

The so-called Galatae, Celts, and Gauls in the Early Hellenistic  
Balkans and the Attack on Delphi in 280–279 BC

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## Abstract

This thesis examines the roles played by the Celts and Gauls of the Balkans in the early Hellenistic period based upon archaeological and primary source material. The principal events studied are those associated with the archaeological validity of the Celts, Galatae, and Gauls and the Celtic or Gallic invasion of Macedonia and Greece in 280 BC. The work considers the role of these people in the light of the recent archaeological disestablishment of the Celts as a pan-European culture and the rejection of their traditionally understood migration from Europe into the Balkans. It identifies the origins of the invaders, their reasons for invading, and attempts to clarify their activities. It argues that the invaders were not Celts or Gauls of traditional understanding, but Iron Age tribes from Illyria and the Danube valley. The invasion was little more than an adventurous temple-raiding and settlement-plundering incursion, and was successful beyond expectation due to the political instability of Macedonia and the weakness of the Greek states. The invasion was used by some Greek states for their own political and social ends, and they were guilty of exaggerating many of the incidents and falsely equating them with the Persian invasion two hundred years earlier. The thesis indicates that the establishment of Galatia as a geopolitical entity was probably unrelated to these incursive activities as traditionally indicated by the primary sources.

## Acknowledgements

It takes something special to awaken an interest that is life altering. That something special occurred in the lectures of Professors G. Shipley and L. Foxhall whose explanations and descriptions of the ancient world in my undergraduate studies, led to an absorption and engrossment in this subject that has changed my life. To them, and in particular to Professor Shipley who later became my supervisor, I owe a complex debt of thanks and appreciation. In addition to these academic mentors I would like to add my thanks to the academic staff of the department and my undergraduate colleagues, in particular Mr Patrick Skinner, with whom debate and discussion over hundreds of cups of coffee was so important.

I could not have done this work without the support, encouragement, and criticism of my wife, Dr Rosemary Barnden. Even without an iota of knowledge of the ancient world (other than the mythological), she still managed to help guide, structure my research, and provide the necessary environment in which I could work. To her there is a different, but just as great a debt of appreciation and gratitude.

## Notes on Transliteration

In my use of Greek and Latin names in this thesis I have tried to make the spelling reflect a Greek form for Greek words and names, and a Latin form for Latin words and names. This is not always possible and where it is usual to find a Latin or anglicised form for a Greek name (e.g. Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Achaea, etc.) I have retained that which looks most familiar.

Where no era is specified the dates should be taken as BC.

## Abbreviations

CAH <sup>2</sup> iii (1)	J. Boardman, I. E. S. Edwards, N. G. L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger (eds), <i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , vol. 3, part 1: <i>The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean World, Tenth to Eighth Centuries B.C.</i> Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982 (2 <sup>nd</sup> Edn).
CAH <sup>2</sup> iv	J. Boardman, N. G. L. Hammond, D. M. Lewis, and M. Ostwald (eds), <i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , vol. 4: <i>Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c.525–479 B. C.</i> Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988 (2 <sup>nd</sup> Edn).
CDCC	<i>The Cambridge Dictionary of Classical Civilization</i> 2006. G. Shipley, J. Vanderspoel, D. Mattingly, and L. Foxhall (editors). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Durrbach, <i>Choix</i>	Durrbach, <i>Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos</i> , avec traduction et commentaire, Paris 1921–22. (1921: nos. 1–75; 1922: nos. 76–184).
FD 1	Bourguet E. 1929. <i>Fouilles de Delphes. III. Épigraphie. 1. De l'entrée du sanctuaire au trésor des Athéniens</i> , Paris.
FGrHist	Jacoby F. 1923–58. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker (FGrHist)</i> . Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
IG II <sup>2</sup>	Kirchner J. 1913–1940. <i>Inscriptiones Graecae II et III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores</i> (2nd Ed.). Berlin.
IG XI (4)	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Roussel P., <i>Inscriptiones Deli</i> , fasc. 4, Berlín 1914.
LSJ	Liddell H. G. and Scott R. (ed.) (9 <sup>th</sup> edition) 1940. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , revised and augmented by H. S. Jones. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
OCD <sup>3</sup>	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> (3 <sup>rd</sup> edition) 1996. Hornblower S. and Spawforth A. <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . Oxford and new York: Oxford University Press.
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> 1979. <i>The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary: Complete Text Reproduced Micrographically</i> , in 2 volumes. London: Book Club Associates.
OGIS	<i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , ed. W. Dittenberger, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1903–5.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> : Hondius, J. J. E. Woodhead, A.G. and others, I–XXV, Leiden 1923–71; Pleket H.W., Stroud R.S. and others, XXVI–XXVII, Alphen 1978–79; XXVIII–L, Amsterdam 1980–2003.
Syll. <sup>3</sup> = SIG <sup>3</sup>	Dittenberger W., <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , (3 <sup>rd</sup> ed.) Leipzig 1915–24 [(O) 1960] (1915: N <sup>os</sup> . 1–534; 1917: N <sup>os</sup> . 534–910; 1920: N <sup>os</sup> . 911–1268).

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# Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Research Question

1.2 Main Objectives of the Work

1.3 Research Context

1.4 Methodology

1.5 Restatement of the Research Question

# Chapter 1 – Introduction

## 1.1 Research Question

The primary sources tell us that in 280 BC a Celtic or Gallic invasion of Macedonia and Greece took place. The ancient authors saw this invasion as a catastrophe, equivalent to the invasion of the Persians 200 years earlier and, just as in the case of the Persian defeat, a heroic defence and final defeat of these invaders halted the destruction of the country. The ancient authors called these invaders Celts or Gauls and modern historians have accepted this description. However in the last few years, archaeologists have concluded that the western Celts of traditional understanding did not exist, as the diversity of Iron Age culture argues against any such concept of a pan-European culture. Without such a cultural concept the eastern extension of the traditional view must similarly be brought into question. This recent disestablishment of the Celts must also cause doubts on their traditionally understood migration from central Europe to the west, east, and south of the Continent.

It is essential, in the light of the conclusions with respect to the western Celts, to examine what evidence exists for continuing to believe a Celtic invasion took place in the east and if it can be shown that the evidence is too thin, or just convenient, it is necessary to try to identify the origins of the invaders and their reasons for invading. If the disruption in Macedonia and Greece was not due to a Celtic migration, then not only are there questions relating to the invaders' origin and motivation but a serious critical consideration needs to be made of the whole subsequent and consequent Celtic edifice built upon a Celtic migration and invasion. If, however, the disruption can be shown to be the result of a migrating Celtic nation there still remain questions about the subsequent movement of these people and their eventual destination.

## 1.2 Main Objectives of the Work

The objectives of the work fall into two main areas. The first objective is archaeological and includes the archaeological and social arguments that have led to the rejection of the concept of pan-European ‘Celticity’. As archaeologists now see this concept as an inadequate tool to use in the exploration of Iron Age cultures (Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997: 4), its abandonment has effectively eliminated the Celtic culture of traditional understanding as a pan-European concept and consequently the culture of the European Iron Age is now seen as a range of more complex and diverse forms. A further consideration in this area is a clarification of the important arguments and obfuscations made in either the defence or the elimination of Celticity such as migration, language, and ethnicity. It is only by understanding these arguments that the current arguments for Celticity’s existence can be put into context. The establishment of new theoretical approaches to culture development has led to a critical examination of the traditional concepts of migration and invasion as the primary method of culture spread. If the Celts or Gauls of traditional understanding were not responsible for the invasion into Macedonia and Greece, it is important to find out who were the likeliest candidates, where they came from, and what was the nature of their ‘invasion’.

Although an etymological analysis of ‘Celt’ and ‘Gaul’ lies beyond the scope of this thesis an analysis of the use, within the primary sources, of the curious interchanging of the words ‘Celt’ and ‘Gaul’<sup>1</sup> or their Latin and Greek equivalents<sup>2</sup> needs to be made. These writers may have used the words as true synonyms, were or may have been just careless, or else there was another reason for this apparent indiscriminate practice. This apparent confusion does not accord with the authors’ normal care in these matters, and has given rise to further confusion by modern commentators. This aspect is critical in understanding the role and identity of the invading people (as well as understanding other interactions in the ancient world) and therefore an important objective of this work is to understand why the authors

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<sup>1</sup> This thesis puts ‘Celt’ and ‘Gaul’ in inverted commas, as these terms are problematic. The more correct ‘Iron Age group’ could be used (not ‘tribe’ – see p31 n.12), but arguments then become clumsy and complicated.

