



MERSİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ KILIKIA ARKEOLOJİSİNİ ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

(MERSIN UNIVERSITY RESEARCH CENTER OF CILICIAN ARCHAEOLOGY)

KAAM

YAYINLARI

OLBA
VI



MERSİN
2002

KAAM YAYINLARI
OLBA
VI

©2002 Mersin/Türkiye
ISSN 1301-7667

OLBA dergisi hakemlidir ve
Üniversitelerarası kurul başkanlığının tanımladığı
hakemli dergi standardına uygun olarak,
Mayıs ve Haziran aylarında olmak üzere,
yılda iki sayı basılmaktadır

KAAM'ın izni olmadan OLBA'nın hiçbir bölümü kopya
edilemez. Alıntı yapılması durumunda dipnot ile referans
gösterilmelidir.

It is not allowed to copy any section of OLBA without the permit of KAAM.

OLBA'ya gönderilen makaleler aşağıdaki web adresinde
yada KAAM tarafından dağıtılan broşürlerde bildirilmiş olan
formatlara uygun olduğu takdirde basılacaktır.
Articles should be written according to the formats mentioned in the following web address
or brochures distributed by KAAM

OLBA'nın yeni sayılarında yayınlanması istenen
makaleler için yazışma adresi:
Correspondance addresses for sending articles to following volumes of OLBA:
Prof. Dr. Serra Durugönül
Mersin Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi
Arkeoloji Bölümü
Çiftlikköy Kampüsü
33342-MERSİN
TURKEY

DİĞER İLETİŞİM ADRESLERİ

Other Correspondance Addresses

Tel:00.90.324.361 00 01 (10 Lines)/162-163 or 372
Fax: 00.90.324.361 00 46

www.kaam.mersin.edu.tr
kaam@mersin.edu.tr



MERSİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
KILIKIA ARKEOLOJİSİNİ ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
(KAAM)
YAYINLARI-VI

MERSIN UNIVERSITY
PUBLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH CENTER OF
CILICIAN ARCHAEOLOGY
(KAAM)-VI

Editör

Serra DURUGÖNÜL
Murat DURUKAN

Bilim Kurulu

Prof. Dr. Serra DURUGÖNÜL
Prof. Dr. Coşkun ÖZGÜNEL
Prof. Dr. Tomris BAKIR
Prof. Dr. Hayat ERKANAL
Prof. Dr. Sencer ŞAHİN
Prof. Dr. Yıldız ÖTÜKEN



MERSİN
2002

*OLBA'nın basılması için vermiş
olduđu tüm desteklerden dolayı,
Mersin Üniversitesi Rektörü
Prof. Dr. Uğur ORAL'a
teşekkür ederiz.*

OLBA VI
İÇİNDEKİLER/CONTENTS

Serap Yaylalı-Engin Akdeniz (Lev. 1-34).....1 Aphrodisias Müzesi'ndeki Karahisar Buluntuları	1
Murat Arslan (Lev. 35).....41 The Impact of Galatians in Asia Minor	41
Serra Durugönül (Lev. 36-39).....57 Dağlık Kilikia ve Karpaz Bölgesi (Kuzey Kıbrıs) Antik Yerleşim Özellikleri	57
N. Eda Akyürek Şahin (Lev. 40-45).....71 Neue Motivbüsten Für Zeus Antigo(u)naos	71
Murat Özyıldırım (Lev. 46-47).....85 Antik Kaynaklarda Ainos	85

THE IMPACT OF GALATIANS IN ASIA MINOR (Lev. 35)

*Murat Arslan

ÖZET

Bu makalenin amacı, Galatların Hellenistik Çağ Küçük Asya'sında oynadıkları tarihi rolün ortaya konulması ve konuya ilişkin antik kaynaklarla modern literatürde bulunan karmaşık bilgilerin sistemleştirilerek anlaşılır bir hale getirilebilmesidir. Çalışma zaman bakımından, Galatların İÖ. 280 yılında Hellas'ı istilasıyla İÖ. 25 yılında Roma Galatia Eyaleti'nin kuruluşu arasında geçen süreyle sınırlanmıştır. Bu zamansal sınırlamanın nedeni ise, İÖ. 25 yılında Galatia Bölgesi'nin ve Galatların siyasi bağımsızlığının son bulması ve bundan sonra bölgeye ve kavme ilişkin gelişmelerin Roma eyaletler tarihi çerçevesinde incelenmesi zorunluluğudur. Mekan açısından ise, Galatların Küçük Asya'daki işleri ağırlıklı olmakla birlikte, konuyla ilgili genel bir perspektif sunulurken, Galat tarih ve kültürünün temel noktalarının kavranmasını sağlayabilmek için herhangi bir sınırlama yapılmamıştır. Böylelikle okuyucuya Anadolu Tarihi'nde önemli bir fonksiyona sahip olan Galat kavimleri hakkında genel bir bakış açısı sunulmaya ve Galatlar hakkında şimdiye kadar bilinenler -antik kaynaklar, epigrafik, arkeolojik, nümismatik ve modern literatür bilgileri ışığında sistematik olarak bir araya getirilmeye çalışılmıştır.

When Saint Paul of Tarsus wrote his well-known Epistles to the Galatians in ca. 55 AD¹, he was addressing a Christian community in central Anatolia consisting of a people who had assimilated thoroughly with Greek and Roman cultural traditions and who had accepted the new religion of Christianity from very early on.

A different picture had emerged of the Galatians as they arrived into Anatolia some 300 years earlier, spreading terror as these fearless tribal warriors from the North made their violent way through the land, either as mercenaries for alternate kingdoms or on their own account. The name "Galatian" is a rather late designation for these tribesmen, who among themselves and by the Greeks, who initially came into contact with them through their colonies in France, were called Celts². The Romans called them Galli or Gauls³. Only when tribes of these people had entered Anatolia through Greece and Thrace, were they given the name Galatians⁴.

