form and it is thanks to Justin that this, the only pre-Christian Latin universal history, has survived. The term *epitome* is convenient but not entirely accurate. Justin did not merely abbreviate the work of Trogus but also reworked parts of it himself. In fact, Justin states in the preface that he 'plucked out' the parts of Trogus' work that he found most interesting and there is nothing to suggest that he copied parts verbatim.⁴²⁹ What Justin does do is provide a link between late first century and second/third century AD

⁴²⁶ A focus of chapter 8.

⁴²⁷ Not much is known about these two authors, see Yardley, 1994: 2-4 for a background to their lives.

⁴²⁸ Yarrow, 2006: 110-116.

⁴²⁹ Yardley, 1994: 5.

representations of the Galatians. Trogus presents a first century BC understanding in line with what is recorded by Livy. The circulation of Justin's *epitome* also meant that Romans during the second/third century AD were consuming these opinions and as Pompeius Trogus relied on Greek sources to write his history it enabled Greek perceptions to live on and influence later responses.⁴³⁰

What is striking is the way that the Galatians are presented in the work of Justin. They are the same fierce and savage barbarians seen in Livy. Although Justin does not say much directly about the Galatians, he does depict their character through his discussion of the Celts. The belief that the Celts who invaded Italy over the centuries were the same people as the Galatians appears to have been a common idea during the Augustan age and as shall be discussed later, is also present in the writings of some Greek authors. Just as with Livy, the *epitome* states that the Galatians were the same people as the Celts in the west.⁴³¹ This means that any depiction of the Celts can also partly constitute Trogus' and to an extent, Justin's, views on the Galatians. The presentation of the Celts in the *epitome* match both Livy's writings and earlier Greek sources such as Polybius and Posidonius (through Diodorus Siculus). The Celts are covetous, warlike, treacherous, irrational, politically unstable, numerous and inspired terror.⁴³² They are also defined as barbarians and are placed in opposition to the civilised Greeks, from whom they learned of agricultural practices and fortification.⁴³³ Justin also records one of the most barbaric acts committed by the Celts in Roman sources. He claims that during the Chremonidean war, a Celtic army, upon receiving an ill-omen, butchered their own wives and children to avert the dangers of

⁴³⁰ Yardley, 1994: 7; Beck, 2013b.

⁴³¹ Justin, *Epit.* 38.4.9-10 says that the Gauls of Asia differed from the Celts who settled in Italy only geographically and had the same origin, valour and style of fighting; 28.2.5 claims that the Celts who invaded Greece were of the same stock as those who sacked Rome during the fourth century BC.

⁴³² They are presented as covetous and possessing a penchant for plunder in Justin, *Epit.* 25.2.1, 25.2.6; warlike, 24.4.4, 'violent, reckless and warlike' (*gens aspera, audax, bellicose*), 38.4.8, 24.5.6, 25.1.5, 32.1.3; treacherous, 27.2.11; irrational, 24.8.1, 24.8.11; politically unstable, 20.5.7; numerous, 24.4.1, like a 'swarm' (*Asiam omnem velut examine aliquo inplent*), 25.2.8; see also Strobel, 1996: 75, n.90 for more on the idea of the Galatian horde; terrifying, 24.4.7, 38.4.9, 25.2.10.

⁴³³ Justin, *Epit.* 43.5.1. They are contrasted with the civilised Greeks and called barbarians.

the auspice and went into battle red from the blood of their own families.⁴³⁴ There have been claims that Trogus was perhaps influenced by his heritage and might have taken an un-Roman and flattering view of the Celts, but passages like this do not appear to support such a conclusion.⁴³⁵

5.4: Later Greek Textual Sources

Roman authors and their presentations of the Galatians during the Imperial period have been shown to have relied on earlier Greek sources and this helped lead to the establishment and sway of the Galatian barbarian in later Roman texts. This process was also influenced by the widening temporal and cultural gulf between the Romans and the historic Galatians. From the Augustan age, an ever-closer intermarriage between Greek and Roman sources occurred as Greek lands were subsumed under the Roman Empire and Greek and Roman learning continued to intertwine. In fact, all the Greek authors to be discussed in this section are noted for having not only lived their lives and flourished during a time of Roman rule across the Mediterranean, but some even spent a substantial amount of time in Rome or were closely connected to the Roman elite.⁴³⁶ Moreover, the fact that many of our surviving Roman sources were themselves heavily influenced by older Greek writings begs the question, how do we best define later responses to the Galatians and how should scholars approach these dual but intimately connected schools of thought? It is perhaps useful to think of the barbarian Galatian as a product of both Greek and Roman interrelations, a joint process that began with Greek sources during the third century BC (or even earlier if the idea of the barbarian is considered), and then continued with both Greek and Roman influences throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

⁴³⁴ Justin, *Epit.* 26.2.2-6.

⁴³⁵ For more, see Yardley, 1994: 8.

⁴³⁶ Greek education, principally the study of grammar and poetry, constituted a very important part of Roman education during the early empire, McNelis, 2002: 67-70. The Roman elite was expected to speak both Latin and Greek, Habicht, 1985: 118. The first century AD writer Quintillian records learning Greek as a boy, 1.12-14, and the list of canonical Greek authors to read 10.1.46-84. For more general information on Greek learning in Rome and the importance of Greek literature see, Marrou, 1956; Mullen and James, 2012; Fantham, 2013.

The historic Galatians not only became firmly entrenched as barbarians in later Roman sources and the subjects of dramatic, theatrical and frankly ridiculous stories, in particular the murder of their wives and children, but they had in fact become the terrifying barbarians of half-forgotten history. This image can also be mirrored in Greek sources from the Roman Empire. The Galatians were of interest to Greek authors from the late first century AD onwards, with Strabo (whose depictions are complex and shall be addressed in Part Three), Memnon of Heraclea and Pausanias being the main commentators. Later Greek authors reveal just how complex the image of the Galatian barbarian had become and many failed to adequately discern the difference between the Galatians and the Celts in the west. This means that while little can be said directly about the Galatians, the barbarian image of the Celts can often be applied to them. This is not always the case and it can be a tricky issue, as unlike with Roman authors, Greek texts often do not explicitly state the connection between the peoples. Despite these complications, the barbarian image of the Galatians remained prominent in Greek sources during the Empire. Two authors, Memnon of Heraclea and Pausanias, make assumptions about the connections between the Galatians and other Celtic groups in the west and both authors originate from Asia Minor, a region that had an intimate and often violent history with the Galatians. These factors played an important part in their presentations of the Galatians and help explain how later Greek responses were shaped.

Like those before him, Memnon of Heraclea's Celts are the savage barbarians that we have come to associate with later writers. Memnon provides a history of the crossing of the Proto-Galatians into Asia Minor and therefore provides the link between the Celts and the Galatians. Despite his very useful recording of this crossing, he says little about the Galatians after their settlement in central Anatolia and practically nothing regarding their activities after the third century AD. Memnon flourished during the first or second century AD and wrote sixteen books on the history of his home-town.⁴³⁷ His writings survive as a summary in the work of the ninth century Byzantine Christian author Photius. He probably also relied on another famous Heracleian historian called Nymphis who flourished during the third century BC;

⁴³⁷ Muccioli, 2013. Perhaps the second century AD, see Burstein, 1976: 3. Burstein, 1976: 3-4 provides more information on both Heraclea and Memnon as a historian.

therefore, Memnon's portrayal of the Galatians was likely influenced by earlier Greek thinking. Memnon might have had more to say regarding the Galatians, but we are at the mercy of the sources and what they chose to retain. Nonetheless, Memnon does provide a barbarian image of the Galatians in his work.

Memnon clearly records the crossing of the Galatians into Asia and therefore he perceived a commonality between the Galatians and the Proto-Galatians.⁴³⁸ This makes his portrayals of the Celts who were active in Greece prior to their migration into Asia Minor relevant to the Galatians. He uses the term 'barbarian' to describe the Proto-Galatians and portrays them as an exceptionally harsh and savage people, best illustrated by his description of Antigonus' defeat in 280 BC. He depicts them cruelly tearing apart Antigonus Gonatas after they defeated the Hellenistic leader in battle.⁴³⁹ They are also described as greedy ransackers, with a desire for booty.⁴⁴⁰ They are irrational, do not make adequate preparations for war, but are willing to fight nonetheless.⁴⁴¹ Interestingly, especially for a late Greek author, Memnon also describes the Celtic sack of Rome in the fourth century BC, and while the link is not made explicit, the connection between the Galatians and these Celts can be argued for due to their inclusion and close location in his work.⁴⁴² This could imply that Memnon was influenced by Roman histories of the Galatians such as Livy and Pompeius Trogus, as later Greek authors tend not to report the link between the two peoples in this fashion.

Pausanias, another native of Asia Minor, provides perhaps the most famous, theatrical and barbarous presentation of the Proto-Galatians to be found in any author. Pausanias flourished during the second century AD (c.115-180) and is famous for his ten-volume *Description of Greece*, a work that serves as a valuable illustration of what was important to the educated Greek-speaking community about Greece during the second century AD.⁴⁴³ This genre of work is known as a *periegesis* and provides an in-depth account of the culture, history, mythology, topography and geography of

⁴³⁸ Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.11.4.

⁴³⁹ Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.11.2, 'τοὺς Βαρβάρους'; Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.8.8.

⁴⁴⁰ Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.11.1; 14.3.

⁴⁴¹ Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.20.2.

⁴⁴² Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.18.1.

⁴⁴³ Hutton, 2013. For more on Pausanias' background see Habicht, 1985: 1-27 and Arafat, 1996: 9-12;

Greece. Although it has often been referred to as a travel guide, such a form of literature did not exist in the ancient world and applying a designation like this questions the aims and intentions of the author and applies unwanted assumptions to a work from a very different time and context.⁴⁴⁴ Pausanias preserves the most detailed and extensive account of the Celtic invasion of Greece in 279 BC and is therefore the foremost chronicler of the activities of the Proto-Galatians. While Pausanias can be considered a historian and a mythographer (some believe that he did do a considerable amount of research, exemplified by his many stories that are unknown in other authors), his account of the Proto-Galatians and the Galatians is theatrical, stereotypical and very much adheres to, and exemplifies, later portrayals of the Galatians.⁴⁴⁵

Pausanias, although largely writing about the Proto-Galatians, does consider the Galatians of Asia Minor to be an offshoot of this larger migratory group. This is made clear when he describes the crossing of the Galatians from Europe to Asia.⁴⁴⁶ Although he is aware that not all the tribes that took part in the invasion of Greece eventually moved into Asia Minor, he does not make any meaningful distinctions between those who crossed and those who remained in Europe, nor does he say that other non-Celtic peoples joined the migrators east. To Pausanias, the Galatians constitute an unbroken link with the invaders of Greece. His presentations of the Proto-Galatians can therefore be considered relevant to the Galatians and second century AD views of the historic Galatians. What is more, the invaders of Greece also have origins among other Celtic peoples to the west and the Galatians are, by this extension, Celts in his eyes.⁴⁴⁷ This is of course problematic as Pausanias does not say much about the Galatians in Asia Minor and therefore, scholars are unable to say whether he thought that the descendants of the Proto-Galatians evolved and became distinct from their predecessors.

Pausanias created the most consistently barbarous portrayals of the Proto-Galatians of any author. First, rather than the sporadic and sparse use of ‘barbarian’

⁴⁴⁴ Elsner, 2001: 4-8; Pretzler, 2007.

⁴⁴⁵ Pretzler, 2007: 82.

⁴⁴⁶ Paus. 1.4.3; 10.23.14.

⁴⁴⁷ Paus. 1.4.1-4.

seen in other works, Pausanias is noted for applying it extensively to the migrators.⁴⁴⁸ He portrays them in a very similar way to the other authors in this chapter; they are plunderers, terrifying, deceitful, and spirited, but quick to lose heart.⁴⁴⁹ Pausanias also records the words of Phaennis, an oracle, who characterised the Proto-Galatians as noisy and lawless.⁴⁵⁰ He describes the invaders as savage, that they butchered not only the old, but children suckling at their mothers' breasts.⁴⁵¹ Pausanias, however, goes one step beyond these typical depictions. He establishes the Proto-Galatians as the enemies of the Greeks and the bringers of chaos and this in turn makes them the enemies of the gods. Pausanias records that the Greeks, although terrified by Brennus and his army, believed that they had to either defeat the invaders or perish, a simple, dramatic and false dichotomy.⁴⁵² He paints them as little more than beasts and claims that as they are devoid of pity or love, seized Greek women preferred suicide to capture. Pausanias then presents a harrowing and barbaric scene; he states that the Proto-Galatians, upon finding these women, raped the bodies of the dead and the dying.⁴⁵³ He also makes much use of the motif of celestial vengeance. The gods defend their shrine from Brennus and his army and send down the forces of nature (rocks and lightning bolts) upon the heads of the invaders and cause earthquakes beneath their feet. To top all this off, Brennus' army is struck mad by the gods as a punishment for their insolence.⁴⁵⁴

It is difficult to ascertain many specifics regarding Pausanias' sources. He rarely makes a clear distinction between literary research and information acquired on site, and although many authors and historians are mentioned in his *periegesis*, such as Polybius and Plutarch, they are frequently not credited as specific sources of information. Moreover, he often does not credit his sources at all. This can partly be ascribed to Pausanias' methods of information gathering. Pausanias seemed to have

⁴⁴⁸ Paus. 1.4.1; 10.20.6; 10.20.8; 10.22.4; 10.22.6; 10.22.11; 10.23.1; 10.23.3; 10.23.11;

⁴⁴⁹ Love of booty, Paus. 10.19.6; they caused terror among the Delphians, 10.22.12; deceitful, through extension with Celtic mercenaries in Egypt, 1.7.2; Valour and then panic after losing spirit, 10.22.6 and 10.22.7.

⁴⁵⁰ Paus. 10.15.3.

⁴⁵¹ Paus. 10.22.3.

⁴⁵² Paus. 10.19.12.

⁴⁵³ Paus. 10.22.3-4.

⁴⁵⁴ Paus. 1.4.4-7, the god Pan is specified; 10.23.1-2. Madness, 10.22.9.

relied on oral traditions for local information, on literacy works for his more extended histories, and he preferred to use the standard works of a period.⁴⁵⁵ This would imply that Pausanias' portrayal of the Proto-Galatians was based on an image already ingrained in Greek thinking, which judging by the typical characteristics mentioned above, it was. However, nowhere else do we see the term barbarian used so prolifically and such a bloodthirsty and base portrayal of the events of the migration during the early third century BC. It appears that the barbarian image continued to develop as time went on and that an increased distance between the author and the events he wrote of contributed to inaccurate and exaggerated portrayals.

Both these Greek authors originated from western Asia Minor, a factor that likely had an influence on their perceptions of the Galatians. Ancient authors who came from cities in western Anatolia appear to share a similar and rather hostile attitude towards the Galatians. It is possible that a cultural memory developed in the region, which helped create a sense of enmity towards the Galatians, who subjected the cities to attacks and raids during the 270s BC and then continued to lead incursions into the area over the next century.⁴⁵⁶ We know that first century BC authors such as Parthenius of Nicaea and Antonius Thallus of Miletus (discussed earlier) presented the Galatians as barbarians.⁴⁵⁷ Nicaea was situated in the north west, the first area to have been subjected to the Galatian migration in the third century BC. The Galatians also caused trouble for Miletus as it was attacked in 277/6 BC. Memnon's Heraclea was also located in the north west and we know that he used the third century historian Nymphis as a source. Nymphis (early-mid third century BC) wrote at a time when the Galatian attacks would have been fresher in people's minds and it is likely that Memnon's barbarian portrayal was influenced by this earlier author. Moreover, Heraclea was attacked by the Galatians in the mid third century BC and then again in the early second century BC, undoubtedly creating a civic hostility towards their aggressive enemies.⁴⁵⁸ Pausanias grew up in western Asia Minor, in the shade Mt.

⁴⁵⁵ Pretzler, 2007: 82, for a discussion on Pausanias' sources.

⁴⁵⁶ For more on this see Mitchell, 1993: 19-23.

⁴⁵⁷ Parthenius, 8; Antonius Thallus, *Anth. Pal.* 7.492.

⁴⁵⁸ Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.14; Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.20. See Mitchell, 1993: 19 and 23 for more.

Sipylos, near Pergamum, which was at that time a great cultural centre of the empire.⁴⁵⁹ This is perhaps why, unlike Strabo, Pausanias created such stereotypical portrayals of the Galatians and the Proto-Galatians. He was living within the sphere of Pergamene influence, a city that had a violent history with the Galatians and had created the barbarian sculptures that are famous to this day. Furthermore, his home town was situated in western Asia Minor, the region that felt the brunt of the Galatian migration during the early third century BC and it is possible that folk-memory and local histories kept alive the idea of the barbaric menace of old.

5.5: Conclusions

Although the barbarian Galatian can be witnessed in texts throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods, such an image truly became pervasive from the Augustan era onwards. Livy's writings show that for the Augustan world, the historic Galatians had become very different to the likes of King Deiotarus in Cicero (see further chapter 8). Knowing individual Galatians, and conducting meaningful interactions with them, made it more difficult to describe them as barbarians.⁴⁶⁰ Conversely, being removed culturally, geographically and temporally appears to have caused the reverse, making the barbarian image easier to apply. Livy and the other authors were in effect creating their depictions away from the middle ground. There was no opportunity for these authors to interact with the Galatians whom they wrote of, nor could the Galatians take an active role in how they were portrayed. Examples like these reveal that although world-views could be formed away from the middle ground, they were often disconnected and uncoordinated. Relationships were frequently depicted in a stereotypical way because of violence and war, which meant that presentations were mediated through violence. Livy also shows how the Galatians and Celts could be used to legitimise Rome as a beacon of stability, urbanism and rationality, but only by creating contrasts.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁹ Habicht, 1985: 142.

⁴⁶⁰ A focus of Part Three of this current work.

⁴⁶¹ Woolf, 2011: 22-23 shows how similar processes occurred with the Romans and the Gauls in the West.

It is simpler to believe stereotypes without first-hand knowledge and this makes theatrical and dramatic stories easier to remember. Roman authors also reveal how, in an era that witnessed the intertwining of Greek and Roman educational traditions, Greek histories and other earlier sources of information could greatly influence contemporary perceptions. This of course caused issues, such as the improper application of Polybius' depiction of the Celts to the Galatians in Livy. The textual Galatians demonstrate a connection between Greek and Roman sources and reveal much about the intentions of the authors. An important issue for later Greek authors was the lack of any meaningful focus on the Galatians after the third century BC, instead preferring to explore the Proto-Galatians and the invasion of Greece.

This chapter has also argued that because many of these authors saw a clear and justifiable connection between the Celts and the Galatians, discussions and characterisations of the Celts can in some cases be applied to the Galatians. This is important as there is little in the Greek sources regarding the later history of the Galatians, especially after the migrations of the third century BC. Therefore, this barbarian image must be taken with a pinch of salt as for some authors, it relies on the perceived connection between the Celts, the Proto-Galatians and the Galatians. Scholars must be wary of taking these representations at face value, as many later texts simply mention nothing about the Galatians after their settlement and therefore say little or nothing about developments between then and their own time of writing. This implies that the later history of the independent Galatians was not of true interest to authors such as Pausanias and Memnon of Heraclea; rather, what was important to them was the dramatic period of the invasion. The fact that all the Greek authors discussed originate from western Asia Minor indicates that a regional awareness was important. The Galatians played a central role in the history of Asia Minor and therefore it is not surprising that Greek authors from the region were principal chroniclers.

The Galatians, rather than fading from memory, continue to be mentioned sporadically in sources concerning the later empire, and even crop up in Byzantine texts. Despite this, little is said about the Hellenistic Galatians, and what is reported tends to be brief or fragmentary. It does seem, however, that a specific Galatian identity was taken for granted in these later sources, implying that they remained

known well after being subsumed by the Romans.⁴⁶² Above all else, authors such as Livy and Pausanias demonstrate that the image of the barbarian Galatian during later centuries was pervasive and complex, and this was in large part due to the intertwining of Greek and Roman sources and the influence of earlier writings.

⁴⁶² For the fourth century AD see Gregorius of Nazianzus, *Or.* 22, 12; Basilius of Caesarea, *epist.* 207, 1; Ammianus Marcellinus, 22, 7, 8 and Hieronymus, *comm. in ep. ad Galat.* 2, praefatio. For the seventh century AD, see the author of the *vita* of Theodorus of Sykeon, *Theod.* 50, 12-19.

Conclusions of Part Two

On its most general level, the division between the Greeks of western Asia Minor and the Galatians was a cultural one. The Galatians were an unknown force that exploded onto the Anatolian stage and the cultural differences between the two groups were vast and were manifested most vividly by the image of the barbarian. This is not to say that the Galatians were completely opposite and other; after all, they were incorporated into the Greek mind-set through the established idea of the barbarian and the contrasting picture in different sources speaks to the complexity of this image. The Galatians were instead what the Greeks wanted them to be at certain times and in certain contexts. Judging by the inscriptions and sculptures from the third century BC, the framing of the Galatians in this was an active process on the part of the Greeks. The Galatians could be the thoughtless, irrational and sacrilegious marauders portrayed by some inscriptions and sculptures but, as Part Three will illustrate, this image could be completely absent in others. Nonetheless, despite these ambiguities, the image of the barbaric Galatian does appear to have been common from at least the third century BC and was manipulated to garner prestige, especially in Asia Minor. The region was the epicentre of contact between the Greeks and the Galatians and was a hot-bed for such depictions. The Attalids gained much prestige through the same tactics that were employed by the Aetolians and Athenians and broadcast their propaganda to a truly global reach. This helped spread the image of the Galatian barbarian throughout the Greek world and was aided by particularly dramatic and theatrical representations; it is easier to remember a stereotype. It is ironic that the Galatians, the enemies of the Attalids and by extension, civilisation, were integral to both Pergamene international prestige and artistic expression. It seems that the civilised cannot exist without the barbarian.

The sources betray their lack of familiarity and understanding of the Galatians. The inscriptions either chose to portray the Galatians as a singular horde or failed to go beyond describing them as Γαλάται. This is somewhat understandable as the invaders were newcomers to the Greek world. Although, the cities of Priene and Erythrae did conduct diplomacy with the tribes and this would have presented an opportunity to learn more about them. It is not until the 230s BC when we see more of

an understanding in the sources. The inscriptions from the sanctuary of Athena on the Pergamene acropolis show, for the first time, a greater consideration for the political makeup of the Galatians by supplying their tribal affiliations.⁴⁶³

By the 230s BC the Galatians had been in Asia Minor for almost half a century, more than enough time for the Greeks to learn a little about their bellicose neighbours. Despite this, we have no evidence of direct contact between Greek writers and the Galatians, nor do individual Galatians come through in the contemporary sources. This contrasts with the second and first centuries BC when contemporaneous authors such as Polybius and Cicero (discussed in chapters 7 and 8) interacted with Galatians directly, often on the middle ground. It is difficult to hold on to stereotypes after meeting people face to face, and it must have been hard to portray the Galatians as barbarians when the elite went to such pains to portray their Hellenised public images and personae. The Galatians were often what the Greeks wanted them to be, but this does not mean that the Galatians had no say in the matter.

Older stereotypes also heavily influenced later Roman perceptions and therefore it can be said that Roman understandings of the Galatians stretch back to fifth century BC Athens. Roman authors from the Augustan period onwards appear to regress into stereotypical and barbarian portrayals of the Galatians. Roman texts and copies of the statues from Pergamum illustrate nicely how such portrayals could be imported through Greek literature and arts. This of course, as is usually the case for historical research, does not do full justice to the truly complex situation of the sources. Part Two has focused on evidence for Galatian stereotypes, but hints at more complex and nuanced examples have been made throughout. Part Three of this work will explore these complex reactions to the Galatians, as whenever a barbarian portrayal appears, there are invariably more intricate examples within similar contexts. There are for example inscriptions from the 270s BC that do not present the Galatians as barbarians; the Pergamene statues have been interpreted by some as being more

⁴⁶³ *IvP*. 20; *OGIS* 269, ‘Βασιλεὺς Ἄτταλος νικήσας μάχῃ Τολιστ[οαγίους Γαλάτας] περὶ πηγᾶς] Καίκ[ου ποταμοῦ χα]ριστ[ή]ριον Ἀθη[ναί]’; *IvP*. 23; *OGIS* 275, ‘ἀπὸ τῆς παρὰ τὸ Ἄφροδίσιον πρὸς Τολιστοαγίους [καὶ Τεκτοσά] <γ>ας Γαλ[λ]άτας {Γαλάτας} καὶ Ἀντίοχον μάχης’. See also *OGIS* 276, *I.Pergamon* 24 for further mention of the Tolistobogii at the Caecus river, ‘[βασιλεὺς Ἄτταλος, νικήσας μάχῃ Τολιστο[αγίους Γαλάτ]ας περὶ πηγᾶς] Καίκ[ου ποταμοῦ, χα]ριστή[ριον Ἀ]θη[ναί]’.

sympathetic to the Galatians and there are authors, such as Polybius, Cicero and Strabo, who illustrate that reactions to the Galatians were wide ranging and multi-faceted.

PART THREE
BEYOND THE BARBARIAN

Introduction to Part Three

Throughout Part Two of this work the stereotypical and barbarian image of the Galatians as presented in the inscriptions, sculptures and writings of the Greeks and Romans was explored. The evidence revealed that a barbarian portrayal did come through in the sources and that it was more prominent at certain times and in certain contexts. What was continuously pointed out, however, is that whenever barbarian portrayals did appear, be it on stone, in sculpture or text, they were often matched by more complex and nuanced responses in similar contexts. This reveals that reactions to the Galatians were not monolithic and that not all the sources were blinded by stereotypes. Even when the Galatians were painted as monstrous caricatures, there were others that perceived them in an alternative way.

Chapter 6 will begin by addressing some of the more complex epigraphic, sculptural and textual examples that were hinted at in Part Two. Such a discussion will illustrate how even when the Galatians were portrayed as barbarians, there usually existed other sources that refrained from such a picture. This discussion should help provide a richer context and a more useful introduction to the nuanced Greek and Roman responses addressed throughout Part Three.

Chapters 7 and 8 will then focus on reactions from the second and first centuries BC. The discussion will investigate the important Galatian individuals Ortiagon and Deiotarus, leading figures in the second and first century BC respectively, and members of the elite associated with them. Ortiagon and Deiotarus do much to illustrate how active and passive Hellenisation was occurring among the Galatian elite during the second century BC, which in turn affected how they were recorded in Greek and Roman sources. Many sources show a greater sensitivity to the Galatians than those that perceived them as barbarians. This heightened awareness occurred because the Galatians during the second and first centuries BC were contemporaneous and more culturally recognisable to the ancient authors (at least for the texts that survive) than at any other time. Major authors who wrote about the Galatians, such as Polybius (second century BC) and Cicero (first century BC), were both contemporaneous and for the first time there is evidence that authors met the

Galatians they wrote of first hand, and even formed close bonds with them – they in effect created their depictions on the middle ground.

The sources from the second and first centuries BC offer possibly the most complex and nuanced presentations of the Galatians. They reveal that the ancients did not always view the Galatians as the barbarian marauders that seem to have come through in certain sources but, as integrated peoples who actively shared in the building of joint relationships. Chapters 7 and 8 will explore not only how the Galatians became more Hellenised throughout the centuries, but also how the Greeks and Romans responded to this.

Chapter 6: Contrasting Responses

6.1: Introduction

Inscriptions, sculptures and texts often portrayed the Galatians as barbarians and sometimes went as far as to depict them as exaggerated and distorted parodies. The following chapter will explore evidence that originates from contexts like those of the inscriptions, sculptures and texts from Part Two, but that portray the Galatians in a different way. These portrayals appear to have been driven by a variety of different factors and reveal how modern interpretations can have a powerful influence on perceptions of the Galatians.

The inscriptions from Erythrae and Priene (discussed in chapter 3), and their use of ‘βάρβαρος’ showed both an influence from Delphi, as well a reaction to their own contexts and conflicts with the Galatians. Other inscriptions from Asia Minor, however, demonstrate that presentations of the Galatians were complex right from the beginning. These inscriptions derive from the 270 and 260s BC and they originate from the cities of Thyateira, Cyzicus, and from two villages near modern day Denizli. While they do not employ the term ‘barbarian’, they do help to paint a picture of the threat presented by the Galatians as well as their otherness. It is important to note that the absence of ‘βάρβαρος’ does not necessarily mean that those behind the sources did not view the Galatians as barbarians, but it is useful to question why, during a time when this sort of terminology was common, other terms were used. This can possibly be explained by the purpose of the inscriptions.

6.2: Inscriptions

The inscription from Thyateira (275 BC) was dedicated to Apollo and erected by a father for the safe return of his son who had been captured by the Galatians.⁴⁶⁴ It speaks

⁴⁶⁴ Thyateira: Keil/von Premerstein, 1911: 14–15, n.19 for August/September 274 BC, Otto, 1928: 46, n.5 for 275 BC (and Strobel, 1996: 247), *TAM* V.2 881.

of the *soteria* of his son and credits the god Apollo for his divine help. This is a personal inscription rather than a public civic inscription and was not erected by the *demos* of a city. Whether or not the Delphic *theoroi* visited Thyateira we do not know. If they did visit, we might expect the use of βάρβαρος but at the same time its absence can also be explained by the personal nature of this inscription. As this is not an official inscription erected by the civic officers and intended for public display to the *demos*, it is very possible that the commissioner, the father, was not personally consuming the type of language broadcast by the Delphic ambassadors. On the other hand, the appeal to Apollo and the use of *soteria* could indeed point to a Delphic influence. The danger posed by the Galatians is evident in the inscription (especially the use of *soteria*) and this sort of language as well as the connection to the god does fit with the language and themes of the salvation of Delphi in 279 BC.⁴⁶⁵

καὶ τῆς τοῦ
 υἱοῦ Φανοκρίτου σωτηρίας, ὅς ἀ-
 λούς ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐσώθη.⁴⁶⁶

Whether the father or the inscribers were influenced by Delphi or not does not detract from the fact that this inscription avoids explicitly condemning the Galatians in the way that the inscription from Priene discussed in chapter 3 does. The inscription from Priene also dealt with a hostage situation, but it painted the Galatians as marauders and threats in harsh terms. It is especially surprising that the language used to describe the Galatians in this inscription is controlled and moderate, especially considering the personal magnitude of the situation, a father and a stolen son. It is possible that there was no need to broadcast a stereotypically dangerous and barbarian image like the other cities had done; there was no great prestige to gain here. Instead, it lays out the course of events clearly and relatively dispassionately and the purpose of the inscription remains to thank the god Apollo, not to condemn the Galatians. It

⁴⁶⁵ See the inscription from Cos, *Syll*³ 398 and the association between Apollo and the defeat of the Celts, Paus. 10.23.3.

⁴⁶⁶ Thus lines 9-11 run ‘and the deliverance of my son Phanocritus, who having been taken by the Galatians, was saved’.

reveals that even when the Galatians presented great danger, the default response did not have to be through a stereotypical lens.

Similarly, an inscription from 267 BC recording the joint decree of two villages - Neoteichos and Kiddiokome - praises one Achaeus and his estate manager named Banabelos for securing the safety of hostages taken by the Galatians. It highlights how the Galatians were a great threat to smaller settlements as well as large, something that is often overlooked as most of our evidence comes from bigger cities.⁴⁶⁷ The later date of 267 BC also shows that the Galatians were still a menace over a decade after they had first entered Asia Minor and despite the serious problems they caused for the villages, the Galatians are not identified as stereotypical barbarians.