<sup>2</sup> Walbank (1957: v1: 49, note on Polyb. 1.6.4–6) comments that ‘... the Gauls, who Polybios calls Κελτούς and Γαλάται indiscriminately...’ and Strachan-Davidson (1902: 33) similarly mentioning that ‘the ancients often confounded Celts and Germans’.

wrote in this way. By tracking the changes of use with respect to identifiable groups of non-Greek people, changes in the way these names were applied to peoples over the time can be identified. Modern translators and commentators, who ignored the plurality of names as mere carelessness on the part of the ancient authors, have compounded the confusion by taking the opportunity to use their duality of use to 'tidy up' the text to conform to thoughts about theories of history current at the time of the translations. As a secondary aspect to this objective, this thesis will characterise commentators' and translators' usage so that attribution errors can be identified.

The second main objective of the research will concentrate on the incursion as described in the primary sources and will radically re-assess the whole narrative of the invasion of 280 BC. The intention is, apart from identifying the general consequences of the perception of the origin of the invaders, to apply the archaeological, theoretical and sociological finding of the first half of the research, to identify the date of death of the Macedonian king (Ptolemaios Keraunos) in battle with these people and the subsequent destabilisation of the region, the structure and sequence of the incursions, and the resolution of the events, in military terms, especially the attacks on Thermopylae and Delphi.

A more specific objective in this area will be a resolution of the 'Gallic'/Persian analogy. Over the years, there has been much discussion of the parallels between Herodotos' treatment of the defence at Thermopylae against the Persians and the similar event two hundred years later with Pausanias' (and others) treatment of the same defence against the 'Gauls'. Further, the analogy between the invasion of the 'Gauls' and that of Xerxes continues in descriptions of the conflict at Delphi. The primary authors entangle these events by such a direct analogy that seemingly little of any value can be extracted in respect of the later invasion. A major objective will be to de-convolve the analogies between these two invasions and offer a different sequence of events that clarifies the two situations at Thermopylae and at Delphi between the two invaders.

The final objective in this research will be to resolve the confusion of events over the retreating 'Gauls'. Modern commentators propose complicated sequences of

movements for these people following the defeat at Delphi, and rationalise the events by assuming that the remnants crossed over to Anatolia to establish Galatia. These sequences will be assessed.

### 1.3 Research Context

We can best understand the research context for this work by examining the current narrative of these incursions. At the beginning of the third century BC, there took place an event that historians (ancient and modern) described as having a significant influence on Greek society, in the shape of an invasion of barbarians from the north. The primary sources saw this invasion as being one of the two most momentous events in the history of Greece, and the analogies generated between this and the Persian invasion have confused and obscured events ever since. This southerly incursion in 280 appears to have caused significant disruption to Greek life, and with their barbarian bellicose culture the invaders reportedly dominated and terrorised whole regions between the Danube and northern Greece. The sources tell us that they were finally controlled, were displaced to Asia Minor, and were eventually involved in the establishment of the ‘Celtic’ or ‘Gallic’ nation of Galatia.

The principal sources for these events are Diodorus Siculus (22.3–5; 22.9), Justin (24.3.10–24.8.16), and Pausanias (1.4; 10.19–23).<sup>3</sup> The detail and extent of their narratives show that these incidents were seen as significant in the history of Greece, Macedonia, and Asia Minor.

Historians in ancient Greece were not the only ones who commented on the significance of these invasions; modern commentators have also declared their importance. Scholten says that the ‘Celtic’ or ‘Gallic’ invasions of Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia Minor from the north ‘has been written about more than any other event for the next 50 years’<sup>4</sup> (Scholten 2000: 31). Walbank describes this period as ‘the years of chaos’ and discusses the disruption to normal life caused by the invasion of these barbarians, ‘who wrought havoc throughout the whole length of Macedonia and penetrated Greece as far south as Delphi’ (Walbank 1988: 251). Less apocalyptically, Mitchell describes the invasions as leaving ‘an indelible mark both in the history of Macedonia, Greece and Asia Minor, and in the local legends and traditions of cities and communities that lay in their path’ (Mitchell

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<sup>3</sup> Because of slight numbering differences, Pausanias references given in this thesis are taken from the Loeb edition.

<sup>4</sup> Scholten means 280–230.

1993: 13). Hammond goes the furthest in his estimate of the impact of these people when he remarks that

The effect of the Gallic invasion cannot be exaggerated. The Balkan area from the Danube to Phokis, and from the Ionian Gulf to the Sea of Marmara was impoverished by the Gauls...the loss of people would take generations to replace and financial recovery was handicapped by economic ruin of the whole area. The kingdom of Macedonia was reduced to a shadow of its former self.

(Hammond 1989: 301)

Commentators on these events strongly imply that the 'Gauls' were instrumental in redefining the direction of history in the region and modifying the social and cultural order. The effect of these 'Celts' (or 'Gauls') in Greece remained strong until the Romans came and even then, the 'Gallic' or 'Celtic' influence from Galatia in Anatolia played a significant role in the Roman acquisition of Asia Minor (see Mitchell 1993: 1–79). All of the commentators subscribe to the traditional hypothesis that these 'Gauls' or 'Celts' were a part of a migrating nation that was spreading out from central Europe as a part of the great 'Celtic' Diaspora.

The relative completeness of the primary source narratives and the importance attributed to them by modern commentators has resulted in a well-established history of events. Apart from the primary sources, the basis of the modern accepted history of these invasions rests upon two fundamental premises. First, that the 'Celts' were an established and identifiable culture that developed in central/western Europe (La Tène) and went on to form a pan-European culture expanding and migrating east, west and southwards. Secondly, large-scale movement of entire populations was assumed and modern historians have built up the narrative of the eastward movement that included the sack of Rome and continuation on to the Balkans.<sup>5</sup> In westwards movement we have the familiar tradition of 'Celts' in France and the Low Countries (although they became known as 'Gauls' – an accepted alternative name for these people<sup>6</sup>), and a further movement into Britain and Ireland (these transformed back into 'Celts' again).

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<sup>5</sup> Collis presents a good description of the history of this process and discusses the various migration theories and ideas on the movement of these people (Collis 2003: 93-8).

<sup>6</sup> Modern historians have followed the example of ancient authors and have used the term 'Celt', and 'Gaul' relatively indiscriminately.

Traditionally the southward movement into Spain generated the Celtiberians (a hybrid of ‘Celts’ and indigenous Iberians).<sup>7</sup>

Archaeological support for the hypothesis of a pan-European Iron Age culture, known as ‘Celtic’, has slowly eroded since the 1960s. However before progressing it needs to be said that the acceptance of this erosion has not been complete and some European and American archaeologists have retained the pan-European Iron Age culture hypothesis.<sup>8</sup> Despite this the majority of recent archaeologists have accepted that the diversity of culture, even over relatively short distances, negates the traditional pan-European monoculture, and that the ‘Celts’ of traditional understanding are a nineteenth-century construct. Added to this archaeological argument, the theories of migration in the ancient world have also undergone in recent years a major transformation with the culture-historical links in the established migration hypotheses being severed. The hypothesis of large-scale migration underwent a period of complete abandonment in the latter half of the twentieth century but it has re-emerged in recent years with a re-structured and better-understood theoretical basis (see pp. 58–66). This new form however, does not accommodate the traditional concept of ‘Celtic’ migration as presented by the earlier narratives of mass migration by ‘Celts’ from Europe.

This new understanding of the Iron Age and its diversity of culture present some difficulties when considering the invasion of Macedonia, Thrace, and Paeonia in 280 by ‘Celts’. If they were not the traditional ‘Celts’ of past understanding, who were they? If such a wide-ranging pan-European nation or culture is unlikely to have existed, then it is difficult to accept the associated traditional view of a ‘Celtic’ migration being responsible for these acts; irrespective of the difficulty modern archaeological theory has of accepting these migrations as valid anyway. The acceptance, in whole or part, of the change in understanding of ‘Celts’ and ‘Celtic’ migration forces the ancient historian and archaeologist to re-consider the invasions of Greece and Macedonia in 280. The fact that invasions took place cannot

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<sup>7</sup> The Celtiberians have not been studied in this thesis although some comments are made on p116.

<sup>8</sup> The retention of a ‘Celtic’ pan-European culture is often seen in some European studies. An example of some modern publications that include this established view of Celticity include: Brun (1995), Crumley (1995), Fischer (1995), Frey (2006), Maier (2006) Urban (2006), Olivier (2006). In addition there are some archaeologists who sit astride the arguments and are characterised by an even-handed approach; such examples are given by Arnold (1995) and Büchsenschütz (1995). For an overview of the range of beliefs – see Arnold and Gibson (1995), and Rieckhoff (2006).

be denied but their reasons, extent, detail, and consequences must all be re-considered. Modern historians have credited so much traditional ‘Celtic’ identification to these people that starting afresh with a new approach and a review of all of the aspects of this narrative requires significant work.