The Celts originated in southern Germany from where they began, in the 2nd millennium BC, to expand southwards, into France and Austria⁵. They were known as fierce warriors⁶. Plato⁷ describes them as a hard-drinking and war-like people, and Aristotle⁸ tells us that they feared "neither earthquakes nor the wave of the sea", describing one incident where the Celts had in fact been known to take arms against the sea. Once when questioned by Alexander

* Araş. Gör. Murat Arslan, Akdeniz Üniv. Fen-Edebiyat Fak. Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kültürleri Bl. Antalya/
TÜRKİYE.

1 New Testament, "Galatian Letters 1-6".

2 Paus. i. 4. 1; Caes. Gall. i. 7. 1.; App. Hisp. 1; Hann. 4.

3 Caes. Gall. i. 1.

4 Paus. i. 4. 1.

5 Pytheas of Massalia Fr 11a; Hatt 1970, 128; Rankin 1987, 9; Lequenne 1991², 1.

6 Aristot. EN 1336 a; iii. 5 b. 28; pol. vii. 2. 5, 1324 b 12; vii. 17. 2, 1336 a 18; On Astonishing Narrations 837 a; Polyb. ii. 22; Liv. xxviii. 17; see also FGrH 40 (= Theopompos); 70. 30; 131. 2 (= Ephoros).

7 Plat. leg. i. 637 d; see also Polyb. ii. 19; Diod. xxiii. 21.

8 Aristot. EN 1115b 28 ff; see also Rankin 1995, 23-24.

the Great on what they feared the most they answered that they feared nothing except that the sky might fall on their heads⁹.

The first written source we have on the Celts is Greek; the ancient geographer Hecataeus of Miletus, writing in the late 6th century BC, tells us that the Celts lived in southern France, in the area of Massalia (modern Marseilles), a Phocian colony close to the Celtic border¹⁰. The Celts appear as mercenaries in the Greek world from the 4th century BC onwards¹¹. In the third century BC the Celtic migration through Europe hit Anatolia¹².

Third century BC Anatolia consisted of a number of Hellenistic kingdoms in internal conflict. The untimely death of Alexander the Great saw the division of his empire by his generals, the *Diadokhoi*, Asia Minor being divided into several smaller parts that soon began fighting one another¹³, thus facilitating easy entry to the area for the Galatian warrior tribes. The historically recorded Celtic migration into Anatolia in 278/277 BC was undertaken by several tribes, the Tolistobogii, Tectosages and Trocmi, that had at first entered Macedonia¹⁴. From there they went through Greece¹⁵ where they sacked Delphi¹⁶. Thereafter they established themselves at the Hellespont¹⁷ and near Byzantium, where one of the Galatian tribes under the command of Kommontarios founded the kingdom of Tylis¹⁸ (Fig. 1).

The Galatians took advantage of the unstable relations within and among the Anatolian kingdoms, joining sides with some and levying tribute from others¹⁹. Some kings sought the assistance of the Galatians in settling their disputes. Nicomedes I of Bithynia invited the Galatians to fight by his side against his brother Zipoetes, who was trying to take over power in Bithynia. The sources of Thrace and the Hellespont did not suffice for the Galatians who accepted the invitation of Nicomedes I and went into Asia Minor where great opportunities were opened for plunder and settlement. They ensured the domination of Nicomedes I in Bithynia by assisting in beating his rebellious

9 FGrH 138. 2 (= Ptolemaios); Diod. xvii. 113. 2; Strab. vii. 3. 8; Arr. anab. i. 4. 6-8.

10 FGrH 54-56 (= Hekataios); 70, 131 (= Ephoros); Timaios lvi; Avien. ora iv. 100-134; Rankin 1995, 23; Strobel 1996, 129.

11 Xen. Hell. vii. 1. 20-31; Diod. xv. 70; for modern sources see SZABO 1991b, 333; Mitchell 1993, 13; Rankin 1995, 23; Ritchie 1995, 55.

12 Arslan 2000a, 39 ff n. 101 ff.

13 Diod. xviii. 3; Plut. Eum. 3-4; Curt. x. 10. 1-4; App. Syr. 52; Iust. xiii. 4. 6; FGrH 100. 8 (= Dexippus); 156. 5-8 (= Arrianos) see also Özsait 1985, 3; Heinen 1989, 422; Arslan 2000a, 31 ff.

14 Paus. x. 19. 7; Iust. xxiv. 4-5; see also Tarn 1947⁵, 12; Rankin 1987, 88; Mansuelli 1991, 9; Strobel 1994, 2.

15 Paus. x. 19 ff; see also Arslan 2000a, 40 ff.

16 Diod. xxii. 9; Liv. xxxviii. 48. 2; Paus. i. 3-4; x. 19-23; Dio Cass. xxvii. 90; Iust. xxiv. 5 ff; see also Walbank 1967, II 51

17 Polyb. iv. 46. 2; Liv. xxxviii. 16. 1-4; Diod. xxii. 4-9; Paus. x. 19. 7; Dio Cass. xix. 63 = Zonaras ix. 20; Iust. xxiv. 1-6; xxv. 1. 2-3.

18 Polyb. iv. 46. 1-2; viii. 22; Iust. xxv.; see also Hansen 1971², 28 n. 13; Mansuelli 1991, 9; Mitchell 1993, 14 n. 12.

19 Polyb. iv. 45-46; viii. 22; Iust. xxv.

brother Zipoetes and end the latter's passion for the throne²⁰. The Galatians then helped Mithridates I of Pontus to rescue the region of Paphlagonia from Ptolemy I of Egypt. After they reinforced Mithridates' dominance in Paphlagonia by defeating the Ptolemaic army, Mithridates I and Nicomedes I allowed the Galatians to settle in Phrygia²¹, the central Anatolian territory between the Halys (Kızılırmak) River in the east and the Sangarius (Sakarya) River in the west, which was hereafter called Galatia (that is, the land of the Gauls, Gallior Celts) or sometimes Gallo-Graikia²². Within a few years the Galatians had formed settlements in the area.

