

STATE FORMATION BY THE GALATIANS OF ASIA MINOR. Politico-Historical and Cultural Processes in Hellenistic Central Anatolia

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An exceedingly important phenomenon for an overview of the history of the Celtic world is the conquest and settlement of land and the formation of states by migrating Celtic communities in Early Hellenistic Asia Minor². This created a new historical and geographical landscape in the area, namely Galatia, superimposed on the older regions of Phrygia and

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² For a detailed account see also Strobel 1996, *idem.*, DNP 4, 1998, 742-745 s.v. Galatia; 6, 1999, 393-400 s.v. Kelten (with map); more generally also *idem.*, Phryger, Lyder, Meder, Perser: politische, ethnische und kulturelle Größen in Zentralanatolien bei der Errichtung der achaimenidischen Herrschaft, in: T. Bakır-Akbaşoğlu (ed.), Achaemenid Anatolia, in print; *idem.*, New Historical and Archaeological Evidence for the Reconstruction of the History of Anatolia in the First Half of the First Millennium B.C., in: A. Çilingiroğlu (ed.), Fifth Anatolian Iron Ages Symposium (Van 2001). Further preliminary reports of the research in Tavium and Eastern Galatia will be published soon. Results and observations on the campaigns covered in the following are the products of research trips and field research carried out in Anatolia since 1993. As a rule, the author can fall back on his autopsy, his own findings, and on the results of the Tavium Research Project initiated and directed by him. At the same time, he is very grateful to Dr C. Gerber, his field research manager and co-researcher, and many of his colleagues working in central Anatolia who have given him access to their excavations, shared their latest results with him and discussed important questions, in particular I. Temisoy, J. Seeher, K. Sams, M. Voigt, G. Summers, D. Stronach, S. Omura, H. Genz. For more information on the growing number of survey projects carried out in central Anatolia since the 1990s, see the relevant annual reports in AST. In order to limit the length of this article, detailed documentation will be dispensed with. Publication of the author's second volume of "Die Galater" has been delayed due to vital advances made over the last few years in our knowledge of central Anatolia and thanks to research in and around Tavium carried out by the author and his team since 1997. It is, however, now possible to conclude the work on this volume for publication.

In a paper written together with G. Darbyshire, S. Mitchell revised many of his earlier positions (Mitchell 1993; cf. also Strobel 1996, 71ff.) and is now largely in line with the theories of the author (Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999). Mitchell did, however, retain some of his positions, including his premise that internal structure as presented by Strabo (12, 5, 1) only developed in the 2nd century B.C., for which, however, no arguments can be found. It is wrong to assume that Hellenization did not have a profound effect on cultural structures or that such conclusions cannot be reached.

The first large-scale and very commendable description of the Galatians in Turkish was written by M. Arslan (Arslan 2000). Although rich in sources, it summarizes older positions and newer approaches indiscriminately, takes up on sources without critical analysis on several occasions and only takes account of further literature to a limited extent. Arslan is particularly indebted to Mitchell 1993, Strobel 1994a,b, 1996 and Stähelin but his book is a very important step towards familiarizing the Turkish academic community with the Galatians. I am very grateful to Mrs. Helen Heaney for her help in translating this study into English.

Cappadocia³ – an extraordinary historical process in itself – and left its mark on the language and identity of the people living in the central part of Anatolia for around eight centuries. This is the only case of such events being described in greater detail in classical sources so that the most important features can be reconstructed. At this point, it is wise to stress that the term "Galatai" is ambiguous in classical texts and was used in Graeco-Hellenistic times to refer to all Celts, in a similar manner to the Latin term "Galli". In this paper the name "Galatian" will be used in a limited sense to refer to the Celtic tribes in Asia Minor which the Romans called "Gallograeci"⁴. The term "Celtic" will not be used here in the sense of an ahistorical and problematic cultural concept of the Celts, in place of which they would have to be defined as part of the La Tène culture group, or referring to a "Celtic ethnicity" which never existed in this form, but in the sense of a people who used a Celtic language.

After Lysimachus' empire collapsed and the victorious Seleucus I was murdered in 281 B.C. the groups of Celts, who had settled in the vicinity of the Danube, Sava and Drava and in northern Serbia in the later 4th century, grasped the opportunity to undertake large-scale military campaigns, particularly as the emerging chaos in Thrace and Macedonia, where Ptolemy Keraunos' seizure of power was causing further internal and external commotion, was becoming increasingly obvious⁵. On Lysimachus' defeat, the mesh of ruling power and

³ Cf. Hdt. 1, 6, 1 (*Syrioi* are the same as *Leukosyrioi*/Cappadocians); 1, 28; 1,72, 2; Strab. 2, 5, 31 (Inner Phrygia, the part belonging to the Galatians named Galatia (*Galatia* of the *Gallograeci*, *ibid.* as an unequivocal definition); 12, 3, 9; 12, 8, 1; Plin. n.h. 5, 146 (also Strobel 1996, 254f.); Arr. an. 2, 4, 1 (Ancyra designated as "Galatian").

⁴ Cf. Strobel 1996, 123ff. on the name "Galatian" and the concept of the Celts; also Birkhan 1997, 32ff., whose observations are, admittedly, not very substantial in key areas, tending to deal with the problem of attempted archaeological definitions of Celtic ethnicity. His explanations of the name "Galatian" *ibid.* 47f. are not convincing. Misunderstandings also occur in Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 192, in their interpretation of the author's emphasis on the Celtic language as an essential element for defining the group despite their cultural adaptation, for being assessed by others and preserving their own identity as a group of foreigners in a foreign-language environment and for evaluating the symmetry or asymmetry of acculturation and ethnogenesis, cf. Strobel 1996, 138f. As a process of cultural change brought about by intensive cultural contact in which the elements involved interact with each other with symmetrical or asymmetrical polarization, acculturation comprises the acceptance and assumption of foreign spiritual and material cultural assets by individuals or groups, whereby the question of language is particularly important for the evaluation. I am deliberately not speaking of assimilation processes as this term is rather one-sided in the sense of cultural, social and spiritual adaptation or diffusion.

⁵ Cf. Strobel 1996, 16ff., 44, 54ff., 154ff., 214ff. Birkhan 1997, 130ff. is only reliable up to a point and does not go deeper into the question of sources and historical matters (e.g. 140f.: compulsory settlement of the Galatians on both sides of the River Halys by Antiochus I; the Galatians were assigned what must have been the most infertile area of Anatolia, Galatia was of no economic importance; 142: development of an autonomous sacred kingship [?!]; 146: a misunderstanding concerning the position of Ateporix in the district of Caranitis; Ptolemy II is said to have taken the remnants of Brennos' force into his pay). His work is largely based on K. Tomaschitz, *Die Wanderungen der Kelten in der antiken literarischen Überlieferung* (unpublished dissertation, Vienna 1994). In turn Tomaschitz was largely indebted to older concepts and his teacher G. Dobesch (129, 165: mobile existence relying on pillage as described by Dobesch and older research; 106ff., 127ff.: accepting the exaggerated figures in classical sources for the numbers taking part in the Celtic invasion of Greece, estimating the numbers involved as being as many as 300,000 people, and calling the whole expedition a migration in a bid to colonize the area); his version of the history of the Galatians is problematic. Following somewhat

diplomatic relations which had stabilized the area unravelled and the resulting power-political vacuum was self-evident. As early as the summer of 280, three Celtic levies attacked Thrace, Paeonia and Illyria. At the beginning of 279, the army under Bolgios (Belgios) defeated the Royal Macedonian army and Ptolemy Keraunos met his death. The marauding Celts pushed their way through Macedonian territory. In the summer of 279, the large Celtic force under Brennos got on the move, thrusting forwards as far as central Greece, where the Celts were finally beaten back outside Delphi. Fighting in a frenzy of bloodlust, desecrating holy shrines and everything protected by sacred law, sacrificing prisoners and practising headhunting, the Celts appeared to contemporary Hellenes as an incarnation of barbarism, as foreigners threatening their existence, blasphemers against divine law and human order, as the new threat propelled by the forces of "Chaos"⁶. Just like in Italy and Rome, the Celts, or Galatians, became the embodiment of barbarians coming from the north⁷, threatening the "civilized world" of the Hellenes. At this point, however, we should not forget that the Greek world had been in contact with the Celts, intensively at times, since the 6th century and that the Celts had been employed as mercenaries in the Mediterranean area under Greek influence since the early 4th century. The victory over the Celts at Delphi was now stylized in Hellenism as the new outstanding salvation, the exploits of a "Soter", for the Hellenes, as the act of liberation which could legitimize or rather should legitimize royalty, dominion and hegemony as an ideological construct, as can be ultimately illustrated by the example of the Attalids in Pergamum.

Brennos' armed expedition was initially followed by a mass of migrating Celtic peoples comprising groups of Tolistobogii and Trocmi whose aim was to conquer land and settle in the Balkans⁸. The Tolistobogii and Trocmi formed the core of this migrating community, upholding its tribal or ethnic identity and focussing on the identity-bearing tradition of lineage or kinship communities and characterizing the overall identity of the two migrating followings which sometimes operated together under their leaders Leonnorios and Luturios. The aim of this migration, which was said by Hieronymus-Polybius in Livy⁹ to comprise approx. 20,000 people, including 10,000 armed warriors, was the conquest and settlement of land. The stated size of the whole group can only be taken as approximate, but it probably lies within the bounds of historical possibility and is entirely plausible for such groupings. The leaders of the migrating bodies of followers were the two *reguli*, Leonnorios and Luturios. Alongside them

unconvincing theses within celtology (e.g. p. 133 referring to J. T. Koch, CMCS 19, 1990, 1ff., and his thesis that the Celts led by Bolgios/Belgios were Belgae) and overemphasizing the workability of the etymological method - one should know better than to go further than determining the common roots of words and word fields - Birkhan's observations did not bring about progress, particularly as he wrongly dismisses Tomaschitz's rejection of the theory of a compulsory settlement of the Galatians, even if the latter's reasoning is not always stringent. Birkhan does not have a clear critical view of archaeological material for the East.

⁶Cf. Strobel 1994b; 1996, 214ff.; or Birkhan 1997, 22ff., rather superficial and without analysing tradition.

⁷ Referring here to the western part of the northern limits of the Mediterranean and Black Sea areas (cf. also Manil. astr. 4, 791ff.) bordered by the world of the Scythian barbarians to the east.

⁸ Cf. Strobel 1996, 172ff., 236ff.; idem, DNP 4, 1998, 742ff.; 6, 1999, 393ff.; DNP s.v. Tectosages, Tolistobogioi und Trokmoi (in print); not always conclusive on the Tectosages, for instance in the question of where they came from, Dobesch 2001.

⁹ Liv. 38, 16, 1-15, more in Memnon F 1, 1-7; also Strobel 1996, 108ff., 236 footnote 368.

there were 17 chieftains, the leaders of followers, at the head of the migrating military grouping, a community whose objective it was to conquer land for settlement. It was made up of warrior bands, tribal splinter groups or parts of tribes, clans and family groups or parts thereof, and consisted of two main formations under different leaders, namely Leonnorios and Luturios, which were both capable of and ready for autonomous action. Even within these groups and their followers' structures, we can assume a high degree of internal mobility, as regularly observed in phases of migration and conquest or settlement of land. They also tended to absorb individuals and groups of people, as the conquest of land did, after all, always imply the conquest of people as well, along with processes of merging clans and adoption¹⁰. The fact that the three migrating groups – the original two were joined by the Tectosages – did not develop into a unified *gens* but instead once again cultivated the tradition-bearing individual tribal identities of the Tolistobogii, Tectosages and Trocmi and of their associated subgroups¹¹ in central Anatolia, i.e. in the then emerging process of ethnogenesis arising out of the territorialization of the migrating communities which gave rise to the historical Galatian tribes in the first place, proves that these core groups were fixed identity-bearing and -conveying unions of tradition. In addition to the names of the three tribes, we know the names of several subgroups or "fourths", named tetrarchies in Greek, obviously following the ancient principle of internally subdividing Celtic people and also reflected in the original division of Ireland into four "provinces", each with their own independent political structure¹². Thus, we know the tribal subunits of the Voturi and Ambitouti within the Tolistobogii and the Toutobodiaci within the Tectosages¹³. It is not possible to assign the tetrarchy of the Tosiopai to one of the three main tribes¹⁴. Alongside these 12 tetrarchies as subdivisions of the three peoples of the Galatians, there were the 183 *populi* Pliny the Elder mentioned as additional upholders of lineage which can be seen as kinship groups or clans or (Old Irish) *fine*, or more neutrally as

¹⁰ Cf. Pol. 2, 17, 12; Strobel 1991, 132f.; 1996, 60ff., 1998; Birkhan 1997, 986ff, 1037ff.; more generally Wenskus 1961; O. Höfler, RGA 1, 1973, 18-28; Mühlmann 1985; Wolfram 1990; 1997, esp. 20ff., 63ff., 65ff.; Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe 7, 1992, 141-431, esp. 141ff. (R. Koselleck), 141ff. (F. Gschnitzer); Brunner-Merta 1994; Strobel 1998. For an understanding of the course of events, we can also refer to the analysis of Old Irish tradition (see below) as well as to parallels in the Germanic world where numerous political and social structures and concepts were taken over from the Celtic context, and particularly to results from research into phenomena at the time of the Völkerwanderung. The structures of a politically dynamic, mobile aristocratic warrior class in the Middle La Tène period initially appear to have been taken over by Germanic peoples first, predominantly from the Eastern Celtic area, making far-reaching expansion possible for the members of the Przeworsk culture, the Vandilic group of peoples. Cf. comprehensive accounts in Wenskus 1961; Wolfram 1990, 1995; Rübkeil 1992; Rieckhoff 1995; Timpe 1995; Beck et al. 1998.

¹¹ Cf. Plin. n.h. 5, 146.

¹² Cf., for example, Birkhan 1997, 141, 996. on "quarter rulers" as "kings of provinces".

¹³ Plin. n.h. 5, 146.

¹⁴ Plut. mor. 259a-c. It is not clear whether the Rhigosages named in Pol. 5, 53, 3 as *symmachoi* or mercenaries fighting in the army of Antiochus III against Molon were a further subdivision of the Galatians in Asia Minor or whether they were recruited directly from the Balkans, like the Aigosages of Attalus I of Pergamum.

kin groups, and which were headed by noblemen¹⁵. This internal structure is comparable with that of Ancient Ireland, where between 97 and 184 "peoples", *tud*, Old Irish *túath*, are known in tradition to be subdivisions of the "fourths" or provinces¹⁶. A group of these "peoples" formed a greater ethnic union ("great people", Old Irish *mór túath*), forming their own *gens*, or here a "fourth of a *civitas*" under their "fourth prince" or tetrarch (see below). At this point, it is essential to stress that an *ethnos* represents an intentional unit which does not necessarily have to correspond to differentiation criteria like language and culture in any way¹⁷. Naturally the same is true for the socio-functional characteristics of its intentional unit, which we define as "Ethnie"; it need not be equated with a cultural group either. An *ethnos* can reach across linguistic and cultural groups but it can also be divided by them.

There is little doubt that, in the winter of 279/78, the migrating communities of the Tolistobogii and Trocmi were on Byzantine territory¹⁸ where they were recruited by Nicomedes I of Bithynia as *symmachoi*, or mercenaries, for himself and his partners in the anti-Seleucid alliance in northern Asia Minor, including Byzantium, Chalcedon, Heracleia Pontica and the Mithradatides, the kings of Pontus, and brought to Anatolia. Of these, the Tolistobogii were the most important migrating military body of followers; their leader Leonnorios then appeared in Asia Minor as the joint leader of the entire military campaign. Nicomedes was – after Dionysios I of Syracuse – the first Hellenistic ruler to engage Celtic "barbarians" on such a scale. Thus he was the one who allowed the "ruinous army of the Galatians which lawlessly ravaged Asia", as the panegyric oracle put it for Attalus I's victory over the Celts, to cross into Asia. It was this recruitment campaign which brought the Celts to Asia Minor as the final destination of their migrations.