There appear to be two generic names (‘Celt’ and ‘Gaul’) for these barbarians. There are variations, which for the ‘Celts’ are Κελτοί (Keltoi) and Celtae, and there exists the hybrid form of Celtiberian. For the ‘Gauls’ there are Γάλλοι (Galloi) or *Galli* (most modern historians treat the terms Γαλάται (Galatai), Galatae, and Galatian as equivalent to Gaul, however no justification for this has ever been made). One of the most confusing aspects is the apparent interchangeability between Κελτοί and Γαλάται the ancient authors, but when modern historians further interchange the terms ‘Celt’ and ‘Gaul’ – it is not unusual to have the two sets of terms used in the same sentence for the same people by both the ancient and modern historian – it makes the situation even more complex, misleading, and confusing. The synonymous nature of the words as used by the primary ancient authors seems unlikely in a world where accuracy in defining people and their geographical location was important. As our dependence upon and understanding of these terms in the primary sources is central to our understanding of the distribution of Iron Age tribes and how they interacted in this period, it must be important to examine and resolve these issues, in terms of both the primary authors and the modern commentators.

In addition to examining the main underpinning of the traditional narrative, it seems appropriate to bring to the re-examination of the incidents a multi-disciplinary approach in order to add information to an area that for too long has depended solely upon the primary sources. Walbank once remarked that ‘further evidence must be awaited’ (Walbank 1957: 50) when he came to an impasse because of confusion in the primary sources. As new discoveries of new ancient writings are improbable, it is unlikely that we can obtain ‘further evidence’ from this area. Any further evidence must come from either archaeology or from the application of disciplines not usually applied to these problems. Ancient history as a subject seems to shy away from assistance provided by other disciplines but the research context demands the addition of such an approach, as it is the only way to provide

Walbank's 'further evidence'. Various disciplines are applied in this study where it is felt they help to provide additional information or provide extra support for an argument.

Unfortunately, no previous research has been found in respect of the application of the re-definition of 'Celtic' culture to the events and people of the Balkans and to the re-examination of these 'Celtic' or 'Gallic' incursions into Macedonia and Greece. The established narrative within the subject of ancient history still holds sway and modern writing in this area still tells the story in the traditional way (Darbyshire *et al.* 1993: 75–83, Shipley 2000: 52–4, Mitchell 2003: 280–93, etc.). This thesis will attempt to apply one set of findings in a few disciplines (archaeology, military logistics, human physiology, etc), to a hypothesis in another (ancient history) and to describe the resulting implications. The use of these disciplines to redefine the approach to the narrative changes the conclusions and has significant implications for the rest of the story.

## 1.4 Methodology

The study of the ‘Celts’ in Greece and Macedonia has been a subject of historical and classical scholarship for at least two hundred years. In that time, scholars have developed the narrative from the basic primary source material in conjunction with social and archaeological theory as understood at the time. The narrative is thus cumulative, with concept upon concept, modification upon modification, and supposition upon supposition. This snowball-like growth over the years makes it difficult to take into account any of the recent changes in the archaeologist’s view of the ‘Celts’ and their migrations. It will be necessary to deconstruct the story to eliminate any irrelevant theoretical approaches, supposition and ‘factoids’. This last term was originally coined by Rackham (1987, 1991, and 1996) but first used in relation to ‘Celts’ by James when he identified elements of hypothesis or supposition that when repeated many times, take on the guise of truthful fact (James 1999: 23; cf. Lewis Carroll - ‘What I tell you three times is true’).<sup>9</sup> We must expect such elements to emerge from any examination of the ‘Celtic’ narrative with respect to Macedonia and Greece.

With such an accretion of facts, suppositions, factoids, interpretations, and hypotheses, we are unlikely to retrieve a view closer to the actual events by treating the modern narrative as a palimpsest; therefore, it is essential to deconstruct the narrative back to the original primary sources. It will also be necessary to undertake a re-examination of these sources, as advances in interpretation has provided additional and new information in recent years. This approach means that much of the standard modern literature is not used as it may have contributed to the accretion process.

In addition to the examination of the main narrative, it is most important to examine the wider historical, archaeological, and theoretical context around it. It is for this reason that this work has a strong archaeological basis and a goodly proportion is devoted to this aspect. The application of new discoveries and

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<sup>9</sup> *The Hunting of the Snark (Fit the First - The Landing, verse 2, line 4)* - Lewis Carroll (1971). Rackham defined a factoid as ‘a statement that looks like a fact, makes sense like a fact, commands the respect due to a fact, and has all the properties of a fact except that it is not true (Rackham 1996: 16) – also see Rackham 1987: 13-17; 1991: 102-5).

thinking in archaeology, new excavation data, theories and interpretations all add to the context of the overall story and this contextual information is of significant value in the setting of the primary sources and testing their veracity. The reason for this is that none of the primary authors, who have made major contributions to the narrative, was contemporaneous to the events and there is the inevitable drift of accuracy, comment and opinion with each re-telling of the story.

The questions and objectives of the research are well understood and the diversity of the research context will require a specific application to specific objectives. The first general method, as mentioned above, will be a thorough evaluation of the primary sources. In addition to these main sources, a substantial portion of the ancient Greek (and some Roman) literature will be examined for their relevance to the history of the 'Celts' and in the incursions in Greece. Each piece of information from these sources will be evaluated, as it would be unforgivable to replace one version based upon a misunderstood concept of pan-European culture with another version that has inaccurate or misunderstood interpretation of primary source information.

If the 'Celts' or 'Gauls' of traditional understanding were not responsible for the invasion into Macedonia and Greece, it is important to find out who were the likeliest candidates for this role, and to do this it is necessary to review the pre-history of the Balkans. This work is archaeological in nature and this examination of the Balkans' cultural history allows a better connection between the understanding of the ancient Greeks and the findings of modern archaeologists.

The question concerning the curious inter-changeability of the words 'Celt' and 'Gaul' in the primary sources will be examined by looking and counting every occurrence of the terms 'Celt' and 'Gaul',<sup>10</sup> in the primary sources (including inscriptions) and counting their incidence, and examining the context of use of the terms i.e. the people referred to and their probable homeland. From this study the shift in usage as well as identification will provide a better idea of who the Greeks saw as 'Celts', 'Gauls' and 'Galatae'. This exercise is designed to establish how the words changed in their use and to understand the evolution of these words with

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<sup>10</sup> More accurately the words whose stems are Κελτ and Γαλατ.

respect to unknown or poorly defined peoples. It is not intended to examine the attitude of the Greeks to barbarians, as the practical impossibility of that will be examined elsewhere. As a secondary aspect, the translation of each term by modern translators and commentators will also be recorded to see how much they used the apparent interchangeability of the terms to unconsciously modify the text to fit thoughts and theories concerning history current at the time of the translations.

One of the most difficult aspects in this research is to determine timescales and sequences of the events. Scholars have undertaken the extraction of information from all kinds of primary sources over the last two hundred years and it will be unrealistic to believe that information lies undiscovered. In this area of research, it will be necessary to bring studies of alternative disciplines to establish additional information on the subject. As the subject is essentially military then it makes sense to apply military science. I will refrain from using military tactics (the choice of amateurs) and concentrate on the professional science of logistics.<sup>11</sup> Information from meteorology, human physiology, speed of military movements, and routes through mountainous countryside will be collected. This data, in conjunction with the work of Hammond, will form the basis of the work along with the military logistics associated with Hannibal and Alexander.

In looking at the main incursion of the forces into Greece, the same use will be made of military logistics in order to resolve various issues relating to the main events and the objectives detailed above. Because the primary sources make an analogy with the invasion of the Persians under Xerxes, little can be deduced from these ancient accounts. In order to disassociate the two events, and establish a better narrative for each occurrence, I intend to apply a range of disciplines to provide more information on these events. These disciplines, in conjunction with modern archaeological findings and modern commentary, will allow a separation of these stories and a better narrative of the events of the 'Gallic' invasion. The disciplines used will include ancient Greek religion, mythology, the role and veracity of the oracle at Delphi, and the politics of the sanctuary, the region and the relationship of Delphi to the rest of Greece. By comparing and contrasting what can

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<sup>11</sup> This is the well-known military maxim, sometimes attributed to Gen. Omar Bradley (Mountainrunner, 2007), 'amateurs talk about strategy, dilettantes talk about tactics, and professionals talk about logistics.'

be deduced about both events, it should be possible to de-convolve the stories, separate the narratives for the barbarian incursions, and thus write an account that is relatively free from any inaccurate Persian Wars analogy.

To form the basis of a resolution of the confusion of events over the retreating 'Gauls', it will be necessary to review references to the primary sources and the complicated sequences proposed by modern commentators. Following this, an examination of the veracity of the proposed solutions in conjunction with the work already undertaken in this research will be made. From this study, a solution on the subsequent movement of these people is put forward without the need to rationalise the situation by the assumption that the remnants crossed over to Anatolia to establish Galatia.

## 1.5 Restatement of the Research Question

We can restate the main research topic as follows: given that the 'Celts' of traditional understanding cannot have been responsible for the Greek and Macedonian invasions, who invaded and what was the cause, nature and outcome of the events of 280/79?

This research question is expressed in a general manner and with such a wide-ranging subject the answer is not going to be a simple one but a compound one of inter-relating complexity. As such, we will approach the general question with a series of subsidiary ones and resolve each in turn. These questions are as follows.