βασιλευόντων Ἀντιόχου καὶ [Σ]-
ελεύκου πέμτου καὶ τεσσαρακο-
στοῦ ἔτους μηνὸς Περιτίου ἐ-
π' Ἐλένου ἐπιμελητοῦ του τό[πο]υ ἐκκλησί-
ας γενομένης ἔδοξε Νεοτειχεῖταις
καὶ Κιδδιοκωμίταις. ἐπειδὴ Βανά-
βηλος ὁ τὰ Ἀχαιοῦ οἰκονομῶν καὶ Λα-
χάρης Πάπου ἐγλογιστῆς τῶν
Ἀχαιοῦ εὐεργέται αὐτῶν γεγένηنت-
αι κατὰ πάντα καὶ κοινῆ καὶ ἰδίαι ἐκάσ-
του ἀντειλημμένοι εἰσὶν κατὰ τ[ὸ]-
ν πόλεμον τὸν Γαλατικὸν καὶ πολ-
λῶν αὐτῶν γενομένων αἰχ[μ]α-
λώτων ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐμφα-
νίσαντες Ἀχαιῶ[ι] ἐ[λυτ]ρώ[σα]ντο,⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁷ *CAH* VII.1²; Wörle, 1975: 59-87; *SEG* 47.1739; Burstein, 19; Austin, 168; Bielman, 1994: 90-94 argues that the loss of manpower would have been economically catastrophic to the villages, revealing the threat that the Galatians posed to smaller settlements.

⁴⁶⁸ Ll. 1-15.

It is difficult to say why this is the case, as the inscription from Priene, which reports a similar hostage situation, made much use of such an image. This could be attributed to the small size of the settlements. The *theoroi* would not have visited such minor villages and the residents might therefore not have been exposed to the influence from Delphi.

The final inscription discussed comes from Cyzicus in Mysia (277/6-275/4 BC) and lists the benefactions granted by Philetaerus of Pergamum to the city.⁴⁶⁹ It records that a gift of wheat was sent by Philetaerus to Cyzicus during what is described as the ‘war against the Galatians’ (ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας).⁴⁷⁰ Although the Galatians were threatening the food supply of the city, they are not presented in a stereotypical way. Cyzicus was an important *polis* in north-western Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period and it is unlikely to have been disregarded by the Delphic *theoria*.⁴⁷¹ It appears to record a rather neutral representation of the Galatians, which is perhaps an impression due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription. While it is difficult to understand why Cyzicus took such a dispassionate approach to their enemies, especially considering the inscriptions from Priene and Erythrae, what it does do is show that a wide range of responses was occurring throughout Asia Minor and that it would not be sensible to assume a uniform reaction on the part of the cities.

6.3: Sculpture

In terms of sculpture, an exploration into the Attalid statues and their Roman copies revealed how modern interpretations can play a central role in our perceptions of barbarity. In chapter 4, it was argued that the Pergamene statues appear to portray the Galatians as irrational barbarians, preferring suicide and familial murder to defeat.⁴⁷² However, as artistic creations are open to interpretation and because we will never know for sure what the intentions of the ancients were, scholars are at liberty to

⁴⁶⁹ *OGIS* 748, for the earlier dates see Launey, 1944; Mitchell, 1993: 16, n.41; Strobel 1996: 249-250.

⁴⁷⁰ *OGIS* 748: 18-20.

⁴⁷¹ Cojocaru, 2013.

⁴⁷² Mitchell, 2003: 286; Papini, 2016: 42.

understand and explain these statues in diverse and complex ways. It can also be argued, for example, that the statues, their contexts, and what they depict, are signs of human appreciation of fellow human weakness and suffering, a human sympathy that cuts across civilised/barbarian divisions. The Galatians that were carved by the Attalids may have in fact shown a more sympathetic side to the Greeks, a great contrast to the triumphalist way they have traditionally been interpreted. Marvin for example argues that the statues, rather than simply illustrating unrestrained barbarism, also show sympathy for the subject and that the Greeks and Romans likely saw the act as heroic.⁴⁷³ It is no wonder that these statues have become so famous and to this day are still the focus of much research and critique.

6.4: Texts

It was in the textual sources from the first century BC onwards, however, that the Galatians were turned into the quintessential barbarians familiar to modern readers. Roman authors such as Livy and Justin, and Greek authors like Memnon of Heraclea and Pausanias, were central to this portrayal and it appears to have become a widespread and popular image by the Augustan era. This is not the full picture, however, and by examining the work of Strabo it is possible to observe a more complex image of the Galatians. Strabo makes a tenuous link between the Tectosages and other Celtic groups and therefore his perceptions of the Celts can be acknowledged when discussing the Galatians. Despite this, when he does speak directly of the Galatians, they are not presented in a barbaric way and any barbarian image must be extrapolated from his depiction of the Celts in general.

Not much is known about Strabo's life. He was born in Amaseia, Pontus (Northern Asia Minor) around 64 BC and received a Hellenistic education before spending many years in Rome. He was responsible for writing a work now known as the *Geography*, one of the most comprehensive ethnographic works to survive from antiquity.⁴⁷⁴ It is not known exactly when he composed and completed this

⁴⁷³ Marvin, 2002: 222.

⁴⁷⁴ Dueck, Lindsay and Potheary, 2005: 1-4 provide a brief background to Strabo and his work.

monumental work, but most scholars believe that he wrote during the Augustan or Tiberian periods, or perhaps straddled both. Although having a Greek background and education, Strabo was closely connected to the Roman elite. The Roman realm was important to his world view and he spent much time in Rome and Alexandria.⁴⁷⁵ It has been argued that Strabo's view of the world was essentially Tiberian and therefore, that much of his work was completed after AD 14. However, it is difficult to say how much of the Tiberian world view was just a continuation of the Augustan age.⁴⁷⁶ Strabo has proven to be an influential commentator on the Galatians and his work has had a great impact on modern ideas of the Galatian political structure.⁴⁷⁷

Strabo provides the most detailed account of the evolution of the Galatian political structure to be found in any author. He claims that each of the three tribes were originally divided into four parts and that each of these four parts were ruled by a tetrarch, a judge and military commander. This council of twelve was supported by three hundred men who attended an assembly called the Drynemeton, where decisions on murder cases were made. Strabo goes on to say that the Galatian lands were then split between three rulers until they were eventually controlled by one king. Deiotarus and then Amyntas ruled as sole kings until the Romans took the region and turned it into a province.⁴⁷⁸ Strabo presents a picture of a complex and highly structured political system and nowhere does he portray the Galatians as barbarians. Although some scholars have taken this political structure at face value, there is little evidence to back up such claims in other sources.⁴⁷⁹

Strabo also asserts that while the Tolistobogii and Trocmi were named after their leaders, the Tectosages were named after a tribe from Celtica (Gaul). In book 4, he states that the Tectosages migrated to Asia Minor after sedition and revolt broke out in their homeland. Many were forced to leave and joined with the members of other tribes before moving to Asia Minor. The Tolistobogii and Trocmi on the other hand are not provided with Gallic origins.⁴⁸⁰ While this has influenced modern ideas

⁴⁷⁵ Dueck, Lindsay and Potheary, 2005: 2; Woolf, 2011: 69.

⁴⁷⁶ Lindsay, 1997; Dueck, 1999: 472-475; Potheary, 1997 and 2002: 392-395.

⁴⁷⁷ Coşkun, 2013c: 80.

⁴⁷⁸ Strabo, 12.5.1.

⁴⁷⁹ Maier, 2003: 101; Bringmann, 2002; Meid, 2007: 52. Coşkun, 2013c: 80-83 believes that there is little evidence to substantiate this political structure.

⁴⁸⁰ Strabo, 4.1.13.

relating to the origins of the Galatians, it is impossible to know for sure whether Strabo's claims are true.⁴⁸¹ It does appear that Strabo saw a link between the Tectosages and other Celts in the west. This link is, however, not as clear-cut as in some Roman sources that express a definite kinship between the Celts and the Galatians.

Strabo's portrayal of the Galatians is complex and this makes him stand out from other contemporary authors such as Livy. The Galatians are not described in a negative or stereotypical way by Strabo and, in fact, he believed that they had quite a sophisticated and structured political system during the Hellenistic period. He does, however, embrace a barbarian image of the Celts. Strabo describes them as barbarians and illustrates their lack of restraint and irrationality, in the same vein as other Greek and Roman sources.⁴⁸² Nomads are also painted as barbarians by Strabo and as such, the nomadic Proto-Galatians certainly fit this image.⁴⁸³

Strabo's origin in northern Asia Minor may have helped him form a more informed view of the Galatians. His hometown of Amasea in Pontus was located close to the lands of the Trocmi and the Tolistobogii. Unlike those authors from western Asia Minor, his city was not subjected to the migrations of the 270s BC and it could have held an entirely different relationship with its Galatian neighbours. Moreover, the fact that Strabo is one of the few authors to write about the Galatians of his own day is also noteworthy. In fact, he is the only later Greek author to do so. He states that in his time Galatia had become a Roman province (this annexation occurred in 25 BC).⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸¹ Szabó, 1991: 305, 307; Tomaschitz, 2002: 163

⁴⁸² 'Barbarians' in Strabo, 1.1.17 and 7.3; Lack of restraint, 6.4; Irrationality, 7.3 and 4.1.13 (political in-fighting). Strabo uses the term barbarian within the traditional Greek framework, see Van der Vliet, 2003: 261. Van der Vliet, 2003: 263 also addresses the barbarian image in Strabo,

⁴⁸³ Strabo, 17.3.22 and 17.3.24. See Strabo, 12.5.1 for the wanderings of the Galatians 'κατέσχον δὲ τὴν χώραν ταύτην οἱ Γαλάται πλανηθέντες πολὺν χρόνον'.

⁴⁸⁴ Strabo, 12.4.1, 'πάλαι μὲν οὖν ἦν τοιαύτη τις ἡ διάταξις, καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, εἴτ' εἰς δύο ἡγεμόνας, εἴτα εἰς ἓνα ἦκεν ἡ δυναστεία, εἰς Δηϊόταρον, εἴτα ἐκεῖνον διεδέξατο Ἀμύντας: νῦν δ' ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀμύντῃ γενομένην πᾶσαν εἰς μίαν συναγαγόντες ἐπαρχίαν', (Such, then, was the organization of Galatia long ago, but in my time the power has passed to three rulers, then to two; and then to one, Deïotarus, and then to Amyntas, who succeeded him. But at the present time the Romans possess both this country and the whole of the country that became subject to Amyntas, having united them into one province.)

While this passage is only a snippet, it implies that Strabo was interested in the Galatians' place within the local history of Asia Minor and contrasts with the more stereotyped writings of other Greeks like Pausanias and Memnon of Heraclea.

6.5: Conclusions

The examples mentioned above all do their part to illustrate how the stereotypical portrayals in Part Two do not present the full picture. They demonstrate how even during times when barbarian images reign, there appear examples that diverge from this trend. They also show how similar contexts do not always result in similar responses. It can seem easier to understand the processes and motives behind stereotypical portrayals than more nuanced ones. The evidence also shows how it can be difficult to fully understand why some sources refrain from portraying the Galatians as barbarians. What is important, however, is that they do. This fact alone illustrates the heterogeneity of Greek and Roman responses. The following two chapters will move forward from this and explore sources from the second and first centuries BC, the time when the Galatians were most integrated into the ancient world.

Chapter 7: Ortiagon and the Dawning of the Hellenised Galatian Elite

7.1: Introduction

The complexity surrounding the image of the Galatians in the ancient world has only been touched upon in the previous section. It illustrated that even during times when the Galatians appear to be predominantly portrayed as barbarians, there are often hints of a more nuanced picture. Complementing these findings, the following two chapters will focus on the second and first centuries BC, times that can be characterised by a more integrated, Hellenised and sophisticated Galatian elite. How the Greeks and Romans responded to these elite members of Galatian society can tell scholars much about perceptions of the Galatians more generally. It was during the second century BC, however, that the first signs of a sustained, complex and nuanced response to the Galatians can be found.

The key to these responses is Hellenisation.⁴⁸⁵ The Galatians show both active and passive evidence of Hellenisation in the sources and this can be illustrated most clearly by the Galatian leader Ortiagon and his wife Chiomara. These individuals have survived in the sources as more than mere barbarians and often appear as honourable and worldly figures. They contrast with the marauders found on inscriptions from a century earlier and the savage monsters in later authors like Pausanias. The effects of Hellenisation reduced the cultural gap between the Greeks and the Galatians and enabled ancient authors to recognise shared characteristics and thus, to see the Galatians as less alien. This period was also defined by a temporal closeness between the ancient authors and Galatian individuals. Unlike for Augustan and later authors, the Galatians recorded by Polybius were contemporaneous and this cultural and temporal closeness enabled direct contact. Polybius, writing in the mid-second century BC, is the first author to have recorded his own interactions with individual Galatians. This meant that identities were partly being formed between Greeks, Romans and

⁴⁸⁵ This concept is explored in chapter 2.

Galatians on the middle ground, which enabled some Galatians to take an active role in the formation and development of relationships and identities.

This chapter will show how Ortiagon's distinct place in written and epigraphic sources, his possible self-presentation as a Hellenistic king, the Hellenistic identity of his son and the deeds of his wife Chiomara all reveal an aristocracy that had come under a Hellenising influence from an early date. Furthermore, this evidence also shows how some ancient authors' perceptions of the Galatians were complex and often more informed than is generally believed. How these individuals were presented in the work of Polybius and other sources does much to show that the ancients were responding in a more sympathetic and subtle way, especially through the language used to describe them.

7.2: Background

Individual Galatians occupy a phantom-like place in the sources. They drift through a diverse array of texts and inscriptions, often remote and difficult to pin down, the majority known by their name alone.⁴⁸⁶ Despite this, it is still possible to learn about the lives of a select few. Most of these individuals can be identified from the migration period of the 280s and 270s BC as well as better-known personalities from the first century BC onwards, when Rome dominated Asia Minor. The most famous of these was the Galatian king Deiotarus, to whom Cicero and other Roman authors dedicated much ink. However, what of the intervening two centuries? There appears to be a dearth of evidence for Galatian individuals between the mid-third century and the early first century BC and this is mirrored in, and exacerbated by, secondary scholarship. Despite this gap, individual Galatians do begin to re-appear in the sources from at least the second century BC, notably the Galatian ruler Ortiagon and his wife, Chiomara.

Before delving into the story of Ortiagon and Chiomara, it is important to locate these personalities within second century views and understandings of the Galatians as a whole. This context helps to illuminate the importance of the more discerning portrayals of Ortiagon and Chiomara, as well as what these portrayals mean

⁴⁸⁶ See Freeman, 2001 for a non-exhaustive list.

for both ancient and modern perceptions of the Galatians. Ancient views of the Galatians who lived during the second century BC were varied and complex. Despite this, modern scholarship has had little interest in examining the evolution of Greek and Roman perceptions during this period. The Galatians had of course been viewed as a menace since their migration and subsequent raids against the Greek cities of western Asia Minor in the 270s BC and this perception did not disappear after settlement, primarily because the tribes were prone to making war with their neighbours.⁴⁸⁷ However, perceptions did not stay static and it is notable that alliances between the Galatians and their Hellenistic neighbours became more common throughout the late third and early second centuries BC.

A stereotypical and unreasonable assessment of the Galatians can be in part attributed to authors writing later than the second century BC. These later authors reveal how anachronistic writings could result in vastly different judgments. Some authors were quick to portray the Galatians as brutal and savage. Pausanias, who wrote during the second century AD, depicted their forefathers as cannibals and rapists who indulged in necrophilia during the invasion of Greece.⁴⁸⁸ On the other hand, authors such as Strabo and Polybius present a different story. As has been discussed earlier, Strabo's writings from the first century AD present a people with an intricate political system and he refrained from the temptation to paint them as savage and bloodthirsty. Polybius, who flourished during the second century BC, displayed a generally moderate, although sometimes conflicting, view of the Galatians and his writings constitute a central source for this chapter.⁴⁸⁹ His work reveals that there were those who responded to the unique qualities and contrasts of the Galatians, who did not see them as merely one-dimensional, and who were not completely guided by stereotypes.

⁴⁸⁷ Priene, *OGIS* 765; *I.Priene* 17. Erythrae, *OGIS* 12; *RC* 6; *I.Erythrai* 31 reveal the fear among the Greeks of western Asia Minor in response to the Galatians.

⁴⁸⁸ Paus. 10.19.4- 23.9; See especially the ludicrously obscene passage 10.22.3.

⁴⁸⁹ Polyb. 2.17.9-11; 17.9-10 paints the Gauls in the west as primitive. While he does hold negative perceptions of the Galatians, such as in Polyb. 3.3, his views are far more complex than this and shall be explored in this chapter.

7.3: Ortiagon

Ortiagon occupies pride of place as the first Galatian leader to emerge as a distinct individual in the sources following the settlement of Galatia in the third century BC. He was a powerful regional player, a leader of the Tolistobogii and the husband of the arguably better-known Chiomara, a Galatian noblewoman whose story crops up regularly in Greek and Roman sources. From what little is known about the life of Ortiagon, it is possible to piece together a cursory biography from a variety of sources. Ortiagon is principally known from Polybius' *Histories*, a fragment of Polybius in Plutarch, two passages from Livy and an inscription from the Lycian city of Telmessus in Asia Minor. Despite his inclusion in these sources, he has left few traces in modern scholarship.⁴⁹⁰ These sources reveal that he was a prolific military leader, evidenced by his role as the main ally of Prusias of Bithynia in his war against Eumenes II of Pergamum, and his ill-fated defence of the Tolistobogii against the Romans at Mt. Olympus in Asia Minor. Ortiagon is of particular interest as his prominence on the inscription from Telmessus and his description in Polybius present the first instance of a Galatian individual being characterised in a distinct and fleshed-out manner in the sources and he is also possibly the first Galatian (in surviving sources) to acquire the trappings of Hellenistic kingship.

7.3.1: The Decree from Telmessus

Inscriptions often provide the best contemporary evidence for Galatian activities in Asia Minor. This is partly due to the lack of archaeological finds (and interest in conducting excavations at Galatian sites), the dearth of contemporaneous textual sources, and the strong culture of public inscription among the cities of western Asia Minor. It is for these reasons that inscriptions are relied upon to substantiate or

⁴⁹⁰ Polyb. 22.21; Plut. *De mul vir.* 22; Livy, 38.19; Livy, 38.24.9 records that Ortiagon survived the battle of Mt. Olympus by fleeing; Also, the Suda, *Suda*. O 639. Segre 1932; Mitchell, 1993: 24-25; Thonemann, 2013: 35-36.

contradict textual sources when attempting to fill in the gaps of Galatian history.⁴⁹¹ Inscriptions from Asia Minor are noted not only for their abundance, but also for their interactions with personalities ranging from kings, to cities, to citizens, and all possible combinations of these.⁴⁹² Most Greek inscriptions that pertain to the Galatians originate from the migration period and the invasion of Asia Minor in the early third century BC and then again from the first century BC onwards. Some important inscriptions do, however, stand out between these times.

An inscription from Telmessus is of particular interest, as it reveals not only the important part that a Galatian leader could play in political struggles, but also appears to show Greek acceptance of Galatian political standing. This is an honorific decree and was passed in December 184 BC by the citizens of Telmessus to honour Eumenes II and to celebrate his victory over Prusias of Bithynia, Ortiagon and his Galatian forces, as well as other unspecified allies.⁴⁹³ Trogus recorded that the war was initiated by Prusias, and was an indirect result of the conflict between Antiochus III and his Roman rivals.⁴⁹⁴ According to Polybius and Livy, the two kings contested ownership of the region of Mysia, although it may actually have been Phrygia Epictetus.⁴⁹⁵

The war did not initially unfold in Eumenes' favour as he suffered setbacks at sea and on land. Furthermore, Prusias and his ally Ortiagon managed to capture the cities of Cierus and Tium, and almost seized the pivotal polis of Heraclea Pontica.⁴⁹⁶ The fortunes of Eumenes changed, however, after he achieved a decisive victory at Mt. Lypedron, the victory celebrated in the decree from Telmessus. Despite the city's

⁴⁹¹ Prominent examples include *OGIS* 275. This is the only inscription to give an indication of which Galatian tribes were allied with Antiochus Hierax. Another decree, *Syll.*³ 591, provides the only information on ties between the Galatians and the city of Lampsacus.

⁴⁹² Martzavou & Papazarkadas, 2013: 2; Welles, 1934: xxxix-xli.

⁴⁹³ Segre, 1932. A detailed analysis of the war can be found in Habicht, 2006: 1-12.

⁴⁹⁴ Just. *Epit.* 32.4; Habicht, 2006: 1-3; Prusias was aggressively expansionist, Delev, 2015: 68.

⁴⁹⁵ Polyb. 21.46; Livy, 28.39; For Mysia, Dmitriev, 2007: 135-137; For Phrygia Epictetus, Petrovic, 2012: 358; Habicht, 2006: 3; Magie, 1950: 759; Reinach, 1908: 380; Stähelin, 1907: 61; Niese, 1899: 760.

⁴⁹⁶ Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.19 and F1.32; Cohen, 1995: 406; Habicht, 1957: 1096-1097.

apparent zeal for Eumenes, it is unlikely that it had direct involvement in the war, due to its location on the southern coast of Anatolia. The inscription reads:

When Eumenes Soter was King, Year 14....oros was priest, on the second day of the month Audnaios, at a sovereign assembly, it seemed good to the city and magistrates of the Telmessians,...oros, Daparas and Hermophantos: Since King Eumenes, our benefactor and saviour, who has taken on the war not only on behalf of those under his command (τῶν ὑφ' αὐτὸν τασσομένων) but also on behalf of the others dwelling in Asia ([ἄ]λλων τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν Ἀσίαν), and has endured the danger, calling on the gods for aid and fighting against Prusias and Ortiagon (Ὀρτιάγοντα) and the Galatians (τούς Γαλάτας) and their allies (τούς [συ]μμάχους)—since he has now won a glorious and splendid victory, just as we pray for from the gods, with good fortune, let it be resolved by the city and the magistrates: given the good things that have occurred, the priests and priestesses are to open all the temples and pray that victory and power should be given to King Eumenes both by land and sea in the future too, and also to his mother Queen Apollonis and his brothers; and the citizens and all the others are to wear wreaths, and having sacrificed in gratitude to the gods they are to hold a banquet in the [assembly?], and in future the magistrates are to sacrifice every month on the day preceding that of the king's victory to Zeus Genethlios and Athena N[ikephoros]...⁴⁹⁷

The presence of Ortiagon's name alongside the ethnic identifier 'τούς Γαλάτας' is highly unusual. Inscriptions from the early and mid-Hellenistic periods rarely mention the names of Galatian individuals, a practice that became more common from the first century BC onwards.⁴⁹⁸ This is particularly true for a military

⁴⁹⁷ Segre, 1932; Translation from Thonemann, 2013: 36. *OGIS* 298, *IvP* 65 also addresses Attlaus' victory at Mt. Lypedron.

⁴⁹⁸ It was not until the mid-first century BC onwards that a profusion of Galatian names began to appear on Greek inscriptions, see Freedman, 2001 for a non-exhaustive list. There are a few exceptions, e.g. Αἰοῖοριξ, brother of Attis, the high priest of Cybele, at the state temple of Pessinus, 160BC, *OGIS* 315; Δειέταρος, mid-second

context, as inscriptions were likely to identify the combatants by their ethnic or tribal groupings. It is common therefore to find the Galatians identified by their ethnic ‘Γάλαται’ on inscriptions.⁴⁹⁹ Some inscriptions go a step further than this, identifying the Galatians by tribal affiliation, most notably on an inscription relating to the war between Attalus I and Antiochus Hierax (and his Galatian allies) in the 240s and 230s BC. The standard ethnic identifier ‘Γαλ{λ}άτας’ is present beside the tribal groupings ‘Τολιστοαγίους’ and ‘Τεκτοσά<γ>ας’.⁵⁰⁰ It is striking that Ortiagon’s name appears here, in contrast to how his ancestors were recorded by the Greeks. He is clearly not just the unknown leader of an unidentifiable mass of barbarians.

Ortiagon is also the first Galatian leader to have his name inscribed as part of a military alliance with a Hellenistic king. It is possible that his presence on the decree is due to this alliance with Prusias, and thus the association elevates his importance.⁵⁰¹ This inscription also celebrates a victory, whereby it would be expected to highlight the enemies of Eumenes to reflect his power. However, most other inscriptions dealing with previous wars and alliances between Galatians and Greeks do not mention Galatian leaders by name.⁵⁰² Moreover, we know of two other Galatian leaders (contemporaneous to Ortiagon) through Livy, but they exist in isolation in his work and are not mentioned in any other known inscriptions.⁵⁰³

Eumenes is defined as a ‘βασιλεύς’ in the inscription, while Prusias and Ortiagon are identified by name alone. It is not surprising that Telmessus would describe its ally as a king while simultaneously deprive its enemies of their prestigious titles. Although Prusias is mentioned first in the inscription, Ortiagon is placed on a position of comparable importance in the minds of the citizens of the *polis*. This is also a decree,

Century BC, see Dressler 1967: 153; *I.Erythrai*, 24 = *SIG*³ i. 410, which names Leonorius as the leader of the Galatians who attacked Erythrae.

⁴⁹⁹ Such as the inscriptions relating to the raids of the 270s BC, e.g. *I. Priene* 17 (*OGIS* 765), which honours a certain Sotas for protecting Priene; *I.Erythrai*, 24, is a similar honorific decree, and *I. V. Perg.* 23, *OGIS* 275.

⁵⁰⁰ In particular, *IvP.* 23; *OGIS* 275.

⁵⁰¹ Ortiagon was also worthy of mention in Pompeius Trogus, *Prol.* 32.

⁵⁰² The tribal names alone are recorded in alliance with Antiochus Hierax, *IvP.* 23, *OGIS* 275. The Tolistobogii are identified in *OGIS* 269 and *OGIS* 276. It is usual for textual sources to extend identification beyond descriptors such as ‘Galatians’ or tribal names.

⁵⁰³ Livy, 38.19. Combolomarus and Gaulotus were leaders of the Troceni and Tectosages during the invasion of Manlius Vulso in 189 BC.

and therefore, a public inscription with the purpose of not only honouring Eumenes publicly, but also informing the *demos*. This suggests that the citizens of Telmessus were familiar with Ortiagon, and if this was the case, it is possible that he was well-known among the cities of Asia Minor, perhaps more so than any previous Galatian. It is unlikely that the commissioners of the inscription would have included Ortiagon by name had he been an obscure chieftain, particularly since this is a departure from the previous practice of solely using ethnic and tribal identifiers. Telmessus was also geographically isolated from the war, which makes it even more interesting that they knew of Ortiagon and felt him worthy of attention.

Ortiagon's place on the inscription stands out at this early date of 184 BC. While this can partly be attributed to his role in the war between the Hellenistic kings Prusias and Eumenes, other complex factors were at work. Greek responses could clearly be influenced by Galatian political integration into the affairs of Asia Minor. Ortiagon was not merely the nameless leader of a group of barbarians as his forebears had been. His notability among the Greeks of Telmessus implies that the place of the Galatians in the Greek world was evolving, not just politically but also culturally. His presence on the inscription can instead be explained by the Galatians' growing political, diplomatic and military relationships with their neighbours as well as the creeping effects of Hellenisation among the Galatian aristocracy.

7.3.2: Ortiagon the βασιλεύς?

As Galatian history survives in Greek and Roman sources and is thus coloured by an outsider's point of view, it is difficult to assign titles to Galatians. Moreover, attempting to understand what they considered their own titles to be is even more problematic. This makes the exact political status of Ortiagon particularly contentious. It is all too easy to assume that Ortiagon presented himself solely as a Galatian chieftain. However, evidence from textual sources presents a different picture, a possible duality: that of Ortiagon the Chieftain and Ortiagon the king. A passage ascribed to Polybius presents Ortiagon as a king but its provenance is also a problem for researchers. This issue highlights how Greek sources were beginning to integrate the Galatians into their own political thinking.

Polybius' work does not survive in its entirety. Books 1 to 5 of his *Histories* are intact but the rest exist only as fragments (albeit sometimes substantial, such as book 6). The *Excerpta Antiqua*, which dates to no later than the tenth century AD, offers an abridgement of books 1 to 18, though without book 17. The remaining excerpts survive in thematic collections compiled under Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and these reflect the interests of tenth century Byzantium.⁵⁰⁴ Porphyrogenitus, with the aim of reinvigorating historical studies, decided that a selection of no fewer than fifty-three titles should be compiled from all the most important historians extant in Constantinople. These collections became known as the *Constantine Excerpts*. Only six of these collections have survived and they fall under the following headings: *de Legationibus Gentium ad Romanos* (on embassies of peoples to the Romans), *de Legationibus Romanorum ad Gentes* (on embassies of the Romans to peoples), *de Sententiis* (on sayings), *de Virtutibus et Vitiis* (on virtues and vices), *de Insidiis* (on plots or ambushes), *de Strategematis* (on military stratagems).⁵⁰⁵ The excerpts are highly useful as they preserve not only passages from both ancient and Byzantine authors, but also almost all the surviving fragments of Polybius' books 20 to 39. The passage that presents Ortiagon as a king comes from the *de Virtutibus et Vitiis*.

ὅτι Ὀρτιάγων ὁ Γαλάτης, τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ βασιλέων, ἐπεβάλετο τὴν ἀπάντων τῶν Γαλατῶν δυναστείαν εἰς αὐτὸν μεταστῆσαι, καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐφόδια προσεφέρετο καὶ φύσει καὶ τριβῇ. καὶ γὰρ εὐεργετικὸς ἦν καὶ μεγαλόψυχος καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐντεύξεις εὐχαρὶς καὶ συνετός, τὸ δὲ συνέχον παρὰ Γαλάταις, ἀνδρώδης ἦν καὶ δυναμικὸς πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁴ It is believed that they were compiled under Porphyrogenitus as the extant copies of *de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, *de Sententiis* and *de Strategematis* probably all date to the emperor's reign during the tenth century. Irigoien, 1969: 177ff. argues that these texts were produced in one scriptorium, most likely the Imperial Scriptorium in Constantinople. This claim is not without contention. Moore, 1965: 129 believes that it is unlikely that a new work intended to popularise the study of history would have been produced in a single copy only.

⁵⁰⁵ Moore, 1965: 127.

⁵⁰⁶ Polyb. 22.21: 'Ortiagon the Galatian, as king of those in Asia, attempted to transfer the lordship of all the Galatians to himself; and he had many qualifications for such a post, both natural and acquired. For he was beneficent and magnanimous, a man of

There is only one surviving manuscript of the *de Virtutibus et Vitiis* and it reads ‘βασιλέων’. However, this was emended to ‘βασιλεύων’ by Büttner-Wobst in light of the Suda.⁵⁰⁷ The Suda contains a shortened version of this passage and employs βασιλεύων.

Ὀρτιάγων, Γαλάτης: ὃς ἐπεβάλετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ βασιλεύων τὴν ἀπάντων τῶν Γαλατῶν δυναστείαν εἰς αὐτὸν μεταστῆσαι καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐφόδια προεβάλλετο καὶ φύσει καὶ τριβῇ. καὶ γὰρ εὐεργετικὸς ἦν καὶ πολεμικὸς καὶ δυναμικὸς πρὸς πολεμικὰς χρείας.⁵⁰⁸

Whichever is correct, both imply that Ortiagon is a king - one meaning ‘ruling as king over those in Asia’, the other ‘one of the kings in Asia’

The issue of manuscript tradition mentioned earlier further complicates matters. βασιλέων occupies the first line of the passage in the original manuscript of the *de Virtutibus et Vitiis* and it is likely that these were the words of Polybius himself. However, it is also possible that they can be attributed to the Byzantine compiler. The first line of entries such as this (the opening ‘ὅτι’ being a clear give away) was usually an explanatory line for the entry and the compiler was partly responsible for this. In this case, the first few words could be the creation of the compiler and the rest Polybius’ original words, or on the other hand the whole opening line could have been the compiler’s creation.

It is not possible to know where the compilers’ writing ceases and Polybius’ begins, which means that it cannot be said for certain that Polybius himself described

popular manners and ready tact; and, what was most important in the eyes of the Galatians, he was courageous and skilled in war.’