The long-term treaty of *symmarchy* which was concluded in 278 between the Celtic leaders and Nicomedes I, and which included all his future successors and also the king's partners in the anti-Seleucid alliance, no doubt proceeded from the lasting presence of the Celts in Asia Minor, who had been offered pay, booty and the promise of land on which to settle for their services. From 277-275 the Celtic *symmachoi* were used to great effect in Asia Minor. They were reinforced in 277 by a migrating group of Tectosages. In 274 there was a pause in the struggle for control of northern and north-western Asia Minor due to the departure of Antiochus I for the first Syrian war, a ceasefire reflecting the current status quo. At this point Nicomedes held the northern part of Phrygia, wrested from the Seleucid sphere of influence with the help of the Galatian *symmachoi*. He handed over the eastern part of this area as far as the River Halys to the Celts, in conformity with the promises he had made. In addition they were given the border area between Pontus and Greater Cappadocia lying in the bend of the Halys and comprising the central fertile landscapes around the middle and lower reaches

¹⁵ Plin. n.h. 5, 146 (195 *populi et tetrarchiae*); the 52 Galatian *duces* taken along on Manlius Vulso's triumphal procession in 187 B.C. (Liv. 39,7, 2) were probably recruited on the whole from captured clan chieftains. Cf., for example, Birkhan 1997, 994ff.

¹⁶ Joyce 1913, 39ff.; Birkhan 1997, 997. Cf. also Liv. 39, 55 or Plin. n.h. 3, 116, on the 112 tribes of the Boii in northern Italy.

¹⁷ Cf. more generally in Strobel 1998; 1999, 17ff.; Heckmann 1992, 30ff.; Kleiber-Pfister 1992.

¹⁸ Cf. Strobel 1996, 236ff, 252ff., 257ff.

of the River Kappadox (Delice Irmak) for their services as *symmachoi* which were most likely provided in 274/3 B.C. for the Mithradatides of Pontus during the conflict between these kings and Heracleia over the town of Amasis when fighting back a Ptolemaic invasion by sea. After Antiochus I's victory in the so-called "battle of the elephants", most likely in 268 B.C., the borders of the territory of the Galatians, who had now become very important *symmachoi* for the Seleucids, were defined once and for all in relation to Seleucid territory in the south and west where Bithynia had once again lost the region of Phrygia Epictetus conquered in 277-275/4. Only the border to the territory ruled by the dynasts, and later kings, of Cappadocia between the Halys and the upper Kappadox¹⁹ was still disputed in some places as it was not marked by any prominent geographical features. The conflicts known to have taken place between the Galatians and the powers of Asia Minor after 268 are part and parcel of the conflicts within the world of the Hellenistic states²⁰ in which the Galatians were still acting as *symmachoi* in accordance with the treaty of 278²¹ or as allies of the Seleucids²² or Seleucid usurpers in Asia Minor. The conflicts with Pergamum were only part of the struggle of the Attalids with Antiochus Hierax and the Seleucid rulers over the position of Pergamum²³ as a great power in western Asia Minor.

The region that Nicomedes handed over to the Celts included the area within the large bend of the River Sangarius, the region of the Koroğlu Dağları and the area south of the mountains as far as the Halys and the Great Salt Lake, the territories particularly to the south of Paphlagonia (the kingdom of Gangra) and the now eastward-expanding Bithynian empire. To the north, the north-western limits of Paphlagonia (the basin of Krateia/Gerede, the "country of Gaezatorix") and the area of the Free Mariandynians as far as the Abant Dağları (the basin of Bolu) were included until 179 B.C. when they fell to Paphlagonia or, in the west, to Bithynia during the war against Pharnaces²⁴.

In the 60s of the 2nd century, the process of settling in existing villages as well as the somewhat rarer occurrence of founding new settlements²⁵, of which Ekkobriga is a special

¹⁹ Plin. n.h. 6, 9 names the Kappadox as the river forming the border between Galatia and Cappadocia, i.e. the Cappadocian Chamamene and Saravene strategiai, which Pliny admittedly mixed up with the Morimene strategía which borders on Galatia between the Halys and the Salt Lake. This leads to the conclusion that the upper Kappadox is to be identified with the Kanak Çayı which then linked the catchments of the Sorgunözü and the upper Kanak Su (in the area of Alişar) beneath the Kerkenes massif where Pteria lies.

²⁰ Already in Strobel 1991, 124ff.

²¹ As part of the Bithynian war of succession to which the operations against Heracleia Pontica belonged.

²² So in the battles against Ptolemy II in Lycia during the second Syrian war.

²³ Cf. Strobel 1994b.

²⁴ Cf. Strobel 1994a. Erroneous assumptions in Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 166, 181, 184, firstly that the Tectosages' area extended southwards including parts of Pisidia in the 1st century B.C., secondly that the entire northern part of Galatia was Tolistobogian and finally that fortifications in southern Paphlagonia can be attributed to the Galatians; Parnassos was naturally a place in Cappadocia (Pol. 24, 14, 8) and north of Çorum there were naturally no Trocmian sites either (in contrast to Mitchell I, 54).

²⁵ It is characteristic that classical tradition even ascribes the founding of Ancyra to the Galatians of Asia Minor; as Memnon and Apollonius of Aphrodisias (FgrHist 434 F 11, 7; 740 F 14; cf. Strobel 1996, 254f.) show, the Galatians were not only assigned the role of founding this city but also of founding Pessinus and Tavium, which they were even meant to have named after their leaders.

example (see below), must have been completed. The ancient place names²⁶ recorded for Galatia with its largely Anatolian tradition of names, illustrate the strong continuity of settlement extending over the 1st millennium which stands out in numerous studies today²⁷. The tribes of the Tolistobogii, Tectosages and Trocmi had divided up the land given to them between themselves. The most important ethnic unit, namely the Tolistobogii, occupied the large area to the west of the Sangarius bend with the urban centre of Gordium; the Tectosages had the central strip which reached between the gorges on the Halys east of Ancyra to beyond the river (basin of Kırıkkale), and the Trocmi the eastern Galatian area within the Halys bend, concentrating on the old fertile landscapes around the middle and lower Kappadox and its tributaries. The main settlement in the area around the middle Kappadox was Tavium, or Tawinija in Old Anatolian sources, whose shrine to the god Teššop, equivalent to Zeus (Tavianos) in Hellenistic times, was of supraregional importance and included the right of asylum²⁸. The colossal bronze statue there was praised by Strabo²⁹. This urban settlement which was already important in the Early Bronze Age, which did not have the status of an autonomous polis in pre-Roman times and which therefore only appears in Strabo as an emporium and stronghold (phrourion) of the tribe³⁰, was the main settlement of the Trocmi after 274/3 whose territory was organized as the polis of Sebastenoi Trokmoi Taouianoï after 21/0 B.C.

Corresponding to the above-mentioned "fourths" – or *pagus* division – based on bodies of persons, each of the three tribes was divided into four subsections or "great people", at the head of which there was a "fourth ruler", the equivalent of the Greek tetrarch and known as a *regulus* in the Roman world. The three major tribes, twelve tetrarchies in total, did not, in the words of Strabo (12, 5, 1), differ in language or in any other way. In other words they had

²⁶ Cf. TIByz 4, 1984; more generally in Zgusta 1984; papers in: Hock 1997. Further Celtic toponyms are Petrobrogen (also Ipetrobrogen), a stop on the main road to Ancyra (TIByz 4, 215); the toponym Souliobrogen or Souliobriga derived from Zeus' epithet, Souolibrogenos (RECAM II 191; from the area around Kızılhamam); Rosolodiaco (TIByz4, 219); Acitoriciacum (Tab. Peut. 9, 5); Erigobrogis (V. Theod. Syk. 1, 24f.); Tolastochora (TIByz4, 236) which is maybe derived from a short form of the ethnic name Tolistobogioi; Ueteston (chora Ouētisseōn; ibid. 242) and finally Vindia (Uindia; Ptol. 5, 4, 5; as a road stop, Itin. Ant. 201, 5; 202, 9; ibid. 171), that Mitchell 50, 55 would erroneously like to interpret as the Celtic name of Gordium which would have lost its old name in the 2nd century B.C. However, Gordium appears as a village in Strab. 12, 5, 3, this being the Late Hellenistic and subsequently predominantly Roman settlement which was resettled on the upper-town tell of Gordium after a clear hiatus starting in the year 189 B.C. Vindia, in contrast, is the Celtic name for the plains settlement on the eastern bank of the ancient Sangarius at the crossing; this settlement was possibly founded in the 2nd century as a replacement for Gordium which was lost in 189/8. Another toponym is Chōrion Artikniakon (RECAM 172), derived from the Galatian name Artiknos. He belonged to one of the Tolistobogian aristocratic families and also appears in the list of priests at the temple dedicated to Roma et Augustus at Ancyra. Assumptions of Celtic origins for toponyms are exaggerated in Mitchell 50, and footnote 89.

²⁷ As only one example, this time from the western border area to Galatia, take the new excavations at Şarhöyük-Dorylaion (A. Muhibbe Darga - T. Sivas, KST 22, 2001, 51-62). For more information see footnote 39.

²⁸ Cf. Strobel-Gerber 2000.

²⁹ Strab. 12, 5, 2: In Roman times the coins of the town still portrayed the statue modelled on that of Zeus of Olympia (cf. BMC Galatia no. 3.4.6.17; RPC I, p. 548; II p. 235).

³⁰ Strab. 12, 5, 2.

a continental Celtic dialect as their common language in the 1st century B.C. by the latest. The three peoples and their twelve ethnic subunits formed one federation, the political organization and leading institutions of which are described in detail by Strabo (12, 5, 1). There are no arguments in favour of attributing this structure to the 2nd century B.C. or even to external influences; the old viewpoint must be rejected that the Galatians remained an unsettled nomadic people until the end of the 3rd or even into the 2nd century or were not capable of creating such an order themselves as an unruly barbarian group. Each of the subgroups, which were headed by a tetrarchical clan from which the ruling princes were taken and which intermarried but also fought each other to settle power-political rivalries³¹, was completely autonomous, also in questions of war, alliances and peace; a unified stance or even joint actions on the part of all tetrarchs appear to be the exception rather than the rule. Fundamentally, every tetrarchy can be spoken of as an independent tribal state. Alongside the tetrarch at the head, the hierarchy of subsidiary positions included a "judge", a military commander (*Stratophylax*) as commander in chief of the army or "chief of staff" and two junior commanders as second-in-command. They were all members of the tetrarchs' aristocratic families, which were often related by marriage but also marked by competition and rivalry, as mentioned above. The three major tribes had no level of political organization of their own. This only existed at the level of the Galatian federation of states and consisted of a council of the twelve tetrarchies, a representative assembly of 300 men, i.e. 100 from each group of tribes, corresponding in size to the traditional institution of the Group of One Hundred. The place where they met was the "Drynemeton", the "sacred grove of oak trees", which was the central meeting place and shrine of this federation³². The representative council probably met at this central shrine in the same rhythm as the major religious festivals and sacrificial ceremonies in the course of the year and was consulted in cases of murder, manslaughter and wounding. This created a sort of collective judicature which served to prevent blood feuds amongst the clans and tribes and ensured internal peace. Other types of jurisdiction lay with the fourth princes and judges. Only in exceptional cases was joint leadership of the individual tribes or of all Galatians allowed for a limited period, namely in crises which threatened their existence. Attempts to set up a kingdom on this basis failed. It is telling that the reigning Galatian princes could not take on the title of king, even after the collapse of the previously existing order in the wake of the massacre of the tetrarchian aristocracy by Mithradates VI of Pontus in 86 B.C. and that they retained the title of tetrarch to the end of Galatian sovereignty

³¹ Cf. the story of Kamma, wife of Sinatos, the most powerful tetrarch alongside Sinorix, the father of the older Deiotarus as told in Plut. mor. 257e-258c (virt. mul. 20); also Plut. mor. 768b-d (amat. 22); Polyain. 8, 39. Sinatos, who was related to Sinorix, was murdered on the orders of the latter. Under pressure from Sinorix, the clan and friends of the murder victim urged Kamma to marry him; however, Kamma killed Sinorix and herself during the wedding ceremony by a poisoned drink.

³² Cf. Schmidt 1958; Reichenberger 1991; Haffner 1995; Birkhan 1997, 750ff. To aid understanding, reference is made to square enclosures which also existed in central Europe and functioned as public and sacred meeting places and also to sites with a similar function, in particular the so-called Picardian or Belgian type of temenos or comparable sites. Cf. Büchsenschütz-Olivier 1989; Birkhan 750ff., esp. 764ff.; Wieland 1999a.b; see also Brunaux 1993 on the oak as a ritual tree.

in 25 B.C. and along with it the traditional position of a "fourth prince" within Celtic society. Only in territories not belonging to the Galatian tribes were they able to attain the title of king. After Pompey's reorganization in 65/4 B.C. there was only one tetrarch at the head of the Tolistobogii (Deiotarus the elder) and Trocmi (Brogitaros). Initially there were still two (Castor Tarkondarios and Domnilaos) at the head of the Tectosages, and then only one. The fact that the individual tetrarchies within the main tribes grew together to form one single tribal state each was a consequence of the profound upheavals in 86 B.C. and this ultimate reorganization. Thanks to his rigorous power politics, Deiotarus the elder eventually managed to unite all three tribal states under his rule and thus to become tetrarch of all Galatians. He was succeeded by the younger Castor and then by Amyntas, Dyitalos's son.

In the area of the Galatian tribal states to the west of the Halys, there were two old urban settlements, Gordium on the one hand, at least until 189, the former Phrygian metropolis and now an Early Hellenistic regional centre, and the important Phrygian town of Ancyra on the other hand, which dominated a small basin. The area settled in Ancyra in both Phrygian and Hellenistic times extended far beyond the citadel in the upper town to the southern slopes of the citadel's rock including the centre of the Roman town and the high terrace of the Ulus³³. Ancyra very probably did not fall under the rule of the Tectosages' tetrarchs until Pompey's reorganization³⁴, then to be elevated to the status of a metropolis after 25/4 and to the main site of the *koinon* of the Galatians as a result of Augustus' organization of the provinces; its city territory now formed the *civitas* of the Tectosages although large parts of Tolistobogian territory also belonged to it insofar as it had not been incorporated in the polis of Pessinus which had now become both the Tolistobogian capital and upholder of its *ethnos* (Galatai or Sebastenoi Tolistobogioi Pessinuntioi). The names of these towns and coins minted in the time of the Roman Empire impressively show that both municipalities identified with the tradition and identity of the original Galatian tribe. Admittedly, neither Ancyra's affiliation with the territory of the Galatian rulers after 65/4 nor its subsequent merging with the *ethnos* of the Tectosages left traces on the internal organization of the town, the older names of the phylae

³³ Important new discoveries on Ancyra in the Early and Middle Iron Ages, Hellenistic and Early Imperial periods have come to light in excavations on the site of the Ulus; cf. I. Temisöy et al. 1996; Metin 1997; Metin-Akalın 1999. Cf. also Makridi 1926; Özgüç 1946; Fıratlı 1959; Dolunay 1968; Bayburtluoğlu 1987. Early and Middle Iron Age pottery reflects the basic tendencies of regionally differentiated development in pottery production marked by the following areas: around the Sangarius and Gordium; Boğazköy, Tavium, Çadır, Alişar; and the region of Kaman-Kalehöyük (cf. esp. studies by H. Genz), all of which started to differ from one another after the end of the Great Hittite Empire in central Anatolia. In the Early Iron Age, Ancyra is obviously better assigned to the central northern pottery province of the basin of Merzifon and eastern Paphlagonia as far as the middle reaches of the Kappadox. It is also characteristic that cremation and burial rites in the Phrygian tumuli of Ancyra (20 tumuli from the 8th century onwards or, after correction of data on Gordium, 9th/8th - 6th centuries) differ from funerary practices at Gordium (Buluç 1979; 1992). The same is true for sculpture at Ancyra in the Early and Mid Phrygian Empire, for which there are no parallels with Gordium but which can be related to sculptures in the Late Hittite States.

³⁴ In Strab. 12, 5, 2 referred to as a fortress or fortified settlement of the Tectosages, not, however, as a polis.

of which come from Phrygian and Luwian tradition alone³⁵. We can rightly assume that Ancyra was already established as an urban community in the Early Hellenistic Age.