1. If the invaders were not 'Celts' or 'Gauls' of traditional understanding, who were they and where did they come from? Modern historians usually give the reason for the invasion as a search for a homeland, but this reason is predicated on the basis that they were a migrating nation.
2. If the 'Celts' were a nineteenth-century construct, and there was no 'Celtic' migration, what was their reason for moving south and invading Macedonia and Greece? There is direct evidence in the primary sources that these people had a history of minor incursion and temple robbing but what prompted them to achieve a significant incursion in 280/79 and was it just part of a growing and ambitious sequence of raiding activities or a concerted effort to move south and secure more territory?
3. When the primary sources are looked at, we see the synonymous and yet confusing use by the authors of the terms 'Celt' and 'Gaul'. As we are dependent on these sources for the history of the region and these Iron Age tribes, a clear understanding of the use of these terms by the ancient authors within their time is essential. We need to ask if there is any subtle distinction between one form and other, or are they true synonyms. Is there a traceable path that shows they were once different but became synonymous with time?

4. Who were the 'Celts' or Κελτοί originally, where did they live and how did they get their name? What is the difference between the modern understanding of the 'Celts' and those of the ancient world, and how did the modern concept of them come about. Why is the traditional understanding of the 'Celts' now considered a 'failed hypothesis' by archaeologist and sociologists?
  
5. A key moment in the incursion of the barbarians was the death in battle of Ptolemaios Keraunos the Macedonian king. This event finally exposed a politically weak Macedonia who had trouble checking the raids of these people. When was he killed, why did the great army of the Macedonians fail against a horde of savage barbarians? Following the death of Keraunos and the defeat of the Macedonians, what was the sequence of events that led to the attack on Delphi?

The Greeks saw this invasion as analogous to the invasion of the Persians in 480. There has been a great deal of discussion of the parallels between Herodotos' treatment of the defence at Thermopylae against the Persians and the similar event two hundred years later with Pausanias' (and others) treatment of the defence of the same location against the 'Gauls'. The references are many but a small selection shows Tarn (1913: 153) saying 'the resemblances to Herodotos' story are patent', and Nachtergaele (1975: 141-2 and n.75) commenting on the way the style of Herodotos is imitated. Parke and Wormell (1956: 255) talk of how the accounts of what happened at Thermopylae suffer from a desire to emphasise the parallelism between that of the Persians and the barbarians. We need to ask why the ancient historians did this – was it political, social, 'nationalistic', or a literary device that took on more meaning as it was retold? What was the politics of the events at Delphi at the time of the Persians and of the barbarians, and what role did this play in the telling of the story of the events? As well as politics, what role did religion play in the description of events at Delphi and what was the politics of the events post-Delphi and how much effect did it have on the narrative?

The barbarians were defeated at Delphi and retreated, and here the story becomes even more confused. Were the armies destroyed or did the remnants roam the

countryside raiding and living off the terror they generated? Did they coalesce and migrate to Anatolia or set up a kingdom in Thrace? Galatia is traditionally said to be the completion of these peoples' migratory search for a homeland following the defeat at Delphi; but if the migration is not evident from an archaeological, primary source, and from a socio-psychological perspective, with who was Galatia populated and how did it originate?

Why did the thunderclap of these peoples' appearance in the Greek world die so quickly as they returned to relative obscurity?

## Chapter 2 – The Myth of the 'Celts'

2.1 Introduction

2.2 The Myth of the 'Celts'

2.3 The Ethnicity Debate

2.4 The Socio-Psychological Perspective and Greek Otherness

2.5 Migrations and Invasions

2.6 Language

2.7 Discussion

## Chapter 2 – The Myth of the ‘Celts’

### 2.1 Introduction

It was once said that ‘History repeats itself whilst historians repeat each other’ (Guedalla 1998: 135). Whilst there is strength in building on the work of others, and some repetition is a consequence of that, there is a danger (to which Guedalla was specifically referring) of also repeating inaccurate assumptions, poor research, and inadequate conclusions. In addition, there are elements of our own society and culture that can be unconsciously woven into the results. It is thus important that in every generation historians and archaeologists stop to review the assumption of their subjects and re-examine the basis of their work just to ensure that they are not passing on errors and omissions for the future. The sciences work on the basis that there is never confirmation of a theory; just the elimination of doubt; and any suggestion of error or counter-indicative evidence must always force a review of the theory. Within archaeology and history it seems that only a significant accumulation of evidence counter to an established position forces a re-examination of the subject, rather than any natural introspective examination at the first sign of uncertainty.

Because of such an accumulation of data (collected over the last 50 years), many modern archaeologists felt forced to re-examine aspects of traditional ‘Celtic’ culture. The evidence had accumulated to the point where it was essential to rethink the society and culture of Iron Age tribes<sup>12</sup> of Europe. Although this debate has been restricted to the development of new frameworks for the structure of the Iron Age in Western Europe and the western ‘Celts’, we should also make an extrapolation to the political and military processes of ‘Celtic’ interaction with the northern and eastern sphere of Greek influence in the late Iron Age.

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<sup>12</sup> Although it is recognised that ‘tribe’ is a problematic concept in this context it will be used throughout this thesis as a term indicating a generic social grouping. See Kristiansen (1998: 48–9) and Arnold and Gibson (1995) for a fuller discussion of this subject.

I do not intend to provide here a full detailed analysis of the archaeological findings or to present the data that forced the debate.<sup>13</sup> A brief socio-archaeological description is given by Collis (2003: 9-12) and a socio-political one by Chapman (1992: 201-8). However the main points of both sides are discussed here to allow arguments to be developed later with respect to the 'Celtic' incursions into Macedonia. The issue of the 'Celts' in Greece in the third century BC forms a part of the overall debate concerning the existence of a pan-European Iron Age culture, and its re-examination is necessary because many historians have mapped a traditional view of the 'Celts' onto Greek and Macedonian history. This affiliation has seriously obscured the history of the events of the region.

Green says that much of the debate concerning the existence of a pan-European 'Celtic' culture centres on the relationship between material culture, ethnicity and language and that the evidence for 'Celtic' existence is based upon archaeology, documentary sources and linguistic material (Green 1995: 3). In addition to these relationships and evidence, the concept of migration needs to be added, especially in the sense of a diaspora or 'a whole nation on the move' (Mitchell 1993: 15). This chapter then addresses these elements (although material culture is left to the review of the archaeology of the Balkans in Chapter 3) in order to set the theoretical basis for this research, to set out current modern ideas and their applicability to the current question, and essentially to level the playing field so as not to allow unsupported or 'factoid' arguments (see p.23) to interfere with the investigation.

Before starting the examination it might be useful to comment on those elements that describe the traditional and popular Celtic culture to which this thesis often refers. So many characteristics have been grafted on these people over the last few decades that the restriction to a core description is difficult to produce. By definition a 'popular' view will take into account these modern attributes and thus makes the task even more difficult. However the main elements of this popular view can be stated as follows.

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<sup>13</sup> For a more detailed explanation of the growing of dissatisfaction in the second half of the twentieth century, see Collis 2003: 9-12.

The Celts were an Iron Age society that originated just north of the Alps and migrated *en mass* to inhabit most of Europe. Their migration caused them to inhabit regions from Ireland in the west to Anatolia in the east, Scotland in the north to Iberia in the south. The Celts, on their eastern migration, sacked Rome and then the sanctuary at Delphi, and finally ended up in central Anatolia forming the nation of Galatia by the third Century BC.

The common cultural bond or defining element for these people is seen as being based on similarities in language, art, material artifacts, social organisation and mythological factors. The Celts were a distinctive racial group and as a race have a characteristic racial stereotype independent of source, time, and location. The language of the Celts is often used as an argument to validate a pan-European culture as it is said that the Celtic language evolved from the original Indo-European language and it was spread widely across Europe by the Celts. As such Celtic place names and other remnants of words show a commonality across Europe. The language was pan-European until significant interaction took place with Latinate and Germanic languages. These grew to dominate Europe and the Celtic language was finally restricted to the fringes of Western Europe.

Art is seen as the most readily recognised popular characteristic of Celticity. However the most easily recognisable is the simplified and stylised art known as, Curvilinear, or insular British art. It is ornamental, avoiding straight lines, only occasionally uses symmetry, has no imitation of nature central to the classical tradition, and involves complex symbolism. The style is perceived to be distinctive and easily recognisable.

The names we use for these people are confusing but it is now it is generally recognised that all Gauls are Celts, and some Celts are Gauls. The difference between the names and the people is becoming lost and to a large extent the terms Gaul, Galatae, Galli, and Celt are now synonymous and interchangeable. The population of Britain and Ireland today is seen to be descended either from direct Celtic stock who invaded and imposed their own language and culture, or are a mixture of an ancient peoples, that originally inhabited these lands, and an invading Celtic and later Germanic peoples.