⁵⁰⁷ Moore, 1965: 130-132; Büttner-Wobst, 1904: 121.

⁵⁰⁸ *Suda*, O 639: Ὀρτιάγων (Ortiagon): ‘Ortiagon, a Galatian; who, ruling as king over those in Asia, attempted to bring the entire Galatian power-structure under his control. And he possessed many assets, both natural and acquired, for this task: he was generous and warlike and skilled in war.’ This text is from the Suda Online, which reads βασιλέων for the Suda’s βασιλεύων, an emendation of the editors that is in line with Polybius. The translation in this present thesis adheres to the original use of βασιλεύων. The Suda also borrows from Polybius’ account but differs slightly to what is recorded in the *Constantine Excerpts*.

Ortiagon as a king from this passage alone.⁵⁰⁹ It is salient to note, however, that if the Byzantine compiler did indeed write the word βασιλέων or βασιλεύων, he must have viewed Ortiagon as a king and felt that this was an important enough descriptor to include in the explanatory line. This belief most likely stemmed from the compiler's reading and interpretation of the original passage of Polybius. Whether these are Polybius' words or not, Ortiagon was recognised in a Hellenistic fashion by scholars during the Byzantine period, who had access to texts that no longer survive.

Ortiagon's designation in this passage has been translated as 'king' and 'prince' by scholars.⁵¹⁰ These choices reflect a certain perception of the Galatians and their political sophistication (or lack thereof). The use of 'king' in this instance most likely reflects the common meaning of βασιλεὺς in the context of Asia Minor, that is to mean a Hellenistic king. On the other hand, 'prince' implies that Ortiagon was not comparable to the Hellenistic kings, and occupied a less prestigious political rank. The choice of prince adheres to the common belief that Galatian aristocratic culture had not been heavily influenced by Hellenisation to this point.⁵¹¹

The use of βασιλέων or βασιλεύων also raises the question of intent. Were Polybius and the Byzantine compilers presenting Ortiagon as a king, fitting Ortiagon into their own political structures and ideals, or was Ortiagon in fact the first Galatian to have actively acquired the trappings of Hellenistic kingship according to the ancient sources? This is not the only occasion where Ortiagon appears to be presented as a Hellenised figure, and the issue becomes clearer as more evidence is examined. This passage also reveals how Polybius framed Ortiagon within the language of Hellenistic kingship, and there is more evidence that illustrates the effects of Hellenisation on the Galatian ruler. This suggests that Ortiagon was both presented as a king in the sources and that he actively sought aspects of Hellenistic monarchy.

⁵⁰⁹ Büttner-Wobst, 1904: 121 attributes this opening to the Byzantine compiler.

⁵¹⁰ For 'king' see Shuckburgh, 1889; for 'Prince' see, Paton, 1926.

⁵¹¹ Strobel, 2002: 17-20.

7.3.3: Polybius' Description of Ortiagon

Polybius 22.21 is the most prominent extant description of Ortiagon. The passage stands out as one of the earliest character portraits of a Galatian in the ancient sources and despite its brevity it is also remarkably detailed for an account of a Galatian. It is therefore necessary to ask how and why Ortiagon is highlighted in Polybius' work, and what this says about the Galatians in general. His use of the Hellenistic title βασιλεὺς hinted at a change in Greek perceptions of the Galatians and this can be mirrored in other terminology that was employed by Polybius, terminology that frames Ortiagon within the ideals of Hellenistic kingship.⁵¹² The language used to describe Ortiagon is quite positive and at first glance appears surprising when applied to a Galatian. Polybius claims that Ortiagon possessed many of the necessary characteristics that would enable him to become king of the Galatians. He is described as μεγαλόψυχος (high-minded, magnanimous), εὐεργετικὸς (beneficent), ἀνδρώδης (manly or courageous) and δυναμικὸς πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας (skilled at war).⁵¹³ In employing this terminology, Polybius frames Ortiagon within his view of a fine aristocrat and an effective Hellenistic king. This contrasts with a passage in book 3 of Polybius in which he describes the Galatians more generally as barbarians.⁵¹⁴ It implies that although Polybius could hold stereotypical views of the Galatians as a whole, individuals could challenge such beliefs.

7.3.4: Megalopsychia

While these are all positive characteristics for any leader, it is perhaps the use of the word μεγαλόψυχος that is most interesting. *Megalopsychia* is an important idea in Greek ethical thinking.⁵¹⁵ Polybius generally employs the term in a positive context, ignoring the complexities associated with Aristotle's use.⁵¹⁶ Μεγαλόψυχος, often

⁵¹² Briefly mentioned in Williams, 2001: 87-88.

⁵¹³ Polyb. 22.21.

⁵¹⁴ Polyb. 3.3.

⁵¹⁵ Mohay, 2008: 888.

⁵¹⁶ See Curzer, 2006; Curzer, 2012: 121-142 for *Megalopsychia* in Aristotle. For a background to the use and meaning of *Megalopsychia* in the sources see Mohay, 2008.

translated as ‘great-minded’ or ‘high-minded’, is perhaps best translated as ‘magnanimous’ in Polybius.⁵¹⁷ The fact that Ortiagon, a Galatian, is described as magnanimous is interesting for several reasons. First, aside from the description of Ortiagon, this term is used to define Romans, Greeks, Macedonians and Carthaginians. While Greeks and to some extent Macedonians are civilised, Romans, Carthaginians and Celtic peoples are barbarians.⁵¹⁸ This suggests therefore that Ortiagon transcends the barbarian characteristics of other Celtic peoples, and such an image is a departure from the how the Galatians are presented in book 3 of Polybius.⁵¹⁹ The importance of this is obvious. A Hellenistic figure needs to exceed the limitations of barbarity.

Second, *Megalopsychia* is presented as a characteristic that individuals and peoples wish to embody, but often fail to. Polybius criticises the Romans for adorning their city with the spoils of their war against Syracuse. He believes that instead of furnishing their city with statues and gold they should have done so with ‘σεμνότητι καὶ μεγαλοψυχία’.⁵²⁰ It is also no surprise that seeking aid from stronger friendly states was often an effective tactic. One way of achieving this was to appeal to the magnanimity of the target and Polybius believed that positive responses to these pleas were natural for the powerful.⁵²¹ He writes that Philip V’s ambassador attempted to make the Rhodians perceive the king to be magnanimous, but this failed when they discovered his ill treatment of the Cians.⁵²² The ambassadors of Antiochus also appealed to the Romans after the battle of Magnesia, begging that they use their success mildly (πράως) and magnanimously (μεγαλοψύχως).⁵²³ Another famous case involved embassies from both the Rhodians and the Achaeans. These two parties exhorted the Romans but it was the Rhodian delegate Astymedes who was ultimately

Mohay has also argued for a stoic connection to the philosopher Panaetius, although his argument is not entirely convincing, as he does not cover all uses of the term in Polybius.

⁵¹⁷ Translated as such by Paton, 1926.

⁵¹⁸ Erskine, 2013: 24-29. Polybius attributed barbarian qualities to the Celts, for example: Polyb. 2.17.9-11; 17.9-10; See Eckstein, 1995: 119-125.

⁵¹⁹ Polyb. 3.3.

⁵²⁰ Polyb. 9.10.13, ‘with dignity and magnanimity’.

⁵²¹ Eckstein, 2008: 245-246.

⁵²² Polyb. 15.23.2.

⁵²³ Polyb. 21.16.7.

successfully. He flattered the Romans by describing them as a most lenient (πραότατοι) and magnanimous (μεγαλοψυχότατοι) people.⁵²⁴

Megalopsychia is therefore a very important quality for both weaker and stronger states. It is a tool used by the weaker to gain the aid of the stronger, and a way for the stronger to cultivate a positive image on the international stage. As illustrated by Philip V, this type of appeal could even be made by a Hellenistic king (albeit unsuccessfully in his case). This effectively frames Ortiagon within the context of complex Hellenistic international relations, something beyond that of a minor Galatian chieftain.

Megalopsychia is often used in tandem with other positive characteristics and virtues, such as φιλανθρωπία (humanity), φρόνησις (prudence), σωφροσύνη (self-restraint) and τόλμα (courage).⁵²⁵ Polybius claims that the mark of a perfect (τέλειος) man is to be able to bear the most complete reverses of fortune both magnanimously (μεγαλοψύχως) and bravely (γενναίως).⁵²⁶ The term πραότης (mildness) also seems to be associated with μεγαλόψυχος. The Syracusan king Hiero II is described as both mild and magnanimous by Polybius.⁵²⁷ The Romans are seen as mild and magnanimous in their dealings with Iberian tribes and to the Odrysae in Thrace.⁵²⁸ The Rhodians also flatter the Romans by calling them magnanimous and mild.⁵²⁹ While none of these words are used to describe Ortiagon, it does demonstrate the context generated by the term *megalopsychia* in the work of Polybius, that of positive leadership, associated with the likes of Hellenistic kings and great Roman generals. Polybius, in his use of *megalopsychia* and πραότης repeatedly associates these two words in the mind of the reader, and this link should be noted with Ortiagon in Polybius, 22.21. In this sense, Ortiagon as a ‘mild’ leader is contrasted with his Celtic kin, known for their savagery and excess.⁵³⁰

Megalopsychia can have a more tangible association with the ability to use money wisely and generously. Polybius writes that Hannibal showed magnanimity

⁵²⁴ Polyb. 30.31.15.

⁵²⁵ Polyb. 1.20.11; 2.70.1; 4.48.10; 8.10.10; 10.3.1.

⁵²⁶ Polyb. 6,2,6.

⁵²⁷ Polyb. 1.8.4.

⁵²⁸ Polyb. 3.99.7; 30.17.4.

⁵²⁹ Polyb. 31.31.15.

⁵³⁰ Eckstein, 1995: 121-123.

when, after imposing tribute upon the Iberian towns, he paid wages to his troops and promised more, engendering good will towards himself as well as hope for the future.⁵³¹ Scipio in particular demonstrates his magnanimity through wealth. His generosity in gifting inheritance money to his mother was apparently the first evidence of his reputation for nobility of character.⁵³² He was also unique in Rome for paying debts in full and well in advance.⁵³³ Scipio is not just magnanimous for his fiscal generosity, he is also consistently described as the most magnanimous individual throughout *The Histories*. Polybius makes little effort to hide his admiration for Scipio, describing him as magnanimous 11 times throughout the work.⁵³⁴ The adverbial and noun forms of *μεγαλόψυχ-* are employed 47 times throughout *The Histories*, and Scipio receives 23.4% of total usage. This contrasts with the 15 times (31.9%) it is used to describe Greeks and Macedonians positively.⁵³⁵

Polybius uses *megalopsychia* in a deliberate way and associates it with other positive character attributes. It is a characteristic associated with effective rulership, with kings and capable military leaders, as well as the ability to use money wisely and generously. It is particularly interesting that Scipio is described as magnanimous so frequently and thus Ortiagon is in effect associated with Scipio in the *Histories*. Readers of Polybius must keep these connections in mind, which link the Galatian leader to Polybius' view of strong and capable leaders.

7.3.5: Beneficence, Bravery and Military Ability

Megalopsychia does not stand alone in the passage. It is used in conjunction with three other important descriptors, *εὐεργετικὸς* (beneficent), *ἀνδρώδης* (brave) and *δυναμικὸς πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας* (skilled at war). By describing Ortiagon with

⁵³¹ Polyb. 3.13.8.

⁵³² Polyb. 31.25.9; 31.26.8.

⁵³³ Polyb. 31.27.16.

⁵³⁴ Polyb. 10.3.1; 10.40.6; 10.40.7; 10.40.9; 15.5.8; 15.17.4; 16.23.3; 31.25.9; 31.26.8; 31.27.16; 31.28.9.

⁵³⁵ Polyb. 1.8.4 for Hiero II; 2.70.1, 5.10.5 for Antigonus Doson; 4.14.8 for Aratus; 4.27.10, 5.11.9, 15.23.2, 16.28.3, 18.14.4 for Philip V; 4.48.10 for Achaeus; 8.23.5, 29.24.13 for Antiochus; 18.41.5, 33.18.15 for Attalus; 23.17.1 for Lycortas.

such terminology, Polybius builds on the implications of *megalopsychia* and expands upon his presentation of Ortiagon's positive and Hellenised characteristics.

There are only four other occasions where an individual is described as *εὐεργετικὸς* in Polybius. The Syracusan ruler Hiero II is labelled as such for having furnished the Greeks with benefits, the Macedonian king Philip V is seen as the darling of the Greeks because of his beneficent policies, and Scipio is called *εὐεργετικὸς* twice, once for his dealings with the people of Rome, and again in a more general context. These examples all entail the maintenance of good relations with both foreign and domestic peoples. Polybius writes that Hiero and Philip, through their euergetism, were successful in improving relations with other Greek *poleis*.⁵³⁶ Scipio on the other hand won great admiration from the people of Rome through his beneficent acts.⁵³⁷ Polybius maintains that doing good things to men was the best way to gain power (the example of Hiero being a salient example).⁵³⁸ Therefore, euergetism is an important factor in the maintenance of good relations with subjects and foreigners, and thus aids in the acquiring and consolidation of power. This is particularly true for the Greek and Macedonian examples, as Hellenistic royal legitimacy relied on a king's benefaction to his people and to the wider world.⁵³⁹ It is also a favourable comparison with Scipio, as one of the signs of Scipio's greatness was his beneficence with others.⁵⁴⁰

Ἀνδρώδης and its various forms (noun and adjectival) are frequently used throughout Polybius and are primarily associated with effectiveness and bravery in war. It is a defining quality of a good military leader and impacts a general's ability to control his troops.⁵⁴¹ Like the previous terms, it is used exclusively for Greeks, Romans and Carthaginians. This military term goes hand in hand with *δυναμικὸς πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας* (skilled at war), a very clear and unclouded comment on Ortiagon's military ability.

⁵³⁶ Polyb. 7.8.6 for Hiero; Polyb. 7.11.9 for Philip V.

⁵³⁷ Polyb. 10.3.1 and 10.5.6.

⁵³⁸ Polyb. 10.36.6.

⁵³⁹ Welwei, 1963: 123-129; Walbank, 1982: 82-83; Eckstein, 1995: 273-274; Kralli, 2000: 119; Ma, 2000: 181-182.

⁵⁴⁰ Eckstein, 1995: 79.

⁵⁴¹ Examples include Polyb. 1.14.3; 1.31.8; 3.19.13; 2.106.11; 3.107.8; 3.118.7; 4.80.5; 5.83.6; 11.13.1; 15.13.5; 16.21.3; 36.5.2; 14.9.7; 2.1.8; 3.198.2; 3.41.9; 3.71.8; 22.22.2;

These terms are all central to Polybius' exemplar of a good statesman and a good general. *Megalopsychia* is, for Polybius, a word associated with traditional aristocracy, the social strata Polybius himself belonged to and believed to be the most conducive to excellence.⁵⁴² Financial greed was a trait incompatible with a worthy aristocrat; instead, he praised generosity and acts of honesty.⁵⁴³ Unsurprisingly, Polybius viewed skill at war as a central component of good generalship and believed that a general should show bravery in battle.⁵⁴⁴ Furthermore, these are all characteristics that can also be applied to the model of an effective Hellenistic king and Polybius' language portrays Ortiagon in this light. *Megalopsychia* is also an essential royal quality.⁵⁴⁵ A Hellenistic king was expected to be magnanimous and beneficent toward his people.⁵⁴⁶ Military ability was a central component of a king's rule and this ideal is best expressed in the *Suda*, under the heading *Βασιλεία*.⁵⁴⁷

Βασιλεία. οὔτε φύσις οὔτε τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδίδουσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰς βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἡγεῖσθαι στρατοπέδου καὶ χειρίζειν πράγματα νουνεχῶς: οἷος ἦν Φίλιππος καὶ οἱ διάδοχοι Ἀλεξάνδρου. τὸν γὰρ υἱὸν κατὰ φύσιν οὐδὲν ὠφέλησεν ἢ συγγένεια διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀδυναμίαν. τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν προσήκοντας βασιλεῖς γενέσθαι σχεδὸν ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴² Eckstein, 1995: 28 and 79.

⁵⁴³ Eckstein, 1995: 70.

⁵⁴⁴ Polyb. 11.8; Eckstein, 1995: 29-30 claims that modern scholars have interpreted Polybius' view of personal bravery as unsentimental and utilitarian. Certain passages suggest that a commander should not sacrifice his life unnecessarily (11.2.1), unless it is necessary (10.31.9). Eckstein believes that Polybius' view is more complex and that there are far more examples of a more traditional approach to bravery in battle, Eckstein, 1995: 30-40.

⁵⁴⁵ Walbank, 1982: 83; Seleucus is portrayed as magnanimous to his benefactors in *OGIS* 229.

⁵⁴⁶ *IG II²* 657: 16-29 in which Demetrius displays his *euergetism*. Austin 1981: no. 43; Bielman, 1994: no. 20; Derow and Bagnall, 2004: no. 13; Bosworth, 2002: 247; Chaniotis, 2005: 37.

⁵⁴⁷ Also as Ma, 2000: 108 puts it: 'Hellenistic kingship was essentially concerned with war'.

⁵⁴⁸ *Suda* s.v. *Βασιλεία*: 'Neither nature nor justice gives kingdoms to men, but to those who are able to lead an army and to handle affairs intelligently, such as Philip was, and the successors of Alexander. For family relationship did not benefit the natural son at all because of the weakness of his soul. But those who had no relationship becoming kings of almost the whole inhabited world [...]'; Bikerman 1938: 12 (E 6);

In using these terms, Polybius locates Ortiagon in a world of fine aristocrats and exemplary kings. It is a surprisingly positive depiction of a Galatian, and contrasts the traditional view of their outlandishness and barbarity. In isolation, Polybius' passage can appear almost an anomaly, but it reveals how Greeks could respond to the Galatians in a more accommodating way. The question of whether Ortiagon was in fact a king is not necessarily an important one for this work, although on balance, he probably was not. However, it does reveal that a substantial change in Greek responses to the Galatians was occurring.

7.4: Paidopolites

Ortiagon's place in the work of Polybius and his position of prominence on the inscription from Telmessus raises the question, why did this change occur? While Ortiagon was in effect being Hellenised in the sources, there is evidence to show that he also actively sought to expound integral aspects of Greek culture. The most obvious evidence for this can be seen within his own family.

Ortiagon gave his son a Greek name, Paidopolites.⁵⁴⁹ Paidopolites is known exclusively from the *Suda*, 'Ορτιάγοντος ἐγγόνει Παιδοπολίτης, προβαίνων δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν δικαστῆς ἀπεδείχθη', in which he is described as a 'δικαστῆς' (judge).⁵⁵⁰ Scholars have previously argued that the Galatians began to Hellenise during the first century BC, however when the character of Ortiagon is examined, it is clear that the aristocracy of Galatia was becoming significantly influenced from at least the second century BC onwards.⁵⁵¹ This claim is not without contention. Coşkun believes that the only Galatians with indisputably Greek names before the first century AD were

Adcock 1953, 170: (1 j).

⁵⁴⁹ *Suda* πῖ 866: Παιδοπολίτης (Paidopolites, Paedopolites); *Suda* omicron 640: Ὀρτιάγοντος (Ortiagon's). For more on Paidopolites see Coşkun, 2011: 89.

⁵⁵⁰ *Suda* πῖ 866, 'Paidopolites was the son of Ortiagon, and when advanced in age he was appointed a judge.'

⁵⁵¹ Mitchell, 2001: 35. It is important to note that evidence for Hellenisation during this, and later periods, is almost completely based on inscriptions and onomastics related to the Galatian aristocracy, see Coşkun, 2012b: 54-55; Strobel, 2009: 137 for more.

Apaturius and Nicanor, Celtic soldiers who murdered Seleucus III.⁵⁵² While it is true that the adoption of Greek names by non-Greek aristocracies in Asia Minor was relatively rare during the early second century BC, it did occur, most famously with the example of Nicomedes of Bithynia. Nicomedes stands out as the only Bithynian with a Greek name in a sea of Thracian names (such as Nicomedes' father Zipoetas and Ziaelas).⁵⁵³ Paidopolites was clearly not an isolated case in Asia Minor. Coşkun, however, argues that it is not possible to see Paidopolites as a Galatian with a Greek name as it has no obvious Greek onomastic tradition. This is a weak assertion and serves only to aid his claim that the first indisputable evidence for the Galatian aristocracy's adoption of Greek names comes from the early first century BC.

There is little reason to deny Paidopolites a Greek influence. It is, however, possibly an invented name, made up of the dual name elements Παιδο-πολίτης (παῖς-child + πολίτης-citizen). This might have been done to illustrate certain aspects of Greek culture that were deemed meaningful to Ortiagon and could say more than the act of simply appropriating an existing name. Interestingly, a search for the name Πολίτης in the *LGNP* reveals that it can be found 21 times in the database and there is only one example of the related Ἀμφιπολίτης. Furthermore, Πολίτης is found 6 times in volume 5a, *Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia* (The second highest frequency; it is found 7 times in Attica, which can possibly be accounted for by the Athenocentricity of the sources). All occurrences of the name Πολίτης in Asia Minor come

⁵⁵² Coşkun, 2011: 99 and Coşkun, 2012b: 55. Coşkun describes Apaturius and Nicanor as two 'Galatian mercenaries' and skirts around the issue of identity. He implies that they were Galatians (supporting his argument by doing so), when in fact there is no evidence for this. They could just as well have been from another eastern Celtic group. Surprisingly, Strobel, 2009: 137 assumes the name Apaturius to be Celtic. However, the name was known in Athens from at least the fourth century BC (see Demosthenes, *Against Apatourius*) and a search in the Lexicon of Greek Personal names shows that it was a common name across the Greek world.

⁵⁵³ Glew, 2005 argues that the choice of Nicomedes may have been an act of gratitude on behalf of Nicomedes' father for Aristander, a Coan who provided help to Zipoetas following an abortive assault on two cities of Antigonos in 315 BC. Glew's argument is interesting although not very convincing. He follows Habicht's and Lambert's approach to how non-Athenian names came to be used by Athenian citizens, see Habicht, 2000 and Lambert, 2001. However, this approach does not necessarily apply itself to the context of a non-Greek Bithynian dynasty during the Hellenistic period, in which there were numerous other factors at play. It is more likely that this is an early example of the adoption of Greek cultural standards by the Bithynian Royal family.

from Ionia: one at Phocaea, one at Smyrna and four at Priene, while Ἀμφιπολίτης is found only at Pergamum. A search for παιδ- did not reveal significant results for Asia Minor and it is not a particularly common element of Greek names in general. Despite this, it is clear that Πολίτης was not an uncommon name element in Asia Minor, and the meaning of παιδ- is not too difficult to discern, from παῖς, son or descendant.

The cities and kingdoms of Asia Minor were undoubtedly responsible for much of this Hellenising influence due to the region's geographical proximity and history of military, political and social interaction with the Galatians. It is likely that Ortiagon would have been familiar with Greek naming practices and therefore, his son's name was not a surprising choice. However, what can the choice of this name tell us? Although it is not possible to know exactly why Ortiagon named his son 'citizen', the choice of πολίτης is not a surprising one for Asia Minor. Παιδ- and πολίτης perhaps also illustrate certain aspects of Greek culture that Ortiagon perceived as important and wished to emphasise, or aspects of Greek culture that Ortiagon believed that the Greeks held dear. The name also reflects the strong civic pride of the Anatolian *poleis*.⁵⁵⁴ Moreover, it could be reminiscent of παιδεία (education), another indication of the desire to appear Greek. This explanation does, however, highlight a possible tension between Ortiagon's aspirations of kingship and the celebration of citizenship, which can possibly be explained by the Galatians' relationship with the neighbouring Hellenistic kings. The Galatians had historically been enemies and rivals of the two most powerful neighbouring Hellenistic kingdoms, the Seleucid Empire and Pergamum. Ortiagon was no exception to this, making war with Eumenes II of Pergamum. It is not surprising that Ortiagon avoided a royal name for his son, choosing instead to highlight another important Hellenising influence in the area, the Greek cities of the western coast. The reasons behind this choice of name may never be known but it is undeniably important that Ortiagon chose a Greek name for his son. While this name could be fabricated, it does appear to express authentically Greek qualities.

⁵⁵⁴ Baronowski, 1991: 459; Ma, 2000: 10-11 explains that the cities of Asia Minor retained much of their autonomy and independent institutions throughout the Hellenistic period.

7.5: Chiomara

Ortiagon may be the best-documented Galatian individual from the early second century BC, but this does not mean that he is the only Galatian to emerge from obscurity. Interestingly, it was a woman named Chiomara whom the ancient authors were often more interested in and whose story has survived in numerous Greek and Latin sources. Chiomara was a Galatian noblewoman, the wife of Ortiagon, and it is partly through this association that she survives as one of the earliest Galatians to emerge from the sources as an individual. Chiomara, through her travels, illustrates how the Galatians were becoming more integrated into the Greek world. Moreover, Polybius supposedly met her in person during her travels and the language he used to describe her paints her as a fleshed-out character.

First, the travels of Ortiagon's wife Chiomara do much to illustrate the extent to which the Galatians interacted with the Hellenistic world during the second century BC. Polybius himself supposedly exchanged words with Chiomara in Sardis.⁵⁵⁵ It is possible that she travelled to the city with her husband, but as he is not mentioned as accompanying her, it is equally likely that she travelled with her own retinue.⁵⁵⁶ Whatever the case it is clear that the Galatian elite could, and did, travel through Greek lands in peace. The fact that Polybius exchanged words with her: 'ταύτη μὲν ὁ Πολύβιος φησι διὰ λόγων' (no intermediary is mentioned), and was struck by her dignified demeanour and intelligence: 'γενόμενος θαυμάσαι τό τε φρόνημα καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν', suggests that she spoke Greek.⁵⁵⁷ A Greek speaking Galatian aristocracy indicates a strong interest in Hellenistic culture and would have been a potentially unsurprising outcome for a people who were surrounded by powerful Greek speaking states.

This also constitutes the earliest example of an ancient author directly meeting the Galatians whom he wrote of, something that would be central to Cicero's dealings

⁵⁵⁵ Polyb. 21.38. Mitchell, 1993: 24 claims that she was held captive in Sardis, but there is no evidence to substantiate such a claim.

⁵⁵⁶ West, 1991: 390; Robert, 1962: 265-266, Sardis was a Hellenised city by the third Century BC.

⁵⁵⁷ Strobel, 2002: 19 also argues that by the second century BC, the Galatian aristocracy commonly spoke Greek.

a century later. Such a meeting diverges from the highly stereotypical sources that dominate later centuries and is a clear departure from the evidence from the third century BC discussed in Part Two of this work. Instead of denigrating Chiomara, Polybius endows her with some positive character attributes.

Her story, found in a fragment of Polybius in Plutarch, was also reported and expanded upon by Livy.⁵⁵⁸ The story is contained within Plutarch's *Mulierum Virtutes*, a collection of accounts of the noble deeds of women and the stories derive from works that no longer survive.⁵⁵⁹ The basic story is as follows: Chiomara was captured by a Roman soldier after the defeat of the Tolistobogii at Mt. Olympus in 189 BC. He violated her and then planned to return her to the Tolistobogii for a ransom. However, the exchange did not go the way he intended. At the appointed place of exchange, Chiomara ordered the representative sent by the Tolistobogii to decapitate the Roman, whose head she presented to her husband.⁵⁶⁰

Her story is particularly interesting as it presents a surprising contrast between a Galatian and a Roman soldier. The Roman soldier is depicted by Polybius as lustful for women and money, and he loses self-control in his desire for both.⁵⁶¹ He is a stark contrast to Chiomara who plans her escape and revenge. She is shrewd in her approach to the Roman's decapitation, and calculating in how she unabashedly presents her rapist's head at the feet of her husband. While this decapitation can be seen as the act of a barbarian, the way that Polybius presents the story makes her character far more complex. Polybius also describes her as a woman of φρόνημα (spirit, purpose or resolution) and σύνεσις (intelligence). While the Greeks viewed both the Celts and the

⁵⁵⁸ Plut. *Mor. Mor. De mul. vir.* 22; Polyb. 21.38. The story was first recorded in Polybius but the original text is lost and survives as a fragment in Plutarch's work. The tale of Chiomara is preserved in his *De Virtutes Mulierum*, a collection of passages detailing the heroics of women. Similar versions can also be found in Livy, 38.24; Val. Max. 6.1; Flor. 1.27; Victor. *de vir. Ill.* 55.

⁵⁵⁹ See Stadter, 1965 for a background to the *De Virtutes Mulierum*.

⁵⁶⁰ Headhunting was supposedly an important custom for some Celtic peoples. The recent discovery of headless corpses at Gordium has suggested a Galatian interest in the practice, see Armit, 2012: 36; Dandoy, Selinsky and Voigt, 2002; Voigt, 2013: 203-231; Brunaux, 2004: 103-106. Justin also writes that Ptolemy Ceraunus was decapitated after his defeat by the invading Celts and that his head was paraded around atop a pike, Justin. *Epit.* 24.5.

⁵⁶¹ Greek authors often portrayed the Romans as greedy, Erskine, 1996: 11. However, the Romans are outmatched by Carthaginian avarice, Eckstein, 1995: 71.

Romans as barbarians, Celtic peoples were less civilised in the eyes of Polybius. The Galatians were known for their frenzy and desperate courage, quite a contrast to Chiomara's cool resolve.⁵⁶² Polybius is consistent in his criticism of the greed for wealth normally attributed to the Celts. Romans too can display this flaw, and in this case, it is a Roman who falls below Polybius' moral standard.⁵⁶³ Polybius' presentation elevates a Galatian above a Roman, an insult to Rome. It is also possible that Polybius is illustrating Roman moral decline in anecdotal form, highlighted by the comparison with what should be a barbaric Galatian.⁵⁶⁴

It is notable that Chiomara is described as having kept πίστις or faith. Πίστις and the Latin *fides* are very important concepts in Greek and Roman thought. These terms are most commonly translated as 'trust', but a whole range of meanings have been attested in the sources. It is now widely accepted that the Greek and Latin terms share almost all of these shades of meaning: 'trustworthiness', 'honesty', 'credibility', 'faithfulness', 'good faith', 'confidence', 'assurance', 'pledge', 'guarantee', 'credit', 'proof', 'credence', 'belief', 'position of trust/trusteeship', 'legal trust', 'protection', 'security'.⁵⁶⁵ Πίστις is also important for the familial bond, especially between husband and wife.⁵⁶⁶ Good faith is a more confusing matter for Polybius as it is an ideal that has traditionally been considered unfit for his utilitarian world-view. Eckstein has argued, however, that certain passages of Polybius, which appear to accept deceit and double-dealing, have been wrongly interpreted.⁵⁶⁷ Instead there are in fact more passages where deceit is condemned and good faith is praised.⁵⁶⁸ Chiomara chooses to place good faith with her husband ahead of that with her enemy. Upon Chiomara's return, Ortiagon exclaims 'ὦ γύναι, καλὸν ἢ πίστις', expressing his

⁵⁶² Polyb. 33.10; Eckstein, 1995: 121-122. The greed of the Galatians is addressed in Champion, 2004: 115.

⁵⁶³ Eckstein, 1995: 70-82

⁵⁶⁴ For the idea of decline in Polybius see Champion, 2004: 100-103.

⁵⁶⁵ Morgan, 2015: 7; Gruen, 1982.

⁵⁶⁶ Plut. *Mor.*, 769a. Also between family members, such as brothers: Plutarch, *De frat. amor.*, 483c; Van Kooten, 2012: 217-218.

⁵⁶⁷ For a discussion on deceit and good-faith, see Eckstein, 1995: 84-118 (in particular the conclusion, which sums up his argument very nicely).