The temple state of Pessinus³⁶ remained independent. Between 189/8 and 168 its territory possibly extended intermittently as far as the Tembris, at the expense of the Tolistobogii, and as far as the River Sangarius which flowed past the old urban area of Gordium to the east. The position of the independent temple state of the priests of Cybele, who first looked for support from the Seleucids and then from Rome and Pergamum, must have been strengthened by the fact that the cult of the Great Mother, or Mater (kybilleia), gained prime importance for the neighbouring Tolistobogii, interpreted appropriately with their own concepts of gods³⁷. This adoption and identification, which also involves religious approach, is illustrated by the pottery figurines of the goddess found at Gordium, some of which at least were produced there as well. Their painted torcs document the fact that the goddess had been adopted by Celtic tradition; at the same time the Phrygian image of the goddess had been replaced by a Hellenistic one in Galatian Gordium³⁸. We have good reason to believe that members of leading Tolistobogian aristocratic families became priests at Pessinus as early as the 3rd century; indeed these priests were headed by a tetrarchic prince known by the name of Attis between 163 and 156³⁹. The fact that the priests of Pessinus welcomed Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C. is not a counterargument as it is wrong to proceed from the assumption of a "national Galatian consciousness" or even of a "national loyalty amongst the Celts". As high

³⁵ Cf. Bosch 1955; 1967, 141ff.; Mitchell 1977, 77ff.; the inscription in Bosch 1967, 117, states the figure of 12 phylae in the time of Hadrian: names of regions or people: Maruragene (1), Palakene (2), Hiermene (4), [-]mene (7), Menorizeites (3; derived from Men); in honour of urban self-government: Hiera Boulaia (9); named after a deity: Zeus Taenos (12; Zeus' special invocation, not the same as Zeus Taouianos/Tavianus; it cannot be derived from the Old Anatolian stem of the name Taw-, (Tawinija, Taouia, Taouion, Tavium, Tavia, Tabia, ethnic name Taouioi) as erroneously assumed in Kruse, RE IV A 2, 1932, 2007; Bosch 1967, 275); after a place of worship: Dios Trapezōn (5); new names for existing phylae (this possibility was not discussed by Bosch) or perhaps an increase in the original number of phylae in the Imperial Age: Sebasteia (6), Claudia Athenaia (8), Nerva (10), Nea Olympia (11; Hadrian). There is, however, much to be said against this last option due to the certain allocation of the number 12 to the phylae of Zeus Taenos. The number of phylae must have been fixed in early Augustan times at the latest.

³⁶ Cf. Strobel, DNP 9, 2000, 658-660. The widespread assumption that calling the priests of Cybele "Galloi" goes back to the Celts of Asia Minor is ill-conceived (cf. Waser-Ruge-Cumont, RE 7, 1, 1912, 674-682 on the Phrygian tradition of the name Gallos; Birkhan 147 is also erroneous when he even turns Pessinus into the main shrine of the Galatians as early as the 3rd century B.C.). The symbol of the cock on the gravestones of priests also has a completely different symbolic backdrop.

³⁷ Cf. McCone 1990, 108ff., 129ff.; Birkhan 513ff on the Celtic notion of the great, nameless mother goddess figure, the great godly power manifested in nature which is, at the same time, the deity of the country and which takes on form in epiphany in a series of images of female gods. The Phrygian figure of Cybele and the orgiastic cult associated with her clearly stand out against the Hittite-Hurrian-Anatolian Kubaba tradition (cf. Haas 1994); she cannot therefore be traced back to an Old Anatolian mother goddess figure as she must be anchored in the substratum of Indo-European notions of gods.

³⁸ Cf. Roller 1991 on Hellenization; more generally in Romano 1995; Naumann 1983. The most recent excavations have revealed the workshop complex of an artist who obviously originated from western Asia Minor and who produced and painted terracotta figurines. This workshop was abandoned in 189 B.C.

³⁹ Welles 1934, 55-61.

priest in Pessinus, Attis, the brother of the Tolistobogian tetrarch Aioiorix, only felt under obligation to his temple state and its interests and to his own power.

The groups of Celts took over a region which included a large number of villages and other places⁴⁰ alongside the urban settlements mentioned above. Its agricultural structures were both prosperous and varied⁴¹. The traffic routes to and from the economic centres of Gordium, Ancyra and Tavium, which continued to be improved in Persian times, helped to create a well-linked central area in inland Anatolia which was of great economic importance thanks to its resources, communication network and agricultural produce. In addition, the northernmost parts of the tribes' new territories in particular were comparable with the agricultural conditions and structures of the areas the migrating groups of Celts had originally come from in central Europe and along the Danube, as reflected in Alpine pastures in the mountainous regions of northern Galatia, for example⁴². This similarity is also true of large parts of the rest of Galatia, with the exception of the extreme southern treeless areas.

⁴⁰ As the report in Hdt. 1, 76, 1-2 on Croesus' conquest of Pteria in 547/6 B.C. and the capture of the population of this town and others in the vicinity belonging to the (White) Syrians or Cappadocians was frequently taken to refer to Iron Age Boğazköy (even in Bossert 2000, who unfortunately did not take J. Seeher's crucial findings on Büyükkaya into account and whose chronology is completely outdated), it was quite often assumed that large areas ceased to be widely populated after 546. The older chronology of pottery based on this assumption which, using circular reasoning, was enlisted in turn to date new sites, has to be revised. So-called Late Phrygian pottery extended into the Hellenistic Age, Hellenistic pottery evolving from it without a break judging by the findings, particularly at Gordium and Tavium. So-called Middle Phrygian pottery, dated after the destruction level of Gordium, started to appear just before 800 B.C. (around 835-800), based on the data now obtained for the end of the Old Phrygian citadel, and not only in 700 or even as late as 674/3 (as in Bossert 2000); in addition, contrary to Bossert and P. Neve before her, Boğazköy was not destroyed in the time of the Cimmerians. Continual settlement - albeit with some noticeable changes in the significance of the places - up to the beginning of the Hellenistic Age, is demonstrated by, amongst others, Ancyra, Bolu, Gordium, Polatlı-tell, Şeyhali, Şabanözü, Calıköy, the Çanakçı settlement, the Yenikaya settlement, Balıkuyumcu, Malıköy-Malaveren Höyük, Yalıncaç, Karaoğlu, Topaklı/Andros (Andron), Yüzükbaşı (in Axylos; on the southern limits of the Tolistobogii's territory), Çalış, Culluk, Türkhüyük, Faraşlı-Arılıköz Hüyük, Tavium and numerous sites in the vicinity, Eskiypar, Alaca-Hüyük, Cengelstepe, Çalatlı, Çadır-Hüyük, Kaman-Kalehöyük, Alishar, and the characteristic hilltop settlement of Büyükyazılı where the southern Ancyra-Tavium road descends into the broad valley of the River Delice. Cf. also the relevant survey reports in AST; also Temisoy-Lumsden 1999; on the tradition of Anatolian place names TIByz 4, 1984; RECAM Index. Boğazköy was settled in the urban areas of Phrygian times up to Early Hellenistic and Galatian times. Contrary to the dating of the excavator (Kozay 1938; 1941; cf. also Kozay-Akok 1957), the centre of power for southern Pontic Cappadocia in Persian times, the fortified palace of Pazarlı, was built after Cyrus' reign and not in the 6th century: the buildings belong to the early 5th century and their function as residences in periods I and II presumably ended in the 4th century (conflicts in Diadochic times?); period III, in which the civil settlement also extended to the plot within the fortress, continued into Hellenistic times as testified by the pottery. The site was refortified in the Byzantine Age. It is worth noting that we have Phrygian graffiti on the site.

⁴¹ Cf. Strobel 1996, 79ff., 94ff.; *ibid.* on the geographical and ecological prerequisites. Mitchell too (Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 188ff.) now proceeds from Galatia having an economy in its own right and from the continued existence of economic structures which were already in place, complemented by Darbyshire's reference to his studies on iron agricultural implements from Hellenistic-Galatian Gordium. To what extent the latter include innovations from a central European context will require further analysis for clarification.

⁴² Cf. also Meniel 2001.

The Anatolian, Phrygian-Luwian population originally resident in the area was undoubtedly many times larger than the groups of Celts arriving to conquer and settle land. On crossing into Asia Minor they perhaps totalled a maximum of 30,000, although armed warriors made up a disproportionate number of them⁴³. In addition, it must be assumed that there was strong demographic imbalance amongst the conquering groups of Celts, as for other migrating groups, with their characteristically high proportion of arm-bearing men. Equally it must be assumed that they suffered considerable losses in fighting up to 268 B.C. and finally were also faced with warriors leaving to become mercenaries in the Hellenistic armies. These factors had to be compensated for, particularly by recourse to the local population⁴⁴, and surely including, amongst others, kidnapping and attachment to the campaigning military forces; added to this, the attractiveness of integration into and accepted self-identification with the socially and militarily dominant group distinguished by its high prestige. As with comparable migrating communities, it can be assumed that there was a strong tendency towards integrating people to strengthen the group's own potential for fighting and to increase the number of people in general. During the process of territorialization, considerable numbers of women in particular undoubtedly joined the groups of Celts, or more precisely the clans, in various states of marriage⁴⁵ and with varying legal status. At this point it is appropriate to point out the legal acknowledgement of polygamy and concubinage which can be deduced from Old Irish law despite it being edited in the Christian era. The first wife could only be of the same rank and status; the children of further wives were, however, treated the same as those from the first marriage in the eyes of the law. The principle held that children issuing from a relationship with an unfree woman or a concubine belonged to the man on principle and were ranked as his offspring. It was not uncommon to give a daughter into unfree status and so to a high-ranking man with prestige to create family ties and to ensure the rise in social status of children from this relationship.

On the other hand, whole groups of the population could be incorporated in the social structure, i.e. in the family organizations of the now governing Celtic society, as clients⁴⁶ at various levels of dependency, as dependents, or with the status of "foreigners". At this point it is necessary to very briefly underline the important basic social elements for processes of ethnogenesis which can be identified as general Celtic phenomena⁴⁷.

⁴³ Liv. 38, 16, 2.9; cf. Strobel 1996, 237, 246. There is no proof that any heavy afflux of Celts from the Balkans arrived in the area after the crossing of the group of Tectosages although individual Celtic mercenaries in the employ of the Hellenistic rulers may have settled in Galatia in the course of time. Graves in the lower town of Hattuša most probably furnish proof of this for mercenaries very probably fighting in the armies of Mithradates VI of Pontus (see below).

⁴⁴ Cf. also Markale 1975, 258, for example; or Wenskus 1961, 454ff., 492f. on the phenomenon of a lack of people in migrating military followings or in phases of conquering land.

⁴⁵ In insular Celtic law there were nine forms of marriage, with corresponding parallels in an Indo-Aryan context; cf., for example, Birkhan 1997, 1029ff.

⁴⁶ Thus Old Irish law recognizes "seven levels of submission", or levels of clients' dependence.

⁴⁷ Cf. Birkhan 1997, 986ff.; 1029ff. Numerous legal technical terms and social concepts can be seen as general Celtic phenomena which were taken over more than once in the Germanic sphere. Reconstructions of the main outlines of Celtic societies can be rightly obtained from Old Irish tradition and ancient Irish legal texts (texts in:

The society of Celtic peoples and warriors bands in the La Tène culture was founded on the categories of prestige and honour and on heroic pathos as well as on property as a basis for prestige or as a requirement for fulfilling one's social role. Wealth served to gain social and political power; it was a means to demonstrate, preserve and gain prestige and rank, a means to create a body of followers. At the same time, however, the fundamental principle also held that "a man is better than his birth", which formed the basis of upward social mobility. Accomplishments, also in the form of material gain, and above all proving one's worth in battle, brought about social advancement. The tribe and army (a *gens* in arms) appeared as one unit. Social structure saw a basic division into "good-freemen", Old Irish *so-aire* or *soír*, and "bad-freemen", Old Irish *doír*. At the head of the first group was the ruling aristocracy. Alongside the different levels of aristocracy and the druids, when in the tribe, the upper classes comprised "people with skills", like special craftsmen, poets, visionaries, doctors and those with legal training. The group of freemen included the noblemen (aristocracy), landowning farmers and their wards. For women there were two basic categories: free and unfree women.

The highest level of "noblemen" below the level of prince or king was taken by the leaders of the "people" (*tud* or Old Irish *tuath*) and the "heroes", elite aristocratic warriors, not to be mixed up with the hired warriors or mercenaries who counted amongst the lowest category of "noblemen". The noblemen also included the chieftains of the clans in a proper sense, i. e. groups based on actual kinship (Old Irish *derbfine*). The basis for the aristocrats' station was property and honour; their social prestige was reflected in their following, their dependent clients and in their tenants. The personal following of the prince or aristocratic leader of followers was made up of freemen bound to loyalty, including noblemen and heroes, as well as dependent followers, also including young aristocratic warriors, and the dependent group of clients bound as political and military vassals, including dependent tenants, clients and serfs. Beneath the aristocracy there were the free farmers who owned land and livestock and who were divided into several groups with differing status depending on the quality of their land and possessions and the role arising from that concerning conduct and duties; rich farmers were close to the aristocracy in the social pyramid; if they invested their accumulated wealth in the acquisition of clients (letting land and livestock for farming), the door was open to social advancement.

The core of the social fabric was formed by the family of the head of the generations, his wives and under-age children (Old Irish *gelfine*). As paterfamilias he had authority over the life of his wife/wives and children. The clan as a genuine kinship group (Old Irish *derbfine*) covered four generations: the representative of the active generation, his children and grandchildren, his father, his grandfather, his brothers and paternal uncles as well as their

Corpus Iuris Hibernici I-VI; Ancient Laws of Ireland, 6 volumes, Dublin 1856-1901; Críth Gablach, ed. D. A. Binchy, Dublin 1979), naturally heeding the necessary degree of critical analysis of the origins, transmission and possible changes by Christian editors. For more on these difficulties, cf. Birkhan 1997, 478ff.; Binchy 1943; Dillon 1947, 1948; Kelly 1988; Birkhan 1997, 463ff., esp. 474ff.; 955ff.; 986ff.; also McCone 1990; Mac Cana 1991a,b; Jackson 1964, is correct in its general tendency. Cf. on the following esp. McLeod 1987; Kelly 1988; Joyce 1913, I 155ff.; 184ff.; II 3ff.; MacNeill 1924; also Markale 1975, 30ff.; more generally in Binchy 1943; 1983; Dillon 1947, 1954; Kelly 1992; cf. Birkhan 1997, 1022ff. refuting the theory of Celtic matriarchy.

children. The clan held its land jointly although each free member of the clan owned his own individual part or held legal title to it. Problems occurred when the father or elder brother held the land and "there was no more room", i.e. it was not realistically possible to set up a farm which would guarantee the upkeep of the family. This potentially gave rise to migrating communities and mercenaries. The clan was headed by the clan elder while the kinship group, the *populus*, based on actual kinship and descent from common ancestors, was headed by the leading aristocratic clan which possessed the right of nobles based on prestige and the tradition of descent.

Every common man had legal title to land to earn his living as a farmer and a hereditary title to the available land owned by the clan; if it was insufficient, he had to lease land and, if needs be, livestock. Freeman leased common or private land. Freeman without property could drop into the group of dependent vassals, also as dependent armed vassals, or into the group of clients. If a freeman fell short of the minimum amount of property required to realize his social role, this led to a loss in full status as a freeman. Alongside land acquired as personal property, the aristocracy which governed the clan or a larger ethnic complex held part of the tribal lands under right of usufruct for life or for the duration of their rule; the remainder was occupied by the freemen. The main part of the tribe's territory was not private land; instead it was entrusted to the clans for the use of their free relatives for an unlimited period. What remained for common use was barren land, woodland, mountain pastures, highlands, etc. All freemen had a right to use common pasture land and full rights as members of the tribe. In order to use tribal lands, the share and common duties had to be fulfilled and taxes paid to the relevant holder in the hierarchy of rights of nobles.