Galatia was in the central plateau of Asia Minor; a country of few trees, barren hills, small and fertile plains during the rainy seasons, cold during winters and hot during summers²³. The Galatian barbaric pastoral civilisation was spread widely on the land in and around Galatia, well suited as it is to raise sheep, goats and cattle²⁴. Despising agriculture and earning their life by stockbreeding and serving as mercenaries²⁵, the Galatians occupied several important Anatolian cities such as Pessinus (Ballıhisar), Gordium (Polatlı), Ancyra (Ankara) and Tavium (modern Büyük Nefes Köyü). Having a dislike for civic life and trade and due to the incessant fights with the Hellenistic kingdoms, they chose to dwell in their traditional hill-forts that they constructed on high mountains such as Gorbeus (Beynam Köyü), Blucium (Karalar Köyü) and Peium (Tabanlıoğlu Kalesi). The Trocmi settled in the area around Tavium, and the Tolistobogii settled in the mountainous Bithynia and Phrygia Epictetus. The Tectosages chose Ancyra as their chief settlement, but also settled in Gordium and Pessinus²⁶. Later, when the Romans attacked the Galatians after the defeat of Antiochus III of Syria in 190 BC, the Galatians retreated to the summits of the mountains Olympus and Magaba, fleeing the fortified cities of Gordium and Ancyra. Thanks to the great strategic importance of the area they had settled in, during the Hellenistic period these independent tribes turned into a source of trouble for the kingdoms, cities and countryside of Asia Minor (Fig. 2).

20 FGrH 434. 2 (= Memnon); Iust. xxv-xxvi; Strab. xii. 5. 1-3 c. 567; Liv. xxxviii. 16. 1-15; Paus. i. 4. 5; x. 23. 14; see also Beloch 1893, 538; Ramsay 1899, 45; Staehelin 1907², 4 ff; Brandis 1910, 535; Tarn 1928, 104; Launey 1944, 36; Magie 1950, 730 n. 10; Hansen 1971², 29; Ellis 1990, 93 ff; Strobel 1994, 73; 1996, 115; 237.

21 Steph. Byz. "Ankyra = FGrH 740. 14"; Ethnika xv. 9; Iust. xxv. 2; see also Meyer 1879, 43 ff; Hansen 1971², 31 n. 24. See also Strab. xii. 5. 1 c. 567; Paus. i. 4. 5; Dio Cass. xix. 63 = Zonaras ix. 20; Claud. Carm. xx. 240; Arslan 2000a, 56 ff.

22 Caes. Bell. Alex. 67 ve 78; civ. iii. 4; Diod. v. 32; Liv. xxxviii. 18. 5; Strab. xii. 5. 1 c. 567; Vell. ii. 39. 2; App. Mithr. 114; Iust. xxv. 2; Amm. Marc. xxii. 9. 5.

23 Cic. Flacc. xxv. 51; see also Jones 1971², 112; Arslan 2000a, 61 ff.

24 Polyb. ii. 17; Caes. Gall. vi. 22; Strab. xii. 6. 1 c. 568; Plin. nat. xxix. 33.

25 Polyb. iv. 65. 10; Diod. xxii. 5; Paus. i. 7; Polyain. Strat. iv. 6. 17; see also Launey 1949, 491; Mitchell 1993, 15 n. 24.

26 FGrH 535-536 (= Memnon); Strab. xii. 4. 10 c. 566; xii. 5. 1-2 c. 566-567; Liv. xxxviii. 16. 11-15; Plin. nat. v. 42. 146; see also Staehelin 1907², 42 n. 3; Calder 1957⁴, 376; Jones 1971², 110 ff; Hansen 1971², 29; Sherk 1980, 956; Lequenne 1991², 55. Arslan 2000a, 165 n. 637-639; 241.

During the second half of the third century Bithynia and Pontus were both threatened by the Seleucid kingdom. Phrygia was politically weak and would easily surrender to the Seleucid forces if they attacked, so the settling of the fierce Galatians in this area both created a buffer zone against the Seleucids and also kept the Galatians at a safe distance from Bithynia and Pontus. At this time the kings of Asia Minor had realised that the Galatians were valuable as short-time allies and mercenaries and worth paying tribute or bribes to, but dangerous if let into one's own territory. Once they had settled in one region, they tended to conquer and sack the surroundings²⁷.

The state of turmoil that pervaded in most of the Hellenistic kingdoms and the migration of the Galatian tribes to this region, triggered the crash of the political equilibrium in Hellenistic Asia Minor. The Galatians settling in the region formerly inhabited by the Phrygians opened up a new era. They looted every region they passed, constructing an image of a population to whom money was of the greatest value and who lived from plundering and levying blackmail from local rulers in order not to plunder the surrounding cities²⁸. In response to the confrontations with the local kingdoms the Galatians attacked wealthy settlements or sanctuaries²⁹ and looted the cities as well as the countryside³⁰. The Galatians who found their way into the ancient records due to their extraordinary way of living, left behind a mark that would prevail for evermore in the history of Asia Minor³¹.

Despite the bad reputation of the Galatians the kingdoms of Asia Minor continued to seek their military assistance, as had Nicomedes I initially done. We infer from the ancient historians that Galatians fought as mercenaries in Antiochus Hierax' army in a major battle against his brother, the successor of Antiochus II, Seleucus II of Syria, in 240/239 BC. They put to the sword a considerable part of the Seleucid army in the vicinity of Ancyra and even Seleucus himself barely survived the massacre. Consequently, thanks to the Galatians the main part of Asia Minor came under the control of Antiochus Hierax³².

In 218 BC Attalus I of Pergamum summoned the Aigosages, a tribe of Celtic origin, from Thrace to fight on his side with the aim of taking back the

27 Iust. xxv; FGrH 434 11; IV 312; Tarn 1947, 12; Magie 1950, 309 n. 30; 1087 n. 37; Moraux 1957, 68 ff; Jones 1971², 110 ff n. 1; Szabo 1991a; 304; Hind 1994, 131; see also Arslan 2000a, 56 ff; 60.