⁵⁶⁸ For example, Polyb. 1.88.8-12 condemns the Romans when they break good faith with Carthage and gain possession of Syracuse. Plenty more examples can be found in Eckstein, 1995: 96-116.

belief in the importance of good faith between enemies, a particularly aristocratic concept.⁵⁶⁹ Chiomara, however, having undermined good faith by killing the Roman during the exchange, chooses instead to keep faith with her husband, therefore placing matrimonial faith above all else. The words and actions of both Ortiagon and Chiomara show their regard for πίστις and are in stark contrast to the idea of Γαλατικὴν ἀθεσίαν.⁵⁷⁰ Barbarians should be untrustworthy and quick to break faith, not hold it in high regard.⁵⁷¹

While her role in this story may raise questions about the presentation of Romans and barbarians, the significant fact remains that Polybius met Chiomara and praised her for her φρόνημα, σύνεσις and πίστις.⁵⁷² Polybius' perception of these Galatians can reveal much about his own character. He shows that he can hold positive views of individual Galatians in tandem with a negative outlook of the people as a whole.⁵⁷³ The same occurs today: it is possible to express negative views of out-groups, while at the same time hold positive opinions of individuals of an out-group, a clear example of cognitive dissonance. Whatever the case, it is important that Polybius presents a Galatian individual in such a manner and it demonstrates that some ancient authors could hold more nuanced and complex views of the Galatians, supporting the evidence regarding Ortiagon discussed earlier.

Polybius' depiction of Chiomara also influenced Livy's version, which can be contrasted with his typical presentation of the Galatians as discussed in chapter 5. Chiomara's story illustrates how more subtle perceptions can even be found in authors

⁵⁶⁹ Plut. *Mor. De mul. vir.* 22; Polyb. 21.38. 'O wife, good-faith is a fine thing'. Morgan, 2015: 48, believes Chiomara to be an example of 'too much conjugal pistes/fides'. This, however, ignores the fact that Chiomara's story is presented within a collection praising the virtues of women and therefore we are to read her deeds as virtuous, not excessive. Codes of behaviour like this were important for the maintenance of aristocratic societies and to prevent ignoble behaviour, Eckstein, 1995: 116.

⁵⁷⁰ Polyb. 2.32.8, 'Gallic treachery'. A famous example of Galatian treachery occurred when diplomats from the Tectosages held up negotiations with Manlius Vulso in 189 BC so that they could move their people across the Halys. They subsequently attempted to ambush the consul with horsemen, Polyb. 21.39.

⁵⁷¹ Eckstein, 1995: 122.

⁵⁷² Chiomara's 'mind and intelligence'. It is unlikely that Polybius met Chiomara as a young officer with the Achaean troops under Manlius Vulso, as he would have been too young based on most datings of his birth, McGing, 2010: 131; Walbank, 1990: 6.

⁵⁷³ See Polyb. 3.3 for a negative view of the Galatians.

who generally adhere to a barbarian stereotype. Livy does not diverge from Polybius' account, rather, he embellishes it. Livy emphasises the violation of Chiomara: 'is primo animum temptavit; quem cum abhorrentem a voluntario videret stupro, corpori, quod servum fortuna erat, vim fecit'.⁵⁷⁴ He highlights the 'vim' (violence) committed against her and his use of 'abhorrentem' (abhorreo: to shudder/ shrink back from) creates pathos within the reader. What is more, he describes Chiomara's treatment as an 'iniuria' (an injustice) and the killing of her violator, a Roman soldier no less, is presented as a justified act and celebrated by Livy. Moreover, he concludes the story by presenting Chiomara as a pure and dignified woman: 'sanctitate et gravitate vitae huius matronalis facinoris decus ad ultimum conservavit'.⁵⁷⁵ This interpretation of events creates a dilemma. On the one hand, it elevates the actions and character of a barbarian woman above that of a Roman Soldier, on the other, it questions why Livy would portray a fellow Roman (albeit a specific and atypical Roman) in such a negative light. Whatever the reasons behind this presentation, it shows how, on a rare occasion, a Galatian could surpass the virtues of a Roman, in the mind of a Roman, even if it took the form of a moralising tale.

Chiomara is a very interesting character for modern readers. She is a woman and a barbarian who inhabits and falls prey to a world of men. Despite this, she manages to rise above her situation and gain a very agreeable place in Polybius and other authors and is even portrayed in a positive manner. Her story reveals a brave, determined and steadfast woman and Polybius praised her demeanour and intelligence. She rejects the typical presentation of a barbarian, showing a strong regard for the importance of πίστις. It is not surprising that she found a place alongside the noble deeds of other women in the *Mulierum Virtutes*. Readers are made to sympathise with her plight and rile against the unjust actions of the Roman. Her portrayal by Polybius, her travels within the Greek world and the possibility that she spoke Greek all fall in line with presentations of Ortiagon and indicate that the Galatian aristocracy was both receptive to Hellenising influences and that the ancient authors were in turn receptive to these Hellenised individuals. Finally, Chiomara managed to influence the creation

⁵⁷⁴ Livy, 38.24.3. 'At first he tried her disposition; when he found it shrinking from voluntary fornication, he did violence to her body, which fortune had made a slave.'

⁵⁷⁵ Livy, 38.24.10. 'by the purity and dignity of her life in other respects maintained to the end the glory won by a deed that marked her as a true matron.'

of her portrayal on the middle ground. By meeting Polybius directly, in a city that was neither Greek nor Galatian, she actively inserted her own character into the discourse which was in turn recorded in textual form.

7.6: The Advantages of a Greek Persona

Polybius' presentation of Ortiagon and Chiomara, and the epigraphic evidence from Telmessus, reveal how Ortiagon was actively acquiring the trappings of Hellenistic culture. Why, however, would a chieftain of the Tolistobogii wish to present himself in this way? While Ortiagon might have been influenced by the increasing Hellenisation of Galatia, he is among the first and most likely could have resisted this trend had he so chosen. Ortiagon must have been aware of the gains to be made by portraying a Hellenised persona to the outside world. He managed to form and maintain an alliance with Prusias of Bithynia and this was no doubt aided by a persona that the Hellenised Bithynian could relate to. The decree from Telmessus, because it mentions Ortiagon by name, reveals that the cities of Asia Minor were familiar with him, possibly aided by his presentation as a Hellenised figure, rather than a typical Galatian chieftain. Furthermore, his position on the inscription from Telmessus is noteworthy as it presents Ortiagon as equal to Prusias in the minds of the citizens of the *polis*.

Significantly, Ortiagon was the leader of the Tolistobogii, the tribe that occupied the western portion of Galatia. Of all the Galatians, they were located nearest to the Greek states and cities of western Asia Minor and were thus closest to this Hellenising influence. The travels of his wife also suggest that the elite could pass through the Greek world with greater ease and the choice of a Greek name for his son is concrete evidence of active self-Hellenisation. As rulers primarily represent themselves to their own people, they are more likely to adopt names that represent ruling tradition rather than an outside influence. Ortiagon disregarded this practice and his choice of a Greek name for his son was a very calculated move. It presents to the Hellenistic kings an affinity for the values of Greek culture and shows a long-lasting commitment to this portrayal.

Ortiagon was doing nothing new. The Hellenisation of the leaders of Asia Minor was a process that had been ongoing among different peoples throughout the whole Hellenistic period and more generally, Greek cultural attainments remained the objects of desire for most of those who came into contact with them.⁵⁷⁶ It is also possible that Ortiagon was among the first, if not *the* first, Galatian leader to present himself in a kingly way as evidenced by his diplomatic ties with non-Galatians, and such an external persona would have been very useful for conducting diplomatic and military affairs with his neighbours.

7.7: Conclusions

Both Ortiagon and Chiomara compel scholars to question many of the established beliefs regarding the Galatians. By focusing on individuals for whom clusters of evidence survive, rather than attempting to knit together a broader narrative to answer general questions, it is possible to forge fresh approaches as well as investigate how the role of individuals illuminates aspects of the Galatian world. The place of Ortiagon in textual and epigraphic sources is central to this. Ortiagon reveals how Galatians were becoming better known in Asia Minor and the Greek world in general, in no small part due to his actions as a capable leader. His presentation in the ancient sources also questions ancient and modern perceptions of the Galatians, especially the influence of Hellenisation. It appears that the portrayal of Ortiagon as a Hellenistic king can be in part attributed to Polybius' Greek background and an attempt to frame Ortiagon within familiar Greek language and concepts. It is equally possible, however, that Ortiagon actively embraced certain Greek monarchical and aristocratic features, choosing to portray himself as a Hellenised figure to the outside world.

The story of Chiomara and the evidence for her son Paidopolites demonstrate how the Galatian aristocracy was coming under the influence of Hellenistic culture from at least the early second century BC. This influence increased the cultural and political similarities between the Greeks and the Galatians and meant that members of

⁵⁷⁶ Michels, 2009 explores the Hellenisation of the royal courts and societies of Bithynia, Pontus and Cappadocia; Champion, 2004: 46.

the elite were becoming better understood and appeared less foreign to the Greeks. It also helped that the Galatians were reaching out into the Greek world and that ancient authors could meet Galatians first hand and communicate within a familiar framework. This familiarity and synchrony enabled Ortiagon and Chiomara to be viewed more positively than in some other sources and reveals how ancient authors' perceptions of the Galatians were complex and varied and that they could often hold a more informed opinion of an individual Galatian.

The Galatians have been portrayed as barbarian and introverted but the lives of these individuals reveal that the aristocracy was highly interested in, and successful at, interacting constructively with the wider Greek world from as early as the second century BC. While Ortiagon and Chiomara provide the first hints of this sustained change in perceptions, it was not until the first century BC that relations between the Galatians and the Greeks and Romans truly reached their apogee.

Chapter 8: Deiotarus and Galatian Integration During the First Century BC

8.1: Introduction

The second century BC saw the blossoming of a new breed of Galatians who were not only coming under the sway of Hellenisation, but were also the first to be viewed as complex characters with agency in the ancient sources. This process continued into the first century BC, a time defined by a profusion of sources relating to the Galatians and an unprecedented level of contact between the ancient authors and the Galatian elite. More sources survive from this period than from any other and King Deiotarus, a prominent Galatian leader, played a central role in this. Not only did the king garner a great deal of attention in the sources, he also warranted such attention, being the first to centralise power in Galatia and to rule the region singlehandedly; he also made strong connections with Rome and Roman individuals, and successfully broadcast his kingship throughout the ancient world. Deiotarus flourished during a pivotal time in the history of Asia Minor, a time of rapid Roman conquest matched by the slow demise of the Hellenistic royal powers. He proved to be an astute political player and managed to successfully navigate a complicated world under the influence of both Rome and the Hellenistic kings.

To understand Deiotarus' success, it is necessary to explore the king's Hellenistic identity. Deiotarus not only presented himself as a Hellenistic king, but also retained and cultivated a Hellenised public persona, a persona which Greek and Roman sources were sensitive to, thus aiding his acceptance into the wider political sphere of the ancient Mediterranean. Furthermore, there is clear evidence for the effects of Roman influence on his kingship, which is unsurprising during this time of Roman domination in Asia Minor, and even more so due to his close personal ties with Rome. The ease with which Deiotarus presented himself as a king is striking, and was nourished by a Hellenising influence which had been present among the elite since at least the time of Ortiagon. This process likely provided a Hellenistic cultural vein that Deiotarus could tap into in order to create a more authentic portrayal of his kingship.

This chapter will investigate Deiotarus' Hellenised public persona and argue that he actively cultivated this within Galatia and across the Hellenistic world. It will show that the Deiotarus we see in the sources was partly the product of the middle ground, which enabled him to influence the creation of this portrayal. Moreover, it will also argue that this allowed him to be perceived in a more sympathetic and nuanced way by contemporary Greeks and Romans. Epigraphic, numismatic, archaeological and textual evidence illustrates how Deiotarus took his cues from Greek culture and expressed his rule through a variety of media. Deiotarus' success in cultivating this persona was also highlighted by his relationship with the Roman politician and writer Cicero. Their close relationship does much to contradict the stereotypical perceptions that were explored in Part Two of this work. These issues also highlight how Deiotarus had moved beyond the stereotypical barbarian in the eyes of many Greeks and Romans and illustrates how responses to the Galatians were never simple nor static, but always complex and fluctuating.

8.2: Historical Background

While more is known about Deiotarus than any other Galatian, most of this information relates to the later part of the king's life. Deiotarus was a central figure of the mid-first century until his death in 40 BC and although his date of birth is unknown, he was already described as an old man in the 60s BC.⁵⁷⁷ Unfortunately, not much can be said about his formative years. He was the son of Sinorix, a tetrarch of the Tolistobogii, whose territory encompassed Gordium and the sanctuary of Cybele at Pessinus.⁵⁷⁸ He was married to a certain Berenice of unknown origin and he designated his son Deiotarus II as his heir, apparently not before butchering his other sons to guarantee a smooth transition of power.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁷ He was described as an old man already in 54 BC, Plut. *Crass.* 17, and even as early as 66/65 BC, Plut. *Cat Min.*, 15.

⁵⁷⁸ *OGIS* 347, *SEG* 3429.

⁵⁷⁹ *AE* 1936, 110; For the slaughter of his sons see Plut. *De Stoic. Repugn.* 1049c.

Deiotarus came to the fore after the horrific massacre of a substantial part of the Galatian nobility by Mithridates Eupator.⁵⁸⁰ The victims of this massacre included the wives and children of the Galatian leaders and it was likely an attempt to destroy, or at least seriously weaken, organised opposition among the Galatians. The extent of the murders was serious (Appian reports that only three escaped the slaughter) but most likely exaggerated, judging by the range of characters who stepped in to fill the power vacuum in later decades. It might, however, have had the effect of permanently altering Galatian political structures.⁵⁸¹ Whatever the case, Deiotarus was alive and in a strong position to take advantage of this new Galatia.

Power had previously been divided between the nobility of the Galatian tribes. Strabo recorded that there had once been four tetrarchs to a tribe and that these men held authority, although scholars are sceptical of how this worked and when it was implemented.⁵⁸² The political structure of Galatia was then permanently altered by Pompey Magnus who centralised power by granting control of each tribe to one tetrarch.⁵⁸³ These changes were the result of Pompey's reforms after the Third Mithridatic War and the three Galatians designated as the new tribal leaders were Deiotarus of the Tolistobogii, Castor Tarcondarius of the Tectosages and Brogitarus of the Trocmi.⁵⁸⁴ Deiotarus had already demonstrated his worth to Rome by organising the expulsion of Pontic troops from central Asia Minor and proved himself to be a staunch ally of several Roman generals during the Second and Third Mithridatic wars.⁵⁸⁵ However, it was during the latter war when Deiotarus truly came to the fore in Roman eyes when he, along with other Galatian leaders, helped Pompey to defeat Mithridates VI of Pontus. Rome's Galatian allies were greatly rewarded when the arrangements were drawn up at Amisus in 63 BC. Deiotarus gained much from the Pompeian reforms. He was granted the title of king, which was ratified by the senate

⁵⁸⁰ App. *Mithr.* 46; Plut. *De mul. vir.* 259.

⁵⁸¹ Mitchell, 1993: 29.

⁵⁸² Mitchell, 1993: 27; Maier, 2003: 101; Bringmann, 2002; Rankin, 2002: 192; Strobel, 2002: 7-8; Meid, 2007: 52. Coşkun, 2013c: 80-82 denies the veracity of such a system.

⁵⁸³ Strabo, 12.3.1.

⁵⁸⁴ It is not known whether Castor was appointed as sole ruler or shared power with a certain Domnilaus, see Syme, 1995: 130.

⁵⁸⁵ Cic. *Phil.* 11.33-4; *Deiot.* 26.

in 59 BC and had his ancestral territories confirmed to him. He also received the region of Pharnacia and Trapezus as far as Colchis, lesser Armenia (which he had previously controlled before the invasion of Pharnaces),⁵⁸⁶ as well as a part of the fertile Gazelonitis. These acquisitions resulted in a significant expansion of his realm.⁵⁸⁷

There was, however, the issue of Deiotarus' son-in-law Brogitarus (who had married Deiotarus' daughter Adobogiona). Brogitarus was tetrarch of the Troceni, who were centred around Tavium, and who had also made significant gains in Pompey's settlement. Brogitarus received part of Mithridates' former kingdom which included the fortress of Mithridateion and the title of king.⁵⁸⁸ Significantly, Brogitarus was also granted control over the important sanctuary of Cybele at Pessinus.⁵⁸⁹ Brogitarus was therefore an obvious rival, but the evidence suggests that he then died during late 50s BC. Deiotarus took this opportunity and managed to gain control of the Troceni.⁵⁹⁰ Many among the Galatian elite were dissatisfied with this centralisation of power and chafed against his expansionist rule.⁵⁹¹

Asia Minor appears to have enjoyed a decade of relative stability until the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey broke out. Deiotarus continued to support Pompey and fought alongside his forces at Pharsalus in 48 BC.⁵⁹² Caesar won the day but despite this, the Galatian leader was not stripped of any lands. Subsequently, Deiotarus raised his two legions and supported Caesar's legate Cn. Domitius Calvinus in defence

⁵⁸⁶ Caes. *BAlex.* 34, 35, 67; Adcock, 1937: 13.

⁵⁸⁷ Strabo, 12.3.13; Eutropius. 6. 14. For the title of king see Cic. *Deiot.* 10; *Har. Resp.* 29; *Phil.* 11.94; *Div.* 11.79; Caes. *BAlex.* 67. The extent of Deiotarus' kingdom has been a source of contention, see Magie, 1950: 1237-1238; Liebermann-Frankfort, 1969: 280-281; Hoben 1969: 69-73; Adcock, 1937: 11-16. Adcock does not believe that Deiotarus was granted lesser Armenia and Colchis as Strabo's use of 'μέχρι' must mean 'up to, but not including' in this instance; Mitchell, 1993: 33 believes that Deiotarus was in control of Armenia Minor by 47 BC and according to Eutropius. 6.14.1, had received it from Pompey.

⁵⁸⁸ Strabo, 1.5.1, although Brogitarus is not mentioned directly, he was one of the three reigning kings of Galatia. Clodius was instrumental in Brogitarus' acquisition of kingship, Cic. *Har. Resp.* 28-29. The title is also attested by silver coins, on which Brogitarus is identified as a king, *BMC Galatia*, xvii.

⁵⁸⁹ The Tolistobogii had previously controlled the shrine, see Mitchell, 1993: 34.

⁵⁹⁰ Strabo, 12.5.1. Brogitarus was certainly dead by 47 BC, Caes. *BAlex.* 67.

⁵⁹¹ Caes. *BAlex.* 6.7

⁵⁹² See Syme, 1993: 130, for information regarding the identity of Domnilius.

of Asia Minor (Galatia was also threatened) against Pharnaces of Pontus, but the Roman alliance was defeated at Nicopolis.⁵⁹³

Deiotarus returned to Galatia and had an audience with Caesar, who was marching north to battle Pharnaces and rectify the defeat at Nicopolis. The king met Caesar and acted as suppliant, claiming that he had followed Pompey because he was compelled to do so through the threat of violence. Caesar did not accept this apology but acknowledged Deiotarus' past aid to Rome and promised to revisit the issue again. In the meantime, he demanded that Deiotarus provide troops for his war in the North.⁵⁹⁴ The Roman forces won a resounding victory at Zela in 47 BC and Caesar stayed at Deiotarus' fortresses of Blucium and Peium on his return home.⁵⁹⁵ Caesar now decided to strip Deiotarus of half of Armenia Minor, which he gave to Ariobarzanes III of Cappadocia. Nevertheless, the Galatian remained the most powerful ruler in Central Asia Minor.⁵⁹⁶ More significant, however, was the granting of control of the Trocmi to Mithridates of Pergamum, Brogitarus' nephew, and the natural heir of the tetrarchy.⁵⁹⁷

Relations between Deiotarus and Caesar were clearly strained and the king's enemies saw this as an ideal time to strike. In 45 BC Deiotarus' grandson Castor accused him of plotting to murder Caesar after the battle of Zela. The likely aim of the conspirators was to strip Deiotarus of his lands or upset the succession of his son Deiotarus II by harnessing Caesar's resentment.⁵⁹⁸ Cicero, a friend of Deiotarus, jumped to the king's defence and in November 45 BC the matter was heard in the presence of Caesar, at his house in Rome. In this speech, Cicero dismisses Castor's claims and presents Deiotarus as a true friend of Rome, highlighting the staunch support provided by the king throughout the previous few decades. Caesar refrained from making any immediate decisions and Deiotarus kept his lands and title and even managed to regain some of his losses.

⁵⁹³ Caes. *BAlex.* 41, 69; Cass. Dio.. 42.46.2; App. *B Civ.* 2. 91; *Mith.* 120.

⁵⁹⁴ Caes. *BAlex.* 67.

⁵⁹⁵ Cic. *Deiot.* 17.

⁵⁹⁶ Cass. Dio., 41.63.3; 42.48.3; Ritter, 1970: 124-7.

⁵⁹⁷ Caes. *BAlex.* 78.2; Cic. *Div.* 1.27; 2.79; *Phil.* 2.94; App. *Mithr.* 121; Cass. Dio., 42.48.4; Strabo, 13.4.3.

⁵⁹⁸ Syme, 1995: 134.

The subsequent death of Caesar in 44 BC provided Deiotarus with a new opportunity to expand his power. Events moved swiftly after the Ides of March and the death of Mithridates of the Trocmi spurred Deiotarus to retake the lands of the Trocmi without fear of Caesarean retribution.⁵⁹⁹ Deiotarus then turned his attention to the Tectosages and killed Castor Tarcondarius and his wife Adobogiona (Deiotarus' own daughter) in a savage attack on the fortress of Gorbeus. This in effect left him in control of the whole of Galatia.⁶⁰⁰ The attack must have occurred after the death of his son Deiotarus II in around 43 BC, as the funerary inscription on his tomb only mentions control over the Tolistobogii and Trocmi.

Galatia was now for the first time in the hands of one man, and this power made Deiotarus an invaluable ally for Caesar's successors. Once again, the king had to choose which side to support during another of Rome's civil wars. Deiotarus must have been courted by both sides but eventually chose to support Brutus and Cassius during the Wars of the Second Triumvirate and he sent troops to Philippi under the command of his secretary Amyntas in 42 BC. This support did not last long as his troops switched sides to join Antony during the battle, which proved to be a fortuitous move as they came out as victors.⁶⁰¹ Deiotarus was of advanced years at this point and he died in 40 BC. This presumably left Galatia in flux as no opposition was mounted by the kingdom when the Parthians invaded Asia Minor. Ironically, the kingdom was then assigned to his hated grandson Castor.⁶⁰² Castor's reign was short and the kingship passed to Amyntas, the former secretary of Deiotarus, who also managed to enlarge Galatia with parts of Lycaonia and Pamphylia. The kingdom of Galatia was eventually inherited by Rome upon the death of Amyntas in 25 BC, ending the Galatians' position as an independent and politically prominent people in the Mediterranean.⁶⁰³

⁵⁹⁹ Cic. *Att.* 14.12; *Phil.* 2.95; Antony had passed a decree assigning the Trocmi to Deiotarus, Cic. *Att.* 14.12.2.

⁶⁰⁰ Strabo, 12.5.3.

⁶⁰¹ Cass. Dio.. 47.24; App. *Bell. Civ.* 4.88.

⁶⁰² Cass. Dio.. 48.33.5.

⁶⁰³ App. *B. Civ.* 5.75; Cass. Dio.. 49.32.3; App. *B. Civ.* 53.26.3 tells of Rome's inheritance of Galatia.

8.3: The Hellenistic King of Galatia

‘At the same time, Deiotarus, a man possessed of real intelligence and even a modicum of Hellenic culture, received a position of supremacy over the others, which was intended to secure the allegiance of the whole nation to Rome.’⁶⁰⁴

This is Magie’s description of Deiotarus of Galatia, from his highly influential *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*. The claim that Deiotarus possessed ‘even a modicum of Hellenic culture’ illustrates how resistant some scholars have been to the idea of the Hellenised Galatian. The portrayal of Deiotarus as a barbarian who at most possessed a few paltry Hellenised characteristics has proved to be a stubborn one and it is only within recent years that scholars have begun to chip away at this prevailing attitude. Some appear content to avoid the issue and assume that he was significantly Hellenised, but ignore the intricacies of such a claim.⁶⁰⁵ On the other hand, others have re-visited the character of Deiotarus and have made some progress in understanding the issue.⁶⁰⁶ Despite this recent research, scholars still underestimate how important a part this factor played in Deiotarus’ success and how it is key to understanding Greek and Roman responses to the Galatians during the first century BC.

Deiotarus’ accomplishment was unrivalled by any Galatian who came before or after and it is therefore pertinent to explore and understand the reasons behind his success. By doing so, it is possible to better grasp what processes were enabling the Galatians to gain such prominent places in the histories of the first century BC. First and foremost, Deiotarus’ self-presentation as a Hellenistic king must be assessed. Deiotarus, although of Galatian stock, inhabited a world heavily influenced by the waning sway of the Hellenistic monarchs and the waxing power of Rome. His rule must therefore be assessed in the context of these two cultural influences, which left an indelible mark on his reign. Second, although Deiotarus remained firmly rooted within the framework of a more traditional Hellenistic kingship, there is also clear evidence that Roman dominance affected his self-presentation.

⁶⁰⁴ Magie, 1950: 374.

⁶⁰⁵ Mitchell, 1993: 35; also, Syme, 1995.

⁶⁰⁶ Coşkun, 2005: 127-130, 2008, 2013a: 154; Andrade, 2009: 136-145;

8.3.1: Epigraphic Evidence

Despite the relative abundance of information concerning Deiotarus, most of the sources survive in Latin and Greek and are thus coloured by the views of outsiders. This does not mean, however, that Deiotarus' own perspective is completely impenetrable. It is possible to glean information from contemporary epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological evidence, and it is through this evidence that scholars can witness Deiotarus' purposeful self-portrayal as a Hellenistic king.

Epigraphic evidence comes in the form of a funerary inscription from the necropolis of Blucium (identified as modern Karalar).⁶⁰⁷ This inscription can be dated to 43 BC and illustrates how Deiotarus wished to present himself and his royal line in a Hellenistic fashion.⁶⁰⁸ The tomb was built for Deiotarus' son, Deiotarus II, who died not long before the elder Deiotarus himself (40/41 BC). It was inscribed in Greek, a good choice for an aspiring Hellenistic king. The funerary inscription is dedicated to Deiotarus II and reads as follows:

[βασιλεὺς Δηι]όταρος φιλο-
[πάτ]ωρ κ[αὶ Γ]αλατῶν Τολισ-
[τοβ]ωγ[ίω]ν καὶ Τρόκμων
[τ]ετρ[άρ]χης ὁ ἐγ βασιλέως
[Δ]ηιοτάρου φιλορωμαίου
[κ]αὶ Γαλατῶν Τολιστοβωγί-
ων [κ]αὶ Τρόκμων τετράρχο[υ]
καὶ ἐγ βασιλίσσης βερενίκης.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁷ Blucium is known for its impressive Galatian burial and tomb finds, Darbyshire, Mitchell & Vardar, 2000: 86. Karalar was identified as the fortress of Blucium by Mitchell, 1974.

⁶⁰⁸ Oğuz & Coupry, 1935: 147. Cicero records that Deiotarus II was alive in March 43 BC. He is, however, not mentioned at the battle of Philippi in 42 BC. Therefore, he most likely died shortly after Cicero's letter (Deiotarus I himself died in 40/41 BC), Cic. *Phil.* 11.31.

⁶⁰⁹ *AE* 1936, 110; Oğuz & Coupry, 1935: 142. 'King Deiotarus, father-loving, and tetrarch of the Galatian Tolistobogii and the Trocni, son of king Deiotarus friend to the Romans, and tetrarch of the Galatian Tolistobogii and Trocni and son of Queen Berenice'.

The inscription identifies both Deiotarus I and II as kings (βασιλεύς) and tetrarchs of the Tolistobogii and Trocmi. As the inscription was commissioned while Deiotarus I was still living, he must have had a say in what was inscribed. The fact that father and son are both styled as kings and tetrarchs reveals a duality in the presentation of rulership. At this point in Galatian history the tetrarchies had been subsumed in favour of one ruler per tribe under the direction of Pompey.⁶¹⁰ Judging by its inclusion on the inscription, the use of the title tetrarch obviously had an important aura of legitimacy among the Galatians and was retained for ceremonial use. Nevertheless, the term Βασιλεύς takes primacy on the inscription and shows how Deiotarus chose to highlight his role as a Hellenistic king within a Galatian context, over the more traditional Galatian forms of rulership. The location of the tomb is also salient as it was situated deep within the lands of the Tolistobogii and was therefore predominantly on display for the Galatians themselves.⁶¹¹ The fact that the Galatians bridled under the yoke of Deiotarus' rule was likely exacerbated by his role as a king, because it departed from their traditional, de-centralised political structure.⁶¹²

The portrayal of Hellenistic kingship made political sense as it centralised power in a region that had traditionally been divided. Plutarch writes that Deiotarus was in fact so committed to this centralisation that he murdered his own sons to ensure a smooth transfer of power to only one.⁶¹³ While we must take Plutarch's claim with a pinch of salt, centralisation would have been necessary in Galatia as the change in power structure had been forced through by Pompey rather than through the assent of the Galatians themselves. Had Deiotarus merely inscribed the title of tetrarch (implying four rulers), it would have done little to support the centralisation process or to appease dissenters. By fitting himself into the established framework of

⁶¹⁰ Strabo, 12.3.1; Stähelin, 1907: 88; Oğuz & Coupry, 1935: 142-143; Eilers, 2003: 90.

⁶¹¹ The tomb is located about 35 kilometres north-west of Ancyra, and Blucium was the location of Deiotarus' palace, Cic. *Deiot.* 17, 21; Mitchell, 1993: 55; Anderson, 1899: 94 wrongly located the site of Blucium closer to Ancyra and Pessinus.

⁶¹² Caes. *BAlex.* 67, the other tetrarchs thought Deiotarus' rule to be against their 'laws' and 'traditions', 'quod ei neque legibus neque moribus concessum esse ceteri tetrarchae contendebant'. Also, note that the Tectosages were not under his domination at this point.

⁶¹³ Plut. *De Stoic. Repug.* 1049c.

Hellenistic kingship, however, he received legitimacy through the institution itself as well as by the fact that this title was granted by Rome.

Deiotarus appears to have borrowed conventional features of Hellenistic kingship from the different dynasties of the Eastern Mediterranean. One significant hallmark was the shared rulership with his son.⁶¹⁴ Shared kingship and the division of the title βασιλεὺς was a characteristic feature of the Seleucid dynasty, the most famous example being the joint-rulership of Seleucus I and Antiochus I.⁶¹⁵ Later rulers conformed to this model, including Antiochus III and his son Antiochus (brother of Seleucus IV), Antiochus III and Seleucus IV (after the death of his brother Antiochus) and later, Antiochus IV and his nephew Antiochus.⁶¹⁶

It was not solely the male side of his family that Deiotarus wished to paint with the Hellenistic brush: he encompassed both genders through his wife Berenice. Very little is known about Berenice. It has been suggested that she was possibly of Attalid descent, but she may have simply been a member of the Galatian aristocracy with a Greek name.⁶¹⁷ Both possibilities strengthen Deiotarus' image. It goes without saying that marriage to a Hellenistic princess, particularly a member of the Attalid dynasty, would undoubtedly have been a significant diplomatic coup and a strong indication of acceptance and integration into the Hellenistic fold. On the other hand, had Berenice simply been a Galatian with a Greek name then it speaks of the increased Hellenisation of the Galatian aristocracy. What is clear is that she is described as a queen in the Hellenistic tradition, as a βασίλισσα, completing the image of the Hellenised Deiotorian dynasty.

⁶¹⁴ Although the title βασιλεὺς was ascribed to Deiotarus in the inscription, it is a reconstruction. Both father and son were identified as kings while still alive, Cic. *Phil.* 11.31, 'regem Deiotarum patrem et regem Deiotarum filium'. Therefore, this reconstruction with dual-kingship is very possible.