Debts led to decline into dependence in the group of bad-freemen, Old Irish *doírchél*, unfree fellow, or dependent clients. Bad-freemen were the dependent farmers, liable to pay rent, and foreigners; the last-but-one level consisted of unfree farm labourers and the low dependents who farmed the aristocracy's land and were not allowed to leave it. Finally, the lowest level in the social pyramid was taken by the slaves, the main sources of which were prisoners of war and the slave trade. The Galatians themselves acted as slave traders well into Late Antiquity. The slaves with the ethnic name "Galates", as found in Greek deeds of release, have Anatolian or Greek names, whereby the latter may be due to their Greek origins or may have been given to them on being traded as slaves. However that may be, there are no ethnic Galatians amongst them, who could have also been European Celts anyway. As we have good reason to believe, the Galatian leaders owed their slave resources to war booty and, first and foremost, to the numerous unfree men amongst the resident population which they obtained possession of. The dependent tribal fellow or bad-freeman, just above the status of a slave, had no right to tribal land as a member of the tribe and only had legal status to a limited degree but he did have the right to stay on tribal land and on the land he was working on. People who did not belong to the tribal community were foreigners; they had no right to stay on tribal territory although this right could be granted to them by permission of the one in power in the *tud* or *tuath*. Whether individuals or groups, foreigners could be allocated land for farming for a specific payment of taxes. Foreigners to the tribe who were bound to work in exchange for the right to remain there had the same status as dependents. The adoption of a foreigner by a

family or a clan was always possible with the consent of the rest of the group. In this manner it was also possible for kinships or ethnic groups to adopt complete family organizations or even smaller tribes.

Without a doubt the specific structure of the clans and their legal system in the strict hierarchy of Celtic tribal society and their readiness to integrate and adopt foreign peoples were instrumental in integrating the much greater numbers of an indigenous population within the federation of tribes and clans. The lower social strata of the Celtic and Anatolian population must have quickly developed into a relatively homogeneous amalgam. These aspects are not only true of the Galatians of Asia Minor; they are the basic factors behind the phenomenon known as "Celtic expansion" and can even be considered as fundamental in the formation of "La Tène Keltentum". Only after the conquest and settlement of land by migrating groups in central Anatolia, which was no longer questioned after 268, and due to the resulting processes of superimposition on and integration of the indigenous population, did a process of ethnogenesis and mutual acculturation give rise to the historical Galatians tribes, and that within a mere three generations⁴⁸. Like the tribes and fourths on the higher level of political and social organisation, the *populi*, or clans, only took on their historical shape in the territorialization of the migrating community and the associated processes of ethnogenesis and culture. The groups of Celts at the core on the higher level of political and social organisation which formed the governing classes and states left their mark on language, politico-social order and ethnic identity while the Luwian or Phrygian-Anatolian population influenced everyday life, from housing and building styles to kitchenware and Hellenistic-Anatolian-type graves. Indeed, the development of pottery in Hellenistic to Augustan times is characterized by continuity with the pre-Hellenistic period, as illustrated particularly by evidence found at Gordium⁴⁹ and Tavium (see below); changes concern the adoption of and parallel developments in typology but not in the potter's technique. The system of social and religious values of the Celtic aristocracy and heroic tradition was maintained, at least until the first half of the 2nd century B.C., as shown by the elite Tolistobogian warriors fighting naked on Mount Olympus in 189 and by the ritual sacrifice of prisoners in the fight for freedom and survival against Pergamum in 168/66 B.C. At Gordium there was a place of sacrifice for humans and animals in Celtic tradition which predates 189 (see below). There is also evidence of the cult of headhunting which was generally widespread amongst the Celts.

It is highly likely that the specific social and common law structures of the conquering Celtic newcomers changed possessory interests in land. They did not, however, challenge the existing village communities but just integrated them in their own bands. Little can have changed in the lifestyles of the local village population in Galatian times, even if their legal status declined, insofar as they were not already dependent. The continuity in pre-Galatian

⁴⁸ See above; Strobel 1991; more generally also in Strobel 1998; Heckmann 1992, 162ff. Frerichs 1981. Here ethnogenesis does not refer to the primary shaping of an *ethnos*, but to the gradual re-formation which tribes or parts of them go through on migration and in subsequent processes of territorialization. In these complex processes, convergence builds on an identity-bearing tradition and the creation of a ruling power and class, both emanating from the prestigious group.

⁴⁹ Cf. Henrickson 1993, 130ff., esp. 149ff.; 1994.

names of regions and smaller areas⁵⁰ and place names, as mentioned above, illustrates the continuity of the resident population. Their elites had presumably already been weakened by the end of Achaemenid rule and in the conflicts and changes in Diadochic times; when the Galatians were settled there by Nicomedes I, some of them would have fled to surrounding areas or to Ancyra while others, whose position was more strongly anchored in religion and rites, could no doubt assert themselves well in the emerging Galatian society.

A particularly striking example for the continuity of the resident population and, at the same time, for the intentional spiritual standardization in the process of ethnogenesis of the historical Galatians, which we can call the Galatization of central Anatolia and its population by the small, conquering, politico-social dominant group of Celts, is found in the inscriptions in and around the shrine to Zeus Bussurigios, "Zeus with the royal mouth", found north-west of Kalecik, the ancient village of Malos, before the Ankara-Ekkobriga-Tavium road crosses the Baykuşbeli pass⁵¹. Aurelius Sentamus, who had a Celtic name and came from the village Dallapoze, erected two monuments in 218 A.D.; he appears on the first as a worshipper of Zeus Bussurigios and on the second, erected together with his mother Akka and his grandson Sentamus, as the archigallos of the Cybele, who was evidently also worshiped at this shrine alongside Zeus Bussurigios⁵². Aurelius Helius, son of Domnus, who also had a Celtic name, came from the village of the Klössamenoi; he was Neokoros of Zeus Bussurigios, erected a monument to the god during his lifetime for votive purposes and as a memorial⁵³. Aurelius and Philotas, son of Stateilius, from the village of Ikotarion, worshipper and servant of Zeus Bussurigios erected a funeral stele during his lifetime in 227 A.D.⁵⁴ There is no direct mention of the god on the memorial of his worshipper Aurelius Askepiades, son of Asklepius, from the village of Malos in the district of Kalmizene erected in 251⁵⁵. Kalecik (Malos) is the location of Katomarus's memorial which he erected in 165 A.D. in memory of his wife Octaviane and his daughter Domne; father and daughter both have names in the Celtic tradition.

Legionaries of Galatian origin also took the cult of Zeus Bussurigios to Apulum in Dacia (*Iupiter Optimus Maximus Sol Bussurigius*). A further Galatian invocation of Zeus, unifying the aspects of the god of the heavens, mountains and weather and behind which,

⁵⁰ Lagantine, Mnezine, Kalmizene, Konkarzitiakōton.

⁵¹ RECAM 201-206. Also the site of boundary stones for a shrine to Archangel Michael, presumably the cult successor of Zeus Bussurigios, from Justinian times (RECAM 207-208), which name the village of Diakimelion in the district of Konkarzitiakoton which was separated from the Kalmizene by the pass. On this invocation of Zeus, cf. H. Schwabl, RE X A, 1972, 291f., also 288, 293, 339, 358; Birkhan 147, 662, who would like to interpret him as god of law corresponding to the god Lugus. Birkhan erroneously gives Zeus Bennis as another Celtic invocation which was, however, Phrygian. For more on the Zeus cult in Galatia, see also Schwabl, RE Suppl. 15, 1978, 1159ff., 1474. The cults of Zeus Narenos and Sarnendenos belong in a northern Phrygian context which is also present in north-western Galatia.

⁵² RECAM 201, 206.

⁵³ Ibid. 203.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 204.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 205. Presumably also belonging to this series ibid. 209A (217 A.D.).

naturally, related older Anatolian cults⁵⁶ are to be found (Teššop), is Zeus Souālibrogenos⁵⁷, presumably another Zeus Bussumarus (German "Großmund", "large mouth"), which we also find proof of in Apulum⁵⁸. Contrary to Birkhan, for example, I do not believe that these invocations should be understood as attributes of gods, but as derivations from Galatian peoples and their names, i.e. from the Boussourigioi and Boussoumaroi. Reference has already been made to the Galatians' adopting the worship of Cybele and also the cult of the great mountain and weather god of Tawinija/Tavium known as Zeus Tavianos; further important cults in this town were Athena, Apollo, Asclepius, Hygieia and finally Tyche of Tavium, the goddess of the town. Another element in the religious aspect⁵⁹ of the process of acculturation was mentioned above in connection with the story of Kamma. The wife of the tetrarch was priestess of Artemis, to be understood as a Hellenized version of the Old Anatolian Kubaba; the wedding ceremony was performed with a goblet full of milk and honey in front of the altar in the temple of the goddess where Kamma had retreated after her husband had been murdered (Plut. mor. 258a-c). This was a fully Hellenized cult in its form and buildings as practised by the members of the tetrarchic aristocracy in the second half of the 2nd century B.C. It is, however, very probable that the Celts interpreted this goddess as the Minervan aspect of the great mother goddess of fertility and power. Another instance of the tetrarchic aristocracy's adopting Anatolian forms of religion is clearly illustrated in Augustus' appointment of Dyteutus, son of Adiatrix, as high priest and regent of the temple state of Ma in Pontic Comana, which implies that there must have been some relationship to the cult there. Known outside the region as well, the shrine of Men als Theos Ouindieinos was located at the Celtic-Galatian village on the east bank of the Sangarius opposite ancient Gordium⁶⁰, with a further shrine to the god Men at the old settlement of Andros (Andron), modern-day Topaklı⁶¹, on the eastern limits of Tolistobogian territory. We can see that the Celtic groups, presumably with the Galatian upper classes setting an example, rapidly adopted the cults which already existed in central Anatolia, although their own notions of gods were surely transferred as well. Thus it was not connected with loss of identity in any way. The naming process which we can reconstruct is reflected in the equality with Greek deities as part of a profound process of Hellenization; only epithets have specific Celtic-Galatian references. Just like in architecture, traditional names and pottery, this documents that the Galatization of central Anatolia also implied more intensive Hellenization and that the Galatian upper classes were an important

⁵⁶ Particularly clear in the link between the cults of Zeus Bussurigos and Cybele.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 191 (157 A.D.); epithet derived from toponym.

⁵⁸ Cf. Popa-Berciu 1978. Zeus Tavianos was also brought by soldiers or military colonists to Apulum.

⁵⁹ Cf. Mitchell 1993, 47ff.; II 18ff. on this problem (admittedly erroneous in assuming there to be an important cult centre for Zeus Tavianos at Ancyra (see footnote 34 above) and in interpreting Artemis in the Kamma episode as a Hellenized form of Cybele); more generally in Birkhan 1997, 431ff.; Brunaux 2000; Meniel 1992, 2001; Brunaux-Meniel 1997; Jufer-Luginbühl 2001.

⁶⁰ Votive inscription near Konya set up by a citizen of Hadrianopolis (Asia); JRS 14, 1924, no. 1; see footnote 25 above on Vindia.

⁶¹ Votive inscription for Men Andrōnēnos (RECAM 230) set up by Tropos and Bella, the latter a Celtic name. For information on the village see TIByz 4, 1984, 236.

driving force in this process.

In urban settlements in the 3rd to early 2nd centuries, it is to be expected that different linguistic groups lived next to each other, as documented by graffiti at Gordium⁶² for the period before 189 B.C. At the same time, the Phrygian alphabet was replaced by the Greek one in the first half of the 3rd century and the Greek alphabet and language became the only upholder of the written word. Only Greek was a written and cultural language. The graffiti at Gordium includes Phrygian-Anatolian names alongside typical Greek names, which were evidently increasing in frequency (including the names of artists and craftsmen) and Celtic names, including the name Kantuix, testifying to an inadequate mastery of Greek grammar⁶³. This reflects the ethnic make-up of the urban population, indicating at the same time that there was no uniform tendency to take over the tradition of names, i.e. Celtic, from other cultures. In the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. the leading aristocratic Galatians clans vacillated between Celtic (e.g. Dyitalos, Deiotarus, Brogitarus, Brigatus Adiatorix, Ateporix, Albiorix, Artiknos, Gaizatodiasstes, Adobogiona in the last generations), Greek-Macedonian (e.g. Amyntas, Seleucus, Aristocles, Diognetos, Menemachus, Metrodorus) and Anatolian names (e.g. Kamma; Pylaemenes as a dynastic name taken over from Paphlygonia)⁶⁴ characterized by repeated alternation from generation to the next in some cases. In the 1st century A.D. members of this class changed over to Latin names, as illustrated by the list of priests at the temple dedicated to Roma et Augustus at Ancyra⁶⁵. Another characteristic example is that of Tiberius Claudius Heras and his son Tiberius Claudius Deiotarus, who were 9th and 10th on the list of priests in the ten-strong body of priests in Pessinus or 4th and 5th in terms of priests of Galatian lineage⁶⁶ in the late 1st century B.C. The use of Celtic names amongst the general population can be traced until well into the 4th century A.D.⁶⁷. As Strabo testifies (12, 5, 1), Celtic⁶⁸ was used all over Galatian territory as a unifying characteristic by the 1st century B.C.

⁶² Cf. Roller 1987 for material published so far. The Greek alphabet and termini also appear on objects made out of bone and stone.

⁶³ Roller, *ibid.* no. 56.

⁶⁴ Galatian mercenary leaders in Seleucid armies already had Greek or Attic-Ionic names in the late 3rd century (Lysimachos Pol. 5, 79, 11; Apatourios Pol. 4, 48, 8f.).

⁶⁵ Bosch 1967, no. 51.

⁶⁶ IGRR III 225.230 = OGIS 540.541.

⁶⁷ Cf. RECAM, Index; SEG 32, 1982, 1663; Stähelin 1907, 109ff.; Weißgerber 1931; Bosch 1952/53; Schmidt 1957; Dressler 1967 (also K. H. Schmidt, IF 75, 1970, 276-280); Zgusta 1964, 1970; Evans 1967; Strubbe 1978; Masson 1982, 1986; Schmidt 1994; Hock 1997. The literature given here naturally also includes Celtic names in Asia Minor belonging to people of Celtic origins but not of Galatian descent. Take a characteristic example in RECAM 214 with the change in the way names were given: Klodia, daughter of Bitognatos, who erected a memorial for her husband, Valerios, and son, Poupoulos, a corrupt form of Publius.

⁶⁸ While New Phrygian inscriptions are clearly missing in Galatian tribal territories to the west of the Halys (cf. Waelkens 1977), a transitional bilingual Phrygian-Galatian zone is discernible at the southern limits of Galatia; cf. an inscription combined with a New Phrygian formulaic text by Bodoris (or Bodorix) from Sinanlı, to the north of Veteston/Vetisso (MAMA VII 214) in the southern area of the Tolistobogii, an area which did not belong to Proseilemmene (in contrast to Mitchell 1993, 50). Yaraşlı (cf. Summers 1993) was not part of the Galatian tribal territories, as posited by Mitchell, but of the Proseilemmene, which was not annexed to the urban territory of Ancyra until Roman times.

at the latest, was the mother tongue of broad swathes of the population until the mid-6th century A.D. and the language still used in Late Antiquity alongside the generally widespread language of Greek⁶⁹. We can assume that the Celtic-Galatian upper classes in the 3rd - 2nd centuries B.C. were bilingual or, more accurately, trilingual, using their Celtic mother tongue, then Greek as a written language and on the international stage and finally Phrygian or Luwian in the Cappadocian part in order to communicate with the large resident population, which in turn was completing the transition to Celtic as the dominant language. From the 1st century B.C. onwards, Greek appeared to have established itself as a broad-based second language alongside Galatian and other local languages still in existence. The long-lasting effective prevalence of language and ethnic identity can be seen as a crucial factor in the process of acculturation and ethnogenesis in which the historical appearance of the Galatian tribes of Asia Minor was formed.

The question of burial rites is particularly significant for an overall picture of the Galatians. Unfortunately, no necropolis has been systematically studied, apart from the Galatian-period cemetery on the site of the main temple and the lower town of Hattuša. Despite that, numerous observations do allow judgement to be passed. For example, in the necropolises of Tavium, burial in rock tombs was continued; as at Boğazköy⁷⁰, in the whole of Trocmian eastern Galatia there are stone cist graves and pithos burials as well as earthenware coffins. To judge from the stone circles around them, the stone cist graves were partly covered with earth to form small tumuli; admittedly stone cist graves, some made out of spolia, reappeared in Late Roman and Byzantine times, occasionally even with stone circles around and small tumuli above them. The same picture can be observed for numerous illegal diggings in Galatian territories to the west of the Halys.