28 Iust. xxiv. 4. 7; xxiv. 5. 1; Liv. xxxviii. 16. 3-4; 16. 13-14; OGIS 223 = Welles 1934, 78 ff no 15; SIG3 I 410; see also Beloch 1893, 343; Cardinalli 1906, 223 n. 2; Staehelin 1907², 41; Magie 1950, 731 n. 12; 828 n. 23; 929 n. 14; Hansen 1971², 30; Jones 1971², 113 ff n. 2.

29 Diod. xxii. 9; Paus. i. 3-4; x. 19-23; Dio Cass. xxvii. 90; Iust. xxiv. 6. 4; xxiv. 5 ff; IvDidy 426 I 7; 428 II 8 ff.

30 Diod. xxii. 4; 5. 2; Plut. mor. iv. 309; Paus. i. 4. 5; x. 22. 2-4; Iust. xxiv. 5. 1; 6. 1-2; Parthen. 8; see also Anth. Pal. vii. 492; see also PIR (2) I 170, A 880; SIG3 226 I 107; Staehelin 1907², 8 ff; Magie 1950, 730 n. 11; Ellis 1990, 94; Mitchell 1974, 4 ff; 1993, 17 n. 46 ff; Arslan 2000a, 67 ff.

31 Liv. xxxviii. 16. 1; see also Mitchell 1974, 1 ff.

32 Plut. mor. iv. 307; vi. 489 a-b; Polyain. Strat. iv.-x. 6; Ath. Deip. xiii. c. 593 e (= Phylarkhos); Iust. xxvii. 2; xli. 4. 7; Eus. chron. i. 251; see also Staehelin 1907², 17 ff; Rankin 1987, 193; Heinen 1989, 429; Mitchell 1993, 20.

territories that he had lost in battle against the general of Seleucus III, Achaeus³³. Also with the help of this tribe, Attalus I regained Ionian towns to the south of Ephesus, and the settlements that had formerly been taken by Achaeus in the region of Aiolis. After this success he rewarded the Aigosages with land around the Hellespont³⁴.

Even Rome used the Galatians for their purposes. As the Pergamum kingdom had recently grown extremely powerful, Rome periodically encouraged the Galatians to sack this kingdom in order to be able to apply the *status quo* policy it had been following in Asia Minor³⁵. During the last quarter of the second century and the beginning of the first century BC the Galatians supported Mithridates VI of Pontus in conquering Greece and Asia Minor³⁶. However, after the massacre carried out by Mithridates on the Galatian *tetrarkhes* in 86/85 BC³⁷, the Galatians changed side and played an important part in the victory of Rome against the Pontus King during the Roman-Mithridatic Wars³⁸. Finally, they prevented the Parthian attacks on Asia Minor, Galatia acting as a buffer zone between the Parthians and the Romans³⁹. The Galatians, therefore, became the most influential ally of the Romans, consistent with the Roman policy in Asia Minor in the first century BC.

According to the ancient historians, the fierceness and unique physical power of the Galatians were widely known and the chief motive behind their deeds from early times onwards appears to have been the ambition to conquer, sack and humiliate⁴⁰. They are described as being tall, with long red hair, often painting their hair and faces with lime, and going to battle half-naked⁴¹, carrying only enormous shields⁴² and long swords⁴³. They fought by throwing every stone within their reach and they were unorganised,

33 Polyb. iv. 46. 4; v. 72-78. 4-5; see also Holleaux 1938/42, II 17; Magie 1950, 10 v.d.; Will 1979/822, II 39.

34 Polyb. v. 78. 5-6; v. 111; see also Staehelin 1907², 36; Robert 1937, 185; 233; 1938, 210; Holleaux 1938/42, II 17; Hansen 1971², 43; Mitchell 1974, 15 ff n. 77 ff; 1993, 22; Ellis 1990, 98 ff; Arslan 2000a, 85 ff.

35 Sherwin-White 1977, 63 ff; Arslan 2000a, 128 ff.

36 Memnon 31. 4; Cic. imp. Cn. Pomp. 7; Flacc. xxv. 60; Liv. perioch. 78; Vell. ii. 18. 1-2; Val. Max. ix. 2; Flor. epit. i. 40. 6; Plut. Sull. 24. 4; App. Mithr. 22-23; Dio Cass. xxx-xxxv. 109. 8-9; Eutr. iii. 76. 3; v. 5. 2; Oros. hist. vi. 2. 2. See also in details Cic. imp. Cn. Pomp. 11; Plin. nat. xxxiii. 48; App. Mithr. 20-21; 112; Diod. xxxvii. 27. 2; Val. Max. ix. 13. 1; Reinach 1890, 126 n. 6; Mommsen 1930³, III 277 ff; Magie 1950, 214 ff; 1103 n. 36; Brunt 1971, 224 ff; Mitchell 1993, 30.

37 Plut. mor. iii. 23. 258-259 a-d; App. Mithr. 46; 58; see also Ramsay 1899, 69; Mommsen 1930³, III 289; Tarn 1947⁵, 40; 150; Magie 1950, 223.

38 Cic. Phil. ii. 33-34; xi. 33; Deiot. 26; 37; Memnon 44; Plut. Luc. 28. 2; App. Mithr. 41; Syr. 50; see also Liv. perioch. 94; App. Mithr. 75; 78; Oros. hist. vi. 2. 18; Plut. Luc. 14. 1.

39 Cic. Att. v. 18. 2; 20. 9; vi. 1. 14; Att. xiv.; ad fam. x. 1-2; xv. 1. 6; 2. 2; 4. 5; Deiot. 27-28.

40 Diod. v. 32; Liv. xxxviii. 16. 13; 17. 1; see also Jullian 1920, 333 ff.

41 Liv. xxii. 46; xxxviii. 17-21; 21. 4-14; Paus. x. 21. 2-3; see also Diod. v. 27-30; Liv. xxxviii. 17. 3; Paus. x. 20. 7-8; Pollitt 1986, 86 ff; Andrae 1991, 60 fig. 1; 61 ff; Arslan 2000a, 203 ff.