From a technology point of view the Celts are mostly associated with La Tène culture and to a greater extent have become synonymous with this stage of the Iron Age. They are seen to have a warrior culture as they are shown as warriors with a love of weapons and warfare. They are also shown with an artistic aspect writing poetry, singing and being a noble savage.

Their religion, although unknown until Roman times, is seen as indigenous and polytheistic.

This then defines the traditional view of the Celt and it is to this description we must address our thesis.

## 2.2 The Myth of the 'Celts'

The evidence for the challenge to the traditional view of a 'Celtic' culture (for a description see James 1999: 26–37) has been developing since the mid-twentieth century. The wealth of detailed and accurate archaeological data deriving from improved, and more numerous excavations, had prompted many to question the validity of the traditional view of the 'Celtic' culture. Although not the earliest, the most forthright declaration came when Collis, in a review in 1985, proclaimed that 'Celtic' society never existed (Collis 1985: 349). By 1989 Hill had begun to question the validity of the approach with an appeal to 're-think the Iron Age' when he considered the damage that the perpetuation of the traditional view was doing to progress in this field (Hill 1989). He comments on the self-fulfilling mythology or the circular argument that applied at the time.

The 'fact' that the period was 'Celtic' allows an 'objective' means to test the archaeological record. 'Celtic' society and religion are invoked to explain away the archaeological record; the record is never used to challenge the underlying assumptions. The dialogue is one sided. The 'Celtic' context is not only powerful because it is empty but because it is total.

(Hill 1989: 18)

Chapman in 1992 produced a long and realistic look at the claims of 'Celticity' through language, names, stability, and continuity of culture. Although he did not advocate an abandonment of the concept of the 'Celt', he produced enough doubts to force many to re-examine the status and veracity of the concept (Chapman 1992).

The archaeological world continued to digest the slow but inexorable change in the perception of the Iron Age until a paper by Megaw and Megaw (1996) dramatically opened up the debate. This paper attacked this evolving change in the attitude of archaeologists to the traditional view of 'Celticity' and levelled accusations of political motivation and ethnic cleansing (Megaw and Megaw, 1996: 180) in archaeologists' attempts to destroy it. These accusations brought rapid rejoinders first by Collis (1997) and then by James (1998), and their robust responses had the effect of bringing the debate to the wider public's attention. During this public debate, a strong polarisation of the thoughts on 'Celts' was seen to be evolving. On one hand, we have a view, based upon archaeological evidence, which supports the high regional variation of the Iron Age. This diversity practically eliminates the

generalisations necessary to establish a wide-ranging monoculture.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, the traditional ‘Celtic’ culture still dominates the imagination of the public and some areas of academe. This is attested by the two or three books published on the traditional view every year (Collis 1997: 196) and by master’s degrees in Celtic Studies with emphasis on culture, language, art and literature (e.g. at University of Wales, Lampeter). The debate, especially the reaction of traditionalists, is probably the most interesting aspect of this episode. However the current situation is that most archaeologists have abandoned the concept of pan-European ‘Celticity’ as an inadequate tool to use in exploring Iron Age cultures (Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997: 4). The final change of view of everyone about the ‘Celts’ will eventually be determined by the data and by the usefulness of any new model to explain Iron Age society and not from any other political, theoretical, or emotional criteria.

The origins of the traditional view are worthy of some comment, as the early aspects are very relevant to this research. Herodotos<sup>15</sup> was the first to use the term ‘Celt’ (or more properly Κελτοί) in a structured and descriptive sense. Other ancient sources mention the ‘Celts’, but they are in the main related to the ‘Celtic’ incursions of the third century BC into Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia Minor. Roman authors present a more detailed set of references due to the second Punic War, the war with the Gauls, the Gallic sacking of Rome (see p.135–6) etc.; but in considering these references much is contradictory, especially in the varying use of the terms Κελτοί, *Galatae* or *Galli*. Collis reminds us that, with such confusion and obvious looseness of categorisation, these terms are unacceptable as the basis for modern archaeological nomenclature (Collis 1997: 196).

After the fifth century AD, the ‘Celts’ disappear from the historical record as an ethnic entity. They did not arise again until the eighteenth, when place-name evidence was interpreted as evidence that these were a group of languages that was named ‘Celtic’ (see pp. 67–74). The early inhabitants of Britain became ‘Celtic’ rather than British, with a corresponding description assigned to artefacts and antiquities. However objects found in Germany and France at this time were ascribed to the categories of Greek, Etruscan or Roman. Following the

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<sup>14</sup> James has commented that the intensity of this diversity has led many to question the validity of maintaining regions in terms of a ‘Celtic’ or other extensive monoculture (James 1998: 203).

<sup>15</sup> For the moment I shall ignore the fragments of Hekataios of Miletus – see pp99–100)

establishment of a period named the 'Iron Age', ethnic interpretations of grave goods strengthened links between these goods, ethnicity, and language. By the early twentieth century, 'Celts' and La Tène were synonymous and large migrations of 'Celtic' tribes became the main method for the spread of the 'Celts', spatially as well as temporally, from the Hallstatt to the La Tène Iron Ages. By the second half of the twentieth century, the traditional view of 'Celts', Europe, and Britain was established and then strengthened by selective use of art, popular culture, and romanticism (Chapman 1992: 120–45).

When archaeologists looked at the spread of the 'Celts', the evidence for their migration or 'diffusion' depended upon the artefacts found in burials. When modern archaeologists re-examined these artefacts it was realised that much of the early data were selective and biased. The selectiveness, and the resulting conclusions concerning continuity of culture and the derivation of culture from grave goods, gave rise to concerns about the legitimacy of this process and specifically about the links between ethnicity and grave goods. Halsall has summed up this work in this area and has commented, in a general sense, on the difficulty, if not impossibility, of assigning ethnicity, religion, social status, and, by extrapolation, social character from grave goods (Halsall 1997: 56–61). Sekunda (2000: 347) makes a similar point when he attempts to prove the hypothesis of ethnicity being the principal factor promoting federalism in west Crete in pre-Minoan times, but can find no data from grave goods to substantiate any ethnic/federalism hypothesis. Ethnicity, and its relationship with culture, forms one of the main foundations of the hypothesis that the 'Celts' were a pan-European homogeneous culture, and 'ethnicity' in recent years has replaced many of the parameters of 'culture' as a defining feature of a society in the eyes of some historians. However, it is possible to demonstrate that the link between ethnicity and culture is tenuous, indefinable at best, and non-existent at worst. Such a demonstration of the implausibility of this link between ethnicity and culture goes a long way to eliminate the worst excesses of the traditional view of the 'Celts'.

## 2.3 The Ethnicity Debate

When exactly ethnicity began to be used as an approach to characterise past societies is difficult to determine, the amorphous nature of the reasons for studying it is only equal to its definitions and use. In this section I shall firstly consider a Greek perspective of ethnicity as it provides some detailed scope for specific discussion and then extend this to the general view that allows us to relate it to the question of 'Celticity'.

Malkin justifies the study of ethnicity in terms of the ancient perceptions of identity and their function as 'social facts' (Malkin 2001: 2). Despite the exposure of the artificiality of ethnicity by sociologists, he believes that the current proliferation of ethnic conflicts around the world proves the value of such an approach. Konstan (2001) discusses the ethnicity of three periods in Greek history but I feel that he is in danger of confusing 'ethnicity' with 'stereotype' and misses the point that ethnicity is a self-conscious appellation and not externally defined. McInerney (2001), like others, uses current 'ethnic conflicts' to justify his work, but his definitions of ethnicity have a strong culture-historical perspective and thus a strong normative aspect. He uses the myths associated with the origins of the 'Greeks' and, by making the transformation from 'race' into 'tribe' and thence into 'ethnic group', substantiates an ethnic approach. Whilst admitting to the complexity of the generation of ethnicity in ancient Greece, he contends that ethnogenesis is a palimpsest to be deconstructed providing it is restricted to a single region. Morgan (2001: 75–112) makes an interesting connection by arguing that Iron Age and Archaic political structures provide for ethnic expression, and a study of these political structures will provide insights into these ethnic constructs. Just mentions that *ethnos* has remained unchanged as a word from classical antiquity, where it did not refer to a political structure but a unity of another kind and may have been used to contrast the politics of the polis with that of the loose-knit 'primitive' social organisations of north-western Greece (Just 1989: 72).<sup>16</sup> Cohen

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<sup>16</sup> This comment of Just's opens up a complex debate on the nature of the polis and its relationship to *ἔθνος*. Hansen (1997: 13) indicates that *πόλεις* is often synonymously used with the more correct term *πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη* but there is no example of *ἔθνος* being used synonymously with the same phrase. Aristotle (*Pol.* 2.1.5 [1261a.25–31]) confirms the disassociation between the terms providing that the population is not separated into villages but separated in the way the Arkadians are and Shipley comments that Aristotle refers to two kinds of *ethnos* – one based on a polis, the other not,

(2001) approaches the question 'who is Greek?' with reference to 'scholarly and popular' definitions of ethnicity that allow an art-historical appraisal of the Parthenon frieze and other visual representations in Ancient Greek art (Cohen 2001: 235–74). Hall, like McInerney, starts with a reference to recent ethnic conflicts and comments that there is always an historical basis for any of these ethnic conflicts (Hall 1997: 1–2). Although he puts this argument strongly, he ignores the sociological reasons that would explain the ethnic conflict simply; there is a general feeling of restraint in his work and some evidence of an undeveloped counter-argument, which renders the reader a little confused. Cornell and Lomas (1997) discuss gender and ethnicity in the ancient world using 'post-modern' interpretation of 'artefact texts' such as sculpture and vase painting. It is difficult to see both the justification and the results of this work.