The acculturation of upper class Galatians to contemporary Hellenistic culture in terms of their representative self-portrayals and lifestyle is vividly documented in the extravagant architecture of their graves. The burial chambers were constructed of very carefully worked ashlar blocks with barrel vaulting, complicated corbel vaulting or gabled roofs made out of large stone slabs. Alongside the ceremonial passageway, or dromos, and main chamber, they could have an antechamber. The dead were buried in wooden coffins, rectangular terracotta coffins (larnakes) and sarcophaguses. At least in front of two of the Galatian tumuli in which princes were buried, a terrace was constructed for the cult of the dead, namely tumulus B at Karalar with the tomb of the younger Deiotarus, son and co-regent of Deiotarus I⁷¹, and the large Danacı tumulus near Tavium located on a high spur which dominates the surrounding countryside. In one of the numerous illegal diggings at the Danacı tumulus, a large marble sculpture of a lion was recovered on the prominent west side of the site in 1978, which, given its stance and type, would appear to be one of a pair, giving credence, in turn, to the reports of several villagers that there was a second sculpture which had been buried once again. The lions obviously flanked a public terrace. Marble blocks and architectural features around the

⁶⁹ Cf. Strobel 1996, 139ff.

⁷⁰ Cf. Kühne 1969.

⁷¹ Cf. Arık 1934, 123ff. Alongside an epitaph, marble fragments from a trophy and a lion were found.

monument had already been carried off to surrounding villages. Alongside the four tumuli at Karalar⁷², the only others to have been academically investigated are a small tumulus from the 3rd century B.C. at Gordium with a stone cist and a wooden coffin originally painted red, and tumulus O, at Gordium's western necropolis⁷³. The Yalacık tumulus was robbed in ancient times and reused in Late Antiquity⁷⁴; in the environs of the residential stronghold near Karahisar, there is a second burial mound at Yukarı Bağdere which has not yet been studied. The two tumuli predating 180 B.C. at Bolu-Karacasu⁷⁵ fell prey to a case of "legal grave robbery"; one of them had a sarcophagus on an andesite platform covered with a burial mound. At least one more tumulus, as yet uninvestigated but seen by the author in 1996, belongs to the necropolis. The burial mounds of Bolu and Karalar illustrate the continued existence of Celtic chieftain burials with weapons as grave goods. The northern part of Tavium is surrounded by nine tumuli, obviously from various periods; in addition there are two largely destroyed tumuli in the south-west and at least four tumuli at Gündoğdu, including the one at Danacı, on the old main road leading westwards. All of these tumuli were robbed in ancient and more recent times. Shards of burnished pottery and glass vessels were found in the materials removed during the robbery of a tumulus north of Tavium with a stone chamber which was covered with oblong stone blocks. It could date back to the 1st century B.C. but just as likely to Early Imperial times. A large tumulus between the Ayaş-Beyazlı road and the İlhan Çayı dates back to the 1st century A.D. and can probably be assigned to a prominent member of the tetrarchic aristocracy. Further Galatian-period tumuli with notable stone architecture near tetrarchic residences can be found near Faraşlı/Ekkobriga and Çanakçı⁷⁶; due to their location near residential strongholds, the burial mounds at Sirkeli (2), Oğulbey/Gorbeus (3), Odunboğazi (2) and Podanala-Kerkenes Dağı⁷⁷ are directly related to them. Evidence from Bolu proves unequivocally that the higher echelons of Galatian society had already adopted grave forms and architecture from their Hellenistic surroundings before 180 B.C. and provided their graves with many luxury goods. At least four generations of ruling tetrarchs from the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. appear to be buried in the graves at Karalar, including Sinorix, the father of Deiotarus, Deiotarus himself and his son, the ones we know by name.

⁷² Karalar A-C, Kazan-Cimşit I; Cimşit II (unknown date) and a small tumulus to the east of Karalar. At least two other tumuli were destroyed prior to scientific investigation.

⁷³ Cf. AJA 59, 1955, 16f.; see Temisoy 2000 for most recent information on tumulus O. In the Gordium area at least four tumuli date from Hellenistic times, including a tumulus on the dominant ridge of the "white cliffs" to the north of Yassihüyük, at the foot of which carefully cut large stone blocks indicate the use of costly grave architecture.

⁷⁴ Mermerci-Yağcı 1990; the tumulus near Iğdır in the Sangarius valley mentioned in Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 178 is already in Phrygia Epictetus.

⁷⁵ Cf. Strobel 1994a, 41ff., esp. 43.

⁷⁶ Tumulus with robber's hole and exposed stone architecture on the saddle rising up to the stronghold. A second tumulus of unknown age lies slightly further away to the west.

⁷⁷ There are at least two larger and four smaller burial mounds on the site of the mountain town of Pteria; further burial mounds from Hellenistic times are very probably to be found amongst the 100 plus mounds in the vicinity of Pteria.

Four hoards of savings with tetradrachms and a small hoard of gold coins⁷⁸ hail from pre-189 B.C. Galatian Gordium. A considerable number of the silver coins in hoard III have deep notches cut into them to check the silver content of the coins. This habit was typical for Celtic groups in the lower Danubian region in particular with the advent of a monetary economy. The same method of checking was used on parts of the large hoard V, namely some of the Antiochus III coins. Hoard III must essentially have been hidden in the 70s of the 3rd century; three coins were added in the third quarter of the 3rd century. Most of the coins in hoard IV show few traces of having been in circulation and have no such notches; the hoard must have been put together shortly after 281 and then hidden. The composition of hoard V obviously reflects payments for mercenaries and subsidies as well as diplomatic gifts of friendship, and perhaps also booty which the Tolistobogii had acquired after 278. The hoard was probably completed after the re-establishment of Seleucid power in western Asia Minor by Antiochus III in 212 B.C. Hoard I has a similar composition with 144 tetradrachms; it was hidden around 210 B.C. Hoard VII originally had six gold coins, three gold staters dating from between 320 and 290 and three Seleucus III octodrachms, and very probably documents the money which Byzantium, on the one hand, paid with the help of Herakleia to make the Galatians leave in 278 and the payments of Seleucus III, on the other, for his unsuccessful campaign against Attalus I. of Pergamum. Parallels to the Gordian coin hoards are provided by the large hoard of coins from the Hellenistic-Roman plains settlement below the Hellenistic fortification on the upper-town tell of the Hittite town of Zippalanda (Kuşaklı Hüyük near Sorgun)⁷⁹.

Gordium hoard I, coins no.49-50: These unused coins and also coin no. 35 of hoard V deserve particular attention; they are local imitations, observed dies of which are by all means evocative of initial developments in Celtic coinage patterned on the types of Philip II and Alexander in the eastern zone of Celtic mintage. In contrast the stamp on the reverse side attempts to be a precise imitation, admittedly with varying success. There is not sufficient evidence so far to deduce whether these are the first coins minted by the Galatians of Asia Minor. The key-shaped coin ("Charon's coin") found in the Hellenistic stone cist grave no. 11 in the southern part of the lower-town necropolis of Boğazköy and which imitates the type of "sitting Zeus" of Alexander or Philip III on the concave side, but only has five small randomly arranged bosses on the convex side⁸⁰, is not to be taken as a Trocmian coin, as construed by K. Bittel, but is an example of Danubian Celtic-Thracian-Getic coinage. It can be explained

⁷⁸ Hoard I (144 coins; Alexander and posthumous coinage, Philip III, Antigonos Monophthalmus, Demetrius Poliorketes, Lysimachus, Antigonos Gonatas, Antiochus I, Antiochus II, Seleucus II, Antiochus Hierax, Eumenes I, Attalus I, Seleucus II, Seleucus III, Antigonos Doson, Prusias I, Antiochus III, Perge), III (42 coins; Alexander, Philip III, Lysimachus, Seleucus), IV (50 coins, Alexander, Lysimachus), V (144 coins, Alexander, Philip III, Demetrius Poliorketes, Lysimachus, Seleucus I, Antiochus I, Antigonos Gonatas, Nicomedes I, Eumenes I, Antiochus Hierax, Seleucus II and III, Antiochus III, Prusias I, Perge); VII (see above); Cox 1953, 1966.

⁷⁹ Newell 1931, 1932. Calling the site Küçük Köhne was misleading.

⁸⁰ Cf. Bittel 1969, fig. 12a.b, who may have seen the parallels to Danubian Celtic minting but thought it was Trocmian coinage; see also Kühne 1969.

by contact with a Danubian Celtic mercenary in the employ of Pontic kings or by one settling down in this area. Individual coins found in the Galatian layers of Gordium and Ancyra confirm the general picture that money was only really introduced in the central and eastern areas of Anatolia in Roman times. The Galatian rulers did not start to mint coins until the mid-1st century B.C., and only to a limited extent, namely Deiotarus I (Aes) and Brogitaros (tetradrachms) as well as Amyntas, king of Pisidia (Silver, Aes)⁸¹. As far as economic development is concerned, the Galatian areas had no special position. The coinage of the tetrachs as kings is associated with mercenary payments and with areas under their rule outside Galatia where more use was made of coins.

So far it has been difficult to assign finds which date unequivocally from the La Tène period or which can be directly connected with any La Tène style especially to the Galatians. Thus at Gordium of all places, no Galatian fibulae have been found⁸². Instead, Phrygian fibulae are much more widespread⁸³; excellent gold ornaments dating from before 189 and after 166 B.C. come from Hellenistic workshops while only an iron armlet (Inv. ILS 94) can be related to La Tène style. It is not possible to assess the La Tène fibulae found in Asia Minor, particularly the Middle La Tène fibulae, as providing evidence of their being part of the traditional dress of the Galatians of Asia Minor⁸⁴. The older La Tène C2 horizon of these fibulae belongs to the Pestrup group from the first half of the 2nd century B.C.; they have been found from France to southern Russia and particularly in south-eastern Europe. These fibulae must be associated with Celtic mercenaries from south-eastern Europe recruited by the Seleucid kings who were dependent on Celts from outside Asia Minor in the phase of Pergamene sovereignty over Galatia. The more recent La Tène D1 horizon, on the other hand, very probably relates to mercenaries from Celtic or La Tène-influenced groups in the lower Danubian and western Black Sea area recruited by Mithradates VI Eupator of Pontus. The weapons as grave goods in the warrior's grave at Boğazköy⁸⁵ point to the same area and the same period. The "Hohlbuckel" ring acquired in Finike, most likely dating from the first half of the 3rd century and the knotted ring found at Isparta which probably came from Pisidia are also related to Celtic mercenaries and their families, the former probably belonging in the

⁸¹ Cf. RPC I, p. 536f.; on Amyntas also *ibid.* 538ff.; S. Atlan, *Beleten* 39, 1975, 595-611 (Side).

⁸² O.W. Muscarella has since retracted his earlier allocations. In addition, material found on the site may also come from the Roman army from Augustan times at the latest, as the area up to the Halys including the Roman village on the tell of Gordium was part of the Colonia Iulia Germa. Thus a bronze "Hülsenscharnier" fibula was found in 1994 near the Hellenistic ashlar wall but already in a Roman context, derived from the Aucissa fibula type 5.2.1 which can be identified as the Riha type 5.12.2 and dates from the second half of the 1st century A.D. (determined by the author; cf. Riha 1979, 111ff., 139f. with table 39.78). "Hülsenscharnier" fibulae which are clearly of western origin (thus making M. Voigt's allocation to Asia Minor erroneous) are also known from Sardis, Ephesus and Pessinus, etc.

⁸³ Such a fibula was also found in tumulus A at Karalar, a tetrarchic grave from the late 2nd century B.C.

⁸⁴ Cf. Strobel 1996, 184ff.; contrasting with Birkhan 1997, 139; Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 172f., where the archaeological material has been inadequately scrutinized.

⁸⁵ Stone cist grave on the site of the large temple no. 3, Kühne 1969, 38f.; relatively short sword with sheet metal scabbard, iron suspension rings from the sword belt, fragment of a spearhead.

context of Celtic mercenaries amongst Ptolemy's troops in Lycia⁸⁶.

Evidence for a continuation of La Tène traditions amongst the Galatians of Asia Minor exists merely in the form of representations of weapons dating from the La Tène period: helmets of eastern Celtic types, chainmail with shoulder pieces, long oval shields with thickened ribs ("Spindelrippen") and bosses ("Bandschildbuckel") uniquely specific to the La Tène culture, as well as war horns and two-wheeled chariots with which the elite aristocratic warriors drove onto the battlefield. These are all to be found on the victory sculptures of the Pergamene kings, particularly on the parapet relief at the shrine of Athena Polias Nikephoros built in the reign of Eumenes II, on which the spoils of war of various enemies of the Pergamene kings were reproduced, ranging from weapons to ships⁸⁷. The typical shapes of La Tène shields are also described in reports by Polybios-Livy on the fighting in 189 B.C. between the Galatians and general Manlius Vulso but shields of this type have not yet been found.

Important information is also provided by the terracotta pottery found in the Galatian layers of pre-189 B.C. Gordium, including local products in purely Greek traditional form alongside imports from western Asia Minor. The fragment of a male terracotta figurine with a three-dimensional "Endstullen" torc (Inv. T 72)⁸⁸ is particularly worth mentioning. Reference has already been made above to the Cybele figurines with painted torcs. A handle attachment depicting a man's head with the typical hairstyle of a Celtic barbarian is an example from locally produced tableware in purely Hellenistic style. Inv. P 648 is a moulded decorated attachment depicting Nike in post-Scopas style, part of a locally produced rhyton. The figure's hair band, belt and clothing were painted while the "Endstullen" torc is particularly interesting because it was obviously painted on at a later stage. Here the goddess of victory is Galatianized in a classical manner.

At Gordium itself, which was newly built as a town in Early Hellenistic times on the newly levelled area of the upper city mound, for which the man-valley between the citadel and western upper Phrygian town was filled in, the most recent excavations have thrown new light on the Galatian period of the town⁸⁹. Phases I-II of the YHSS 3A period differ clearly from the Early Hellenistic period (YHSS 3B) in terms of the range of types of pottery. They are more strongly Hellenized and display a new type of painted decoration with red and brown strips; in contrast, the techniques and potters' traditions have retained their continuity. High-quality

⁸⁶ Cf. Strobel 1996, 185f. J. Borchardt's assumption that Celtic shields are carved in the so-called Ptolemaion of Limyra, - which in my opinion, by the way, is not a monument to the cult of the ruler but a heroon! - is long since outdated (as is Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 173 footnote 23); it is part of the building's scaled tile roof. Borchardt's theory of an early Galatian foray into Lycia is totally lacking in foundation. An interpretation of and historical context for the pictographic representations on the tower of Hançerli in Cilicia (Durugönül 1998, 13ff.) have not yet been found.

⁸⁷ Cf. Strobel 1994b, esp. 87 footnote 113; Bohn 1885.

⁸⁸ I would like to thank my colleagues at Gordium for the opportunity to inspect the inventory of their depot; cf. also Romano 1995 on Hellenistic terracotta.