42 Paus. x. 20. 8. See also in details Diod. v. 30. 2; Liv. xxxviii. 17. 3; 21. 4; 13; Launey 1944, 217 ff; Pollitt 1986, 86 ff; Andrae 1991, 61 ff; Dobesch 1991, 36 ff fig. 1; Rapin 1991, 323 ff; Szabo 1991b, 335; Mitchell 1993, 16 n. 39; 45 n. 38; Ritchie 1995, 48 ff.

43 Polyb. ii. 33; iii. 22. 4; 114; Diod. v. 30. 3; App. Gall. 8; Dion. Hal. ant. xiv. 10.

individually fighting soldiers⁴⁴. Moreover, fighting bravely and relentlessly with their gigantic bodies, outlandish appearance and unusual weapons, they caused demoralisation and disorganisation in the Hellenistic kingdoms⁴⁵. They attacked the Hellenistic armies with terrible shouts in battle, shaking their long swords and tossing their hair, causing the Greek soldiers to run away in a panic and leaving the battle line⁴⁶. In this way the Galatians defeated the Hellenistic armies and killed even their kings. The Macedonian king Ptolemy Keraunos was the first king who lost his life when a Macedonian army during an attempt to invade Hellas in 277 BC clashed with the Galatians. The head of Ptolemy Keraunos was displayed to the Macedonian army, placed on top of a spear. At the sight of the king's severed head the Macedonian troops, already faced with a great number of casualties, stopped fighting and began withdrawing, only then to be finally destroyed by the Galatians⁴⁷. Also Antiochus I of Syria met his death by Galatian hand when his army was defeated and he himself was slain by a Galatian warrior named Kentoarates at Ephesus⁴⁸.

The Galatians were always recruited as mercenaries by Hellenistic kings due to their well-known courage and fighting experience, which had been appreciated by virtually every population in the region. They were so good that no king fought without Galatians on his side⁴⁹. According to Iustinus⁵⁰, *such was the terror of the Galatian name, and so sure of the success of their arms that the Hellenistic kings thought they could not protect their power nor recover it, if lost, without the support of the Galatian valour*. The Galatians, however, only became members of alliances or recruited by kingdoms as mercenaries to serve their advantages of the time. They managed to leave every kind of alliance they participated in, breaking the agreements and treaties, even attacking and plundering allied territories and killing allied kings. Thus the state of Galatia had not come about by conquest but rather by arrangement with the surrounding Hellenistic kings, who were apprehensive of the Galatian problem, which could menace their safety⁵¹.

The loyalty of the Galatians to Mithridates I of Pontus ended after his death when they attacked the Pontus territory, taking the opportunity of the

44 Diod. v. 30. 2; 30. 3; Dion. Hal. ant. xiv. 9; see also Polyb. ii. 27; 28. 8; v. 111; Liv. vii. 9. 6; App. Gall. 7-8; Peter 1906/14, I 217; Launey 1944, 222; 1949, I 528 ff; Rankin 1995, 28; 68; Ritchie 1995, 53.

45 Paus. x. 22. 2-4; Liv. xxxviii. 16. 13-14; 17. 1; Diod. v. 32. 2; Iust. xxv. 2; Plut. mor. iv. 309; IvEryt 24; see also Staehelin 1907², 8 ff; Jullian 1920, 333 ff; Rapin 1991, 321; Mitchell 1993, 17 n. 46 ff.

46 Polyb. ii. 22; 28. 8; 29; Caes. Gall. v. 37; vii. 80; Diod. v. 27; 28. 2-3; 29. 2; 30. 3; 32. 2; Strab. iv. 4. 3 c. 196-197; Liv. i. 37; vi. 42. 2; vii. 9; xxi. 28; xxxviii. 16. 13; 17. 1-8; 21. 9; 26. 7; Dion. Hal. ant. xiv. 9; App. Gall. 7-8; Syr. 6.

47 Paus. x. 19. 7; Iustin. xxiv. 4-5; see also Tarn 1947⁵, 12; Rankin 1987, 88; Mansuelli 1991, 9; Strobel 1994, 2.

48 Ael. nat. anim. vi. 44. n. b; see also Ellis 1990, 97.

49 Xen. Hell. vii. 1. 20; Diod. xv. 70, 1; Polyb. i. 43; i. 66-7; v. 77-78; Plut. Pyrrh. 26. 6; Paus. i. 13. 2; App. Syr. 2. 6; see also Ellis 1990, 110 ff; Szabo 1991b, 333 ff.

50 Iust. xxv. 2.

51 Strab. xii. 5. 1 c. 567; Paus. i. 4. 5. Steph. Byz. "Ankyra = FGh 740. 14"; see also Meyer 1879, 43 ff; Hansen 1971², 31 n. 24; Arslan 2000a, 57 ff; 202 ff.

lax authority caused by the youth and inexperience of Mithridates II. In the end, they sacked the whole region including the strategically important harbour city of Amisus in the west of the region⁵². A similar event involved the Galatians killing Ziaelas of Bithynia in ca. 227 BC⁵³ after plundering the city of Heracleia Pontica and territories that were under the dominance of the Bithynian kingdom by taking the advantage of the dispute which had appeared between the sons of Nicomedes I of Bithynia⁵⁴. Similarly, while serving as mercenaries for Antiochus Hierax, the Galatians first forced Hierax to make them his ally with a political and military agreement, and after that took a substantial share of the tribute and looted most of what had been gained from the wars. Moreover, they captured Hierax who had to pay a ransom to get back his freedom from the people who had once been his mercenaries and were his allies then⁵⁵. As time passed, Galatian demands became so excessive that in the end Antiochus had to flee the region first for Magnesia⁵⁶, then for Thrace in order to save his life. He was, however, killed by a group of Celtic (Galatian) plunderers in the kingdom of Tylis in 227/226 BC⁵⁷.

While moving with his army towards Asia Minor in 223 BC, Seleucus III of Syria was assassinated by two Galatian mercenary soldiers named Apaturios and Nikanor, who were under his command⁵⁸. The above examples show only too clearly the risks involved in trusting the Galatians as allies, but the fear of not having the Galatians on their side forced the Hellenistic kings to run this risk.