⁶¹⁵ Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, 1993: 108; Pritchard, 1969: 317.

⁶¹⁶ Grainger, 1997: 36-37 and 64; Clay, 1913: 14 and 86, n.38; Olmstead, 1937: 10-11; Aymard, 1953/4: 59; Aymard 1955: 110; Sachs and Hunger, 1988-1996: II 428-29, 444-45 and 466-67; Gera, 1998: 115.

⁶¹⁷ Coşkun, 2012b: 55; Coşkun, 2013b, believes that the introduction of Greek names among the Galatian elite was due to marriage with outsiders. Deiotarus (it is unknown whether this refers to the father or son) did apparently plan to marry his son to the daughter of the Parthian king Orodes, Cic. *SB* 114.2. Berenice was also a name particularly associated with Hellenistic royalty, especially Ptolemaic, Thompson, 105-120.

The epithets of both kings also reveal a knowledge of, and a desire to imitate, neighbouring Hellenistic dynasties. First, Deiotarus II bears the epithet φιλοπάτωρ, or ‘father-loving’, a very widespread Hellenistic epithet which was used by prominent members of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic dynasties, e.g. Seleucus IV Philopator, Ptolemy IV Philopator, and possibly Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator.⁶¹⁸ It can also be found on coins attributed to numerous later Seleucids.⁶¹⁹ Second, the epithet was common among the Hellenised native dynasties of Anatolia, particularly among the Cappadocian rulers, e.g. Ariarathes V and VI, the Pontic king Mithridates VI and the house of Tarcondimotus.⁶²⁰ Importantly, the Cappadocian king Ariobarzanes II, who reigned 63/2-51 BC, bore the epithet Philopator, making him a local king, contemporaneous to Deiotarus.⁶²¹ This shows that the practice was alive and well in Deiotarus’ day.

Deiotarus was actively mirroring what was a widespread practice amongst both the most powerful and prominent dynasties of the Eastern Mediterranean and the minor kingdoms of Anatolia. The king was clearly attuned and open to the pervasive Hellenistic influence within Asia Minor and it is unsurprising that he succumbed to this, being surrounded by dynasties that all conformed to a similar model. The epithet also reveals how Deiotarus wanted his descendants and dynasty to be remembered in posterity as one of these noble houses, no doubt to increase their standing within the wider world. It also helped to ensure the transfer of power to his son within a system of structured primogeniture, as opposed to the possibility of returning to the old tetrarchic system.⁶²²

⁶¹⁸ For Seleucus IV see *OGIS* 247. For Ptolemy IV see Huss 2001: 383–4, n.16; Hölbl, 2001: 127-134; Green, 1993: 15. For Ptolemy VII see Skeat, 1954: 6; Nadig, 2013.

⁶¹⁹ Antiochus IX, *BMC Seleucid Kings*, p. 91-93; Antiochus, X *BMC Seleucid Kings*, p. 97; Demetrius III, *BMC Seleucid Kings*, p. 101; Antiochus XII, *BMC Seleucid Kings*, p. 102.

⁶²⁰ For Ariarathes V and Ariarathes VI see Michels, 2013a; *SEG* 33.642; *OGIS* 353. For Mithridates VI, see McGing, 1986; For the Tarcondimotid kings see Wright, 2012: 84-85 and Sayar, 2001: 377.

⁶²¹ Simonetta 1977: 39–42.

⁶²² Deiotarus was serious about the sole succession of his son, Plutarch reports that he murdered his other sons to ensure the succession of his heir Deiotarus II, *De Stoic. Repugn.* 32. Ironically events did not unfold in Deiotarus’ favour as the kingdom passed into the hands of his hated grandson Castor after the death of Deiotarus II.

This Hellenistic portrayal was not without its Roman influence, and evidence for this can also be found on the inscription. Deiotarus' epithet describes the king as φίλωρώμειος (friend to the Romans). Deiotarus clearly had no qualms about broadcasting his love of Rome, and why should he? After all, his rise to power and dominance in central Asia Minor was due to the largesse of men like Pompey. Deiotarus was not the only Galatian leader to have broadcast such a sycophantic, albeit necessary, message. There appears to have been a competition for Roman affection in Asia Minor and it thrived among the Galatian kings and tetrarchs, who all sought the position of Rome's greatest supporter.

Deiotarus' main rival was his son-in-law king Brogitarus of the Troceni.⁶²³ Brogitarus, like Deiotarus, owed his title to a Roman. The senator P. Clodius Pulcher was a key supporter of Brogitarus and helped him to become one of the most powerful rulers in Galatia. His position also posed a threat to Deiotarus' possible monopoly on Roman relations in Galatia.⁶²⁴ Brogitarus minted coins with the epithet φίλωρώμειος, a very public and official expression of the persona he wished to portray.⁶²⁵ The two kings of Galatia, who both proclaimed their Roman-loving credentials, were a clear departure from the example set by the earlier Hellenistic kings who rejected and bridled against such a submissive relationship with Rome. It is also possible that the epithet φίλωρώμειος was used by these Galatians to strengthen their rule as they did not have a dynastic claim to sole rulership. This was a practice that was not unique to the Galatians and can be observed among the other dynasties of Asia Minor. Braund points out that in the Bosphorus, kings without a dynastic claim to kingship utilised the epithet to help legitimise their rule.⁶²⁶ The practice can also be seen in Cappadocia. King Ariobarzanes I (elected king in 96/5–63/62 BC) was the first Hellenistic king to adopt the epithet and it was subsequently copied by his grandson Ariobarzanes III (c.52/51 BC).⁶²⁷

⁶²³ Brogitarus was married to Deiotarus' daughter Adobogiona.

⁶²⁴ Cic. *De Har. Resp.* 13.

⁶²⁵ *BMC Galatia*, xvii, 'Of King Brogitarus, friend to the Romans'; Braund, 1984: 105

⁶²⁶ Braund, 1984: 106-107 uses the example of king Asander; *CIRB* 30

⁶²⁷ For the epithet on the coins of Ariobarzanes I see Simonetta, 1977: 39-42 and for Ariobarzanes III, Simonetta, 1977: 43-44. The dates can be found in Michels, 2013b.

The portrayal of close ties and friendship with Rome was an important diplomatic feature for Galatian leaders, as it was for most minor powers. Deiotarus most likely lacked the legitimacy to lead both the Tolistobogii and the Tectosages within the traditional de-centralised Galatian political system (this was the first time that the two tribes were ruled by one person).⁶²⁸ Therefore, legitimacy was gained through this relationship with Rome, which undoubtedly aided his expansion and centralisation of power within Galatia and helped him to garner prestige throughout the Eastern Mediterranean.

8.3.2: Numismatic Evidence

Inscriptions were not the only medium through which Deiotarus broadcast his kingship. Coins found in Galatia demonstrate how Deiotarus minted and distributed coins in order to legitimise his role as a Hellenistic king. Coins are important sources of information for many ancient communities as they often allow scholars to overcome the biases of written sources, and are a useful way to explore the links and interconnectedness between communities across the Mediterranean world.⁶²⁹ Coinage had been used as an effective way to broadcast a monarch's authority since the heyday of the Hellenistic kings and the last Galatian rulers occasionally minted coins.⁶³⁰ All the Hellenistic dynasties made use of coins in this way, often by simply inscribing ownership on the coins themselves. Seleucus I for example issued tetradrachms that were inscribed with 'Βασιλεως Σελευκου' after he had assumed the title of king in 305/4 BC.⁶³¹ This was an effective tactic and the practice spread to other neighbouring kings and peoples during the Hellenistic period, especially to the non-Greek kingdoms of Asia Minor such as Bithynia, Pontus and Cappadocia.⁶³² Despite Roman dominance

⁶²⁸ Caes. *BAlex.* 67, there was resentment to this among the Galatians.

⁶²⁹ Vlassopoulos, 2007: 224.

⁶³⁰ Mitchell, 1993: 86.

⁶³¹ Mørkholm, Grierson & Westermark, 1991: 71.

⁶³² These kingdoms had been minting coins in this fashion since at least the third century BC, see Mørkholm, Grierson & Westermark, 1991: 130-132. Asia Minor had a long history of coinage and is known as the birthplace of Western coinage, Schaps, 2004: 2. It was a particularly prolific minting area for the Achaemenids, Dusinger, 2004: 2.

and interest in the region, individual powers seem to have been permitted to control their own coinages even up until the first century BC.⁶³³ This left scope in Asia Minor for the Galatians to develop coinage within a Hellenistic framework.

The Galatians were late to catch onto the practice and the kings and cities (such as Ancyra, Pessinus and Tavium) only began minting coins during the first century BC. Coins bearing the names of Galatian leaders did not appear until the mid-first century BC.⁶³⁴ This delay was likely influenced by the lack of a centralised political figure in Galatia until the creation of the kingships. The tribes were encircled by kingdoms which made much use of royal coinage and in time the Galatian kings unsurprisingly began to mint and circulate their own. It does not appear unusual for Galatian tetrarchs and kings to have minted coins in an overtly Hellenistic fashion by the late first century BC.⁶³⁵ Silver coins of the Trocmian tetrarch Brogitarus (who flourished during the mid-first century BC) have been found that bear the title of king. These coins depict the head of Zeus within an oak-wreath on the obverse and an eagle upon a thunderbolt, behind a military standard in a field, on the reverse. Importantly, the reverse also bears the inscription ‘Βασιλεως Βρογιταρου Φιλωρωμαιου’.⁶³⁶ Amyntas, who became the last king of Galatia in 39 BC, minted coins, principally,

2013: 72-76. For a more detailed overview of the coins of the Cappadocian kings see, Simonetta, 1961; Mørkholm, 1969: 21-31.

⁶³³ Ashton, 2012: 203.

⁶³⁴ Mitchell, 1993: 113.

⁶³⁵ DeVries, 1990: 403; The Galatian tribes and cities also minted their own coinage with civic and tribal names, e.g. Ancyra, *SNG von Aulock*, 6120 & *BMC Galatia* p. 8: 1-2; *SNG von Aulock* 6208-9 & *BMC Galatia* p. 24: 3; *SNG von Aulock* 6237-8 & *BMC Galatia* p. 24: 3. Coinage from neighbouring regions has also been found in Galatia, generally of Seleucid origin. DeVries claims that coin hoards from Gordium are the accumulation of mercenary payments from the Seleucids, DeVries, 1990: 404; Kealhofer, 2011: 63. It is highly likely that coinage from the economically powerful Kingdom of Pergamum had a strong influence on Galatian coins, particularly as the Galatian aristocracy most likely travelled throughout the Kingdom (e.g. Chiomara in Sardis, Polyb. 21.38). Travellers, upon entering the Kingdom, had to change their currency for the Attalid ‘cistophoroi’, see de Callataÿ, 2012: 183. These coins typically followed the common practice of inscribing the king’s name in the genitive to signify ownership, see Thonemann, 2013: 173-175; Hansen, 1947: 203-205, a practice that began with Lysimachus, de Callataÿ, 2012: 180.

⁶³⁶ *BMC Galatia*, xvii. ‘Of king Brogitarus, friend to Rome’.

silver tetradrachms, at his mint at Side.⁶³⁷ He followed the example set by his predecessor and minted a range of coins with the legend ‘Βασιλεως Αμυντου’.⁶³⁸

The compulsion to publicise and be recognised as a king was clearly important to the Galatian leaders and Deiotarus participated fully in these activities. Deiotarus struck bronze coins inscribed with ‘Βασιλεως Δηιοταρου’ (Fig. 8).⁶³⁹ The coins share similar motifs to those of Brogitarus. The obverse differs, depicting the head of Nike, but the reverse similarly bears an eagle atop a sword.⁶⁴⁰ These coins appear to have been influenced by the coinage of the Ptolemies, in particular, Ptolemy II, who minted a range of coins with the head of Zeus on the obverse and an eagle atop a thunderbolt on the reverse.⁶⁴¹ Such a design could have originated from the former Ptolemaic lands and colonies in Asia Minor, which had been under Ptolemaic control up until the early 200s BC.⁶⁴² Moreover, the eagle motif is not a common feature of Seleucid coinage.⁶⁴³ Another likely origin for this influence was the neighbouring Greek cities of western Asia Minor. Gold coins dated to the 160s and 140s BC have been found at Tralles in Caria, and display images such as the head of Zeus, the thunderbolt and the eagle, in various combinations with other motifs such as stars and humped bulls.⁶⁴⁴ This evidence implies that the Galatians were borrowing coin designs and patterns that had been in existence for some time from both local and foreign origins.

The fact that Deiotarus minted bronze coins is also interesting when we consider the target audience for such coins. Silver coins minted by Brogitarus and

⁶³⁷ Mitchel, 1993: 38.

⁶³⁸ *BMC Galatia* xviii & Pl. i. 2-9. ‘Of king Amyntas’. The kings of the Tectosages who inherited Paphlagonia - Deiotarus Philadelphus and Deiotarus Philopator - continued minting in this tradition, see Reinach, 1902: 51 and 28-29, Levick, 1996: 647.

⁶³⁹ *BMC Galatia*, p. 1; Von Sallet, 1885: 75 and 371. Evidence for the presence of the title βασιλεὺς can be found in Mionnet, 1809: 406. See Fig. 8. for an example without the title of βασιλεὺς.

⁶⁴⁰ Other coins ascribed to Deiotarus have been found in grave burials at Pessinus, Devreker, 1984: 174: 6-7.

⁶⁴¹ There are plenty of Ptolemaic coins that bear these motifs, for example, *SNG Cop* 119, 141; Svoronos, 354.

⁶⁴² Mueller, 2006: 160.

⁶⁴³ Houghton and Lorber, 2002: no. 567.

⁶⁴⁴ Jenkins, 1980: 186; Le Rider, 1989: 172-3; Kinns, 1999: 82-3; Thonemann, 2011: 40-1; Thonemann, 2013: 189. These coins might have also been influenced by the nearby Ptolemaic colonies.

other rulers in Hellenistic Asia Minor would have been circulated amongst the elite.⁶⁴⁵ Bronze coins on the other hand, being of lesser value, would have been more likely



Fig. 8. A coin of Deiotarus I (c. 59-40 BC). Bronze. Obverse: head of Nike facing right. Reverse: eagle atop a thunderbolt and the words 'Δηιοταρου' (of Deiotarus). From *BMC Galatia*, p.1/ Plate 1.

to circulate amongst the broader population. This indicates that Deiotarus was concerned by how he appeared to those members of Galatian society who were far beneath his social and political position. The fact that he was broadcasting Hellenised images on more widely circulated coins could mean that he wished his subjects to become familiar with them, to make him appear as a Hellenistic king, or perhaps they were already comfortable with such imagery and it reflected what was expected. What it does suggest is that Hellenisation outwith the Galatian elite was occurring. There is even evidence revealing that Deiotarus incorporated local imagery into his coins, which will be explored later in this chapter.

8.3.3: Archaeological Evidence

Deiotarus' Hellenistic portrayal is not restricted to smaller finds but is also highlighted by his building programme, in which Hellenistic architectural elements were incorporated into his fortresses in north-western Galatia. Central to this evidence are

⁶⁴⁵ See also De Callatay, 2012: 185.

the fortresses of Blucium and Peium. Strabo identifies these two fortresses as the royal residence (Blucium) and the treasury (Peium) of Deiotarus.⁶⁴⁶ The two fortresses are also mentioned by Cicero, although both are corrupted as ‘Luceium’, most likely due to scribal error.⁶⁴⁷ The location of the two fortresses had remained unknown until Picard in 1935 argued that Blucium or Peium could be identified with modern Karalar.⁶⁴⁸ This was accepted by Coupry who preferred to identify Karalar with Blucium, rather than with Peium.⁶⁴⁹ This identification is now considered accurate and Mitchell has subsequently solved the puzzle, locating the site of Peium near the modern settlement of Tabanlıoğlu Kale, 40km north-east of Blucium, which was most likely built by Deiotarus during the 50s BC.⁶⁵⁰

The fortresses were at the heart of Deiotarus’ administration. Blucium was the location of his royal residence, the place of burial of his own son, and where he chose to host Caesar, the most powerful man in the Romano-Hellenistic world. Peium, the royal treasury, was central to his ability to control Galatia and to maintain his army. It is no surprise therefore that these two fortresses are some of the most impressive found in Galatia. The Hellenistic character of these sites suggests that Deiotarus not only had an appreciation for Hellenistic architecture, but that such styles might have already been present in Galatia.⁶⁵¹ Not much remains of these sites and both have undoubtedly been subjected to grave-robbers, but excavations at Blucium have revealed a monumental terrace made from cramped ashlar blocks of well-cut andesite, as well as rock-cut steps with a rock-cut shaft/cistern, which are believed to be of Hellenistic workmanship (Fig. 9).⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁶ Strabo, 12.5.2. The ‘βασίλειον’ and the ‘γαζοφυλάκιον’. See Fig. 11 for a map of the area.

⁶⁴⁷ Cic. *Deiot.* 17; Mitchell, 1974: 63.

⁶⁴⁸ Picard, 1935: 42-44.

⁶⁴⁹ Coupry, 1937: 86-88. For the excavation report see Oğuz & Coupry, 1935: 133ff.

⁶⁵⁰ This distance suits the literary evidence as Cic. *Deiot.* claims that Caesar stayed at Deiotarus’ fortresses on successive nights, implying that they were within a day’s journey of each other, Mitchell, 1974: 71; Darbyshire, Mitchell & Vardar, 2000: 89.

⁶⁵¹ A Hellenistic tumulus at Gordium (c.100 BC) shows that this style had been present in the region before the time of Deiotarus, Strobel, 2009: 126-127.

⁶⁵² Fig. 2; Mitchell, 1990: 130; Darbyshire, Mitchell & Vardar, 2000: 89.



Fig. 9. Blocks from the defensive wall surrounding Blucium, with a series of rock-cut steps in the background. From Mitchell, 1974: 62.



Fig. 10. Remnants of the fortification of Peium showing high-quality carved ashlar blocks. From Mitchell, 1974: 64.

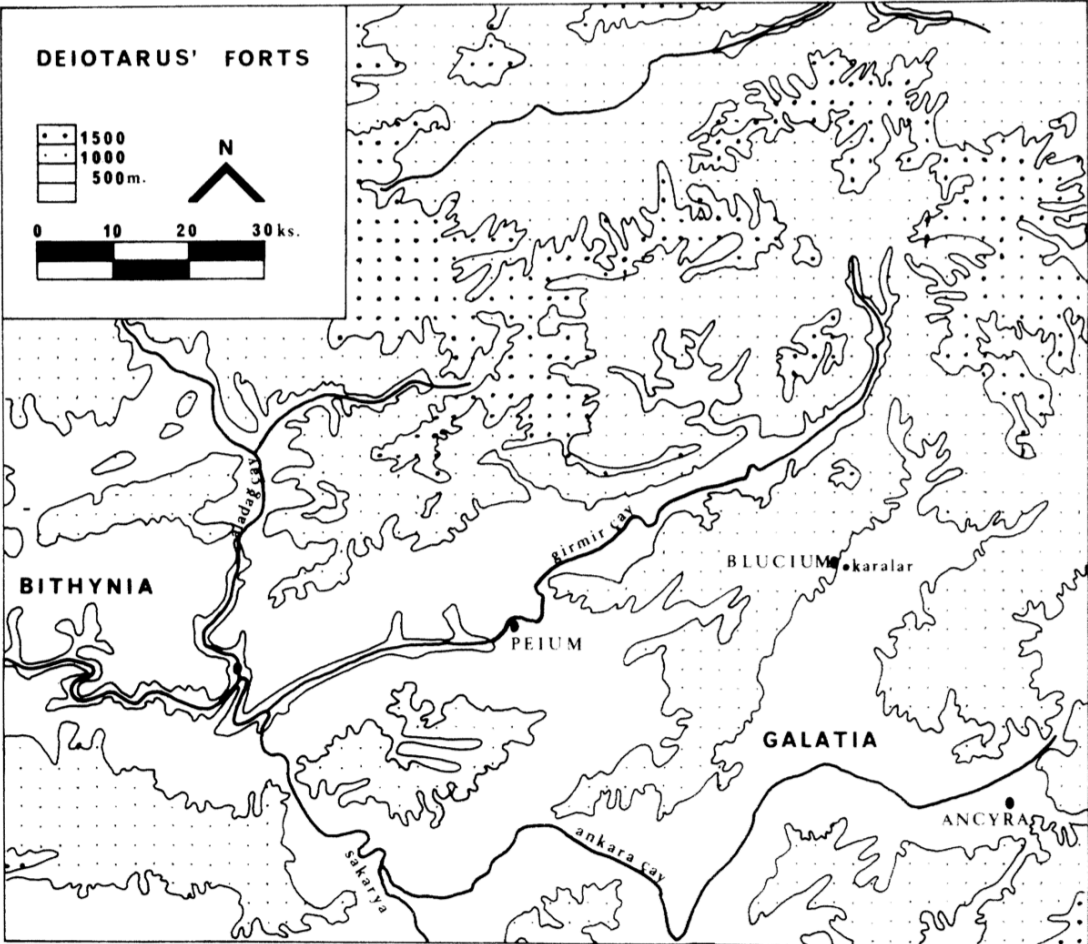


Fig. 11. Map of Deiotarus' forts, showing Blucium, the royal residence, and Peium, the treasury. From Mitchell, 1974: 72.

Peium is even more impressive. Its defensive works are some of the most advanced and sophisticated in all of Galatia and the location of the site is far stronger than the more exposed Blucium, making it a suitable location for a treasury.⁶⁵³ The well-laid ashlar blocks, projecting polygonal towers and gates evidence Hellenistic techniques for siege and counter-assault and would have required sophisticated workmanship (Fig. 10). Mitchell believes that is likely that Deiotarus imported Hellenistic specialists to help build his fortresses.⁶⁵⁴ However, it is equally possible, if not more likely, that by the mid-first century BC, a time when the Galatian elite was exhibiting an intimate knowledge of Hellenistic culture and society, the Galatians themselves were building these impressive fortresses. The use of Hellenistic techniques under Deiotarus influenced subsequent Galatian kings, as demonstrated by the fortress of King Amyntas at Isauria, which was built in a similar fashion to Peium, but remained unfinished at his death. There are also comparable sites where the stonework is of lesser quality. This other stonework, however, possesses a degree of rock-rectangularity, perhaps an attempt to emulate the finer Hellenistic style stones of Blucium, Peium and Isauria.⁶⁵⁵

There is also the possibility that Deiotarus engaged in the typically Hellenistic (and typically un-Galatian) activity of founding cities.⁶⁵⁶ Plutarch writes that Crassus, when travelling through Galatia to Syria in 54 BC, found Deiotarus ‘κτίζοντα δὲ νέαν πόλιν’ (in the process of founding a new city).⁶⁵⁷ This would have been, as Syme eloquently puts it, ‘the path of progress in a land of temples, castles, and villages’.⁶⁵⁸ Aside from this passage in Plutarch, no other evidence of, or reference to, city

⁶⁵³ Mitchell, 1974: 73. For examples of this workmanship see Fig. 8.

⁶⁵⁴ Mitchell, 1974: 73.

⁶⁵⁵ Modern-day Zengibar Kale, Swoboda, Keil & Knoll, 1935: 120; Darbyshire, Mitchell & Vardar, 2000: 88. Darbyshire, Mitchell & Vardar, 2000: 91 address sites with lesser quality stone. Strobel is sceptical that any of these fortresses were Galatian and argues that they were in fact Byzantine, but fails to provide any evidence to support this claim, Strobel, 2009: 127, n.54.

⁶⁵⁶ Chamoux, 2002: 264; Lintott, 2009: 513; Coşkun, 2013a: 154; Cohen, 1995 provides a detailed list of cities founded in Asia Minor.

⁶⁵⁷ Plut. *Crassus*, 17.1, ‘In the process of founding a new city’. Crassus also apparently joked that Deiotarus was engaged in building so late in his life. Deiotarus humorously retorted that Crassus was campaigning so late in his life.

⁶⁵⁸ Syme, 1995: 127.

foundations is known. There is also no archaeological evidence for Galatian civic foundations in Galatia during this time, but of course this could be due to the lack of archaeological work undertaken in the area. Coşkun has shown how difficult it is to identify the city with evidence from Armenia Minor, a region that was under the control of Deiotarus. He claims that the city mentioned by Plutarch could be identified with fort Sintoion, which is described as a Galatian foundation by Stephanus of Byzantium, or with Sinoria, which was founded by Mithridates VI Eupator and Deiotarus.⁶⁵⁹ The names of these foundations could also be attributed to Deiotarus' father Sinorix.⁶⁶⁰ While Coşkun's argument is interesting, there is still no evidence than can decisively identify the supposed city with any known locations. However, even if Plutarch's claim cannot be substantiated, that Crassus (i.e. Plutarch) is surprised by the fact that Deiotarus is building a city so late in his life, rather than that the fact that he is founding a city at all, reveals that Greek, and possibly Roman, expectations of the king and his kingdom were quite high.

8.3.4: An Affinity with Greek Culture

Deiotarus' great success in convincing the Greek and Roman world of his Hellenistic virtues poses the question of whether he was primed to don the (metaphorical) diadem. Was Deiotarus merely successful in harnessing an external Hellenistic persona? Or, was there a deeper level of Hellenisation engrained within the character of Deiotarus, a Hellenistic current present in Galatian elite society? This is not an easy question to answer but there is evidence that an older and deeper Hellenistic vein pulsed through the aristocracy of Galatia. If Deiotarus was raised in this atmosphere, it is no wonder that he could present himself as a Hellenistic king with such ease. A range of sources speak of his deep affinity for Greek culture; he appears to have had a Greek education, or at least became very familiar with Greek literature, and to have felt at home amongst Greeks, suggesting that he was more than a Galatian in Greek clothing.

⁶⁵⁹ Coşkun, 2013a; Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Σιντοῖον: φρούριον Ἀρμενίας, κτίσμα Γαλατῶν. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Σιντοιεύς', (Sintoion: An Armenian fort, founded by the Galatians, the ethnic Sintoeus). App. *Mithr.* 101.

⁶⁶⁰ Mitchell, 1993: 28.

Deiotarus could speak Greek and presumably, could write in Greek too. Cicero, in his speech in defence of the king, writes that Deiotarus, upon hearing of the death of Cn. Domitius at sea, quoted a Greek verse.⁶⁶¹ The ability to recite Greek poetry in a suitable context signifies a deep understanding of the Greek language and suggests that Deiotarus had received a Greek education, possibly from imported Greek tutors, or perhaps from Galatians within his own court. His penchant for literary Greek reveals that the language was more than a means to an end for the king; rather, he had a deeper appreciation and desire to portray his cultured identity. Deiotarus was also worthy of significant cultural recognition. The Bithynian writer Diophanes dedicated a six-book abridgment of the Greek translation of Mago the Carthaginian's agricultural treatise to Deiotarus. It is unlikely that an author would have done such a thing had he considered Deiotarus to be an uneducated barbarian.⁶⁶² Deiotarus also kept the company of Greeks: he was known to have retained a Greek doctor and surrounded himself with a council of Greek followers.⁶⁶³ Furthermore, Deiotarus was tuned in to the events of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. He made use of important links with Greek cities such as Nicaea and Ephesus and sent his own men to stay constantly updated on information from the wider world, suggesting that he was able to establish and maintain cordial relations with the Greek cities.⁶⁶⁴ Finally, although probably less surprising in the context of Hellenistic kingship in Asia Minor, there was Deiotarus' choice to broadcast his reign through the medium of Greek, as evidenced by the tomb of his son and his coins. While Deiotarus was certainly manipulating his Hellenistic persona in order to speak through the prevailing global diplomatic language, his education and penchant for things Greeks reveals a deeper connection with the culture.

Despite this affinity for Greek culture, Deiotarus was not a trailblazer. So much of his rule and the effective ways in which he displayed his Hellenistic persona were not unique or new. In fact, neighbouring kings such as those of Cappadocia and Pontus had been using monuments, coinage and relations with the Greeks to portray their kingdoms, and themselves, as Hellenised for far longer.⁶⁶⁵ What is more, Deiotarus

⁶⁶¹ Cic. *Deiot.* 25.

⁶⁶² Varro. *Rust.* 1.1.10.

⁶⁶³ Cic. *Deiot.* 17; *Phil.* 37.94.

⁶⁶⁴ Cic. *Deiot.* 25.

⁶⁶⁵ Robert, 1963: 494-496.

was not even unique among the Galatian elite, merely the most successful. For example, he was rivalled by the granting of kingship to, and the minting of Hellenistic coinage by, his enemy Brogitarus of the Trocmi.⁶⁶⁶ The fact that Deiotarus was not alone among the Galatian kings at working within a Hellenistic model supports the claim that the Galatian elite were significantly Hellenised by this point.⁶⁶⁷ Furthermore, the previous chapter revealed that by as early as the second century BC, Galatian aristocrats such as Ortiagon and his wife Chiomara were already influenced by Greek culture. This implies that there was a greater current of Hellenistic influence within the society of the Galatian elite, one which Deiotarus was able to tap into in order to become a true Βασιλεύς.

8.4: A King Subordinate to Rome

The evidence discussed above reveals how this new king had the ability to both compete within the context of Asia Minor and thrive within the traditions and expectations of Hellenistic monarchy. There was, however, a key difference between Deiotarus' form of kingship and that of a traditional Hellenistic king: Rome's dominance in Asia Minor. Rome's sway in the region affected all those who inhabited it and this was expressed in countless overt and subtle ways. The same can be said for Deiotarus, who relied upon Rome's beneficence for his position. Two examples that illustrate Rome's influence on Deiotarus shall be explored, his sycophantic relationship with Rome, and his Roman style infantry.

This relationship had an important effect on his presentation as a Hellenistic king, one which differed from those kings of the past whom he emulated. The Hellenistic kings had been masters of the Eastern Mediterranean prior to Roman intervention. Roman expansion to the east was at the expense of these kings and by

⁶⁶⁶ Brogitarus was granted the title of king as well as control over Pessinus by P. Clodius, Cic. *De har. Resp.* 29; *De domo*, 129; *Pro Sestio*, 50; *Ad Q. Fratrem*. ii 7(9), 2. Strobel, 2007: 385-387 points out that aspects of Hellenistic culture had been appropriated by the Galatian elite since the third century BC. Greek ceramic imports, jewellery and other luxury goods were popular among the elite and by the second century BC Hellenistic forms became the point of reference for the elite.

⁶⁶⁷ See Strobel, 2009: 126-127 for more on this.

the first century BC, Roman soldiers marched throughout the lands once ruled by the Macedonians, Seleucids and Ptolemies. Despite its supremacy, Rome did not completely discard the model of Hellenistic kingship, realising that pro-Roman kings were useful for protecting the borders of the increasingly far-flung Empire. These friendly kings were integral to the survival of the Empire and were tasked with providing troops and resources upon which Rome could draw in times of trouble.⁶⁶⁸ Deiotarus was one such king, and he became one of Rome's most important allies in the east and one of its staunchest defenders during his reign, regularly supplying money and troops for its incessant wars. Deiotarus of course owed much to Rome, such as his monarchical title, his extensive lands and eventually, his ascendancy throughout the entire region. It is unlikely that Deiotarus felt friction within this role, one in which a Hellenistic king of the past, as supreme master of his kingdom, would have chafed against. This is especially true as the Galatians did not have a tradition of centralised kingship, and such a form of quasi-sovereignty under Roman authority was the sole brand of kingship experienced by Deiotarus. This political situation was also common among the other kingdoms of Asia Minor and throughout the wider Mediterranean.⁶⁶⁹

A more visible and spectacular example of Rome's influence on Deiotarus' rule was the introduction of Roman style infantry. Cicero, in a letter to Atticus dated to 51 BC, reports that Deiotarus was a major supporter of Rome during the Parthian wars and that at that point he could field 12,000 infantry (30 cohorts of 400 men) and 2,000 cavalry. Significantly, Cicero describes these infantry as being armed in a Roman fashion.⁶⁷⁰ Emulating the Romans and equipping his soldiers in this way would have meant much more than simply transposing Roman weapons and armour to his Galatian troops. This new style of weaponry was significantly different to what is known about Galatian weapons and especially Hellenistic style arms from the region.⁶⁷¹ Deiotarus would have needed to train his troops in the use of Roman weapons to make the transition an effective choice, and thus would have most likely

⁶⁶⁸ Braund, 1984: 5-6.