⁸⁹ G. K. Sams-M. M. Voigt, KST 16, 1995, 369-392; KST 17, 1996, 433-452; KST 18, 1997, 475-495; KST 19, 1998, 681-701; KST 20, 1999, 559-576; report from the symposium in Ankara 2001; Voigt et al. 1994, 1997; Henrickson 1993, 1994; with older chronology DeVries 1990, 400ff.

fine ware imported from Greece or western Asia Minor was in its heyday. Considerable quantities of Thasian wine amphorae reached Gordium up to the beginning of the 2nd century. The houses built as part of the new Early Hellenistic settlement were still lived in in Galatian times, now also by people with Celtic names, as shown in the graffiti. Other parts of the population were of Greek and Phrygian-Anatolian origin. In contrast, the area to the west of the large ashlar wall, which I believe to be Early Hellenistic and pre-Galatian and the significance of which is unclear at present, was used for a different purpose in the first Galatian phase and was no longer covered with mud-walled houses as it had been in Early Hellenistic times. Instead, a large representative building with an extravagant tiled roof was erected on that site. Between this building and the ashlar wall there was an open square and a street was also laid out. Built onto the west side of the wall, there was a workshop belonging to a potter and figurine maker, given a Greek name in a graffiti. A 3rd-century tetradrachm was found at street level, as was a simple, very abstract stone sculpture of a very simplified head in both shape and expression on a pillar-like neck⁹⁰. Parallels to this carving can be found in the Hallstatt D and Early La Tène stone sculptures of central Europe. This appears to be a second example of a sculpture from Gordium in La Tène style, alongside the alabaster figurine of a lion originally painted in red ochre. On the one hand this is surely connected with the cult of Cybele; on the other hand it has nothing to do with Hellenistic art tradition but rather resembles the depictions of lions in the Early and Middle La Tène periods⁹¹.

This built-up area with its impressive architecture, suggesting a public character to the area, was altered in phase II. The representative building was remodelled, the workshop complex was also altered, and a studio for painting moulded terracotta was set up. At this point the ashlar wall had already been dismantled along most of its length and the stone foundations had also been stolen. In this manner the square had obviously been opened up or extended. At the end of phase II the representative building was destroyed by fire and remained a ruin. The workshop complex was plundered and wrecked and subsequently fell into decay. In phase III, which follows a clear hiatus in settlement, the site was prepared for the construction of a new building; the pottery in this phase was produced locally or was imported from around 150 B.C. The end of phase II, which can also be traced in other parts of the Hellenistic settlement, can be rightly linked to the occupation of Gordium by the army of Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C. after the Galatians had abandoned the town. The Late Hellenistic settlement of the tell, which presumably started shortly after 166 and can itself be divided into two phases, was only of limited importance. After that there were no obvious interruptions to settlement, and the place once again experienced a boom in Roman times in connection with the settling of Roman colonists in the area of the Colonia Iulia Germa⁹². In the 4th century A.D., settlement on the

⁹⁰ KST 20, 1999, fig. 9.

⁹¹ Cf. Strobel 1991, 127.

⁹² The premise has now been refuted that there was no pre-Roman settlement of Gordium after the site was abandoned in 189 in the face of Roman forces. Presumably the conflicts between the Galatians and the Pergamenes played a role in the history of the settlement up to 166 B.C. and presumably the area up to the River Tembris was taken from the Tolistobogii in 189/88 or after and became part of Pessinus. The eastern Galatian border must have been formed by the Sangarius south of the eastern foothills of the Sündiken Dağları until

tell of Gordium came to an end.

Another find is, however, of far greater importance. Excavations in the lower town of Gordium carried out between 1993 and 1995 revealed what the excavators called "strange burials"⁹³ above the pre-Hellenistic layers of settlement on a man-made clay terrace dating back to Middle Phrygian times and adjoining the large corner bastion (Küçük Höyük) of the Middle Phrygian town walls which were buried in a hill of clay by the Persians. On site the author was able to establish strong similarities between the Gordian findings and similar ceremonial sites or places of sacrifice in the La Tène period in central Europe⁹⁴ and he was the first to give the interpretation as a Celtic complex for human and animal sacrifice; unfortunately this fact has not yet been properly documented by the head of the excavation team, although this would have been expected. Neither is there any plan to undertake further excavations in this important area. A more thorough and appropriate analysis considering Celtic cult was not carried out by the excavators. Without a doubt, these are parts of a cult complex in Celtic tradition dating back to the time before the town was abandoned in 189 B.C. In Late Hellenistic and Roman times, the site was used as a cemetery; at the level dating back to Galatian times, two deposits were found in a depression. The first was a human skull, set in an upright position with the first and second cervical vertebrae still attached, next to a dog skull; the skeleton of a dog was laid over both skulls. The second deposit consisted of a dog skull with the leg and pelvic bones of a horse. Scattered over the excavated area there were more human bones, vertebrae and skull fragments. In another place, there was a large deposit of parts of human and animal skeletons, skulls and bones, put there after the tissue had partially or completely decomposed, including more than 60 parts of human skeletons, including young women, and a disproportionate number of skulls and jaw bones. In another place the decapitated skeleton of a young woman was conspicuously draped on the ground with the skeleton of a dog; another skeleton was found with its severed head in a different place. The skeleton of a young person was scattered over several spots. In the area which had been excavated there were human skeletons and parts of skeletons which had been dismembered and were partially decomposed but still attached by tendons. They were either found individually, in groups or as collections of bones together with the bones and parts of skeletons of horses (especially skulls), of cattle (especially front and hind legs) and of dogs, pigs, goats and sheep. Once the site was no longer used for ritual purposes, the deposits were covered with a thin layer of earth. Finally, to the side of this zone, large, deep clay pits were dug through the Phrygian layers and deposits to extract clay. These were then filled with rubbish, including numerous high-quality clay vessels, some of them in one piece. At the

168/166. At that time the Sangarius flowed to the east of the city mound of Gordium.

⁹³ Cf. K. Sams - M. Voigt, KST 16, 1995, 369-392, esp. 375f.; KST 17, 1996, 433-452, esp. 436f. Only incompletely recorded and only interpreted in the sense of burial rites in Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 175f.

⁹⁴ Cf. Roquepertuse, Entremont, Ensérune, Nages, Montsalier, Glanum, Ribemont-sur-Ancre, Moevres, Gournay, Montmartin, Ermitage à Agen, Estrées-Saint-Denis, Acy-Romance, Fesques, Saint Maur, Titelberg, Mont Maurin, Velence/Pákozd, Pilismarot-Basaharc, or Liptovska Mara. Cf. the relevant literature above, footnotes 31, 58. See also Birkhan 1977, 764ff, 817ff; Brunaux 1985, 1988, 1994, 1999; Brunaux-Meniel 1997; Gleirscher 1997; Lambot 1998; Mantel 1998; Metzler 1995; Szabo 1992, 101ff; Drda-Rybová 1995.

bottom of a pit ending with the stone slabs covering Late Phrygian graves, the skeleton of a man with a broken neck had been deposited with two millstones placed on his shoulders and back to prevent the dead from walking away, a phenomenon for which there is plenty of evidence in prehistoric central Europe. Above this the upper torso of a male skeleton was placed, also with broken neck, the legs placed separately (the pelvic and thigh bones are missing) before the pit was filled with rubbish, probably originating from the shrine. The parts of the second skeleton were still held together by tendons when they landed in the pit but were already in an advanced stage of decomposition. Decapitation and broken necks by hanging were the causes of death for several of the humans. This pit can be classified as a place of special burial, presumably on the edge of the sacred zone but directly connected to it. It does not suffice to interpret the entire complex in terms of specific Celtic burial rites. Obviously a holy district has been found in which human and animal sacrifices were carried out in the same manner as in Middle La Tène Europe. As the bones and skeletons found near the surface have no bite marks and have not been pulled apart, I believe that this higher lying area must have been fenced in, preventing animals from gaining access.

When the Trocmi took over Tavium, it was already a main urban settlement which must have extended over about 100 hectares in the 3rd century from the upper town on the northern slopes to Zeğrek Tepe and the western and middle town and to the two settled hills of Büyükkale and Küçük Kale in the south. The Hellenistic town fortifications mentioned in Strabo (12, 5, 2) can be seen in the terrain not always following the Late Antique-Byzantine town wall. A typical Hellenistic stronghold, no doubt the residence of a tetrarch, was constructed at the southern end of the crumbling cliff forming the bedrock of Büyükkale. One of its characteristic features is the rock-cut water shaft and tunnel with steps which must have originally led down to the water source at the bottom of the cliff. Presumably, the water shaft was originally cut off from the outside world by the massive substructures of the now missing buildings. Systematic research at Tavium and in the region of the middle Kappadox (Delice Irmak) basin carried out by the author and his team since 1997, has made it easier to understand developments in the second half of the 1st millennium B.C.⁹⁵ An Old Phrygian stone inscription was an important find for a historical classification of Tavium in pre-Hellenistic times. The limestone slab was ploughed up in the town area. Its surfaces show that it was obviously reused for different purposes during times: its right, left and lower sides were chipped off and it had been exposed to water erosion over a longer period. A stone inscription comparable to the Tavium inscription with similar letters was found on a door lintel from the

⁹⁵ Cf. Strobel-Gerber 2000; idem., Tavium. Feldforschungen des Jahres 2000, in: *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara 2001), in print; C. Gerber, Tavium in the First Millennium B.C.: First Results from the Survey, in: A. Çilingiroğlu (ed.), *Fifth Anatolian Iron Ages Symposium* (Van 2001), in print; K. Strobel, New Historical and Archaeological Evidence for the Reconstruction of the History of Anatolia in the First Half of the First Millennium B.C., in: Çilingiroğlu, *ibid.*, in print. A second preliminary report for the campaigns in 2000 and 2001 will be presented in MDAI(Ist) 2002 with contributions from I. Weber-Hiden, G. Koiner, A. Puhm and E. Christoph. The regional survey has already uncovered a wealth of new and partly unexpected finds from the Chalcolithicum onwards.

Göllüdağ complex (8th century B.C.)⁹⁶. In Tavium pottery dating from the 3rd to the 1st centuries was almost exclusively locally produced, following on from Iron Age traditions in production techniques, i.e. working and firing, and clearly also in the development of types. The burnished pottery is also very characteristic; apart from the typical bellied dishes which were the main type of Hellenization at Tavium and which were first produced with thin walls, shape and type also have little to do with similar products from the well known workshops in Hellenistic Asia Minor. Hardly any direct imports have been found at Tavium so far. The burnished pottery from Roman times may have taken over the forms of Terra Sigillata but the traditional light-orange slip was still preferred. Hellenistic forms continued to exist into Roman times. A special phenomenon in eastern Galatia is so-called Galatian ware or fine ware, further details of which are given below.

Alongside the old centre of Tavium, the Trocmi had other major settlements as the focal points of their tetrarchies: Ceritkale, a citadel tell on a sheer-sided rocky plateau with an outer settlement at the upper end of a valley leading to the crossing on the Halys at Karaahmetli, from where the traffic routes led to the basin around the middle and upper Kılıçözü or towards Kaman; and the newly founded Ekkobriga near Kalekişla, Boğazköy-Büyükkale and Podanala (Kuşaklı Hüyük near Sorgun), a walled citadel on the upper-town tell of the old Hittite city which was refortified in Byzantine times and had an outer Hellenistic-Roman plains settlement⁹⁷. Bordering on Cappadocia on the upper reaches of the Kappadox to the west of Alişar, the tell of Çadır also had fortifications in Hellenistic and Byzantine times. It is difficult to assess the small site of Tikmen-Örenkaya (Beyazkaya) near Boğazköy, where a ditch divides the plateau from the mountain behind, and where it is possible to make out a path to the top, rock-cut slots for wall supports and part of a defensive circuit of rough blocks at the foot of the cliffs⁹⁸. Based on the evidence of pottery found there, the place was used from the older Iron Age to Ottoman times. The traces of fortifications on the plateau could well date back to the 7th - 6th centuries; contemporary parallels would include the important site of Çeska Kale to the north-west of Yozgat with its rock chambers, artificially levelled off rocky plateau and a ring-shaped glacis atop which there was obviously a wall with towers⁹⁹.

On the site of ancient Hattuša, the small town which existed at the turn of the 4th/3rd centuries and whose fortifications were long since useless and in ruins, was taken over and some of its buildings were used once again¹⁰⁰. Atop Büyükkale, a wall was built on top of the rubble of the wall dating from Phrygian times; it consisted of double wall masonry filled with

⁹⁶ Tezcan 1992, 9 with fig. 37-38.

⁹⁷ Cf. Strobel 1997.

⁹⁸ Cf. Bittel 1985, 20.

⁹⁹ The glacis has its parallels in the glacis sites of Boğazköy Büyükkale and Südburg as well as the citadel of Kerkenes Dağı in particular, which, in contrast with G. Summers' assumptions, is presumably contemporary with the construction of the mountain town of Pteria (built around 600).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Neve 1982, 147ff, 170ff.; Schirmer 1969. In the past, the Galatian phase was believed to have begun much later, i.e. not until the 2nd century B.C., but only based on the axiom of a longer migratory phase of the tribes in Asia Minor.

gravel and pebbles and its base was 2.3 - 2.8 m thick. Instead of a gateway, it had a simple passageway. People also lived on the north-west slopes of Büyükkale and in some parts of the lower town. Imported pottery from western Asia Minor was found alongside locally produced pottery and so-called Galatian fine ware, with particularly splendid examples of this found in the graves¹⁰¹.

Alongside Tavium, Ekkobriga was the largest fortified settlement in eastern Galatia¹⁰². The place name derives from the common Celtic word *briga* designating an elevated place (the same as *mons*, *collis*), particularly a fortified hill, while the first part, Ekko-, is most likely derived from the name of a person¹⁰³. The Galatian settlement near the present-day village of Kalekişla is in an agriculturally rich area on the edge of the Karagüney Dağı which is still partly wooded on the hilltops today. To the east, near Faraşlı, there is a larger tell which appears to have been settled since the Early Bronze Age according to the surface finds. It obviously saw its heyday in the Great Hittite empire but remained in use until Late Roman-Byzantine times. At Ekkobriga there appear to have been the following complexes, first the actual castle rock dropping away steeply on three sides adjoined by an extended walled lower town; second a flat tell on a smaller, precipitous, low rocky outcrop, on which part of the present-day village is located; third a precipitous, high rocky outcrop which blocks the broad valley and has signs that some of its rocks and cliffs were worked because of building activities at an unknown point in time; and fourth a particularly large tumulus dominating the surroundings on a mountain ridge opposite, aligned with the ancient town. On the castle rock there are some man-made terraces, also on the slopes of the lower town. A mighty mass of gravel and stones on the slope indicates the sector fortifications on the side of the lower town. According to the older inhabitants of the village, ashlar blocks "from the old town" were incorporated in buildings in large numbers as spolia as far away as Sulakyurt. The lower town was originally fortified with a wall made out of gravel and earth with a ditch in front which made use of the course of a stream on the eastern side. In a second phase, double wall masonry was constructed from carefully cut ashlar and filled with gravel and small stones. It was 2.5 - 4 m thick and reinforced with rectangular towers. Some walls are also to be found in the area of the lower town. Pottery finds are rare due to the thick vegetation; they continue into Late Roman-Byzantine times.

Finds from Tavium and Boğazköy in particular reveal that there was a unique type of painted polychrome fine ware, so-called Galatian ware, which developed in eastern Galatia¹⁰⁴. It is found in particularly great quantities in the basin of the middle Kappadox but also spreads as far as neighbouring north-western Cappadocia and includes the regions around Alişar,

¹⁰¹ Cf. Maier 1963.

¹⁰² Cf. Strobel 1997, 148ff.

¹⁰³ Cf. A. Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz* I 529, 533, 1404.

¹⁰⁴ On so-called Galatian ware cf. Maier 1963; Bittel 1974; Zoroğlu 1979, 1981, 1986 (and unpublished dissertation, Ankara 1978) who calls this pottery Kızıl Irmak ware and assumes it was produced at one site in the north, in the Pontic area, and also at one site in the south; Dönmez 2001 refers to more literature. For more on the sites cf. also Alkım 1956; Durbin 1971; Bayburtluoğlu 1979; Gorny et al. 1995; Özsaıt 2000; Ünal 1968; the annual survey campaigns published by S. Omura in AST and other related regional surveys.

Boğazlıan, the upper Delice Irmak, the large tell near Yenipazar and as far as Kültepe, as well as in the area around Kırşehir and Hacıbektaş. Individual pieces even made it as far as Ancyra. It also prevails in the southern Pontic area up to and including the basin of Merzifon. As reported by L. Zoroğlu, chemical analyses indicate that there were two centres of production, one further to the north and one to the south. Mostly dated as being from the 2nd - 1st centuries B.C. and into the 1st century A.D., today it must be dated further back. As early as the 1960s, F. Maier placed it as following on from Pontic-Eastern Mediterranean painted pottery and Latest Phrygian pottery. Some of the forms show Hellenistic influences but they are mostly very simple, large-diameter beakers, bowls and dishes. Alongside various high vessels, large vases of high value made for representative purposes were also produced. Based on what we know today, pottery like this started to be made relatively early in the 3rd century B.C. and continued into the early 1st century A.D.