As a result of the good relations between Rome and the Galatians in the first century BC, the Galatians became the most important allies of Rome as far as the Roman Asia Minor policy was concerned. However, as always happened, they proved themselves an unreliable ally by betraying first Brutus and Cassius for Marcus Antonius and Octavianus just before the Battle of Philippi in 42 BC⁵⁹, then Antonius for Octavianus before the Battle of Actium in 31 BC, seeing that Antonius had no chance of winning⁶⁰. In short, all the pacts and alliances they took part in were to serve their advantages and the pacts they had established became null and void after having served their purpose.

The political organisation and constitution of the Galatians were great obstacles to themselves. Even though the tribes were connected to each other on friendly terms and respected each other's looting and tribute levying

52 FGrH 434. 16 (= Memnon); Staehelin 1907², 17; Brandis 1910, 524; see also Mitchell 1993, 20.

53 FGrH 81 F 50 (= Phylarkhos); see also Launey 1949, 506 n. 7; Mitchell 1993, 42 n. 2.

54 FGrH 434. 11; 14 (= Memnon); Habicht 1972, 387 ff; Mitchell 1974, 9; 1993, 19; Strobel 1996, 246.

55 Plut. mor. iii. 184; iv. 307; vi. 489 a-c; Iust. xxvii. 2-12; see also Niebuhr 1828, 286 n. 81; Hansen 1971², 24 n. 63; Lequenne 1991², 51.

56 Eus. chron. i. 251.

57 Eus. chron. i. 253; see also Plin. nat. viii. 158; Hansen 1971², 35 n. 46; Mitchell 1993, 42 n. 2.

58 Polyb. iv. 48. 7-9; v. 40. 5-6; v. 41. 2; App. Syr. 66; Iust. xxvii; xxix. 1. 3; Eus. chron. i. 253; see also Launey 1949, 508 n. 1; Magie 1950, 739 n. 25; Mitchell 1993, 42 n. 2.

59 App. civ. iv. 88; Dio Cass. xlvii. 48. 2; see also Levick 1967, 26.

60 Plut. Ant. 63. 3; Vell. ii. 84. 1-2; Dio Cass. l. 13. 8; Hor. epod. ix. 17-20.

zones, they were, on the other hand, merely loosely united bodies and they rarely cooperated. The organisation of the Galatians was based on tribal aristocracy. According to Strabo⁶¹, the Galatians were divided into four sections called *tetrarchies*, each section having its own *tetrarch*, one judge and one military commander subordinate to the tetrarch, and two junior commanders. The council of the twelve *tetrarchs* consisted of three hundred men; they assembled in a sacred oak grove called the *Drynemeton* where the counsel could try murder cases, the *tetrarchs* and judges all other cases. Over time, the close contact with the Hellenistic kingdoms and dynasties in Asia Minor made the Galatians develop their political and diplomatic skills to the level of their fighting abilities⁶². During the later quarter of the second century BC this development resulted in the adoption of a more formal and centralist administrative system, leaving the old tribal aristocracy in favour of oligarchy⁶³.

Oligarchy was later turned into kingship. The massacre by Mithridates VI of Pontus of all but three Galatian *tetrarchs* in 86/85 BC resulted in the collapse of the oligarchy⁶⁴. While reorganising Asia Minor in 63 BC, Pompeius simplified the system by appointing each tribe one *tetrarch*, the only three who had survived of the original twelve *tetrarchs*⁶⁵. Deiotaros and Brogitaros, two Galatian leaders who were on the Roman side during the Roman-Mithridatic Wars, were appointed kings in 59 BC⁶⁶. Thus the Galatians, albeit late, came to use the same administrative system as the Hellenistic kingdoms in Asia Minor and the Mediterranean in the first century BC.

Despite the Galatians always being loyal to their own customs and traditions, they also adopted Anatolian lifeways. In the second century BC they began to assimilate with the Hellenistic culture⁶⁷. The aristocratic couple Ortiagon and Khiomara displayed the great extent of the impact of Hellenistic culture on Galatian aristocrats in the second century BC by naming one of their children "*Paidopolites*" meaning "child citizen"⁶⁸. One of the historians of the time, Polybius⁶⁹, wrote about his having had a chance to converse with Khiomara in Sardis and having been overcome with admiration for her wisdom and character. Considering the fact that Polybius did not speak Celtic this conversation was most likely held in Greek. During the second

61 Strab. xii. 5. 1 c. 567.

62 Polyb. xxxi. 8. (13) 1; xxxi. 32; Liv. xlii. 29. 4; see also Mitchell 1993, 43 ff; Arslan 2000a, 192 ff.

63 NumChron. XV 204 ff; Mitchell 1993, 27.

64 Hoben 1969, 59.

65 Strab. xii. 5. 1 c. 567; App. Mithr. 114; civ. v. 75; see also Zwintscher 1892, 36 ff; Staehelin 1907², 43; 88; Schwahn 1934, 1091 ff; Magie 1950, 373; 1235 n. 40; Levick 1967, 25.

66 For Deiotaros; Strab. xii. 3. 13 c. 547; Eutr. vi. 14; App. Mithr. 114; see also Cic. har. resp. 29; Deiot. 10; 34; Phil. ii. 94; div. ii. 79; Att. v. 17. 3; Caes. Bell. Alex. 67-68, For Brogitaros; Cic. har. resp. 28-29; Sest. 56; dom. 129; BMC, Galatia XVII; for opposite ideas see also OGIS 349; IGRom IV 1328 = IvKym 15; IGRom IV 1683 = IvDidy 475. XXXVI; Reinach 1902, 155; Mitchell 1993, 33 n. 74.

67 Arslan 2000a, 210 ff.

68 Mitchell 1993, 43 ff n. 18.

69 Polyb. xxi. 38. 7.

century BC an increasing number of Galatians spoke Greek as well as taking Greek names⁷⁰ and worshipping Greek-Roman gods and goddesses such as Zeus, Artemis, Ares and Asclepius⁷¹. Galatian aristocrats and kings began employing Greek doctors and lived in palaces constructed in the Greek architectural style⁷².