From this brief review, two features seem to justify the study of ethnicity as a way of describing early Greek identity. The first relates to the age-old question of 'who is Greek?' and the second is the assumption that, as the world is currently hosting a range of ethnic conflicts, so it must have done so in the past. These two justifications for such work are weak, as modern sociology and socio-psychology have already provided a response to these questions (see pp47–50, pp40–1, and fn. 16). It is difficult to see why the scholars have expended so much effort in this manner when a little research would satisfy their enquiries. With so little valid justification for the study of ethnicity from current authors, it is necessary to seek alternative explanations.

Just (1989: 73) discusses the origins of the Greeks and points out that before the Greek War of Independence (1821–30) there was never a cohesive political entity called Greece (or Hellas). In the ancient world, the Greeks (or Hellenes) recognised themselves as such and reduced the rest of the world to barbarity. Despite this group recognition, these 'Greeks' were mutually antagonistic and it was often necessary to define the form of the group membership. Within a local context, this definition is unimportant, as local issues do not require a wider definition of the group. It only becomes important within a wider Greek-group setting and hence

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and Aristotle is not talking about ethne but about variations in the types of Polis (G. Shipley 2008, pers. comm.). See Hansen (2006), Nielsen (2002) and Nielsen & Roy (1999) for further debate on this complex subject.

gives rise to the debate of 'who is Greek and who is not?' The elements of the Greek membership define the Greek *ethnos* and, according to Just, evoke the biggest debate within ancient Hellenic studies. Campbell (1964) discusses ethnic aspects in an historical setting in rural Greece based on 'who is Greek?' and discovered the difficulty and complexity of any direct assertion of descent. Campbell, being a social anthropologist, felt it did not serve any purpose and nothing depended upon its resolution, and so abandoned the debate.<sup>17</sup> If the question of historical ethnicity is an irrelevance to Campbell and the people he studied, why is it so important to scholars to defend or substantiate the Greek *ethnos* integrity? There are two possible answers to this question. The first relates to scholars' attitude to the last two millennia of Greek history, in which *ethnos* is a concept that has preserved Greek identity through Roman, Byzantium, and Ottoman occupation until *ethnos* could become *kratos* in the early nineteenth century. The second relates to Just's comment that much of the history of Greece is in terms of *ethnos* and much of its politics has been informed by this notion (Just 1989: 72). Although this comment relates to the whole of Greek history, it resonates particularly with the writings from the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

The problems of early Greek concepts of identity seem to have come in some part from Herodotos. Hides, in discussing ethnicity, cites Hartog (1988) for the view that some studies have been able to demonstrate the use of the terms *ethnos* and *genos* as a perception of the characteristics of others, and that self-identity takes place through the construction of the 'other' (Hides 1996: 49). Hides argues that both the Greeks and Romans constructed their own identities through the perceptions and constructions of 'others' and had no self-perception beyond this. This is a reference to Hartog's championing of the hypothesis of 'otherness' and the dichotomy of Greeks and barbarians. Hides goes on to say that Hartog has shown that Herodotos had a deeply ethnocentric attitude towards the societies he describes and that modern Western thought has inherited this ethnocentricity. Although it would appear that Hartog's ethnocentricity is not at all directly stated in his work, he does talk of Herodotos 'generating rhetoric of otherness' (Hartog 1988: 212). Such a characteristic seems to be interchangeable with ethnicity without any distortion of

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<sup>17</sup> Banks discusses the relationship between ethnicity and anthropology in a much broader and less pragmatic way (Banks 1996).

his arguments (although it must be pointed out that ethnicity is a self-bestowed concept whilst 'otherness' is rarely so used). It is interesting to note at this point that Cartledge also favours this concept of 'otherness' and deliberately generalises it beyond the limited definition relating to ethnicity (Cartledge 1993). The other clue as to the origin may come from Herodotos himself when he classes Greeks as being those that share the same gods, common blood, common tongue, and common religious customs (Hdt. 8.144). Coupled with his continual ethnographic descriptions of Greek and non-Greek people and the persistence of the descriptors 'Dorian', 'Ionian', 'Aeolian', etc. it is not surprising that an ethnic perception is accumulated and is used as a description of ancient Greek society (see Alty 1982). Thomas reflects the same argument and makes the same point as Hides with respect to Herodotos (Thomas 2001: 213).

Cartledge, as already mentioned, discusses the concept of 'otherness' as a major engine of political and cultural change. He does not assign this term for group identity to gender, class, race, religion, or ethnicity but allows just the concept of alterity (Cartledge 1993: 2). He is more dismissive of ethnicity and points out the modern political dimension of history and its ideological use for purposes other than that professed by historians. When politically active terms such as ethnicity are utilised, there will always be ideological use. On the role of Herodotos in deriving the nature and origin of Greek civilisation, Cartledge dismisses this with the comment that 'such arguments' are sterile due to the inability to read Herodotos in his original cultural context (Cartledge 1993: 37). Also Cartledge *et al.* (1997) point out that ethnicity is now a fashionable concept that has replaced race in how communities define themselves in the Hellenistic world: '...instead of race it is now ethnicity that occupies centre stage in the language of modern scholarship although this relatively new concept is in danger of seeming hardly less vacuous or ambiguous.' (Cartledge *et al.* 1997: 7).

Romeo (2002), although using ethnicity in the title of her paper, does not develop any argument directly germane to this subject but describes the inconsistency in the definition of ethnicity within two cultural contexts – economic and educational – and shows that self-perception changes according to circumstances. This concept is of particular significance to the nature of self-perception, and Hall makes a

similar point when he concludes (in respect of Greek language and Greek ethnicity), 'that Greek identity itself rested on solid ethnic foundation', (Hall 1995: 95). He goes on to argue that as circumstances changed so did ethnic bonding strength. From Herodotos in the fifth century BC, Greekness was equated to religion, language and custom whilst from Isokrates in fourth century BC it was to be applied to all those sharing the same customs (not the ancestry) of the Greeks.

Having described a little of what historians have done, and to indicate perhaps why they did it, an argument is now necessary to establish if ethnicity has any validity as an approach to societies in ancient times. Before discussing the concept of ethnicity as a social descriptor, it is first necessary to examine the attitude of scholars, their intellectual and emotional baggage, and the twenty-first-century perspective on the issue. The selectiveness of argument and the involvement in historians' view of the ancient world influences, significantly, the presentation of the arguments. Shanks and Tilley (1992) point out that preferences for one interpretation over another depend entirely on factors arising from the sociology of the practitioners rather than from the constraints given by the evidence. Cartledge (1993: 36) quotes the writing of Stedman-Jones who says: 'One of the uses of history has always been (in Western society at least) the creation of traditional mythologies attributing a historical sanctity to the present self-images of groups, classes and societies' (Stedman-Jones 1972: 112).

Cartledge goes on to say that people use history for purposes other than those professed by historians, and in the case of ethnicity, this alternative use is more likely when the definitions of ethnicity involve such sensitive factors as language, blood, and religion. Morgan also sounds a warning note when she speaks of the possible transitory nature of ethnicity by saying that:

... it is possible that just as perceptions of the polis are heavily overshadowed by nineteenth century German scholarship, so ethnicity will turn out to be a transient preoccupation of the post-modern late twentieth century... to avoid the easy fallacious solution of simply re-labelling as "ethnic" material traits hitherto accorded other meanings it is necessary to undertake close analysis of the relationship between community structure and ethnic expression.