⁶⁶⁹ Braund, 1984: 75-85.

⁶⁷⁰ Cic. *Att.* 6.1 (SB 115). This is echoed by Caes. *BAlex.* 34.

⁶⁷¹ Mitchell, 1993: 44-46; Polyb. 18.28-32 provides a comparison between Roman and Hellenistic warfare during the Hellenistic period.

imported Roman military advisors to train them in this new style of warfare. This was particularly important as Deiotarus' troops made up key components of Roman armies in several major battles and would have required some training in Roman style warfare to be an effective component of the military line.⁶⁷² This is exemplified by the part played by Deiotarus' infantry at the battle of Nicopolis in 47 BC. Deiotarus' forces were organised into two legions under the command of Cn. Domitius. The Galatian infantry were placed in the centre of the battle-line, with Roman troops on both wings, as well some cohorts in support behind the Galatian contingents. This central and pivotal location within the battle line shows how Deiotarus' troops must have had some training in Roman battle tactics in order to perform as an effective part of the Roman army. Deiotarus' forces (including his cavalry) played a key role in Rome's defence and maintenance of the east and as Mitchell points out, the fact that Rome had to rely on only two legions to defend Asia Minor at that time speaks to the effective contribution of his highly-trained forces.⁶⁷³

8.5: Finding the Galatian

The evidence for Deiotarus' image is compelling and appears to present an almost impenetrable Hellenistic persona. Its survival can be largely attributed to the nature of the evidence. Texts, inscriptions and coins were media chosen for their ability to stand the test of time and were associated with Hellenistic culture. It is no surprise that evidence for a Hellenised Deiotarus has survived to this day. This does not mean, however, that Deiotarus' Galatian persona was completely subsumed. What survives is in effect a biased portrayal of Deiotarus, heavily weighted in favour of the surviving Hellenistic evidence. As little is known about Galatian material culture, it is often through the Hellenistic material that hints of the Galatian are to be found.

First, the most obvious evidence for a Galatian identity is his name. The name Deiotarus comes from Celtic language roots that were also common in Gaul and means

⁶⁷² Cic. *BAlex.* 34.

⁶⁷³ Mitchell, 1993: 34. Deiotarus' cavalry fought alongside the Romans in 51 BC, Cic. *Att.* 6.1 (SB 115); at Pharsalus in 48 BC, Caes. *BCiv.* 3.4.5; in 47 BC, Caes. *BAlex.* 34; At Philippi in 42 BC, App. *B Civ.* 4.88.

‘divine-bull’. This is not in any way unusual, as Galatian names appear to be the norm among the elite during the first century BC.⁶⁷⁴ Similarly, the rival king of the Trocmi bore a Galatian name, Brogitarus: from ‘brogi’ meaning border, region, territory, and ‘taros’ from either ‘taro-’ one who crosses, or more likely ‘tauros’, bull. His name can be translated as border-bull or border-crosser.⁶⁷⁵ Galatian names proved to be resilient in the face of Hellenistic and Roman influence, remaining in common use well into the first century AD and only disappearing in the third century AD.⁶⁷⁶ This is of course not to say that non-Galatian names were unusual: many, particularly of Greek origin, are attested from the first century BC. Examples include Berenice (Deiotarus’ wife), Stratonice (the possible wife of Deiotarus the Younger), Castor Tarcondarius (of the Tectosages), another Castor (grandson of Deiotarus), Deiotarus’ ambassadors Antigonos, Dorylaos and Hieras, and his secretary Amyntas.⁶⁷⁷ While the name Deiotarus is of Celtic origin, it is also a name that could be readily understood by the Greeks and Romans. The Greek Ζεύς/ Δεός (Zeus) and ταῦρος (bull), and the Roman *deus* (god), and *taurus* (bull) all originate from the Proto-Indo-European *deiwos* (god) and *Tauros* (bull).⁶⁷⁸ This provided Deiotarus with a name that was not totally alien to the Greeks and Romans, but whether this had any influence in the choice of name is difficult to say. It is possible that Deiotarus’ parents chose a name which could straddle cultures effectively. It would certainly have been useful for interactions on the middle ground. In a way, such a name can be viewed as a cultural fiction which was created to facilitate communication. A name that sounded familiar to the ears of different peoples could be used by Deiotarus to his advantage. A solution like this helped shape the way people conceived each other and could be a tradition that was invented on the middle ground.⁶⁷⁹

The influence of Hellenistic culture was clearly strong among the Galatian elite. A name that was familiar not only to Greek and Roman ears, but was also faithful to a Galatian background, would no doubt have aided both internal and external

⁶⁷⁴ Delammare, 2003: 142-143.

⁶⁷⁵ Delammare, 2003: 91 and 291.

⁶⁷⁶ See Coşkun, 2012b; Mitchell & French, 2012: 225-272.

⁶⁷⁷ Coşkun, 2012b: 55.

⁶⁷⁸ Delamarre, 2012: 143 and 292.

⁶⁷⁹ White, 1991: 93.

diplomacy. This contrasts with other names of the Galatian elite known from the sources such as Ortiagon, Cassignatus, Combolomarus, Domnilaus and Adiatorix, which are not easily identified with Greek or Latin roots.⁶⁸⁰

Second, epigraphic and numismatic evidence also survives. The survival of the title tetrarch on the funerary inscription of Deiotarus II highlights that Galatian political traditions continued to be broadcast.⁶⁸¹ Moreover, coins that bear evidence of a more traditional Galatian influence have also been found. This is confirmed by a silver coin of Deiotarus which bears an unrecognisable bust on the obverse, possibly a laureated Zeus, and more strikingly, what is likely to be a Galatian shield on the reverse alongside the monogram of Deiotarus (Fig. 12).⁶⁸² The inclusion of a Galatian motif is in contrast with the other coins of Deiotarus as well as those of contemporary and subsequent Galatian kings. Whether Deiotarus' soldiers still used such a shield, or it was an archaising image, perhaps to be sympathetic to more traditional elements within Galatian society, is not known.⁶⁸³ It is a bronze coin, and therefore, it would have been more widely circulated than higher value coins. Deiotarus could have been appealing to the sensibilities of the broader population, to those more distant to Greek influences. It might have been an attempt to portray the militaristic aspects of the king's rulership, imitating Hellenistic rulers by presenting himself as a victorious general, or was perhaps simply used to pay his native soldiers. Whatever the case, it demonstrates that while an external Hellenistic image was prominent, traces of a Galatian influence are not altogether invisible.

When compared to the evidence for Deiotarus' Hellenistic persona, evidence for the Galatian side appears paltry. This, as has been discussed, is most likely due to

⁶⁸⁰ For Ortiagon see Polyb. 21.38 and Livy, 38.19; Combolomarus in Livy, 38.19; Domnilaus in Caes. *BCiv.* 3.4; Adiatorix in Strabo, 12.3.6.

⁶⁸¹ *AE* 1936, 110; Oğuz & Coupry, 1935: 142. Keep in mind that although the tetrarchy was likely a traditional internal division among the Galatians, its name is a Greek synonym for a Celtic title, Strobel, 2007: 125. A similar type of political division can also be seen in Macedonia when Rome divided the kingdom into four states during the second century BC, Eckstein, 2010: 245.

⁶⁸² Fig. 12; *SNG Cop v.* Aulock, 14,6101; von Vacano & Kienast, 1986: 358; Sear, 1979: 5691; Devreker, Thoen and Vermeulen, 2003: 391. For this 'Galatian' type shield see, Launey, 1944: 222 and 1949: 528ff; Panagiotis, 2012: 66; Chapter 4 of this work. This motif has been found on the coins of Seleucus II, see *SC* 1, no.767-768; Panagiotis, 2012: 66.

⁶⁸³ Deiotarus trained his soldiers in a Roman fashion, Cic. *Att.* 6.1; Caes. *BAlex.* 34.

the nature of the sources. Deiotarus chose to portray his kingship in stone and on coin, enduring mediums of communication. He also adhered to the contemporary language of international Hellenistic diplomacy which made him less alien to neighbouring powers. Moreover, the sources themselves were more familiar to the Greeks and Romans and whatever they portrayed had a greater likelihood of being recorded. As some of this evidence, such as the coin and the title of tetrarch, originate from Galatia itself, it is possible that Deiotarus was broadcasting these Galatian characteristics to his own population and not for external diplomatic reasons. This presents a duality of identity, one for his own subjects and another for his foreign relations. As was often the case with the Hellenistic world, these two identities could occupy the same space, something exemplified by the Seleucids and Ptolemies who had to juggle different identities to rule over a myriad of peoples, cities and tribes.⁶⁸⁴



Fig. 12. A coin of Deiotarus I (c. 59-40 BC). Bronze. Obverse: Laureate head of Zeus facing right. Reverse: Galatian shield, in left field, monogram. British Museum, London. 1845, 1217.251.

⁶⁸⁴ Sherwin-White and Kuhrt's *From Samarkhand to Sardis* contains plenty of evidence from the Seleucid Empire. The most striking example of how two cultures could be represented in the same context is probably the Borsippa cylinder, which represents Antiochus I as a Hellenistic king within a Babylonian tradition, Sherwin-White & Kuhrt, 1993: 36-39.

8.6: Greek and Roman Responses to Deiotarus

Most of this chapter has been dedicated to exploring Deiotarus' Hellenised persona. There is no doubt that Deiotarus was active and ambitious in the display of his Hellenistic credentials in Galatia. However, it was not sufficient to merely present oneself as a Hellenistic king at home, but equally necessary to be accepted as such by the wider community of the ancient world. This section will explore reactions to Deiotarus as well as how he was perceived in the Greek and Roman sources. Contemporary evidence from Athens, as well as the writings of Cicero, reveal how Deiotarus was perceived as a complex character who embodied Greek and Roman virtues.

Although Deiotarus was granted his kingship by Rome, an important and sought-after status that helped to legitimise his rule, it appears that the projection of his position in the Hellenistic tradition across the wider Greek world was also required.⁶⁸⁵ It is through Deiotarus' foreign relations with the Hellenistic kings and cities, and with the Romans, that his acceptance as such a king can be witnessed. These relations not only speak of Deiotarus' self-presentation as a Hellenistic king but also to his acceptance into a very Hellenistic feature of contemporary international diplomacy, the culture of public dedication.⁶⁸⁶

A dedication to Deiotarus found at the Stoa of Attalus reveals how he was honoured by the *demos* of Athens: 'The people [honoured] king Deiotarus [son of] Sinorix of the Galatians for the sake of honour'.⁶⁸⁷ The stone, although fragmented, is an honorific inscription which formed part of a statue base.⁶⁸⁸ Athens, by this point, had lost most of its political importance, but was still recognised as a significant

⁶⁸⁵ Braund, 1984: 106-107

⁶⁸⁶ Particularly in Athens, see Ma, 2013: 4-8.

⁶⁸⁷ *IG* II² 3429; *OGIS* 347, '[Ο δῆμος] Δηϊότ[αρον ...]νόργιος [Γ]αλ[ατῶν Βασιλέα ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα]'. Sinorix is also recorded in Polyaeus, 8.39; Plut. *Mor. Mor. De vir. Mul.* 20; *IG* ii/iii² 3429; *Amator.* 22; Sullivan, 1990: *stemma* 3; Mitchell, 1993: 28; Freeman, 2001: 86; Coşkun, 2013a: 156, n.17.

⁶⁸⁸ McLean, 2002: 236-239; *IG* ii/iii² 3429; Mitchell, 1993: 35.

international cultural centre. It is not known why Deiotarus was honoured. He might have won a victory or he could have provided a service to the city to become a benefactor.⁶⁸⁹ Deiotarus had clearly performed some duty worthy of Athenian commemoration. This implies that the king actively sought recognition from Athens, knowing that this was an effective way to gain prestige in the Hellenistic world.⁶⁹⁰

It is remarkable that Deiotarus, a Galatian, was honoured with both a statue and an inscription by the city. Moreover, the fact that it was erected not far from the location of the famous Pergamene sculptures on the Acropolis is striking. These had been dedicated by Attalus I of Pergamum a century earlier and they famously portrayed the Galatians as barbarians.⁶⁹¹ The stoa was also intimately linked with the Attalids, the family that made their reputation and earned their kingship fighting Galatians. The choice of the Stoa of Attalus, which was situated at the heart of the city, and the thematic contrast to the earlier depictions on the Acropolis, reveal how attitudes to the Galatians had evolved by the first century BC.⁶⁹² Deiotarus illustrates that the Galatians could be perceived as more than just alien barbarians and there was nowhere more ideal than Athens to exhibit this.

8.7: Cicero and Deiotarus

Roman responses to Deiotarus were varied. We have already seen how he was perceived as an ally and an asset of the state during the time of Pompey, and then considered a problem by Caesar. His place in the eyes of the Romans was clearly not consistent. It is in the works of Cicero where most information on Deiotarus survives. Cicero's close and complex relationship with the king reveals much about Roman

⁶⁸⁹ Pedley, 2005: 213.

⁶⁹⁰ This was also practiced by the native Anatolian dynasties. Ariarathes V of Cappadocia for example, was honoured for organizing the *Panatheneia* and was patron of the Dionysiac artists, Michels, 2009: 133-9.

⁶⁹¹ Habicht, 1985: 85-86. Chapter 4 explores these statues in more detail. Stewart, 2004: 181-198/ 206-213 discusses the location and provenance of the statues.

⁶⁹² Other Galatians were similarly honoured around the Greek world. Brogitarus had a statue erected at an unknown site in the valley of Hermus, Asia Minor, *OGIS* 349; Adobogiona was honoured by a statue in Lesbos, *OGIS* 348. Mitchell, 1993: 35 claims that Adobogiona's statue was perhaps originally from a site on the Aeolic mainland.

perceptions of the Galatians during the first century BC and how a Galatian could integrate into Roman political culture.

Cicero and his intimate relationship with Deiotarus provides a unique perspective on the Galatians. Not only was Cicero responsible for the most substantial and detailed piece of writing on any single Galatian (the *Pro Rege Deiotaro*), but he also made frequent reference to Deiotarus in many of his other works and letters. Cicero presented Deiotarus as a Hellenised figure rather than a barbarian, and readily accepted him as such through his words and actions. It also appears that the fashioning and broadcasting of Deiotarus' Hellenised persona in Cicero's writings was necessary for the success and sustainment of the relationship between the two within a Roman context. Deiotarus is often portrayed as a trustworthy and connected individual and the language employed by Cicero fashions Deiotarus within Roman and kingly virtues. This relationship also does much to demonstrate how Deiotarus was accepted both as a Hellenistic king and as a Hellenised figure on a more personal level. Moreover, it reveals that the friendship between the two men was authentic, and illustrates how Galatian individuals could occupy places of prestige within the inner circles of the Roman ruling elite.

Cicero and Deiotarus formed a close relationship, a true departure from the stereotypical and often negative perceptions found in some sources. Evidence for this bond is scattered throughout Cicero's works. He supported Deiotarus in 45 BC when the king was accused by Castor (son of the tetrarch Castor Tarcondarius) of attempting to murder Caesar.⁶⁹³ Such a defence would have put Cicero's reputation on the line in front of Caesar. He also represented Deiotarus' interests with other important Romans.⁶⁹⁴ The two men were known to spend time together and discuss intellectual matters.⁶⁹⁵ Moreover, Cicero entrusted the safekeeping of his sons to Deiotarus when he travelled throughout Asia Minor in 51 BC.⁶⁹⁶ It is important to note, however, that

⁶⁹³ Cic. *Deiot.*

⁶⁹⁴ Cic. *Phil.* 2.92.

⁶⁹⁵ Cic. *Div.* 1.26-27; 2.20, 76-79, Cicero and Deiotarus spent time together at a camp on the Cappadocian border during Cicero's tour as governor of Cilicia in 50/51BC. Cicero recorded that he and Deiotarus engaged in conversations about religion and divination, issues that Deiotarus took very seriously

⁶⁹⁶ Cic. *Att. SB* 110.3 (5.17); 111.4 (5.18); 113.9 (5.20). Shackleton Bailey, 1968: 219-220 and Mitchell 1993: 34 have both identified the Deiotarus named in the letter as

Deiotarus built ties with other important Romans and that Cicero was not his only sympathiser.⁶⁹⁷

Cicero frames Deiotarus within Roman and kingly ideals throughout his writings. This is illustrated most clearly in his *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, in which Cicero questions whether there is anyone who has not heard of Deiotarus' 'integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides' (integrity, wisdom, virtue, and good faith).⁶⁹⁸ These are quintessentially Roman virtues and are mirrored throughout Cicero's works.⁶⁹⁹ He repeatedly makes reference to Deiotarus' support of, and kindness to, Rome and the Roman people, in particular emphasising his *benevolentia* (kindness) and *fides* (faithfulness). Cicero, in his *Orationes Philippicae*, describes Deiotarus' 'kindness to the Roman people' and records how Pompey 'declared that Deiotarus alone was the one true and trustworthy friend and well-wisher to the Roman people in the whole world'.⁷⁰⁰ In a letter to Cato, he states that both he and the senate hold Deiotarus in high esteem due to his 'kindness and trustworthiness', and his 'greatness of mind and counsel'.⁷⁰¹ Similarly, he illustrates Deiotarus' trustworthiness and his love of Rome when he describes him as 'the most loyal to the Empire and most affectionate to our authority.'⁷⁰² Cicero also wrote to the magistrates and Senate in Rome claiming that Deiotarus held *voluntas* (good-will) for Rome and in a subsequent letter described him as the 'most trustworthy and friendliest king to our republic' whose 'counsel and resources' could be of use to

the father, although it is in fact the son who is being referred to as he is called 'filius', see also Coşkun, 2013b.

⁶⁹⁷ Cic. *Att. SB.* 115.23 (6.7), Cicero tells of how Pinarius, his acquaintance, became seriously ill while in Asia Minor. He was taken in and cared for by Deiotarus, no doubt to increase Deiotarus' standing in Cicero's eyes and to create a new personal connection with Pinarius, a connection that might prove useful in the future; Cic. *Brut.* 21, Brutus spoke publicly at Nicaea on behalf of Deiotarus; Cic. *Phil.* 11.33, Sulla often stated his fondness for Deiotarus; Cic. *Fam.* 110.5, Cato had intimate connections with Deiotarus; Cic. *Har. Resp.* 29 refers to other unnamed Romans.

⁶⁹⁸ Cic. *Deiot.* 6.16, 'integritas, wisdom, virtue, and good faith'. See Verboven, 2011 and Hutter, 1978: 139 for a discussion of these terms.

⁶⁹⁹ Andrade, 2009: 132.

⁷⁰⁰ Cic. *Phil.* 11.33, 'benevolentia in populum Romanum'; *Phil.* 11.34, 'Qui unum Deiotarum in toto orbe terrarum ex animo amicum vereque benevolum, unum fidelem populo Romano iudicavit.'

⁷⁰¹ Cic. *Fam.* 110.5 points out not only his kindness and trustworthiness ('benevolentia et fida'), but also his 'magnitudine et animi et consili'.

⁷⁰² Cic. *Har. resp.* 29, 'fidelissimum huic imperio atque amantissimum nostri nominis'.

Rome.⁷⁰³ This love for Rome can be mirrored in the king's use of φίλορώμαιοϛ on his son's funerary inscription addressed earlier in the present chapter.

The repetition of words such as *fides* (trustworthiness) and *benevolentia* (kindness) are central to Cicero's opinion of Deiotarus. Cicero believed that *fides* was of great importance to both personal and political friendships and saw this as a defining characteristic of those whom he considered worthy of his company.⁷⁰⁴ *Fides* for Cicero means 'trust', 'trustworthiness,' and 'loyalty,' and in his *De Amicitia* (on friendship), records that 'trust is the foundation of stability and constancy which we seek in friendship.'⁷⁰⁵ For Romans in general, *fides* was the cement of personal relations and in particular, of friendship.⁷⁰⁶ *Benevolentia* (kindness) also crops up frequently in reference to Deiotarus. Cicero believed that this was a central component of *amicitia* (friendship) and he repeatedly confirmed the authenticity of his friendship with Deiotarus in a public manner.⁷⁰⁷

Cicero fashioned Deiotarus with language usually associated with Hellenistic kingship. Livy for example recorded that Eumenes of Pergamum used *fides* to describe his father Attalus's loyalty to Rome in an attempt to adhere to a model favoured by the Romans. Hiero II was also described as possessing 'unicam fidem'.⁷⁰⁸ In employing this language, Cicero applies the Roman ideal of friendship to Deiotarus. He also demonstrates that Deiotarus adhered to Roman perceptions of the ideal Hellenistic king. It is perhaps not surprising that Cicero extols Deiotarus' kingly nature and virtues. He claimed that 'many kingly things are in Deiotarus' and describes him as a 'good and most loyal king.'⁷⁰⁹ In this way, Cicero makes *fides* an important kingly quality.

⁷⁰³ Cic. *Fam.* 104.6, 'good-will'; 105.2, 'fidelissimum regem atque amicissimum rei publicae nostrae', 'consilio et opibus'.

⁷⁰⁴ Burton, 2004: 214; Rowland, 1972: 451.

⁷⁰⁵ Cic. *Amic.* 65, 'firmamentum autem stabilitatis constantiaeque est eius quam in amicitia quaerimus fides est'; Burton, 2004: 219. Much has been written on the idea of *fides*, see Burton, 2000: 164-175 for a synthesis of relevant scholarship.

⁷⁰⁶ Verboven, 2011: 409.

⁷⁰⁷ Cic. *Amic.* 19.

⁷⁰⁸ Livy, 37.53.8 for Attalus. This was probably translated from the Greek πίστιϛ; Livy, 33.21.4 for Hiero II, 'a singular loyalty'.

⁷⁰⁹ Cic. *Har. Resp.* 29, 'cum multa regia sunt in Deiotaro'; *Brut.* 21, 'fidelissimi atque optimi regis'.

This type of language presents Deiotarus in a way that was familiar to the Roman magistrates and senate. It is therefore no wonder that Cicero presents Deiotarus in this way, especially if he also aimed to gain advantages from his relationship with the king. It made sense to present Deiotarus as a trustworthy, Hellenised and somewhat Roman figure. These words of praise are contained within works that Cicero expected to publish and he was therefore likely attempting to convince a wider audience of Deiotarus' virtues.

This of course questions the veracity of such descriptions; were they true to what Cicero believed or merely used for political purposes? First, it is important to note that Cicero, in choosing to back Deiotarus with such language so publicly, tied his own reputation to the king. Cicero must have realised that if Deiotarus' virtues were tested and found lacking, it would have reflected badly upon the orator himself. This is exemplified by his defence of Deiotarus in the presence of Caesar. It was a high-stakes case and he knew that when Caesar again met Deiotarus in person, he would be able to appraise Cicero's depictions of the king.⁷¹⁰

Second, nowhere in his letters to Atticus or other *familiares* does he portray Deiotarus as a barbarian, or anything less than a Hellenistic individual. In fact, the fashioning of Deiotarus as an exemplar of Roman virtues continues. Cicero, in a letter to Cato, describes Deiotarus in laudatory language, as a man with 'benevolentia et fide' (good-will and trust).⁷¹¹ Even more significant is his presentation of Deiotarus in letters to his closest confidante, Atticus. While his letters to Atticus were not 'private', in the sense that some of them were intended for publication, the close relationship he had with Atticus was important. The former belief that Cicero's letters were either public or private has been challenged and it is perhaps better to think of them as a way of gaining a subtler perspective through the type of language used, in particular, his use of less formal language for political discussions.⁷¹² Moreover, Cicero's correspondences with Atticus have long been considered a way to gain a deeper perspective on Cicero's opinions and writings. Shackleton Bailey points out

⁷¹⁰ Cic. *Deiot.* 6.17.

⁷¹¹ Cic. *Fam.* 110.5, 'good-will and trust'.

⁷¹² Adams, 2003: 340. Cicero himself questioned the divide between public and private, see Wiltshire, 1989: 14.

that to no one, aside from his own brother, did Cicero ‘reveal himself as to Atticus’.⁷¹³ Deiotarus appears regularly in his letters to Atticus but is not described with the sort of laudatory language seen in some of his other writings. When Deiotarus does crop up in Cicero’s letters, he is never the focus of the letter. Instead, he is only mentioned when Cicero informs Atticus of news or other information.⁷¹⁴ Therefore, there was no need to convince Atticus of the Roman and Hellenistic virtues exemplified by the king. Moreover, it is likely that Atticus already knew much about Deiotarus and his character, and the constant re-iteration of his personality traits would have been pointless. Conversely, while he may not use panegyric language, it is equally important to point out that not once in his letters to Atticus does he describe Deiotarus as a barbarian. By discussing Deiotarus in this way, he also in effect associates the recipients of his letters with Deiotarus. This is especially true for letters that would have been widely read, which suggests that Cicero was confident in Deiotarus’ character and his standing in Rome.

Although Deiotarus is presented as a Hellenised figure by Cicero, he was not a Roman and this distinction is important. Despite his virtues, Cicero did not see him as equal to a Roman. This is exemplified by a letter of Cicero’s in which he hints at an unsophisticated side to Deiotarus. In a letter to Dolabella, dated to December 45 BC, he wrote ‘but I wanted to send my old friend and host a little present—on the light, coarse-spun side, as his own presents are apt to be’.⁷¹⁵ Cicero provides no indication of what type of cloth he is referring to, or what type of garment (if it took the form of a garment at all). Good quality cloth was a luxury item in Rome and such a gift would have been considered suitable.⁷¹⁶ The claim that Deiotarus gifted poor quality cloth to Cicero can be read in several ways. It may suggest that Galatia does not produce good quality cloth, implying a level of backwardness. Also, it could imply that Deiotarus was unaware of the poor quality of the gift, making the king himself appear crude. Cicero also uses *filum* in his *De Oratore* when describing the quality of speechwriting

⁷¹³ Shackleton Bailey, 1968: 13.

⁷¹⁴ Cic. *Att.* 2.9; 5.17.

⁷¹⁵ Cic. *Fam.* 263.2. ‘sed ego hospiti veteri et amico munusculum mittere volui, levidense crasso filo, cuius modi ipsius solent esse munera.’

⁷¹⁶ Garnsey & Saller, 1987: 75.

and oratory.⁷¹⁷ In these cases he describes the ‘filo’ (texture) of the speeches of orators such as Critias, Theramenes and Lysias as ‘uberiore’ (richer) than those of Pericles. In this example, the use of *filum* implies undertones of refinement. Perhaps when Cicero uses the term with the adjective ‘coarse’ in relation to Deiotarus he paints the Galatian as unrefined to the recipient of the letter. Cicero seems to be hinting that although Deiotarus does embody the virtues discussed earlier, he is still below the level of a Roman. Cicero clearly cannot present or argue that an easterner, a Galatian (albeit Hellenised to a great degree), is on par with a Roman.

8.7.1: Barbarians in Cicero

While Cicero perceived and portrayed Deiotarus in a nuanced fashion, part of the reason why he broadcast Deiotarus’ virtues so publicly was likely to combat rival prejudicial views. Stereotypical views of the Galatians were present among the Romans during the first century BC and, despite his championing of Deiotarus, Cicero himself did not refrain from expressing some of these. He did know how to depict Galatians as barbarians, and while he never describes Deiotarus in this way, he does so for Deiotarus’ rival Brogitarus. In doing this, Cicero reveals that he could both elevate the position of a Galatian in Roman society by praising their Hellenistic and Roman characteristics, as well as denigrate, by painting them as barbarians. Just as the stereotypical evidence discussed in Part Two is accompanied by contrasting reactions, so too is this more sympathetic evidence accompanied by stereotypical responses.

Cicero described Brogitarus as a ‘Gallograeco, impuro homini ac nefario’ (a half-Greek, an impure and wicked man).⁷¹⁸ This vitriolic attack was in reaction to territorial events in Asia Minor. Control of the important shrine of Pessinus was given to Brogitarus in 58 BC. Clodius had agitated for this transfer and Cicero was furious that Brogitarus, and not his own Galatian ally, had taken control of Pessinus.⁷¹⁹ While

⁷¹⁷ Cic. *De or.* 36 and 124.

⁷¹⁸ Cic. *Har. resp.* 13.28.

⁷¹⁹ *ibid*; Mitchell, 1993: 34.

characterisations such as impure and wicked could be attributed to any enemy, the claim that Brogitarus was half-Greek is full of prejudicial overtones. Although the Roman elite perceived that they shared the same Greco-Roman mytho-historical narrative, evidenced by their claimed descent from the Trojans, and were heavily influenced by Greek culture and learning, they often used ‘Greek’ as an insult. Greekness implied such unsavoury characteristics as effeminacy and laziness.⁷²⁰ In this passage, however, it appears that Cicero insulted Brogitarus for being *less* than Greek, which insults his half-Galatian identity. The implication being that not only is Brogitarus not Roman, he is not even fully Greek.

The Romans perceived the Greeks in the east as a degenerate example of their classical kin, and even downgraded the Greeks in Asia into their constituent barbarian parts, Phrygians, Carians, Lydians and Mysians.⁷²¹ Cicero, although he readily acknowledged the cultural debt owed to Classical Greece, was a particularly strong proponent of the idea that contemporary Greeks were morally inferior and degenerate.⁷²² It was the values of classical Greece, in particular those of Athens and Sparta, that the Romans praised.⁷²³ Cicero himself warned his brother against contact with Greeks unless they lived up to their Classical forbearers, those ‘who are worthy of Ancient Greece’.⁷²⁴ This was a necessary delineation to make, as Cicero illustrated the hostility to contemporary Greeks in Rome.⁷²⁵

This is the sort of half-Greek that Cicero wished to make Brogitarus. He wanted others to see the Galatian as not even a half-Greek but something less than that. Lesser even than the barbarised contemporary Asiatic Greeks of his day. It had the effect of creating a spectrum of civilisation among the Galatian elite. On one end, there was Brogitarus, a quasi-barbarian who represented both the barbarian and the degenerate Greek. On the other end of the spectrum was Deiotarus, who embodied not just Roman values but also classical Hellenic virtues. However, in Cicero’s criticism of Brogitarus we can also see how some might have viewed Deiotarus and the kind of

⁷²⁰ Lee-Stecum, 2014: 457.

⁷²¹ Cic. *Flac.* 62-65; Livy, 38.17; Spawforth, 2001: 376.

⁷²² Cic. *Q Fr.* 1.2.4; *Sest.* 141; *Lig.* 11; Isaac, 2004: 391.

⁷²³ Isaac, 2004: 381.

⁷²⁴ Cic. *Q Fr.* 1.1.16, ‘qui sunt vetere Graecia digni’.

⁷²⁵ Cic. *Flac.* 61.

criticism that Cicero's praise of Deiotarus might have been intended to fend off. It could also be viewed as an example of Cicero attempting to solve a problem of cognitive dissonance. Because Cicero valued Deiotarus, a Galatian, he had to find a way to rationalise his distaste for Brogitarus, another Galatian. By thinking of Brogitarus as a degenerate hybrid, it enabled Cicero to see Brogitarus as different to Deiotarus, of a different class. This prevented a clash within his personal value system and supported his friendship with Deiotarus.