Similarly, the relations between Rome and the Galatians caused the latter gradually to assimilate with Roman culture. Especially after the Roman-Galatian cooperation during the Mithridatic Wars in the first century BC the Galatians altered both their administrative system to kinship and their fighting techniques from individual combat to the organised Roman *legion*-system⁷³. This same system had made Rome the superior power within the Mediterranean world. In short, although the Galatians who entered Asia Minor in the third century BC initially maintained their Celtic culture, they were influenced first by the Hellenistic, then by the Roman culture and military organisation, and they adjusted themselves to these cultures albeit surely primarily to the extent of their own advantage⁷⁴. From fierce warriors the Galatians gradually turned into peaceful Hellenized and Romanized citizens of Asia Minor, eventually devoting themselves to early Christianity.

The study on the Galatians has become an increasingly popular and important research topic within the Hellenistic history of Asia Minor. Bringing to light the cultural inheritance of the Galatians in Asia Minor is difficult mainly because there is no adequate archaeological information. Neither do ancient historians deal with the Galatians in any great length, and our knowledge has had to be gained from scattered bits of information in Greek and Latin written sources, and from epigraphic sources that have supported the former. With this paper, it is my hope to stimulate further interest and research in these interesting peoples, who came to influence the development of Hellenistic Asia Minor to such a great extent.

70 Ellis 1990, 114; Szabo 1991b, 333.

71 Mitchell 1974, 350 ff; Rankin 1987, 262; Green 1986, 111 ff; 1995b, 466; 472 ff; see also Arslan 2000a, 223 ff.

72 Cic. Deiot. 15; 17; 19; see also Cic. Att. v. 21. 14; vi. 1. 23; Mitchell 1993, 33 n. 69.

73 Cic. ad fam. x. 1-2; xv. 1. 6; 2. 2; 4. 5; Deiot. 27-28; Att. v. 18. 2; 20. 9; vi. 1. 14; Att. xiv.; Phil. xi. 31-33.

74 For Ortiagon see, Plut. mor. iii. 22. 258 c-d = Polyb. xxi. 38. 1; xxii. 21. 1; Pomp. Trog. Prol. xxxii.; Liv. xxxviii. 19. 2; 24. 9; For Khiomara see, Plut. mor. iii. 22. 258 d-f = Polyb. xxi. 38; Liv. xxxviii. 24; see also in detail Cic. ad fam. x. 1-2; xv. 1. 6; 2. 2; 4. 5; Att. v. 18. 2; 20. 9; vi. 1. 14; xiv.; Deiot. 25; 27-28; Phil. xi. 31-33; IG II 3429 = OGIS 347; OGIS 348-349; IG XII 2. 516 = IGRom IV 3; Magie 1950, 372 v.d. n. 40; Mitchell 1993, 35; 43 n. 16 ff; Arslan 2000a, 210 ff.

Bibliography and Abbreviations

- AMS Asia Minor Studien. Bonn.
- Andreae 1991 Andreae, B., "The Image of the Celts in Etruscan, Greek, and Roman Art". In: *The Celts*. Ed. by S. Agnelli et al., Milano, 61-70.
- ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. Hrsg. von H. TEMPORINI I vd. Berlin 1972 ff.
- Ark.San. Arkeoloji ve Sanat Dergisi. İstanbul.
- Arslan 2000a Arslan, M., *Galatlar: Antikçağ Anadolu'sunun Savaşçı Kavmi*. İstanbul.
- Arslan 2000b Arslan, M., "Sulla'nın Küçükasya Politikası". *Ark.San.* 94, 32-42.
- Beloch 1893 Beloch, K. J., *Griechische Geschichte I-III*. Strasburg.
- BMC A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. By. B. V. Hems, P. Gardner, G. F. Hill et al., I-XXX London 1837-1929.
- Brandis 1910 Brandis, G., "Galatia". *RE VII/1*, 517-559.
- Brunt 1971 Brunt, P. A., *Italian Man Power 225 B.C.-14 A.D.* Oxford
- CAH *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Ed. by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook. I-XII. Cambridge, London 1923-1939.
- Calder 1957⁴ Calder, W. M., "Galatia". *OCD*, 376.
- Cardinalli 1906 Cardinalli, G., *Di Regno di Pergamo Ricerche di storiae di diritto pubblico*. Rome.
- Dobesch 1991 Dobesch, G., "Ancient Literary Sources". In: *The Celts*. Ed. by S. Agnelli et al., Milano, 35- 41.

- Ellis 1990 Ellis, P. B., *The Celtic Empire: The First Millenium of Celtic History c. 1000 BC - 541 AD.* London.
- FGrH Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. F. Jacoby. I-XV.
- Green 1986 Green, M., *The Gods of the Celts.* Gloucester-New Jersey.
- Green 1995a Green, M., "Who Were The Celts". In: *The Celts.* Ed. by M. Green. London-New York, 3-7.
- Green 1995b Green, M., "The Nature of Celtic Religion". In: *The Celts.* Ed. by M. Green. London-New York, 465-488.
- Habicht 1972 Habicht, C., "Ziaelas". RE X/A, 387-397.
- Hansen 1971² Hansen, E. V., *The Attalids of Pergamon.* Ithaca-London.
- Hatt 1970 Hatt, J. J., *Celts and Gallo-Romans. The Ancient Civilization Series.* Transl. by J. Hogarth. London 1979.
- Heinen 1989 Heinen, H., "The Syrian-Egyptian Wars and the New Kingdoms of Asia Minor". CAH VII/I, 413-445.
- Hind 1994 Hind, J. G., "Mithridates". CAH, 129-161.
- Holleaux.1938/42 Holleaux, M., *Etudes d'Epigraphie et Histoire Grecques* (Ed. by L. Robert) I-III. Paris 1938-1942.
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae, consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Borussicae ed. maior: I-IV., VII., IX., XI., XII., XIV.* Berlin 1873-1939.
- IGRom *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes.* Ed. by R. Cagnat- J. Toutain. I-IV. Paris 1906-1928.