Morgan (2001: 93)

The comments or warnings given above about the danger of ethnicity were not difficult to find, indicating substantial disquiet amongst historians on the current

treatment of this subject. This point made by Morgan is probably the most telling, as at first glance ethnicity is nothing more than the re-labelling of the term 'culture' and the philosophy of culture-history with the added justification of classical sources. It is surprising to see no argument against ethnicity of the same kind that discredited culture-history. The same normative elements are present in most of the discussions, and many are the refurbished arguments of culture history. In many cases, 'ethnicity' is just 'culture' and 'culture-history' in new clothes. Jones makes just this point when she says 'all too often concepts such as 'ethnic group' and culture are regarded as natural categories, and it is important to consider the historical contingency of these concepts within human sciences' (Jones 1997: 39). One point that needs re-emphasising at this point is that ethnicity and culture are analytically and perceptually distinct although the ease by which much of the work allows their interchangeability causes more concern. Apart from those detailed and accepted arguments that discredit culture-history, there are many in the associated subjects of archaeology and social psychology that would cast doubt on pursuing the relevance of ethnicity any further without a case-by-case study. Morgan's comments and warnings are prophetic.<sup>18</sup>

Returning to the concept of ethnicity as a social descriptor, Sekunda shows that there appears to be no evidence of ethnic survival in the archaeological record and therefore all our evidence must come from the interpretation of the primary sources. Ethnicity refers to the self-conscious identification of a particular social group. It is obvious that prehistory is in a difficult position in this respect as there is no direct access to people's self-conscious identification. Access through documentary history via the primary sources is not in a better position. Shennan quotes Geary (1983) as saying that 'ethnic labels applied by early writers do not correspond to our definitions of self-conscious identity groups' (Shennan 1989: 14). Therefore, the existence of documentary evidence (the primary sources), which is usually taken to be conclusive in any argument, should only be viewed as one more piece of evidence. This is demonstrated by Cartledge's view on Herodotos (Cartledge 1993: 37), given above.

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<sup>18</sup> Collis's humorous description of ethnicity and its use in modern political constructions shows the difficulties that historians can get into by accepting modern ethnic myths mapped onto political positions (Collis 1996: 167-70).

Many, if not most, of the modern authors give the basis of these arguments as modern ethnic strife re-patterned onto historic times. This argument, especially that of Malkin (2001: 1-2), who adds that this process invalidates the current sociological theory of the artificiality of ethnicity, seems particularly weak. The comments of Morgan, Shennan, Geary, Hall, and Cartledge are relevant to the refutation of Malkin's argument and a further sociological argument damages Malkin's position significantly. At a time of any sudden major social change when familiar socio-cultural patterns are being destroyed, society re-evaluates itself and its history as new communities and social patterns arise. This re-evaluation causes an inventing of traditions and the society's history is rewritten. Jones and Graves-Brown comment, 'ethno-history provides the authenticity of legitimation which groups desire and require in their claims for independent consideration' (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 4). A culture-historical dimension exists within this argument, which is the assumption that ethnic groups are internally homogeneous, continuous entities defined by culture, language, and racial distinctiveness. This assumption allows the construction of long genealogies for contemporary ethnic and national groups, which reinforces the consciousness of identity. Jones and Graves-Brown further mention that, 'by the latter half of the twentieth century, ethnicity and nationalism have ceased to be seen as a product of the natural order', and then 'the portrayal of cultural groups as monolithic, bounded, objective entities has come under increasing attack' (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 5). This is the mechanism of ethnic strife and coupled with the argument of ethnicity as an ideology and an artificial construct, the comments of Malkin (2001: 2) seem contrary. Archaeological studies show that there is no correspondence between political, cultural, and linguistic boundaries in the past, so how could discrete socio-cultural entities continue to exist?

It is not, however, appropriate to dismiss all aspects of ethnicity from consideration. Jones and Graves-Brown point out that irrespective of the form of the ethnic myth, it is contingent upon a real historical process. It is essential to be aware of the political manipulation of the myth, and only take conclusions from those elements of it that are free from any such manipulation. It is then necessary to quarantine any conclusions derived from such a study of ethnicity of the past, until the processes of its generation are understood. The historian should always

remember that, just as cultural groups are not neatly packaged now, neither were they in the past. The way past societies conceptualised and institutionalised social and cultural difference, especially with respect to ethnic considerations, is still not, and perhaps never will be, understood.

With the recognition that ethnic groups are self-defining systems, there comes a dislocation between culture and ethnicity. Although there may be some correlation between the two, Jones (1996: 67) believes that it is not a straightforward relationship. Therefore, we cannot consider ethnic groups as culture-bearing units and this conclusion goes against nationalistic and political arguments mentioned above. The other correlation is that if ethnicity and culture have no direct link then variations in the archaeological record are not a measure of physical or social distance between these entities. Jones concludes (Jones 1996: 74) that the correlation between ethnic unity, claimed territory and history remains intact only where research has an interest in maintaining such a relationship.

We have seen that culture and ethnicity are not manifestations of the same entity and therefore not interchangeable although many scholars make that assumption. The relevance of studying ethnicity has not been justified and cannot be so if the artificiality of ethnicity is accepted. The belief that ethnicity describes past social interactions has also not been demonstrated adequately, as the variability and ethno-history of a society are impossible to trace. We see that, like culture, ethnicity leaves no clear trace in the archaeological record, if it did, then any interpretation would be normative and fall victim to the same arguments that finally discredited the theory of culture-history. The use of original sources in determining ethnicity and hence the process of social interaction is at fault, as we have no ability to read them in their original cultural context. It is difficult to see any great value in the concept of ethnicity as a tool to discover the culture, society, and social interactions of the past.

Now from this argument, two interesting and important points emerge. Megaw and Megaw, in their response to their critics, excuse their position by commenting on 'how elusive the nature of the current ethnicity debate is' (Megaw and Megaw 1998: 433). However, it can be seen that such a discussion on the link between ethnicity

and culture is quite advanced and not at all elusive. James's comment that 'it [*the argument*] often degenerates into a dialogue of the deaf' (James 1998: 207) is apposite, as only a little inter-disciplinary reading is required to access the relevant area of culture and ethnicity. However, James, who believes that the Megaws' errors are fruitful, also acknowledges the second and more important point, that archaeologists should examine the political contexts and theoretical basis of what they do (James 1998: 206). We may invoke James's view to account for the reaction of followers of tradition and their critics in this debate, as the reaction of the traditionalists seems disproportionate to the modifications proposed. The personal and academically veiled insults indicate that this controversy struck deep, and was not restricted to academic reputations or debates about the interpretation of data. So there is a need to explain the traditionalist reaction, and in doing so we will achieve some clarity on the subject.

As we have seen above, there is generally a re-presentation of cultural identity at a time of political and social disruption within a society. Now Megaw and Megaw, writing at the end of the twentieth century, use British political upheavals, economic decline, the supposed threat of the EU, the re-defining of national identity, and the devolution of power to the provinces as some of those elements that are politically forcing the rejection of 'Celticity'. It is, they say, an unconscious attempt to claim independence or reject the pan-European destiny (Megaw and Megaw 1996: 178-9). I would suggest that Megaw and Megaw are correct in their conclusion but not in the manner of its derivation. When we consider the history of modern 'Celticity', it would seem that the increase in its popularity occurred at the start of the second half of the twentieth century. Even Tolkien noted this trend and its dangers.<sup>19</sup> If the social situation of the mid-twentieth century in Britain is considered, we see that it was at a time of major social and political upheaval. There was the destruction of existing socio-cultural patterns that warranted a re-evaluation and re-presentation of identities far greater than the changes alluded to by Megaw and Megaw. Britain had passed through a major war, it was disposing of its colonies, its role in the world was rapidly diminishing, there was a social

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<sup>19</sup> 'To many, perhaps to most people outside the small company of the great scholars, past and present. "Celtic" of any sort is.... a magic bag, into which anything may be put, and out of which almost anything may come.... anything is possible in the fabulous 'Celtic' twilight, which is not so much a twilight of the gods as of the reason'. (Tolkien 1963: 29-30).

revolution happening at home with class barriers and systems being torn down, education expanding, immigration starting on a large scale, periodic swings to the political left, and a consequential restructuring of all aspects of society. These events were bigger and more influential than the small changes that Megaw and Megaw are using at the present to account for 'Celticity's' rejection. The changes of the mid-twentieth century would give rise to an establishment of new social myths, with a corresponding invention of tradition and a re-writing and re-evaluation of history. Is not the adoption of 'Celtism' (a ready made myth in the wings) a perfect candidate? All of the 'Celtic' countries had suffered the same social upheaval at about the same time and thus added to the groundswell of the 'Celtic' myth (James 1999: 55-6). In addition, the generation of the 'Celtic' myth across both the UK and Ireland had the effect of reinforcing each other's stories, lending false credibility and suggesting a wide regional conformity.<sup>20</sup> It would seem that a good explanation for the generation of the 'Celt' arose from this mid-twentieth century social upheaval, as a response to social change. The recent realisation of the over-extension of the concept came about due to good-quality archaeological data and the realisation that the social factors that engendered its adoption were no longer relevant. Thus, the reaction of the traditionalist is extreme because they perceive the revision of the traditional 'Celt' as a direct attack on their own perception of their role in the world they grew up in and their own social history.