8.8: Conclusions

Deiotarus, through his public inscriptions, coinage, building programme and his desire to create a dynasty which would be remembered in posterity as Hellenistic, exemplifies many features familiar to scholars of the Macedonian, Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings. While Deiotarus was not unique in his desire to portray a Hellenised form of kingship in Asia Minor, he did embody a style of kingship characterised by subjugation to Rome. There is no doubt that much of his success in creating a unified Galatian kingdom was his ability to interact with his more powerful and more influential neighbours through established and familiar structures, aided by a personal persona that was readily recognised across the Eastern Mediterranean. His success is epitomized by his statuary dedication in Athens, which embodies the extent to which he was integrated and accepted into the political and cultural spheres of the Hellenistic world. Furthermore, Deiotarus' identity is called into question. The accessibility to Greek cultural influences in Galatian elite society moulded Deiotarus and, as evidenced by his Hellenistic persona and his Greek education, his character was the product of a more profound mixing of these cultural influences. It is not correct to simply describe Deiotarus as a Galatian with Greek features; his identity was far more complex than this.

While most of the sources portray Hellenised features, which can of course be partly accounted for by the sensitivity of Greek and Roman sources to what was familiar, his Galatian background was not totally subsumed. Some features were even promoted, such as the use of the title of tetrarch and the depiction of the Galatian shield on his coins. However, it appears that Deiotarus exhibited a singular Hellenistic

persona in his international relations and, like so many other kings in Asia Minor, this was key to his success and is best illustrated by his relationship with Cicero. Deiotarus' skilful and consistent broadcasting of his Hellenised persona unequivocally proves that he held far more than just a 'modicum of Hellenic culture'.⁷²⁶

⁷²⁶ Magie, 1950: 374.

Conclusions of Part Three

The more nuanced epigraphic, sculptural and textual responses discussed above, and the reactions of the ancient sources to members of the Galatian elite, illustrate how Greek and Roman perceptions of the Galatians were never monolithic. This was exemplified by the second and first centuries BC, a time defined by the increasing integration of the Galatians into the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. Ortiagon and Deiotarus demonstrate, through a range of media, that Galatians could actively cultivate a Hellenised identity, and because they broadcast this both outwith and within Galatia, the Galatian population was likely receptive to this.

This evidence shows how identities during the second and first centuries BC were often created on the middle ground. Cicero and Polybius were neither ivory tower scholars, nor court pampered poets. They had military and governmental responsibilities, travelled widely and experienced different cultures and contexts.⁷²⁷ They interacted with Galatians in cities and army camps on the frontiers of their world, and the Galatians did the same. Chiomara met Polybius directly and their interaction led to her being recorded by Polybius as an intelligence women with a fine demeanour. Cicero and Deiotarus went even further. Their relationship blossomed over the years and they developed a close friendship. They were known to have spent time in deep conversation and trust developed between them. Cicero went as far as to entrust the safeguarding of his son to the Galatian king. These are examples of the actual lived experiences of peoples (albeit the elite in this case) and they helped to formulate new perspectives and alter existing ones.⁷²⁸ These individuals interacted in contexts and situations that were created by each other and these interactions affected change in how they viewed one another. It also enabled the Galatians to have a say in how they were perceived, and eventually, how they were recorded for posterity. These changes, worked out on the middle ground, brought important modifications in each society, such as the desire to be seen as Hellenised, and helped to blur the boundaries between them. Cicero, for example, fashioned Deiotarus with language that could also be

⁷²⁷ Woolf, 2011: 113 makes the same case for Tacitus, Dio and Ammianus, and their interactions with the peoples of Northern Europe.

⁷²⁸ Vlassopoulos, 2007: 236 discusses the importance of lived experiences.

applied to exemplary Romans. Some of these changes and perceptions can be considered fictions but they were in a way more real and had the potential to become reality.⁷²⁹ These fictions, such as the use of exemplary language, were rituals that were needed to maintain personal alliances, and although they were inexact and artificial, they were the sinews of such an alliance.

The more sympathetic and informed portrayals of the Galatians from this time reveal that not all sources were blinded by stereotypes. It proved to be difficult to portray the Galatians as barbarians when they were contemporary and exhibited cultural features that were recognisable. Moreover, direct contact, especially on the middle ground, made it difficult to retain uninformed stereotypes, especially when shared similarities were acknowledged. Polybius and Cicero, who both knew Galatians first hand, are a stark contrast to later authors such as Livy and Pausanias who exemplify some of the more stereotypical perceptions of the Galatians. This of course did not mean that stereotypical perceptions disappeared during the first century BC. Polybius' description of the Galatians in book 3 and the way in which Cicero attacked Deiotarus' enemies reveal that the barbarian image never dissipated.⁷³⁰ Nevertheless, surviving portrayals of the Galatians from the first century BC are not nearly as extreme as Pausanias' monstrous caricatures.

This complexity highlights a major issue in Galatian scholarship. When these contrasting responses are not considered or appreciated, and when more theatrical and barbarian portrayals are maintained, inaccurate and stereotypical perceptions can reign. The effects of this issue are explored in the following chapter. Part Four will illustrate how, by revisiting the sources with this knowledge, it is possible to rewrite the history of the Galatians. This issue will be investigated by a case study on Galatian mercenaries. The Galatians have generally been identified as mercenaries during their military engagements with the Hellenistic powers, which is partly due to modern interpretations of the ancient sources. This in effect reduces their political and military agency, making them mere pawns of the Hellenistic kings. However, when the Galatians are approached in a more nuanced way and when they are not perceived as barbarian stereotypes, they can be viewed with more agency and thus, can often be

⁷²⁹ White, 1991: 93.

⁷³⁰ Polyb. 3.3.

seen as allies of the Greeks and Romans rather than merely mercenaries. This is in itself a careful and intricate case study of ethnicity which shows that only through an appreciation of the complexity of perceptions can the nature of ancient peoples be better understood.

PART FOUR
A CASE STUDY

Chapter 9: The Galatians: Mercenaries or Allies?

9.1: Introduction

The place occupied by the Galatians within the minds of the Greeks and Romans was far more complex than many have appreciated. Parts two and three of this work have shown how the image of the Galatians could be distorted, especially by authors who were not contemporary and who had little first-hand experience of Galatians. Conversely, Galatian individuals such as Ortiagon, Chiomara and Deiotarus illustrate that it was possible to be portrayed in a less stereotypical and more nuanced way in the sources. The Galatians filled a variety of roles and were at different times, and in different contexts, barbarians, allies, enemies, friends, family, and often diverse combinations of these.

Appreciating that the ancient sources perceived the Galatians in a complex and varied way affects how modern scholars view the tribes and offers the opportunity to form more informed opinions. After all, modern scholarship has proven that it is not immune to stereotyping. A prominent example of this is the way that many modern scholars have described the Galatians as a nation of mercenaries. The issue stems from a stereotypical view of how barbarians should act, and by believing that the Galatians operated as mercenaries in most of their military engagements with the Greeks ignores other interpretations of the evidence. This perception has permeated modern opinions of the Galatians, and while not all scholars follow this interpretation, it has remained relatively unchallenged to this day.⁷³¹ On the other hand, when the Galatians are viewed as a group of sophisticated peoples with agency, it is possible to interpret many of these sources differently and instead argue that they were often allies of the Hellenistic kings and cities and that they tended to act as allies when they were engaged at a tribal level. By seeing the Galatians as mercenaries rather than allies, they

⁷³¹ This view can be seen in a variety of works: Mitchell, 2005: 15; Arslan, 2002: 43; Ó h'Ógáin, 2002: 67; Cunliffe, 1999: 84; Mitchell, 1993: 44; Allen, 1983: 29; Launey, 1949: 490; Hansen, 1947: 31; Griffith, 1935: 166; Ramsay, 1899: 45. Coşkun, 2011: 102 on the other hand shows sensitivity to this issue.

lose much of their political and military agency. They in effect appear less sophisticated. In this way, it is possible to rewrite the history of the Galatians and return some agency to a people who according to one scholar ‘seem to have been acted upon by others rather than to have been initiators in the drama of their history.’⁷³²

This provides an illustration of the issues raised in the previous chapters. It allows scholars to explore stereotypical and nuanced perceptions within a contained context and shows how perceptions can be altered by approaching the subject in a different way. Such an approach is inspired by Vlassopoulos’ efforts to see marginal/excluded groups as having more agency than often thought before.⁷³³ On another level, it is in effect a careful and intricate case study of ethnicity as it shows how stereotypical perceptions of peripheral peoples can result in inaccurate and unrealistic depictions in scholarship. We have already seen how the Galatians did fill the role of allies. Chapter 7 explored how Ortiagon of the Tolistobogii supported Prusias of Bithynia in his war against Pergamum and was recognised as an ally. The Galatians also first entered Asia Minor as allies of Nicomedes of Bithynia.⁷³⁴ This chapter will investigate several episodes in which the Galatians have been identified as mercenaries and argue that they can also be interpreted as being allies.

9.2: Defining a Mercenary

Defining a mercenary is difficult. It appears that no standard definition exists, although at its most simplistic, a mercenary can be considered a professional soldier hired to

⁷³² Rankin, 1987: 188. Mitchell, 2003: 289 writes that ‘the military activities of the Galatians should only exceptionally be explained as wars or raids taken at their own initiative.’

⁷³³ Vlassopoulos, 2013: 119-128 uses the example of Thrace as a case study to allow scholars to perceive how Mediterranean redistribution linked together the world of networks and the world of *apoikiai* (Greek colonies). In this he addressed the range of strategies pursued by individuals and communities in Thrace, which showed how ethnic and cultural lines were defined, redrawn or set aside in the frontier societies of the region. Moreover, it illustrated how the worlds inhabited by ancient peoples were in fact parallel and interconnected.

⁷³⁴ Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.11.2.

serve in a foreign army.⁷³⁵ This definition is problematic as it does not reflect the motives behind mercenary service. Mercenaries played a central role in the warfare of the Hellenistic period and often made up substantial parts of a king's army. It was customary for kings to maintain permanent regiments of mercenaries to man garrisons, and during times of war they would hire larger contingents for military operations and battles. Celtic mercenaries frequently operated as part of Hellenistic armies throughout the Mediterranean.⁷³⁶ Mitchell claims that 'there was not a Hellenistic ruler of any importance who did not, at one time or another, have Celts to fight for him'.⁷³⁷

Mercenaries were to be found on the open market, but there were other ways of acquiring such a service. Another common method was by means of an alliance with a friendly state which enabled soldiers to be contracted *en masse*.⁷³⁸ This method of contracting mercenaries is, however, a grey area as it differs from a military alliance. In a military alliance both parties are politically and militarily invested in the course and outcomes of the war and usually hope to make gains beyond payment, usually territory or the defeat of a rival. It can therefore be difficult to tell from the sources when troops act as part of a military alliance or were mercenaries provided for by an alliance, because motives and aims can overlap. This distinction is important in the context of the Galatians as scholars have often described their soldiers as mercenaries, without clear evidence that they were contracted for service. Such reasoning excludes the possibility of a military alliance, a more sophisticated and integrated role, and favours less significant involvement, more suitable for those perceived as barbarians.

⁷³⁵ Percy, 2007: 52-53. For general information on mercenaries in the ancient world see Griffith, 1935; Trundle, 2004; Chaniotis 2005; Hornblower, 2008.

⁷³⁶ Adam & Fichtl, 2011; Examples include the Celts in Egypt, Paus. 1.7.2; Sicily, Diod. Sic. 20.64.2; Macedonia and Northern Greece, Polyaeus, 4.6.17 and 6.7.2, Diod. Sic. 22.5.2; during the Chremonidean war, Welles, 1970.

⁷³⁷ Mitchell, 1993: 44, referring to the Galatians in this instance.

⁷³⁸ Sekunda, 2013 and Sekunda and De Souza, 2008: 344 discuss how Cretan mercenaries could make up a 'symmachic contingent', under the command of the king to whom it had been 'leased'. See also Chaniotis, 2005: 124.

9.3: The Battles

‘When the tribes were not attacking cities, temples, and farmsteads or looting and taking prisoners for future ransom, they hired themselves as mercenaries to fight for others.’⁷³⁹ This statement exemplifies the issues addressed above and homogenises an entire people, who were in reality characterised by distinct tribal divisions, and it disregards their capacity to follow independent agendas. This chapter will focus on four episodes in which the Galatians of central Asia Minor have traditionally been portrayed as mercenaries. These include the war between Ariobarzanes and Mithridates during the 260s BC, of Ziaelas during the 250s BC, of Antiochus Hierax during the 240/30s BC and the Battle of Magnesia in 190 BC. The Galatian tribes that took part in these four campaigns have usually been viewed as mercenaries, but by re-evaluating the sources, they can be interpreted as allies of their military partners. This reveals that the Galatians were politically and diplomatically active and invested in the geopolitics of Asia Minor, rather than merely passive partners in its history.

9.3.1: The First War in the North: Ariobarzanes and Mithridates

This discussion begins during the late 260s BC, a time when the Galatian tribes were spreading into central Asia Minor.⁷⁴⁰ One of these tribes fought as part of an alliance with Mithridates II of Pontus and Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia against the forces of Ptolemy II. This war is recorded in a fragment of Apollonius of Aphrodisias’ *Καρκιά*.⁷⁴¹ The fragment is brief, and even shorter on details of the actual war. It records how the Galatians managed to repel a force of Ptolemaic infantry who were

⁷³⁹ Mitchell, 1993: 44, Mitchell writes that he did not examine this idea further as Launey provided ‘an exemplary account which makes it unnecessary to rehearse the abundant evidence again’. But Launey, 1949: 490 similarly portrays the Galatians as mercenaries without further investigation into such a depiction.

⁷⁴⁰ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ankura*, *BNJ* 740 F14. There is debate as to when the Galatians settled in central Asia Minor, see Mitchell, 1993: 19. The Galatians could have settled at this date but according to App. *Syr* 65 they were forced into the area after Antiochus’ victory at the Battle of the Elephants. Coşkun, 2011: 88-89 believes that this war took place before the settlement of Galatia.

⁷⁴¹ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ankura*, *BNJ* 740 F14.

disembarking from their ships and then to capture the ships' anchors. This tribe supposedly named the capital of their territory (Ancyra) after these trophies.⁷⁴² Although Apollonius does not identify the tribe by name, it is clear that they were the Tectosages. First, Apollonius accurately records the Galatian migration into Asia Minor in three groups and claims that they settled in central Asia Minor.⁷⁴³ Second, the tribe is associated with Ancyra, which became the capital of the Tectosages.⁷⁴⁴

Contrary to standard presentations of the Galatians, the Tectosages do appear to be described as allies of Mithridates and Ariobarzanes. Apollonius recorded that 'the newcomer Galatians, having made an alliance with Mithridates and Ariobarzanes, pursued to the sea the Egyptians who had been enrolled by Ptolemy'.⁷⁴⁵ The Greek verb used here is *συμμάχῃω* (to be ally with), and while it can be used in the context of mercenary service, it more often denotes an alliance.⁷⁴⁶ Furthermore, an alliance with the Anatolian kingdoms makes contextual sense. Cooperation would have brought significant benefits to the Tectosages, and would have likely reflected positively on the other tribes. The Galatians were illegitimate newcomers to Asia Minor and success as allies in this war would have garnered crucial recognition from the established Pontic and Cappadocian Kingdoms. This ability to form and maintain alliances with their neighbours proved to be an asset and helped to establish the tribes as popular allies during subsequent decades.

⁷⁴² The belief that Ancyra was founded by the Galatians is incorrect and appears to be a local aetiological myth as the city was visited by Alexander the Great, Arr. *Anab.* 2.4.1.

⁷⁴³ Strabo, 15.5.1 records that the three tribes settled in Asia Minor. Livy, 38.16.12 also describes how the tribes settled in Asia Minor, albeit in different locations. For the possible origins of these tribes see Darbyshire, Mitchell & Vardar, 2000: 77-78.

⁷⁴⁴ Strabo, 12.5.1; Polyb. 21.39.1; Livy, 38.24. Strobel, 1996: 180f and Coşkun, 2011: 88 believe that the Tectosages might have entered Anatolia after the Tolistobogii and the Trocmi. This is a difficult claim to substantiate due to the fragmentary and inconsistent state of the sources.

⁷⁴⁵ Apollonios of Aphrodisias, *BNJ* 740 F14. 'Απολλώνιος δὲ ἐν ἰζ Καρικῶν ἱστορεῖ Μιθριδάτη καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνη νειήλυδας τοὺς Γαλάτας συμμαχήσαντας διῶξαι τοὺς ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου σταλέντας Αἰγυπτίους ἄχρι θαλάσσης'. Coşkun, 2011: 88.

⁷⁴⁶ Such as in Aesch. *Pers.* 793; Thuc. 1.35; 750.

9.3.2: The Bithynian War of Succession: Nicomedes and Ziaelas

The war between Nicomedes and Ziaelas during the 250s BC was the next major conflict that involved Galatians fighting alongside Hellenistic armies in Asia Minor. Memnon records that the war came about because of a power struggle between Nicomedes I of Bithynia and the king's son Ziaelas. The roots of the war can be traced back even further, to a power play for the Bithynian throne. Nicomedes appointed the sons of Etazeta (his second wife) as his new heirs and selected two men, Ptolemaeus and Antigonos, and the peoples of Byzantium, Heraclea and Cius, as their guardians. This, unsurprisingly, led to a rift with Ziaelas, his son from a previous marriage. Ziaelas had been exiled to the kingdom of Armenia through the scheming of his stepmother but returned during the 250s BC in order to claim the kingdom by force.⁷⁴⁷ Ziaelas marched home with an army made up of warriors from the Galatian Tolistobogii.

It appears that modern authors have approached this passage with the pre-existing belief that the Tolistobogii were primarily mercenaries.⁷⁴⁸ Despite this, nowhere in the text are the Tolistobogii defined as mercenaries or as working for pay. This passage reveals how, with a stereotypical pre-conception of the Galatians, an account can be interpreted as evidence of mercenary service. Memnon writes that 'Ziaelas, however, returned to the kingdom with a force which the Tolistobogii of the Galatians filled with courageous men for him'.⁷⁴⁹ The Tolistobogii are also described as having θάρσος (courage, noun). It is unlikely that Memnon would have bestowed such a positive description upon a group of mercenaries, especially since the Heracleans had suffered greatly at their hands on multiple occasions.

The passage implies that the Tolistobogii made up either the bulk, or indeed, constituted the entirety of Ziaelas' army.⁷⁵⁰ The Tolistobogii would have had to supply enough soldiers to withstand the forces of not only the Bithynian Kingdom, but also the Byzantines, Heracleans and Cians, and thus the whole tribe must have been

⁷⁴⁷ Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.14.1.

⁷⁴⁸ Such as Maier, 2000: 91.

⁷⁴⁹ Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.14.2. 'ὁ μέντοι Ζηίλας μετὰ δυνάμεως, ἦν αὐτῷ τῶν Γαλατῶν οἱ Τολοστοβόγιοι θάρσους ἐπλήρου, ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατήκει.'

⁷⁵⁰ This view is also supported by Coşkun, 2011: 96.

mobilised for war.⁷⁵¹ Forces of this size suggest a tribal alliance rather than a mercenary army. If this was the case then the number of Tolistobogii implies that the chieftains and aristocracy were taking part in the war, in a level of political engagement far beyond what would constitute mercenary service.⁷⁵² While it is possible that Ziaelas was bolstered by sympathetic elements within the kingdom, there is no hint of this in the text. Therefore, we must assume that Ziaelas was fighting the full strength of his father's forces. It is unlikely that the illegitimate and exiled Ziaelas could have accessed the resources necessary to hire a large army of mercenaries, although it is important to note that he could have perhaps promised future rewards. While they did not defeat Nicomedes, Ziaelas and the Tolistobogii performed remarkably well. Memnon writes that both sides experienced battles and vicissitudes and that the war eventually led to peace negotiations. Memnon goes on to claim that the Heracleans gained an advantage in the treaty governing the cessation of hostilities.⁷⁵³ Ziaelas did nonetheless eventually gain control of the kingdom, leaving the Tolistobogii as the real losers, gaining nothing substantial from the war.

If the Tolistobogii are perceived as allies, it is possible to see a clearer purpose to their activities. The instability in the kingdom of Bithynia would have been an ideal opportunity to increase influence in northern Asia Minor. Had the war continued and resulted in a joint victory, the Tolistobogii would have been in a strong position to demand securities and perhaps even make territorial gains.⁷⁵⁴ They would also have retained great influence in the kingdom through Ziaelas and at the very least would have gained an important regional ally had Ziaelas succeeded without compromise. However, a compromise between Ziaelas and the Bithynian forces left no room for further cooperation with the Tolistobogii (it appears the Galatians were not the only partners famous for their duplicity). The fact that they subsequently turned against Heraclea and ravaged its territory has been considered recompense for the potential

⁷⁵¹ Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.14.2.

⁷⁵² Deyber, 2009: 225-226. In Celtic culture the command of troops was firmly in the hands of the aristocracy. We also know that the chieftains led the Proto-Galatian military forces during the migration period, see Mitchell 1993, 15.

⁷⁵³ Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.14.2.

⁷⁵⁴ Territorial gains would have been essential as by this point the tribes were likely still nomads in Asia Minor, see Mitchell, 1993: 19 and Coşkun, 2011: 88-89.

war booty lost due to the outcomes of the war.⁷⁵⁵ While this might have been a motive, it is also possible that the Tolistobogii wished to punish Heraclea for preventing a war that they clearly supported. Furthermore, a Galatian tribe again attacked Heraclea not long after this war, when the city provided support for enemy Pontic cities, and then again during the second century BC.⁷⁵⁶ While Memnon does not describe which tribe took part in these later operations, it was probably the Tolistobogii, as they were located closest to Heraclea and had a history of conflict with the city. It is likely that the first attack on Heraclea kindled an animosity that cannot be satisfactorily explained by the wish for booty alone.

9.3.3: The War of the Brothers: Antiochus Hierax

The war between Antiochus Hierax and Seleucus II comprises the most complex and probably the most significant episode in which Galatian tribes were attached to the armies of the Hellenistic kings. The reigning Seleucid king Seleucus II had granted control of Asia Minor to his younger brother Antiochus Hierax during the Third Syrian War (246-241). When this war had concluded, Hierax then revolted from his brother's rule in 241 BC and attempted to carve out his own kingdom.⁷⁵⁷ When conflict with the Ptolemies ended, Seleucus turned his attention to Asia Minor in order to reclaim his lost territory. Antiochus Hierax had meanwhile effectively ruled as an independent king, going as far as to strike his own coinage.⁷⁵⁸ Seleucus II marched to confront his brother, in what became known as 'The War of the Brothers'. The Seleucid pretender Antiochus Hierax made an alliance with Mithridates II of Pontus and acquired the aid of an army of Galatians.⁷⁵⁹ Their combined force defeated Seleucus II at a battle near

⁷⁵⁵ Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F.1.14. 3. For more see Bittner, 1998: 92; Davaze, 2013: 390-391.

⁷⁵⁶ Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.16; Memnon, *BNJ* 434 F1.20, the Galatians were once again thwarted by the Heracleans and seriously defeated.

⁷⁵⁷ Just. *Epit.* 27.2; for a narrative of the war see Will, 1966: 294-301 and Mitchell, 1993: 20. An extensive background to the war, as well as its effects on the Seleucid Empire can be found in Grainger, 2010: 153-170. Coşkun, forthcoming, believes that the war began earlier.

⁷⁵⁸ Le Rider, 1971/2: 243-259.

⁷⁵⁹ Just. *Epit.* 27.2.10; Griffith, 1935: 166-167.

Ancyra in the early 230s BC.⁷⁶⁰ The victory left Antiochus Hierax in control of Seleucid Asia Minor but this state of affairs did not last long. The Galatian tribes immediately took advantage of the chaos and turned on Antiochus Hierax. The pretender found that he had no authority over the rebels and they took the opportunity to oust the Seleucids from Asia Minor altogether. However, Hierax managed to buy them off and agreed to treat them as his own allies.⁷⁶¹ Attalus I of Pergamum then entered the scene and defeated Antiochus Hierax and the Galatians sometime between 241 and 230 BC, although this was not part of the same war.⁷⁶²

While a variety of ancient authors narrate this period of history, not one of them refers to the tribal identity of the Galatians that appear in the sources.⁷⁶³ However, we are lucky that epigraphic evidence has survived which might preserve their tribal nomenclature. The inscription is from Pergamum and refers to the later battle against Attalus I. It records those who took part in the battle.⁷⁶⁴

[ἀπὸ τῆς παρὰ τὸ] Ἀφροδίσιον πρὸς Τολιστοαγίους
[καὶ Τεκτοσά] <γ>ας Γαλ{λ}άτας {Γαλάτας} καὶ Ἀντίοχον μάχης.

Although the inscription is in poor condition, the location of the battle and the tribal identifier Tolistoagii survive.⁷⁶⁵ Unfortunately, the identity of the second tribe is lost due to damage to the stone. It is usually reconstructed as ‘Tectosages’ by scholars, which is the most likely restoration.⁷⁶⁶ The mention of these two tribes enables us to confidently identify them as Galatians. It is important to note that this inscription refers

⁷⁶⁰ Phylarchus, *FGrH* 81 F30 (Ath. 593e); Just. *Epit.* 27. 2. 246 BC according to Coşkun, forthcoming.

⁷⁶¹ Just. *Epit.* 27.2.11-12.

⁷⁶² Allen, 1983: 195-159.

⁷⁶³ Just. *Epit.* 27.2; Euseb. *Chron.* 1. 251; Plut. *De frat. amor.* 18. 5; Phylarchus. *FGrH* 81 F30; Polyænus, *Strat.* 4.9.6.

⁷⁶⁴ *IvP.* 23; *OGIS.* 275.

⁷⁶⁵ This presents a problem as the ‘Tolistoagii’ are not widely known in the sources. Scholars have generally identified them with the Tolistobogii, Coşkun, 2011: 98.

⁷⁶⁶ This is contested by Coşkun, 2013c: 85, who believes that it refers to another tribe as the Tolistobogii and the Tectosages were rivals and therefore, unlikely to fight under one banner. However, the fact that the battle of Ancyra took place in the heart of the territory of the Tectosages makes it highly likely that it was indeed the Tectosages who took part in this war.

to a battle that took place after the defeat of Seleucus II at Ancyra. However, we can also be confident that the Galatians who fought with Hierax against Attalus were the same Galatians who fought against Seleucus II, as it is very unlikely that Hierax would have acquired a new group of Galatians during his campaigns. Moreover, Justin implies they are the same group in his text.⁷⁶⁷

Justin is also the only source in which the Galatians are described as mercenaries:

‘But the peace that was granted Seleucus by his enemy, was broken by his own brother, who, having hired an army of Gallic mercenaries, brought hostilities instead of succour, and showed himself, though he had been implored for aid, an enemy instead of a brother. In the battle that followed Antiochus was victor, indeed, through the prowess of the Gauls; but they, thinking that Seleucus had fallen on the field, began to turn their arms against Antiochus himself, in the hope of ravaging Asia with greater freedom, if they destroyed the whole royal family. When Antiochus realised this, he paid them a ransom for himself as one would to bandits, and made an alliance with his own hired soldiers’.⁷⁶⁸

Here we see the designation *mercenarius*, as well as verbs associated with hiring: *redimo* and *iungo*.⁷⁶⁹ This implies that the Galatians were indeed mercenaries during this battle and campaign, at least according to Justin. However, a contrasting picture emerges in other sources.

⁷⁶⁷ Just. *Epit.* 27.3.1.

⁷⁶⁸ Just. *Epit.* 27.2.10-12; Tr. Yardley, 1994, ‘sed pax ab hoste data interpellatur a fratre, qui conducto Gallorum **mercenario** exercitu pro auxilio bellum, pro fratre hostem imploratus exhibuit. In eo proelio uirtute Gallorum uictor quidem Antiochus fuit, sed Galli arbitantes Seleucum in proelio cecidisse in ipsum Antiochum arma uertere, liberius depopulaturi Asiam si omnem stirpem regiam extinxissent. Quod ubi sensit Antiochus, uelut a praedonibus auro se redemit societatemque cum mercennariis suis iunxit.’ Ramsay, 1899: 4 describes them as mercenaries.

⁷⁶⁹ They are described again as mercenaries in Just. *Epit.* 27.2.12. It is pertinent to point out that although *iungo* can be used in a mercenary context, it can also refer to free states ‘joining’ together in an alliance.

An interesting passage relating to this war is contained within the *Chronicon* of Eusebius of Caesarea (c. AD 260-339).⁷⁷⁰

‘Antigonus (an error for Antiochus) had help and assistance from [Alexander], the brother of his mother Laodice, who was in charge of the city of Sardis; he also had the Galatians as allies in two battles.’⁷⁷¹

It is important to note that there is no indication of mercenary activity in the text and that the Galatians are described as allies of Hierax. On the other hand, this passage contains an error and it is Greek translated into Armenian translated into English. Therefore, more information is needed.

Plutarch (AD 45-125), who records the events surrounding the Battle of Ancyra, mirrors this depiction.

‘Seleucus joined battle with the Galatians and was defeated; he disappeared and was thought to be dead, since practically all his army had been cut to pieces by the barbarians. So when Antiochus learned this, he laid aside his purple and put on a dark robe, and, shutting the gates of the palace, went into mourning for his brother.’⁷⁷²

Again, the Galatians are not defined as mercenaries, although conversely, they are also not labelled as allies in this passage. Therefore, it is necessary to examine how they are described in greater detail. The roles of Mithridates and the Galatians are emphasised, to the point of subsuming Antiochus Hierax. Plutarch writes that Seleucus joined battle with the Galatians alone, with the implication that Antiochus and his

⁷⁷⁰ Lyman, 2013.

⁷⁷¹ Euseb. *Chron.* 1.251. The original text is in Old Armenian and I am therefore relying on a translation by Bedrosian, 2008. Porph. *FGrH* 260 F 32.8 (the text only survives in Armenian as the original Greek is lost) also describes the Galatian supporters of Hierax as allies.

⁷⁷² Plut. *De frat. Amor.* 18.5. ‘ἀκμάζοντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, Γαλάταις μάχην ὁ Σέλευκος συνάψας καὶ ἡττηθεὶς, οὐδαμοῦ φανερός ἦν ἀλλ’ ἔδοξε τεθνάναι, πάσης ὁμοῦ τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων κατακοπέισης. πυθόμενος οὖν ὁ Ἀντίοχος τὴν πορφύραν ἔθηκε καὶ φαῖον ἱμάτιον ἔλαβε, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια κλείσας ἐπένθει τὸν ἀδελφόν’.

forces did not take part. He goes beyond this and temporally and spatially dislocates Antiochus Hierax from the battle itself, stating that he learned of the outcome of battle while at a palace.

This emphasis on the role of the Galatians is mirrored in other sources. Phylarchus (third century BC) recorded that ‘Mysta was the mistress of Seleucus the king, and when Seleucus was defeated by the Galatians...’.⁷⁷³ Again the battle is portrayed as a contest between the forces of Seleucus and the Galatians, while any mention of Antiochus Hierax is omitted. The Macedonian writer and strategist Polyaeus (born before AD 100) similarly records that ‘Seleucus, after an unsuccessful battle with the barbarians, fled towards Cilicia.’⁷⁷⁴ These Galatians are once again presented as being prime enemies of the Seleucids.

Importantly, epigraphic and numismatic evidence relating to these conflicts also survives. The Pergamene inscription mentioned earlier is of particular interest as it is a contemporary source.⁷⁷⁵ Attalus I had launched an attack on Antiochus Hierax and the Galatians after Ancyra and managed to defeat them in battle. While the inscription refers to this later battle, the same combatants, the Tolistoagii (Tolistobogii?) and the Tectosages, are identified as fighting alongside Antiochus Hierax. This tribal identification is inscribed near the name of Antiochus Hierax, a position on par with that of the pretender himself. Another interesting piece of evidence comes in the form of a bronze coin of Seleucus II. The reverse of the coin shows a cavalry man facing right, trampling a Galatian warrior in the bottom right field. Defeating the Galatians was a generic type of illustration and the fact that Seleucus employs it on his coinage shows that they were perceived as enemies of note.⁷⁷⁶

Why is this emphasis on the role of the Galatians important and how does it fit into the greater argument? Had the Galatians truly operated as a mercenary force, they would not have garnered the attention and focus to the extent portrayed in the

⁷⁷³ Phylarchus, *FGrH* 81 F30 ‘Μύστα Σελεύκου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρωμένη ἦν: ἥτις ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν Σελεύκου νικηθέντος’.