- IstMitt İstanbul Mitteilungen. Deutsches
Archaologisches Institut. Abteilung İstanbul,
Tübingen.
- IvDidy Didyma II: Die Inschriftten. A. Rehm, ed. by R.
Harder. Berlin 1958.
- IvEryt Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomeniai.
I-II. Ed. by H. Engelmann- R. Merkelbach. Bonn
1972.
- IvKym Die Inschriften von Kyme. Ed. by H. Engelmann.
IGSK V Bonn 1976.
- Jones 1971² Jones, A. H. M., The Cities of the Eastern Roman
Province. Oxford.
- JRS Journal of Roman Studies. Society for the
Promotion of Roman Studies. London.
- Jullian 1920 Jullian, C., Histoire de la Gaule I. Paris.
- Launey 1944 Launey, M., "Un episode oublié de l'Invasion
galate en Asie Mineure (278/7 av. J. -C.)". REA
XLVI, 217-236.
- Launey 1949 Launey, M., Recherches sur les armées
hellénistiques I-II. Paris I, II (1950).
- Lequenne 1991² Lequenne, F., Galat'lar. Trans. by: S. Albek.
Ankara .
- Levick 1967 Levick, B., Roman Colonies in Southern Asia
Minor. Oxford.
- Magie 1950 Magie, D., Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of
the Third Century after Christ I-II. Princeton.
- Mansuelli 1991 Mansuelli, G. A., "The Celts' and Ancient Europe".
In: The Celts. Ed. by S. Agnelli et al., Milano, 15-
24.
- Meyer 1879 Meyer, E., Geschichte des Königreichs Pontos.

- Mitchell 1974 Mitchell, S., *The History and Archaeology of Galatia*. Oxford.
- Mitchell 1993 Mitchell, S., *Anatolia. Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor I-II: The Celts and the Impact of Roman Rule*. Oxford-New York.
- Mommsen 1930³ Mommsen, T., *The History of Rome I-IV*. Intr. By E. A. Freeman, Trans. By W. P. Dickson I-IV vol. London-New York.
- Moraux 1957 Moraux, P., "L' établissement des Galates en Asie Mineure". *IstMitt* VII, 56-75.
- Niebuhr 1828 Niebuhr, B. G., *Kleine Schriften*. Bonn.
- NumChron Numismatic Chronicle. London.
- OCD *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Ed. M. Cary, J. D. Denniston et al., Oxford 1957.
- OGIS *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. ed. W. Dittenberger. I -II. Leipzig 1903-1905.
- Özsait 1985 Özsait, M., *Hellenistik ve Roma Devrinde Pisidia Tarihi*. İstanbul.
- Peter 1906/14 Peter, H., *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae I-II*. Teubner, Leipzig 1906-1914.
- PIR *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*.
- Pollitt 1986 Pollitt, J. J., *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge.
- Ramsay 1899 Ramsay, W. M., *A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*. London.
- Rankin 1987 Rankin, H. D., *Celts and the Classical World*. London.
- Rankin 1995 Rankin, H. D., "The Celts Through the Classical Eyes". In: *The Celtic World*. Ed. by M. J. Green. London, 21-33.

- Rapin 1991 Rapin, A., "Weaponry". In: *The Celts*. Ed. by S. Agnelli et al., Milano, 320-331.
- RE Paulys Real-Encyclopadie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearb. unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgenossen hrsg. von G. Wissowa (später fortgef. von W. Kroll u. K. Mittelhaus et al., hrsg. von K. Ziegler) Reihe 1, Halbbd. I-XLVII. Reihe, Halbbd. I - XIX. Suppl.-Bd. I - XVI. Stuttgart (München) 1893-1980 (Reihe 1: A-Q, Bde. I-XXIV 1, 1893-963; Reihe 2: R-Z, Bde. IA1-XA, 1914-1972; Suppl.-Bde. I-XV, 1903-1978.
- REA Revue des etudes anciennes. Talence.
- Reinach 1902 Reinach, T., *L'Histoire par les Monnaies*. Paris.
- Ritchie 1995 Ritchie, J. N. G. - Ritchie, W. F., "The Army, Weapons and Fighting". In: *The Celts*. Ed. by M. Green. London - New York, 37-58.
- Robert 1937 Robert, L., *Etudes Anatoliennes*, Paris.
- Robert 1938 Robert, L., *Etudes epigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris.
- Schwahn 1934 Schwahn, W., "Tetrarch". RE V/A, 1091-1094.
- Sherk 1980 Sherk, R. K., "Roman Galatia: The Governors from 25 BC. to A.D. 114". ANRW II 7. 2, 954-1052.
- Sherwin-White 1977 Sherwin-White, A. N., "Roman Involment in Anatolia 167- 88 BC.". JRS LXVII, 62-76.
- SIG³ Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum. Ed. by W. Dittenberger I- IV Leipzig 1883-1915.
- Staehelein 1907² Staehelein, F., *Geschichte der kleinasiatischen Galater*. Leipzig.
- Strobel 1994 Strobel, K., "Keltensieg und Galatersieger". AMS XII, 67-96.
- Strobel 1996 Strobel, K., *Die Galater*. Berlin.

- Szabo 1991a Szabo, M., "The Celts and Their Movements in the Third Century B.C.". In: *The Celts*. Ed. by S. Agnelli et al., Milano, 302-319.
- Szabo 1991b Szabo, M., "Mercenary Activity". In: *The Celts*. Ed. by S. Agnelli et al., Milano, 332-336.
- Tarn 1928 Tarn, W. W., "The New Hellenistic Kingdoms". *CAH VII/III*, 75-107.
- Tarn 1947⁵ Tarn, W. W., *Hellenistic Civilization*. London.
- Walbank 1957-1979 Walbank, F. W., *A Historical Commentary on Polybius I-III*. Oxford (2. ed. 1957-1979).
- Welles 1934 Welles, C. B., *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy*. New Haven.
- Zwintscher 1892 Zwintscher, A., *De Galatarum Tetrarchis et Amynta rege quaestiones*. Leipzig.

*The maps used in this article are based on those from Mitchell 1993.