Today it is clear that this fine ware developed from the tradition of painted Iron Age pottery in the Halys bend. Recent studies have indicated the existence of an Iron Age pottery province with innovative decorative elements after approx. 650 B.C. and the specific characteristics of which ranged from the basin of Merzifon in the north to north-western Cappadocia in the south in the Late Iron Age. At the same time, the Late Iron Age painted pottery from this area which stretched as far as Armenia Minor¹⁰⁵ can now be clearly identified as the immediate precursor of classical so called Galatian ware. Numerous painted motives were taken over directly from the older ware and the element of painted polychrome strips was added in the 3rd century, incidentally also found as a new element in Galatian-period polychrome pottery at pre-189 B.C. Gordium. At present it is not possible to say whether this innovation reflects a larger northern and central Anatolian context as well. In the pottery province within the Halys bend delineated above, external influences started to make themselves felt in style and motifs from the early 5th century B.C. onwards which changed the repertoire of types and decorations in the first half of the 5th century. These influences came from the region of Greece, the Aegean and western Asia Minor and were almost certainly passed on across the Black Sea area by trade and through contacts with Greek coastal towns, in particular Amisos (Samsun). Reference is made here to the fortress near Akalan, approx. 20 km to the west of Samsun, evidence from which stood in splendid isolation until now¹⁰⁶. Most of the material identified so far dates from the 6th and 5th centuries, but a few test excavations in 1906 also revealed some Hellenistic material. The heavily fortified site is of prime importance as the type of fortification displays immediate parallels to the town wall of Pteria, the mighty mountain town on Kerkenes Dağı which was built in ca. 600 and destroyed in 546. Precise parallels between the main gateway at Akalan and the so-called Cappadocia Gate at Kerkenes are even clearer, in terms of the overall angled layout, flanked by a semi-

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Dönmez 2001; Genz 2000; Ceylan 2000, 2001; Sagona 1992, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999; A. & C. Sagona, North-East Anatolia in the Iron Age: Observations on Settlement Patterns and Historical Geography, in: Anatolian Iron Ages, Fifth International Congress, Van 2001.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Macridy 1907; Cummer 1976; Fiedler 1994 on this. I would like to thank D. Stronach for discussing the evidence and sharing photographic documentation with me.

circular tower bastion and a bastion with rounded niches. It is highly likely that the empire whose rulers were based on Kerkenes after the Lydians had advanced as far as the Halys and occupied the western part of the Phrygian Empire, extended in Pontic Cappadocia as far as the hinterland of the Greek colonial towns. The Hellenizing influence in this region is documented particularly well by the painted terracotta wall decorations directly inspired by eastern Ionian art which are found at Pazarlı, to the north of Alaca, a centre of power after Cyrus' reign¹⁰⁷. It is worth emphasizing that Phrygian graffiti were found in Pazarlı. Excavators put too early a date on this (6th century); some of the decorations do, however, only date back to the mid-5th century B.C. This was a centre of power for the southern part of North Cappadocia under Dareios I which presumably came to an end in the conflicts of the late 4th century. Other Hellenizing elements are to be found in two grave reliefs or steles from central Paphlagonia assigned to local aristocrats working in the Persian hierarchy in the 5th century¹⁰⁸. As far as pottery workshops and developments in their pottery are concerned, the transition from the mid-4th century to Hellenistic times occurred without a break in the Pontic-Galatian area as well. It is very reasonable to locate the southern production centre of so-called Galatian ware, which was very homogenous in appearance and evidence of which is found all over the north-west of Hellenistic Greater Cappadocia, to eastern Galatia and presumably even to the area around Tavium.

As far as non-military architecture in Galatian tribal territories is concerned, alongside findings at Gordium, there is a whole series of studies, test excavations and observations which testifies to the continued existence of Late Iron Age village architecture and building traditions. As for military architecture, we can now distinguish between two categories of fortifications, the first obviously linked to the La Tène tradition of central Europe and the second with fortified buildings clearly belonging to the Hellenistic-Asia Minor type of architecture.

The most important site from 3rd century Galatia is the large refuge of Mount Olympus on the well-watered crest of the Çile Dağı mountain ridge around 20km to the north-east of Gordium which the author managed to locate in 1993¹⁰⁹. The terrain fits in perfectly with reports on the battle of the army of Manlius Vulso and his Pergamene allies against the Tolistobogii as related in Livy (38, 19, 1-23, 9), based on the narrative of Polybios and annalistic historiography. We must emphasize that not the entire Tolistobogian federation of tribes gathered there on the mountain in 189. One of the tetrarchies under the rule of Eposognatus retained friendly relations with Pergamum and did not become one of Antiochus III's allies, the target of the Roman general's campaign. Probably the only non-combatants to draw back to the safety of the mountain top were those from Gordium and the villages in the immediate danger area, i.e. the westernmost parts of central and southern tribal territory,

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Kozay 1938, 1941; also Kozay-Akok 1957 (excavations at Büyükgölçek to the west of Pazarlı); Bisi 1963; Åkerström 1966, 161-189; Prayon 1987, esp. 175; see also footnote 39 above.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Durugönül 1994; originating from the tumulus necropolises of Daday and, presumably, Tosay.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. K. Strobel, DNP 8, 2000, 1193.

accompanied by the political and military leadership and the force of warriors from three tetrarchies. As its name suggests, the mountain itself was associated with the cult of Zeus who can also be seen as the Hellenized version of an Old Anatolian mountain and weather god. The remains of oak trees indicate that the mountain range used to be wooded. At the eastern end of the site there is the rubble of a long-drawn-out wall leading to a gateway and flanking what starts off as a relatively steep path giving access only in its upper part. At the bottom of the path there is what is obviously a man-made marshy hollow which must have been part of the water supply. The entire northern side of the mountain ridge is precipitous. At the western end of the long upper plateau, the slope down to the lower plateau is divided by a mighty u-shaped ditch cut into the rock, the inner face of which must have been banked up with a drystone wall judging from the mass of gravel seen on the inner slope of the ditch. Access is only via a narrow path in front of the steep drop to the north. Fragments of roof tiles in several spots on the upper plateau indicate the presence of buildings, as do traces of foundations made of larger blocks or double wall masonry which have been almost completely destroyed by the grass obviously being regularly burnt off. In addition there are several other large structures consisting of piled up gravel and earth for which there is no interpretation at present. Pottery shards from the plateau date from after the middle of the 1st millennium or in Hellenistic times.

A second early fortified site is found at Ortakışla at the southern limits of Tolistobogian territory on a long-drawn-out, steep-sided ridge lying in a valley loop. This spacious plateau is connected to the hills behind it by a low, narrow saddle. The edge of the plateau which drops down to the saddle is banked up with a mighty wall made out of gravel and rough stone blocks which still rises to up to 5 m today and is 15 - 20 m wide at its base. At the edge of the plateau there are several indications of the original fortifications along the edge which are even easier to follow on the north-western long side of the mountain along which a long access ramp leads upwards. There are no signs of buildings up on the plateau and only a few very small shards of kitchenware. There is good reason to believe that this is the site of the Galatian fortress of Cuballum where the Galatian cavalry successfully attacked Manlius Vulso at their first encounter in 189 B.C. and forced him to defeat hastily to beyond the Sangarius, a fact which Livy's report attempts to conceal¹¹⁰. There are obvious similarities with numerous sites in central Europe.

What appears to be an extremely archaic style of building is found at the stronghold at Yalnızçam on a spur protruding more than 200 m above the floor of the Sangarius valley¹¹¹. The site consists of a small main stronghold (approx. 26 x 32 m) on the tip of the spur protected by a Abschnittswall from coarsely hewn oblong ashlar masonry (up to 2.5 m long) and large unhewn stones which twice bends at right angles on the left-hand side, forming a

¹¹⁰ Liv. 38, 18, 5-8.

¹¹¹ Cf. also Albustanhoğlu 1996, 215-231, who only presents a superficial study of the stronghold, coming to ill-conceived historical conclusions in the process (equivalent to Peion or Mount Olympus). Its strategic importance lies in its control of the eastern end of the Sangarius defile between the Sündiken Dağları and the Kırbaşı plateau.

type of gateway at the steep edge of the cliff. Not much is left of the fortified outer barbican as a lot of the stone was stolen. At the back of the main stronghold the high standing rock formations have been cut in several places; obviously there used to be a building here on and beyond the partially collapsed outer cliff. There also appears to have been a cistern on site, all over which conifers have recently been planted. There are shards of pottery everywhere, including a very large amount of imported Hellenistic pottery; larger fragments of beakers and bowls had been recently exposed by heavy rain when the author visited the site. The pottery appears to date from the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. The area in front of the stronghold was also settled; again, heavy rain had exposed large amounts of pottery, both typical kitchenware and imported fine ware. This site can rightly be seen an immediate precursor of the "classical" tetrarchic strongholds.

On the long-drawn-out plateau spur at the confluence of the Sangarius and the Ankara Çayı at Dümrek which drops steeply into the gorges of the two rivers, there are several settlements and fortifications from various periods, mostly Byzantine and Medieval, but pottery finds prove that people also lived here in the 1st millennium B.C. At least two Phrygian rock cut monuments can be added to the various monuments since recorded at Dümrek on the southern high bank of the Sangarius. On the front part of the spur there are two fortifications from Byzantine times (Çağlık-Büyükkale and Küçükale). An older fortification made out of large irregularly shaped boulders on the steep drop down to the Ankara Çayı was not noticed in the past; although the small amount of tiny shards makes it very difficult to date, the similarities with the site at Yalnızçam are striking.

The residential strongholds and royal fortresses built by the Galatian tetrarchic leaders were completely inspired by the Anatolian-Hellenistic tradition of fortresses and fortified residences¹¹², at least after the second half of the 2nd century, as most frequently found in Pontus, Armenia Minor¹¹³ and Paphlagonia with their roots in Hittite and Urartean architectural traditions. These included large-scale incisions and steps cut into the rock as supports for what could be extremely massive ashlar walls as substructures for fortification work and to level off or enlarge rock formations; corridors, steps and rooms hewn out of the rock; cisterns, stepped tunnels or hidden water shafts which served to guarantee the site's water supply¹¹⁴; access ramps occasionally hewn into the rocks¹¹⁵; and, naturally, Hellenistic building techniques (carefully worked ashlar masonry, blocks clamped together, tiled roofs, etc.).

¹¹² Karalar/Blukion, Karahisar, Basrikale, Çanakçı, Sirkeli, Oğulbey/Gorbeus, Güzelcekale, Odunboğazı, Ekkobriga's castle rock, Tavium-Büyükkale/southern part; Tabanlıoğlu Kale/Peion with a large palace and Yenikaya with a smaller palace-type building are not associated with the typical tumulus graves of princes.

¹¹³ Cf., for example, Ceylan 2000, 2001. Here too, older strongholds were refortified in Armenian-Byzantine times in a characteristic manner (e.g. Ozanlı Kalesi); a medieval site with drystone wall, here, for example, Kaleciktepe.

¹¹⁴ Karalar, Tabanlıoğlu Kale (a spiral stepped tunnel leading downwards which was obviously restored in Byzantine times and presumably led down to the river lying around 130 m below via a series of steps cut into the almost sheer rock face which has been worn away by weathering), Tavium-Büyükkale/south, Ekkobriga's castle rock.

¹¹⁵ Yenikaya, Çanakçı, Karahisar.

Karalar, or Blukion, the residence of Deiotarus the elder, is a typical example of such a palatial stronghold which unites all of the above-mentioned characteristics¹¹⁶. An enormous substructure of andesite blocks, still clamped together as they were originally, based on rock-cut steps gave the palatial stronghold a regular and monumental facade facing the saddle and the approach from the east. Fragmental frescoes testify to the original splendour of the interior design. The stronghold in which Deiotarus' father and most likely his father before him had also lived, was undoubtedly converted into its final form as a magnificent palatial stronghold under Deiotarus himself.

The residential strongholds of the Galatians are always located in a naturally safe spot on rocky outcrops or mountain peaks in the background a well-watered fertile valley in the background and dominating a larger area of fertile land. At the same time they command an important border area to neighbouring tetrarchies¹¹⁷. A larger settlement or lower town outside is always connected with the stronghold or citadel, as are tumuli with Hellenistic stone architecture for the graves of the aristocratic clans. In addition, all the strongholds controlled important traffic routes¹¹⁸. Only in one case, Tabanlıoğlu Kale/Peion, Deiotarus the elder's "treasury", did the perfect defences alone determine the selection of the site in the middle of the gorge of the Kirmir Çayı. Added to these are the "strategic" strongholds, larger or smaller in size, like Karacakaya/Soman Hisar in the area bordering on Pessinus and Phrygia Epictetus or Taşlıkale/Selâmetli, which only served to secure important strategic points or to control economically important border areas without extravagant architectural designs. Çanlı-Asartepe also belongs to this category. The Byzantine stronghold was preceded by a Hellenistic one, as proved by the pottery as well as by ashlar masonry with clamp holes and architectural blocks reused in Byzantine times; it dominated the valley of the Ilhan Çayı. The Middle Phrygian to Byzantine pottery found on the surface illustrates the long-standing importance of the site and its affiliated settlement¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Arık 1934; Saatçı 1987, 1988. The architecture and the building of the water tunnel are misunderstood in Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 182. Also the steps in the cliffs and in the bedrock served as a support for substructures which extended the surface of the rock and supported the buildings.

¹¹⁷ Karakasu, Karalar, Karahisar, Yenikaya, Basrikale, Çanakçı, Sirkeli, Güzelcekale, Gorbeus, Odunboğazi.

¹¹⁸ Yenikaya: the southern Mürtet Ovası and the old Ankara-Ayaş post road, the traditional crossing over the Modicus Mons; Karalar: the northern Mürtet Ovası and the crossing over the Balaban Dağları to the Ilhan and Kirmir Çayı area; Karahisar: the valleys around Nallıhan and the Ancyra-Nikaia road; Basrikale: the basin to the east of Gordium and the crossing into the valleys around Polatlı and Hacıtuğrul; Çanakçı: the valleys of the Sangarius and the Acı Deresi as well as passages from east to west or south; Sirkeli: the fertile area as far as Çubuk Ovası and the crossing into the valleys of Koca and Ova Çayı; Gorbeus: the low-lying landscape south of Ankara and the passage to the area around Balaban Çayı and the older crossings on the Halys near Köprüköy (the castle rock in the Halys gorge was not only re-occupied in Byzantine times but obviously also in Hellenistic times) and Karaahmetli; Güzelcekale: the low-lying land to the east and south-east of Haymana and routes leading to Konya; Odunboğazi: the area around Aspona, the passage over the Paşa Dağı and the direct route to the important crossing on the Halys at Kesikköprü (Ankyra-Kaisareia).

¹¹⁹ Since 1996 the Vardars, a husband-and-wife team, have been working on a project to record the fortifications and fortified settlements from all periods in the vicinity of Ankara (Vardar 1998-2001, and a lecture at the AST symposium in Ankara 2001). These works also include the results which the author presented in Ankara in 1996 or lectured on in Istanbul in 1997.

The oldest site to have several of the above-mentioned characteristics is the castle hill near Karakasu south of Bolu, to which the above-mentioned necropolis of the Galatian princes is assigned; here we have the original focal point of the north-western Tolistobogian tetrarchy. Alongside Hellenistic pottery and fragments of tiles, there are striking examples of rock-cut slots for wall supports and hints of series of rooms as well as traces of a sector wall. There are no indications of the mortar walling which was very typical in the region for Late Antique and Byzantine sites. At the foot of the castle rock there are thermal springs which were already used in Classical times, as testified by spolia. As the basin of Bolu was lost to Bithynia in 180/79 B.C., the origins of the complex and the tumulus necropolis must go back to the 3rd century, implying that the adoption of these Hellenistic-Anatolian building forms by the Galatian leaders must be assigned to the 3rd century B.C. already.