⁷⁷⁴ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 4.9.6. ‘Σέλευκος ἐς Κιλικίαν φυγὼν ἐκ τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους’.

⁷⁷⁵ *IvP* 23; *OGIS* 275.

⁷⁷⁶ *SC* 767-768.

sources.⁷⁷⁷ The emphasis on the Galatians, even to the point of subsuming Antiochus Hierax and his forces, reveals how the ancient authors portrayed the Galatians as capable and important combatants in the war. They demonstrate that the Galatians were major players during the conflict and were at least on a par with the forces of Antiochus Hierax. While it is highly unlikely that Seleucus II fought the Galatians alone as is recorded in Phylarchus, a re-evaluation of the sources makes their role as allies of the king a much greater likelihood.

The question remains, how to tie this all together? The prominence of the Galatians in some textual and epigraphic sources, in which they are emphasised to the point of surpassing Antiochus Hierax, speaks of a more important role, that of allies, and provides a more convincing picture. First, Justin's aim was to illustrate the devastating impact of fraternal conflict and this can be demonstrated better if the Galatians are downgraded to mercenaries rather than acting as autonomous allies.⁷⁷⁸ Second, the actions of the Galatians in this campaign also seriously undermine the case for their role as mercenaries. The sources suggest that the Galatians fielded a very substantial force, which was likely larger than Antiochus Hierax's army. They managed to defeat the Seleucid army alongside their allied Greek forces and if we include Justin's account, the Galatians posed enough of a threat to successfully threaten Antiochus Hierax and to coerce significant gains from the pretender.⁷⁷⁹ These successes would have required large numbers of troops, implying that the two tribes fielded their full strength for the campaign, on a level of political engagement far beyond that of mercenary service. As volatile as Galatian allies could be (and proved to be), an army of mercenaries this size would have been a highly dangerous choice for any king, regardless of the size of his own army. The inscription from Pergamum, although relating to a different battle, also suggests a more elevated position for the Galatians.⁷⁸⁰ Mercenary hordes would probably have been described in a more lumpen way, and instead of simply referring to the Galatians as 'Galatians', the stone identifies

⁷⁷⁷ It must be pointed out that part of the reason for this attention and focus in the sources is not just because of their politico-military status, but because of what they represented: non-Greek peoples of interest as recent invaders of Asia Minor, ransackers of Greek cities, yet allies of kings and generals.

⁷⁷⁸ Coşkun, forthcoming.

⁷⁷⁹ Just. *Epit.* 27.2.1.

⁷⁸⁰ *IvP* 23; *OGIS* 275.

them by their tribal affiliation. This indicates a greater appreciation and knowledge of the tribes and provides them with a more favourable place on the inscription.

Third, the major battle of the campaign took place near Ancyra, deep within the lands of the Tectosages.⁷⁸¹ It is not logical for the Galatians to have supplied mercenaries for a war that took place in their own territory. It would also have been difficult for the tribes to remain insulated from the war, especially with the Seleucids operating on their doorstep. A Seleucid army campaigning in Galatia would have undoubtedly spurred the tribes into action. Furthermore, if Seleucus II aimed to reconquer western and southern Asia Minor, why did he invade the lands of mere mercenaries? This makes far more sense when we view the Galatians as allies. Seleucus was attempting to ravage the territory of Antiochus Hierax's main supporters, to knock them out of the war or at least significantly undermine their fighting capabilities.

Justin's passage is clearly an outlier when compared to the other sources, and as such, we should not base our knowledge of events solely on his writings as some scholars have done.⁷⁸² This is not to say that his writings are baseless or inaccurate, in fact he illustrates the importance of an alliance to the Galatians. Justin believed they were bought off with booty and an alliance, which is highly significant. The Galatians were in a superb position to 'ravage Asia with greater freedom'.⁷⁸³ They had attained superiority in Asia and could have driven west and raided the Greek coastal cities as they had done in the 270s BC. This would have undoubtedly resulted in far more booty than what Antiochus Hierax could have offered. Therefore, the offer of booty was unlikely to have been the main motivating factor. They were also drawn to the prospect of an alliance. The Galatians believed that Seleucus II had died in battle, which would have left the Seleucid Empire vulnerable and disorganised. Had they killed Hierax, his newly won kingdom would most likely have disintegrated, leaving the Galatians free to make gains in Asia Minor. It appears that the offer of an alliance was enough to tempt the Galatians away from so fine a prize as this. But why was this offer important to the Galatians? An alliance formalises and gives concrete expression to interstate

⁷⁸¹ Plin. *HN*. 5.42.

⁷⁸² Coşkun, 2011: 98 also finds his account dubious and 'garbled'.

⁷⁸³ Just. *Epit.* 27.2.11.

relations.⁷⁸⁴ Antiochus Hierax was effectively granting the two tribes prestige and equal footing. The plundering of Asia Minor would hardly make the Greeks view the Galatians as upstanding neighbouring peoples.⁷⁸⁵ Recognition from the Seleucids (albeit a Seleucid rebel) would have been just the thing for this. It also reveals how the Galatians were evolving within the context of Hellenistic Asia Minor. They realised that by manipulating the political system of the Greeks, it was possible to gain prestige and influence, and even formal recognition.

To close this discussion on the War of the Brothers, it is important to point out that more recently Coşkun has reinterpreted the chronology of the war and has re-evaluated the traditional narrative. Although his work remains unpublished, it is worth including his findings here as the combatants in some of the battles differ in his account. Despite this re-evaluation, it can still be argued that the Galatians appear as allies in these battles rather than as mercenaries. Coşkun argues that the War of the Brothers began not in 241 BC, but towards the beginning of the Third Syrian War in 246 BC and that hostility between the brothers was deep-rooted.⁷⁸⁶ This changes the chronology of the war and re-distributes the sources, meaning that some passages are applied to different historical events. He also claims that Antiochus Hierax's absence at the battle at Ancyra in some sources can be explained. According to Coşkun, Hierax simply was not present at Ancyra and that his allies, Mithridates and a Galatian tribe, most likely the Tectosages, fought Seleucus II.⁷⁸⁷ He also treats the subsequent conflict between Attalus and Hierax and his Galatian allies as a separate war and chooses not to address it in his work and as such does not see a connection between the Galatians who fought at Ancyra and those who fought against Attalus. Despite this, the important

⁷⁸⁴ Gruen, 1984: 13.

⁷⁸⁵ The Galatians had been settled in the region for more than a generation and would have needed contacts with other states for trade and security. The Galatians had been presented as barbarians by their neighbours, see Strootman, 2005: 18-19.

⁷⁸⁶ Coşkun, forthcoming.

⁷⁸⁷ Coşkun, forthcoming. Coşkun relies on the third century AD philosopher Porphyry for much of his re-evaluation of the course of the war and sees Justin as a very unreliable source. Porphyry does not, however, appear any more reliable than Justin for the period as he was not a historian, he flourished a century later than Justin, his work survives in fragments and the Greek original no longer exists. To value his contribution above Justin's is not necessarily the correct approach. For more on Porphyry see Engels, 2013 and Smith, 1974.

role played by the Tectosages and the Tolistobogii remains evident and speaks of their military and political agency in the region. It remains to be seen if Coşkun's new evaluation becomes widespread in scholarship, but for now it is sufficient to note that varied opinions do exist.

9.3.4: The Battle of Magnesia: Antiochus III

The final episode examined is the battle of Magnesia (190 BC). Magnesia marks the point when Roman influence and control in Asia Minor increased dramatically and permanently altered the geopolitical landscape of the region.⁷⁸⁸ This was also the final engagement in which Galatians fought for a Hellenistic king before the campaign of Manlius Vulso in 189 BC.⁷⁸⁹ The narrative for the battle is contained within the writings of Livy and Appian. It was the culmination of the war between Rome under the generals Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, and the Seleucid Empire of Antiochus III.⁷⁹⁰ In his account of the Seleucid army, Livy records that there were 3,000 Galatian infantry, divided into two groups of 1,500 on either side of the central phalanx, as well as 2,500 Galatian cavalry.⁷⁹¹ Appian, however, thought that the Galatians were situated on the left of the Phalanx and we know that the Galatians were present as he records that their contingent was made up of the Tectosages, the Trocmi and the Tolistobogii.⁷⁹² Some scholars have believed that the Galatians were mercenaries under the command of Antiochus III during this battle.⁷⁹³ However, the sources do not actually define these combatants as mercenaries, and there is stronger evidence suggesting that they were allies of the king.

The king's army was made up of both mercenary and allied contingents. Soldiers from across the empire took part and mercenary troops from Crete, Caria,

⁷⁸⁸ Grainger, 1995: 29; Grainger, 2002: 343. Manlius Vulso's campaign effectively extinguished any authority that the Seleucids held over the Galatians. For a discussion on the indemnities forced on Antiochus by Rome see Grainger, 2002: 329-349.

⁷⁸⁹ Thonemann, 2013: 109.

⁷⁹⁰ A detailed account of the events leading up to the battle, as well as a narrative of the battle itself, can be found in Grainger, 2002: 308-327.

⁷⁹¹ Livy, 37.40.5; 37.40.10; 37.40.13.

⁷⁹² App. *Syr.* 6. 32.

⁷⁹³ Griffith, 1935: 167; Grainger, 1996: 335.

Cilicia and other regions were present. Although the Galatians were smaller in number than one would expect from the involvement of the three most prominent tribes, they fielded very high quality troops.⁷⁹⁴ There was a high proportion of cavalry (2,500) in comparison to infantry (3,000).⁷⁹⁵ In Celtic societies, as in most other ancient societies, cavalry was the reserve of the elite.⁷⁹⁶ Such a large proportion of cavalry suggests that the aristocracy were fighting in this battle. Furthermore, they are described as *loricati* (mail-clad). Only the wealthiest could afford armour such as this.⁷⁹⁷

The cooperation of the Tectosages, the Trocmi and the Tolistobogii was a very uncommon occurrence and implies a level of political engagement that was rarely seen in tribal societies. In fact, the tribes were just as likely to fight each other as to fight the Hellenistic kingdoms of Asia Minor.⁷⁹⁸ This is the only time that Galatian cooperation to this extent occurred during the Hellenistic period. With the aristocracy and elite troops from all three tribes present it is easy to imagine Galatian acknowledgment of the resurgence of Seleucid power and the supremacy of Antiochus III in Asia Minor.⁷⁹⁹ Livy also records that the later campaign of Manlius Vulso against the Galatians in 189 BC was partly in retaliation for their support of Antiochus III at Magnesia.⁸⁰⁰ Manlius Vulso apparently went as far as to use this as a *casus belli* against the Galatians. However, had the Galatians truly acted as mercenaries, paid to fight, and were not politically involved in the war, his argument would have had little traction.

⁷⁹⁴ App. *Syr.* 6.32. The Tolistobogii, Tectosages and Trocmi took part in this battle. Although the army might not have been pan-tribal, as no mention of the smaller tribes is made, the presence of the three most prominent is very significant.

⁷⁹⁵ Livy, 37.40; Thonemann, 2013: 111 believes that the Galatian contingents were formidable, particularly due to the presence of heavy cavalry.

⁷⁹⁶ Brunaux, 2004: 67.

⁷⁹⁷ App. *Syr.* 6.32. Mail armour was associated with the elite in the ancient world, see Sekunda and De Souza, 2008: 350 for Roman examples. Archaeological confirmation of the use of chainmail by the Galatians has been recorded at the royal cemetery of the Tolistobogii at Karalar, see Arik & Couprey 1935, 140.

⁷⁹⁸ Mitchell, 1993: 44, the Tolistobogii and the Tectosages did not join forces during the Roman campaign in Galatia.

⁷⁹⁹ Ma, 2000: 98.

⁸⁰⁰ Livy, 38.12.

9.4: Conclusions

To view the Galatians as a nation of mercenaries disregards other legitimate interpretations of the sources. The Galatians had in fact entered Asia Minor as allies from the start. They were brought across as allies by Nicomedes of Bithynia to fight against his brother Zipoetas.⁸⁰¹ This contrasts with the stereotypical reactions seen in the inscriptions from western Asia Minor and illustrates how the Galatians were what the ancient sources wanted them to be at certain times and in certain contexts. To some they were marauding barbarians, to others, welcome allies. This case study did not seek to examine all the episodes in which the Galatians fought alongside, and against, the Hellenistic kings, or to deny the existence of the Galatian mercenary. Rather, it demonstrates that an inaccurate picture develops when other interpretations of the evidence are wilfully ignored in favour of a biased and stereotypical view. This is an issue for all those who study peoples on the peripheries of the Greek and Roman world.⁸⁰²

The military activity of Celtic peoples in the Mediterranean was extensive in geographical terms. From Greece to Mesopotamia, Egypt and Cyrene, they appear to have had no specific military focus outside of their homelands.⁸⁰³ Some secondary literature has - whether due to ambiguous terminology or sheer inaccuracy - confused some of these Celtic groups with the Galatians.⁸⁰⁴ All four of the wars discussed in this chapter took place within the confines of Asia Minor and west of the Taurus mountains. The importance of this is evident as it demonstrates how the Galatian tribes were militarily and politically focused on Asia Minor. The tribes avoided wars that did not affect them directly, and were enmeshed in the geopolitical fabric of the region.

⁸⁰¹ Memnon, *BNJ* F1.11.2.

⁸⁰² Adam and Fichtl, 2011 discusses Galatian mercenaries.

⁸⁰³ Agathocles employed Celtic mercenaries during his invasion of Libya in 310 BC, see Diod. Sic. 20.11.1 and 20.64.2. For Celtic mercenaries in Egypt see Paus. 1.7.2; In Macedonia, Polyaeus, *Strat.* 4.6.17; Under the command of Pyrrhus, Plut. *Pyrr.* 26.7.

⁸⁰⁴ Bar-Kochva, 1976: 51; Fischer-Bovet, 2014: 139; Lloyd, 2014: 291 all claim that the Galatians fought at Raphia. This is an incorrect claim and is due to a misinterpretation of the sources and a misunderstanding of the term 'Galatian'. It is impossible to tell whether they were Galatians or another Celtic group.

Why would the Galatians have hired themselves out as apolitical mercenaries in their own backyard? It is illogical to think that they cared so little for their military security, especially as they were located in such a central and vulnerable area. It is also unjustifiable to assume that the Galatians would have consistently fought as mercenaries in wars that affected the very geo-political integrity of Asia Minor and therefore, their own interests and security.

Finally, how do our perceptions of the Galatians and their role as mercenaries fit into the greater context of Galatian studies? When biases are stripped away, the evidence suggests that the Galatians conducted their military, political and diplomatic affairs with greater sophistication and success than has previously been credited. These were tribes that could organise effective fighting forces, who had the ability to form alliances with the Hellenistic kings and manipulate these alliances towards their own goals. To see the Galatians as allies naturally enables scholars to perceive them as peoples with political agency, and believing that they spent their military and human capacity in foreign wars, for foreign kings, in foreign places, does not give credit to their geopolitical potential nor the influence they wielded in Asia Minor.

This fits in with wider trends in ancient historians' studies of ethnicity and agency. The recent work of Vlassopoulos has asked scholars to appreciate the complexity of intercultural interactions and to better understand how and why non-Greek peoples appropriated features of Greek culture. The fact that non-Greeks were pivotal in the spread of Greek cultural markers, and that they adapted such markers for their own unique contexts and even managed to feed these adaptations back to their sources (such as funerary monuments in Athens), speaks to the multifaceted and intricate way the ancient world was organised.⁸⁰⁵ Greek culture was not just *Greek* culture. The same has been done for other peripheral peoples. When it is naturally assumed that ancient peoples possessed agency, whole new interpretations surface, as has happened for the Gauls, Jews and Nabataeans.⁸⁰⁶ Moyer has also done much to show how Egyptian culture survived and thrived under Ptolemaic rule and that by reading against the grain it is possible to discover the subaltern histories of the Ancient

⁸⁰⁵ Vlassopoulos, 2013: 92-94; Another example is the spread of Egyptian cults across the Mediterranean, 305-309.

⁸⁰⁶ Examples of scholarship include Gruen, 2011 (the Gauls); Bar-Kochva, 2010 (the Jews); Al-Otaibi (the Nabataeans).

Egyptians.⁸⁰⁷ This chapter, in a way, has read against the grain of modern understandings of the Galatians and their warfare, and more generally, their place in the ancient world. Just as scholarship now wishes to reinterpret the history of peoples on the peripheries of the Greek and Roman world, this case study illustrates the need to do the same for the Galatians, and reveals how fresh conclusions can be reached when this is achieved and when the tribes are not merely placed at the margins of someone else's historical narrative.

⁸⁰⁷ Moyer, 2011: 35.

Conclusions

The place of the Galatians in the eyes of the Greeks and Romans was a complex and diverse one. This thesis has continuously drawn attention to sources that present the Galatians in a stereotypical way, especially when they appear as barbarians, as well as in a more nuanced fashion, often as Hellenised and integrated peoples. It has shown that both stereotypical and more subtle portrayals can exist contemporaneously and in similar contexts. This conclusion underlines how necessary it is to approach the Galatians without preconceived notions regarding their barbarity, and that only by viewing them as peoples with agency can scholars achieve a clearer picture. Such a conclusion has been formed by focusing on how the Galatians have been presented in the ancient sources and questioning why those behind the texts, inscriptions, sculptures and coins have portrayed the Galatians in the ways they did.

First and foremost, this present work has illustrated how sources that were culturally and temporally distant to the Hellenistic Galatians were more likely to portray them as barbarians and in a stereotypical manner. Conversely, those that were closer depicted the tribes in a less stereotypical way. The Galatians in the writings of the likes of Polybius and Cicero, authors who were contemporaneous to the individuals whom they wrote of and who had direct personal dealings with members of the Galatian elite, appear to have held the most accepting perceptions. Cicero demonstrates that a genuine friendship could form between a Roman and a figure who would be characterised as a barbarian in later sources. Some of these portrayals were created on the middle ground, which enabled Galatians to influence how others recorded their history. Deiotarus, for example, influenced Cicero's writings by playing the part of confidant and friend. This meant that Deiotarus was actively contributing to the formation of Cicero's opinions.

Such relationships, however, were shown to be heavily dependent on the level of Hellenisation displayed by individuals, which enabled the Greeks and Romans to see similarities and often ignore differences. Equally important, however, was the fact that while members of the Galatian elite did show evidence of Hellenisation, especially during the second and first centuries BC, some of what was written by Greek and

Roman authors were fictions that were created to solve immediate problems – such as the creation of personal alliances and friendships. This can help to explain, for example, why Deiotarus was framed within Roman values by Cicero. These fictions, as well as the actual Hellenisation of the elite, helped shape how some Galatians were presented in the sources and became important aspects of their interactions.

On the other hand, texts from the Augustan era onwards, sources that were completed long after the Galatians had flourished as independent peoples, can paint a very different picture. The writings of Livy, Justin, Memnon of Heraclea and Pausanias were found to portray the Galatians as barbarian caricatures, partly due to their reliance on older Greek sources as well as through inaccurate associations with Celtic peoples in the west. These older Greek sources also helped to import an ideology of the barbarian that had its roots in the Persian wars. Moreover, these depictions were generally created away from the middle ground. The language from Delphi that appeared on the inscriptions from the cities of western Asia Minor during the third century BC, for example, was created away from the epicentres of contact and meant that the Galatians were unable to influence through active and constructive engagement.

A central aim of this thesis was to appreciate the complexity of the sources and by doing so, it was revealed that stereotypical and nuanced portrayals are connected. At many points where more nuanced presentations appeared dominant, evidence for stereotypical ones were also glimpsed, and vice versa. This fact alone illustrates how the Galatians were what the Greeks and Romans wanted them to be at certain times and in certain contexts and how they should never to be perceived in a monolithic way. They could be enemies, allies, friends, family, advisors, political supporters, and often a combination of these. An appreciation of this helped to frame aspects of the present work, but it is necessary that future scholarship adopts such an outlook in order to prevent pigeonholing the Galatians into one role.

Second, this thesis revealed how the likes of Ortiagon and Deiotarus were highly successful in creating Hellenised public personae. Not only did the sources often accept their attempts to appear as Hellenised figures, but the Galatian elite actively sought to build personae that could integrate into the cultural and political spheres of the ancient world. Evidence showed that this began from as early as the

second century BC and that individuals like Deiotarus were very capable at exploiting such an image and used it to gain both power and prestige.

Third, this thesis has demonstrated how it is important to take a step back and question how identity is approached and how certain concepts are defined. As scholars have, in the past, often written about the Galatians without a fully formed picture of what constitutes a Galatian, portrayals of other Celtic groups have become entangled in our perceptions and this has allowed inaccuracies to breed. This, as discussed above, occurred during the ancient era too, but modern scholars now have the opportunity to avoid such mistakes in future research. By employing clear and well-defined terminology when appropriate, and with an awareness of the limitations of definitions, it is possible to build a picture of the Galatians as a unique group of peoples. Moreover, it is only when we appreciate the complexities of concepts such as Hellenisation and ethnic identity, concepts that are often employed when studying the Galatians, that scholars can interpret their activities more accurately.

Part One focused on terminological issues relating to the Galatians and some wider questions regarding identity. In chapter 1, problems associated with the term ‘Galatian’ were explored, such as the fact that previous scholarship has often not adhered to a clear definition of the term, which has led to inaccuracies in the past. A definition was suggested and observed throughout the rest of this present work. It proved useful for providing boundaries to the research and helped to prevent the inclusion of non-Galatian peoples. A study of how *Κελτοί* and *Γαλάται* were employed in the writings of Greek authors was useful for locating the Galatians within previous research and revealed how these terms could be applied to a myriad of ancient peoples across the Mediterranean and Europe. This finding proved that additional contextual information is often needed when identifying Galatians, especially when tribal names are not provided. Roman terminology, such as *Galli*, *Galatae*, *Celtae* and *Gallograeci*, was also addressed, and although it proved to be a slightly less obscure situation, the need for contextual information again shone through.

Chapter 1 also touched on the Celtic debate. As the Galatians have been compared with other Celtic peoples, and have often been incorporated into general works on the Celts, it was necessary to explain how this present work utilises the term Celt (used to denote the ancient ethnic communities known to the Greeks as *Κελτοί*

and Γαλάται, and to the Romans as *Galli*, *Celtae*, *Galatae* and *Gallograeci*). Although this thesis did not seek to delve too deep into the issue or to provide a solution to the many debates that rage in scholarship, an understanding of the matter was useful to help explore the Galatians independently.

Chapter 2 addressed concepts that have recurred throughout this thesis. A background to the term Hellenisation was provided in order to understand how scholars have employed it in the past, the strengths and weaknesses of the term, and to provide a definition grounded in the unique context of the Galatians. Tied to this was an exploration of identity, a concept central to the study of perceptions and the place of peoples in the ancient world. This concept, and the related idea of ethnic identity, although they are not without their controversy, were not only useful for supporting an in-depth exploration of the Galatians, but it was also argued that they could be valuable for similar research on other peoples on the peripheries of the Greek and Roman worlds. The concept of the middle ground was given particular focus as it was used to frame interactions between the Galatians and the Greeks and Romans throughout the thesis.

Part Two explored stereotypical responses to the Galatians and introduced the section by providing a background to the concept of the barbarian in Greek thought, a central concept of this section. Chapter 3 examined the earliest evidence for stereotypical portrayals in the inscriptions from the Greek cities of western Asia Minor, those that detailed the Galatian migrations of the 270s and 260s BC. The chapter began by addressing inscriptions as source material, their strengths and weaknesses, and then, the role of inscriptions in the Greek *poleis* during the Hellenistic period. It was argued that the image of the barbarian might have in fact been exported by the Delphic *theoroi*, especially as the shrine had witnessed a profusion of stereotypical depictions of the Proto-Galatians after Brennus' attack in 279 BC. Inscriptions from Priene and Erythrae illustrated the dangers presented by the tribes and showed how one way to respond to the Galatians was to cast them in a harsh light. Moreover, the Galatians at this early point were culturally dissimilar and alien to the Greeks, who knew little of these new invaders, and it was this ignorance that aided the development of stereotypes.

The epigraphic evidence helped set the scene for chapter 4, which looked at the Galatians in sculpture. Sculptures from the early third century BC were treated as the earliest stylised artistic depictions of the Galatians. Such depictions did not, however, reach their zenith until the later third century BC with the Attalids of Pergamum. It was argued that the Attalids portrayed the Galatians in a stereotypical manner which helped spread the image of the barbarian across the ancient world. The Attalids achieved this by erecting statues, not just at Pergamum, but also in the international cultural hub that was Athens. The chapter then linked these statues to later centuries and demonstrated how the Romans copied these representations, which enabled older perceptions to be imported into Rome. This in effect meant that older Greek perceptions were transposed across centuries and cultures, a phenomenon that also affected textual sources.

Chapter 5 concluded the exploration of stereotypical responses by examining the portrayal of the Galatians as barbarians in Greek and Roman texts from the Augustan era onwards. These sources revealed that authors who were anachronistic to the Hellenistic Galatians and who did not meet individuals first hand, held perhaps the most stereotypical and often negative views of the tribes. This chapter argued that Roman authors were heavily influenced by portrayals of the Celts in older Greek sources and that Livy in fact likely based his portrayal of the Galatians on Polybius' depiction of the Celts and their activities during the third century BC. Justin further demonstrated that Roman authors could also hold caricatured perceptions of the Galatians. Greek authors such as Memnon of Heraclea and Pausanias revealed how later Greek perceptions were also influenced by older Greek sources and it was suggested that their birthplace of Asia Minor, which had a difficult and often violent history with the Galatians, likely influenced their perceptions. Centrally, this chapter showed how stereotypical perceptions flourished in sources that were written long after the events that inspired them and that such perceptions were created away from the middle ground. It also illustrated that such sources need to be approached sceptically, something that previous scholarship has sometimes failed to do.

Part Three then explored more complex and nuanced portrayals of the Galatians in the Greek and Roman sources. Chapter 6 began by addressing evidence for such responses in contexts similar to those from Part Two. Inscriptions from the

migration period that show more moderate responses were addressed, other more positive interpretations of sculptural evidence were touched on, and the writings of Strabo showed that even though most later authors portrayed the Galatians as barbarians, not all followed this path. This discussion provided a foundation for the following two chapters in which the second century BC leader Ortiagon and the first century BC king Deiotarus were focused on.

Chapter 7 established that Galatian individuals during the second century BC, such as Ortiagon and his wife Chiomara, were displaying signs of increased Hellenisation and that contemporary authors responded positively to these endeavours. Ortiagon's place of importance on an inscription from Telmessus and the way in which Polybius framed him by using terminology fit for a Hellenistic figure illustrates how the ancients were beginning to recognise and appreciate increased cultural familiarities. The Galatians were in effect adhering to the global language of the time, which enabled the sources to see similarities and thus make them appear less alien. The choice of a Greek name for his son also demonstrates how Ortiagon wished to actively pursue a Hellenistic public identity, and the travels of his wife Chiomara, especially her meeting with Polybius, show that the Galatian elite were integrating into the Hellenistic world. This chapter contrasts with the cultural and temporal distance addressed in Part Two and reveals that increased contact between the Galatians and the ancient authors enabled more nuanced perceptions to flourish.

Chapter 8 explored the character of Deiotarus, one of the most important figures to have come through in the sources. An inscription from Blucium revealed how Deiotarus had fashioned himself and his dynasty with the language of Hellenistic kingship. Archaeological and numismatic evidence displayed how he not only had an appreciation for Hellenistic culture but also broadcast a Hellenised identity through his coins and buildings. The ancients responded to these attempts and Deiotarus was the recipient of literary dedications in Greek, statues in Athens, and he even formed a following of Greek advisors. It was his relationship with Cicero, however, that exemplified his integration into the political sphere of the Roman world. The trust placed in him by Cicero made him a unique figure in Roman society. This chapter showed that Deiotarus' success in becoming the first king of Galatia was a direct result of his ability to interact with his more powerful neighbours in a way that they could

understand, and it also helped him on a more personal level with members of the Roman elite.

Part Four, chapter 9 concluded with a case study that exemplified how it is essential to approach the Galatians with an awareness of their agency, sophistication and distinctiveness. By analysing four conflicts in which the Galatians have traditionally been presented as mercenaries in modern scholarship, it was shown that they could in fact be interpreted as allies of the kings and cities they fought alongside. This epitomises many of the issues discussed throughout the present thesis. When the Galatians are not confused with other Celtic peoples and when scholars avoid approaching them with biases, it is possible to see agency and provide them with a new place in modern scholarship. Most importantly, it demonstrates how involved in the affairs of the region the Galatians truly were and how important they could be to the Hellenistic kings on the global stage.

The implications of this study are both for those working on the Galatians and those whose subject is other Mediterranean peoples. This work is a contribution to the body of recent scholarship that has attempted to re-evaluate the place of the Galatians in the ancient world, but importantly, this present thesis does not attempt to restore a voice to the Galatians like others have done.⁸⁰⁸ While it sees agency as an important concept when presenting the Galatians in modern scholarship, it does not try to return agency to the Galatians, but to appreciate the agency already evident. Any attempt to 'return' agency would be inauthentic because, as Woolf points out, to restore history to peoples who have been deprived of it by force is a condescension that trivialises the original theft.⁸⁰⁹ It has instead encouraged readers to approach the history of the Galatians with an appreciation of their agency, something that has traditionally been missing in Galatian scholarship.

Although the middle ground did not shape this work, it did help to frame and explain some of the interactions between individual Galatians and Greeks and Romans, and could be of greater use to researchers working on the Galatians. Moreover, it helped to explain how all parties involved contributed to the exchange and the construction of identities. This approach was influenced by White, who

⁸⁰⁸ Strobel, 1996 in particular.

⁸⁰⁹ Woolf, 2011: 3.

formulated the idea in the context of colonial North America, and Woolf, who used White's model and applied it to the Roman Empire. The fact that it can be applied to the context of the Galatians in order to generate new ways of thinking regarding not just cultural interaction, but also the portrayals based on this type of interaction, shows how it could be of use to future scholars working on other ancient peoples.

This study also contributes to the work that is currently being done to better understand how the myriad of peoples across the Mediterranean interacted with the Greek and Roman world. It adds to the patchwork of knowledge that is being knitted about peoples around the Mediterranean and shows that these worlds were not separate, but were joint creations that were mediated through exchange. Moreover, it adds to the current debate on the 'barbarian' by showing how the idea of the barbarian, while not the focal point of relations between the Greeks, Romans and other peoples, should not be underestimated. It was after all an important concept to the ancients. This work used the concept of the barbarian to drive discussion and explore interactions, but was fully aware that it was not the only factor at play.

In terms of suggestions for future research, scholars could explore how interactions between the Galatians and the Bithynians, Cappadocians and the other peoples of Asia Minor occurred on the middle ground, which would complement this thesis' focus on the Greek and Roman and add to our knowledge of Galatian identity and its influences. It might also help to explain how features normally associated with the Greeks spread through these other kingdoms to Galatia. While this study has focused on members of the elite, the concept of the middle ground could perhaps be employed to understand more about the broader population of Galatia. This would be a new approach and something that has not been explored by authors in the past. It would also be fruitful to explore Deiotarus in more detail, perhaps as the focus of an entire thesis, as he, an individual, exemplifies so much regarding intercultural contact and the complexities of representation and self-presentation in the Hellenistic world.

To conclude, this work has hopefully shone a light, not just on the place of the Galatians in the ancient sources, but also on their active integration into the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. The approach to terminology and the importance placed on perceptions could, I hope, prove useful for future scholars who wish to continue to

peel away the layers surrounding the Galatians, and may be of use to those studying the role of other peoples across the ancient world.

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