From an archaeological point of view it is possible to follow the creation of political order in the development of major settlements and centres of power, i.e. in the strongholds of the tetrarchic dynasties of the Tolistobogii and Tectosages. Eastern Galatia, in contrast, is characterized by the takeover or setting up of major fortified settlements with citadels. At the heart of the Trocmian tetrarchies were the major settlements of Tavium for the basin of the middle Kappadox and the lower Kılıçözü, Ekkobriga in the north-west, Ceritkale in the south-east, and in the north-east the citadel in the upper town of Hittite Zippalanda (Kuşaklı Hüyük near Sorgun) with the correspondingly late tumuli in and around the mountain town on Kerkenes Dağı¹²⁰; when Trocmian territory was extended by Pompey under the rule of Brogitaros in 65/4 B.C., the basin of Alaca, which had previously been Pontic, was added along with the impressive stronghold of Mithridation. The strategic and communicative significance of very many of these strongholds is proved by their refortification in Byzantine times; in addition, villages in the immediate vicinity often have a history of settlement going back to the times of the Phrygian empire or the 2nd or even 3rd century B.C. Thus, directly below the residential stronghold of Çanakçı, there is a Phrygian-period settlement. The significance of the monumental stronghold of Yenikaya becomes clear when considering the long continuity of settlement in front of the stronghold, which started in Hittite times, if not before, and lasted until Late Byzantine times; this is where the traditional road link from Ancyra westwards towards Nikaia climbs up to the pass over the mountain range of Abdüsselâm Dağı, whence the valley path descends to Ayaş¹²¹. As ruling centres, the large

¹²⁰ Also Kiremitlik, a Hellenistic settlement only documented by surface finds lying beneath the ruins of a Byzantine village which was only seasonally inhabited at the highest point of the Kerkenes massif from which the surrounding countryside could be controlled. The fortified settlement of Boğazköy-Büyükkale also belonged to this tetrarchy.

¹²¹ Until the new main road to Ayaş was built, this paved post road was the most important route in Ottoman and Turkish times (cf. Luther 1989). The new main road corresponds approximately to the second ancient road curving off to the north which was obviously improved in Roman times (cf. TIByz 96). Both routes were protected by fortresses in Byzantine times, the southern one by Yenikaya and the northern one by Akçaören. In addition to the fortifications listed by Vardar in the area up to the small fortress above Ayaş itself, there are two more small, simple fortresses on the old route from Ancyra to Ayaş which lie on sites which were settled since prehistoric times.

¹²⁰Hellenistic strongholds can easily be assigned to the individual tetrarchies, namely Karalar/Blukion to the north-eastern Tolistobogian tetrarchy, to which two further large strongholds, Tabanlıoğlu Kalesi/Peion and Yenikaya, belong, plus the stronghold of Çanlı. The final stage in the consolidation of the stronghold system in this tetrarchy must have taken place under Deiotarus after 86 B.C. The north-western Tolistobogian tetrarchy first had Bolu-Karacasu as its focal point and then Karahisar after 179. The central and obviously what was originally the most important Tolistobogian tetrarchy stretching far to the east south of Ancyra had Gordium as its main urban centre until 189; this was connected with a large refuge on Mount Olympus. Afterwards the stronghold of Basri Kale, from where the basin of Gordium could be controlled, must have gained the upper hand¹²². The tumulus burials of the tetrarchic clan continued to be used in the necropolises of Gordium, as tumulus O shows. Çanakçı¹²³ was the focal point of the southern tetrarchy, to which the area bordering on Greater Phrygia in Axylos as far as Veteston/Vetisso (near Sülüklü) also belonged. Residences for the tetrarchies of the Tectosages included the strongholds of Sirkeli for the northern tetrarchy, Oğulbey/Gorbeus for the central one¹²⁴, Güzelcekele for the south-western one and Odunboğazı for the south-eastern tetrarchy.

Surveys over the last few years have revealed a large number of fortified sites from Byzantine times grouped around the fortified town of Ancyra, creating a continuous chain of

¹²² The precise importance of Balıkuyumcu is still unclear (cf. TIByz 4, 1984, 138; Vardar 1991), where a large tell is perched on a precipitous rock formation, high in places and surrounded by a deeply cut watercourse. Findings, observations and numerous pithos burials as well as spolia in the present-day village testify to settlement since the Early Bronze Age with its heyday in Hittite times. Hellenistic pottery, including large quantities of fine ware, as well as Roman and Byzantine pottery, is well represented amongst surface finds. The topographical situation has strong similarities to Tavium-Büyükkale or Ceritkale. Balıkuyumcu was undoubtedly an important place in the central Tolistobogian tetrarchy, particularly after Gordium lost its function as the main settlement in 189.

¹²³ Contrary to Vardar's assumption, the foundation terracing with its excellently cut limestone ashlar blocks above the steep slope dropping off to the north belongs to the Hellenistic stronghold. Most of the pottery which has been washed down the slope is later pre-Roman but it does show that the site was still used in Early Imperial times. The buildings on the saddle at the entrance to the stronghold allow similar observations to be made. Settlement at the foot of the peak started in Phrygian times, if not earlier; the most intense period of settlement in the fertile Acı Deresi valley appears to cover the 2nd century B.C. to Late Antiquity.

¹²⁴ The main routeways for this territory, namely the Balaban valley between Elma Dağı and Küre Dağı, were strongly fortified in Byzantine times (strongholds of Karacahasan-Kaletepe and Süleymanlı-Asartepe); the fortress of Edige-Kaletepe which commanded the easily passable routes across the mountains east of Elmadağ was obviously started in Hellenistic times but most of the construction work dates back to the 7th/8th centuries A.D. It is still necessary to settle the matter of the buildings in the hilltop settlement of Kuşçuali on a protected plateau commanding the narrow part of the central Balaban valley which was occupied from Iron Age to Hellenistic times; the dating of the tumulus on the other side of the river has not yet been clarified either. The important route over the south-western foothills of the Küre Dağı range at Bala to the old crossing over the Halys at Köprüköy, before the river cuts through a basalt massif to the north, is controlled by three fortresses at Ücem, as is the fertile land around the lower Sofular Deresi. The sites at Ücem are all Byzantine; Old Hittite to Byzantine pottery has been found in the scree slopes off the basalt rock which command the Halys defile and crossing on the western side, indicating that this natural fortification must have been used time and again.

secure reporting posts for the whole area. Very often they do not have the mortar walls assumed to be characteristic of Byzantine strongholds¹²⁵ but are constructed of crude rubble walling. Some of these are very small fortified sites in exposed positions, often with a ring-shaped wall and narrow entrances instead of gateways. In many cases no pottery is to be found on the surface. These fortifications were obviously only built and used in cases of acute danger. More complex sites with neatly-faced rubble walls or courses of oblong basalt blocks have u-shaped, semi-circular or prow-shaped projecting towers; sections of outer wall systems may also be present and in some cases it is still possible to discern the high density of interior buildings in the rubble. Typological sites like Dikmen Tepe¹²⁶, Akçaören¹²⁷ and Hisarlıkaya¹²⁸ are to be differentiated.

A second zone with a series of sometimes quite simple fortified sites in close succession which were only occupied in times of need is to be found in the mountains north of Ancyra¹²⁹. In contrast to the sites around Ancyra itself which most likely date back to the period of Arab threats after the mid-7th century, the former must have been completely developed as a defence zone for the (intermittently) Byzantine parts of Paphlagonia and Honorias (Claudiopolis) in the late 11th and 12th centuries¹³⁰. It is the very numbers of the small, hastily built fortified sites in Paphlagonia, obviously only used sporadically, which

¹²⁵ Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 186 erroneously assume that the important fortress of Gırmeç Kalesi dates back to an older Galatian phase; the overall site is actually quite late (cf. TIByz 2, 1984, 169).

¹²⁶ The triangular-shaped enclosure (approx. 40 x 40 m) at the strategically important point of Dikmentepe with projecting semi-circular towers and a narrow doorway in a carefully constructed wall of oblong blocks can be seen as a control post for the entire area of the middle Siberis. There is hardly any pottery to be found, but there is a rock church on the north-western slopes of the mountain. Rock-cut slots and traces of walls made out of large blocks outside the site hint at an older phase of building in the vicinity of the summit, maybe Phrygian rock altars or a Galatian site, all the more so since a settlement beneath the saddle to the next peak goes back to Phrygian times.

¹²⁷ TIByz 4, 1984, 118 still with no mention of the fortress which controlled the ascent of the second road between Ancyra and Nikaia via the İlyığut valley.

¹²⁸ This site, to which Gölbeğ or Ücem-Asartepe can be compared, and which was still classified by the author as a Galatian one on the DNP map, has since been unequivocally identified as Mid-Byzantine thanks to Vardar's findings (thus erroneous assumption in Darbyshire-Mitchell 1999, 185).

¹²⁹ Cf. Matthews' survey results for more information (AST 17, 2000, 175ff.; 18, 2001, 249ff.; lecture at AST, Ankara 2001) and Belke's map, TIByz 9, 1996. Matthews does, however, erroneously assume that Galatian sites are included amongst the ones covered in the study and that it would even be possible to carry out studies on the material culture of the Galatians (presumably based on Darbyshire and Mitchell). The area covered by the British studies lies outside the territories of the Galatian tribes. It is also necessary for all surveys to distinguish between settlement of sites in Hellenistic times as well and the not implausible option of fortifications being built at a later date (which is why Matthews is too general, AST 18, 2001, 250).

¹³⁰ Two fortresses are to be found above the village of Aşağı Karaören, a simple and originally not very high ring wall with a small entrance made of smallish pieces of rubble and a very small, presumably tower-like construction built of large blocks, partly on a rock-cut base, at the end of the spur in an exposed position to control the valley floor which broadens out at this point. Indications of settlement on the terrace below this site include late pottery, but also simple wares from the second half of the 1st millennium B.C. I believe that the smaller site may have been built to protect the traffic routes in the basin of Gerece which belonged to the country of the Gaezatorix until 180 B.C.; it shows a certain similarity with Yalnızçam.

contradict the assumption in Mitchell-Darbyshire¹³¹ that such sites with simple rubble walls could mostly be assigned to the Galatians and could be explained historically by rivalries amongst the Galatian aristocracy and the common practice of raids in Celtic society. In this context it is only necessary to point out that such sites are in no way characteristic of the La Tène culture. Indeed, it is not correct to assume that such "mutual raids" took place within the federation of tribes or ethnic complex. Conflicts which fell into the precarious category of blood feuds were dealt with at the Drynemeton, which the Galatians tribes had set up expressly for this purpose. Contrary to Darbyshire-Mitchell, there are no historical arguments for dating the sites in question to Galatian times. The Great Hittite empires, Phrygian times and the Persian period can also be ruled out for such fortified constructions, as can Roman and Late Roman times. On the other hand, some of the sites can certainly be assigned to the Early Iron Age, as the fortification of Boğazköy-Büyükkaya shows. However, evidence essentially points to construction in Byzantine times. The site of Taşlıkale/Selâmetli, for example, has two phases, the older one with a regular, fortified wall with carefully cut double-wall ashlar masonry filled with stones and earth, while the more recent fortifications, clearly built on top of the older ones in places, are visible as the remains of a drystone rubble wall. The more recent phase includes the improvement of the large cistern with mortar work while evidence for the older phase is provided by plenty of Hellenistic and Roman Imperial pottery on the slopes. In contrast, the characteristic feature of Galatian tribal territories is large Hellenistic residential strongholds.

It may be true that a profound process of Hellenization already affected major aspects of Galatian lifestyle, including eating and drinking habits, in the 3rd century, as illustrated by both locally produced and imported fine ware, wine imports, terracotta figurines and forms of religion, while in the 2nd century Hellenistic cultural characteristics became the dominant form of cultural expression and the decisive point of reference; equally, there were far-reaching processes of acculturation in relation to the indigenous population of central Anatolian. However, in spite of all this, the ethnic self-image and identity of the Galatians as founded on their own traditions was retained until Early-Byzantine times, both defined by themselves and by outsiders, and this for the entire population within the Galatian tribal states. This consciousness of using tradition - including the ideal of the heroic warrior¹³² - and self-identity to delimit the group from other peoples, this consciousness of their possessing special prestige as Galatians, conferred on them by the outside world, is documented in a special way

¹³¹ Mitchell-Darbyshire 1999, 184ff. (Map no. 3 is misleading); here Yaraşlı is erroneously counted as Galatian.

¹³² The lifestyle of noble Galatian warriors probably resembles descriptions of heroes in Old Irish literature: suitable activities included celebrating festivals, feasting with friends and fighting. When appearing as a warrior, he put on his 'working clothes', a specific appearance, essentially the stiff, dyed hair, the 'punk' hairstyle of the Celtic warriors. Returning from battle, he got rid of this hairstyle again, let his hair grow and, following the latest fashions, had it arranged in an extravagant style for the evening when he wore the fashionable clothes of the contemporary Hellenistic upper classes. From time to time he sang and recited poetry to his friends, most likely Homer here in Asia Minor, accompanying himself on the lyre. At the end of the evening, he gave his guests a special, high-prestige gift, the heads of the enemy captured and killed that day. In this context reference is made to the image of a god with characteristic Celtic hairstyle and torc holding a lyre (Haffner 1995, 17 fig. 6).

for the Galatian tetrarchic aristocracy, which still upheld this identity and associated "image de vertues" in Roman times¹³³. It is documented by the golden disc fibula from the rich tumulus grave at Bolu (which still had weapons amongst its original grave goods), an excellent example of Hellenistic goldsmith's work which portrays a Galatian prince in the tradition of Greek imagery of a barbarian Celtic warrior¹³⁴; by the retention of the gold torc as a symbol of power as illustrated by the grave goods and weapons buried along with Deiotarus the elder¹³⁵; and by the portrait head of the Galatian princess, Adobogiona, wife of Brogitaros and daughter of Deiotarus I and Stratonice, on the Pergamene statue erected in her honour between 63 and 58¹³⁶. However, the cultural deportment of the Galatians of Asia Minor produced a image which caused the Romans to create a specific term for them as early as the first half of the 2nd century B.C.: they called the Galatians "Gallograeci"¹³⁷. For the Romans they were already a degenerate mixture of Celts and peoples from Asia Minor who pretended to be Gauls but who were basically already "Greeks", as formulated splendidly in Livy based on the annalistic tradition available to him¹³⁸. Thus the observations of the Roman historian must have aptly summed up the essential aspects even before 133 B.C., appropriately illustrating the contradiction between their cultural appearance and the ethnic identity they upheld. They were no longer comparable with the Celts to the south and to the north of the Alps, but appeared to be Graecized inhabitants of Asia Minor with pretensions of being Galatians, i.e. Celts; pretensions which were, however, perceived by the Hellenistic environment with great respect and which remained associated with the image of the Celtic barbarian who threatened the Hellenistic world and embodied the powers of "Chaos".

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¹³³ Cf. Bosch 1967, no. 105.106.

¹³⁴ Pfrommer 1990, 238 FK 65; 3rd century B.C.

¹³⁵ Fragment of a gem-studded gold torc from tumulus C at Karalar (Arık 1934; Arık-Coupry 1935); cf. the torcs found in the tumulus grave near Bolu.

¹³⁶ Cf. Strobel 1991, 130; this becomes even more important when we observe the styles and imagery of the Late Hellenistic portraits of rulers and portraits of women from Pergamum or Asia Minor dating from the same period. In addition Adobogiona descended from the house of the Attalids on her mother's side. Her daughter is probably Adobogiona, mother of Deiotarus Philadelphus, king of Paphlagonia, and wife of the younger Castor.

¹³⁷ Cf. Strobel 1996, 124.

¹³⁸ Cf. Liv. 38, 17, 9f. (*mixti, et Gallograeci vere, quod appellantur*); 38, 17, 13 (*Phrygas igitur Gallicis oneratos armis*); 48, 46, 1.

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Fig. 1. Tavium seen from the south (lower town; from left to right Büyükkale, Küçükkale, Zeğrek Tepe with the theatre; central town (gardens); upper town).



Fig. 2. Tavium: the castle rock of Büyükkale.



Fig. 3. Peion (Tabanlıoğlu Kale).



Fig. 4. Mons Olympus; western part of the refuge fortification.