There remains one important point that arises from Chapman's questions. Although he admits that his arguments attempt to prove that there is no such thing as a traditionally understood 'Celt', he constrains his comments to a historical, archaeological and a social basis (Chapman 1992: 251). In another respect he admits that 'Celts' do exist, as there are people who believe they do, groups who call each other 'Celts', and groups who believe they are 'Celts' themselves. In a very real sense modern 'Celts' have come into existence as a socially identifiable group. This thesis makes no attempt at commenting or criticising this modern phenomenon (that is left to the socio-psychologist – see pp. 42) but it does seriously question the bogus ancient basis that formed its genesis. It is important that the archaeologist, historian (ancient and modern), art historian and folk culturalists understand the

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<sup>20</sup> This is especially so when the Irish attachment to the myth started earlier with their fight for independence (James 1999:23-4).

difference between ancient and modern 'Celts'. Delaney comments 'The division between the genuine, ancient peoples and their modern, diluted namesakes remains clear and can no longer be relevantly bridged' (Delaney 1986: 159). This 'bridge' is recognised by many to be non-existent, but still too many attempt to cross it. Chapman concludes by saying, 'The 'Celts' as we know them today are a romantic and post-romantic creation, whose ancient genealogy is modern' (Chapman 1992: 208).

From the archaeological record, the socio-psychology of ethnicity and the history of 'Celticity' we see that there is no reason to perpetuate the myth. There appears little sense in using a modern manifestation of a socio-psychological effect as a tool to investigate an ancient society. The implied result of its persistence is, as Collis remarked, the continued misuse of the archaeological record for political ends and the danger that such false research methodologies push research in the wrong direction (Collis 1997: 196).

The reason for the above discussion of the validity of describing a pan-European monoculture is obvious when we consider the 'Celtic' invasions of northern Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace. This first occurred in 280 BC and their dramatic appearance and its consequences changed and destabilised a set pattern of international interaction that was to last until the coming of the Romans 140 years later. The various complicating issues arise in both the ancient and modern commentaries because of the term 'Celt', and this important aspect of Greek history has been suffused with rationalities and extrapolations based upon the traditional view of 'Celticity'. With the change in the explanation of Iron Age society from a 'Celtic' hypothesis to one of significant diversity, the value of applying a 'Celtic' characteristic needs some examination.

An extreme example of the description of the Macedonian invasions and the description of the people is given by Tarn when discussing the nature of the 'Celts' and is as follows:

.... at their head marched the half-wild Galatae from the North Sea, men mighty of limb, their strong rough-hewn faces, so strange to Greek eyes, surmounted by huge shocks of red hair, their throats circled by gold torcs,

men who in action flung away target and plaid and charged half naked with their claymores, as their kinfolk in Britain were to do later at the Battle of the Standard and on many another field.

(Tarn 1913: 143)

Tarn must have extrapolated 'rough-hewn' faces from the comments and interpretations of Bienkowski (1908) of the surviving art of Pergamon as there is no other provenance found for such a description. Tarn's *Galatae* and his description of 'Celtic' fighting methods all come from wars with Hannibal (Polyb. 2.28; 3.114.4; 7.30; 8.29 and Livy 22.46.5; 38.21.9). The tribal names and method of fighting have no proven connection with the events of Greece and the Balkans. Claymores and plaid are Tarn's imaginative interpretation presumably based upon a pre-conceived notion associated with the 'Celts' (he was a Scot). We also see the confusing description of these people as both 'Celts' and 'Gauls' with the terms used interchangeably, though modern authors are not solely responsible for this lack of clarity as it appears in ancient sources as well.

The surviving art of Pergamon on which Tarn and Bienkowski seem to base their descriptions is a series of statues produced to symbolise the success of Pergamon over the barbarians ('Gauls'). The two most famous pieces of art are statues, the 'Gaul killing himself and his family', and the 'Dying Gaul' or 'Trumpeter',<sup>21</sup> which are Roman copies (Shipley 2000: 313), Mitchell confirms they are copies of the age of Trajan (Mitchell 1993: 21), and Andrae states the friezes as well as the statues are marble copies from original bronzes (1991: 64). Art historians disagree on the amount of modification or 'romanization' in these statues to suit the new owner's taste, and thus we cannot judge the veracity of any analysis extracted from their representations. Historians usually associate the wearing of torcs depicted in the statues by the warriors as proof of their European heritage and a measure of their 'Celticity' (Darbyshire *et al.* 2000: 83). However, a reference in the Lindian Chronicle shows that torcs were also Persian artefacts. Datis gifted golden torcs to the sanctuary at Lindos (although they were originally dedicated at Delos) as well by Artaxerxes (Higbie 2003: 121 and 129–30).<sup>22</sup> The 'romanization' of the statues and the consequent modifications coupled with the establishment that torcs can be

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<sup>21</sup> Currently found at the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.

<sup>22</sup> The golden torque of Datis appears in the inventories of Lindos (IG XI.2.154A.51-2; 153.7; IG XI.2.161B.96). Rhodes had returned to the Persian Empire during the fourth century and a gift from Artaxerxes to Lindos would have symbolised their bond (Higbie 2003: 121 and 129-30).

Persian, eliminates any firm proof that these statues have any 'European', 'Gallic', or 'Celtic' derivation.

We can easily make strong criticism of Tarn's descriptions. The backwards extrapolation from another war (the second Punic), in another place (north-west Italy) at another time (80 years later), based only on the common element of the name 'Celt' (or 'Gaul'), is methodologically unsound. To compound the error by ascribing to them characteristics that come from other people thousands of miles and many centuries away stretches reason more than history (see Tolkien 1963: 29–30 and n. 17 above). The biggest problems with this description, however, are not the poor history but the assumption, the tone, and the idea that all of these aspects are connected. However, it would be unfair to criticise Tarn too harshly, as he was conceptualising these events within the context of what he knew and it is only with the benefit of progress that we can think differently. It is at modern authors, who maintain the myth of the 'Celt' without examination of the evidence, that the real criticism should be levelled.<sup>23</sup> One point should be borne in mind – this myth has an insidious way of finding its way into many academic commentaries, no matter the eminence of the scholar or the purity of his methodology. Modern scholars persist in using it almost unconsciously.<sup>24</sup>

It is possible to construct an argument that the 'Celts' were perhaps a small tribe 'beyond the Pillars of Herakles' that traded with Phoenicians, and that their name could have become a generic term to mean those tribes on the edge of the known world. Herodotos put them, somewhat arbitrarily, at the source of the river Danube, due to his poor geography and a mistaken notion that the Danube ran centrally through the whole of Europe. When we consider his variable geographical accuracy in other areas, it is surprising that historians gave any credibility to his description at all. Herodotos' geography is to be discounted on this point, and his description of the origins and routes of the Danube to be classified as accurate as his geography of the Nile. His preoccupation with the elaborate parallelism between the Nile and the Danube forces errors into an already inaccurate geographic description. As for

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<sup>23</sup> As an example see Rankin in whose book he paraphrases Tarn (Rankin 1995: 21, cf. Tarn 1913: 143 and n. 21 and 22) which adds nothing except to perpetuate the myth, and having established the traditional nature of his scholarship proceeds to make assumptions that support his view.

<sup>24</sup> As an example of an infusion of the traditional view of 'Celticity' in a modern work, see Mitchell (2003: 288).

other commentators, the degree of acceptance of Herodotos' geography relates to the position adopted by that scholar. There exists a ready acceptance of his geography is shown by Fitzpatrick, who opens a discussion with the assertion that Herodotos 'refers to the people living on the Danube, near the Pyrenees and further in Spain' (Fitzpatrick 1996: 238). Yet, a look at Herodotos shows that he writes of something quite different. The translation says quite clearly that the river flows from the land of the 'Celts' (i.e. it rises in the land of the 'Celts') and flows from the city of Pyrene. Herodotos does not mention the Pyrenees Mountains,<sup>25</sup> and the 'Celts' are not living by or on the Danube. Further, Herodotos tells us that the 'Celts' live beyond the 'Pillars of Herakles', not in Spain and the 'Pillars of Herakles' in this context are taken as a literary device serving to define an exit or entrance from the known 'Greek world'. Although many may think these points minor, the unreflective comments of Fitzpatrick suggest a situation that appeals to the traditional concept of 'Celts' in Europe and implicitly reinforces a pan-European view of 'Celtic' culture. The danger is that the presupposition of what historians want to be said, rather than what was actually written (and Fitzpatrick is not an isolated case), adds to the perpetuation of the 'Celtic' myth.

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<sup>25</sup> Turner (1853: 103) believes Herodotos meant the Pyrenees Mountains. This is due to Herodotos' insistence on the mirror symmetry of the Danube and the Nile. Some argument may be made against this as the Greeks were aware of the Rhône from their colonies at and around Marseilles, and this area lies to the east of the Pyrenees (see also How and Wells 1912: 178).

## 2.4 The Socio-Psychological Perspective and Greek Otherness

We have seen that, in his discussion of identity in the ancient world, Cartledge (1993) talks of the concept of 'otherness' or the theory of 'alterity'. This derives from his considerations of a more general recognised group identity, as opposed to the specificity of ethnicity, in regarding social (usually disaffected) elements. This concept of 'otherness' is a valuable concept in the study of Greek history but is limiting in its application. Further, extending the ideas to encompass a 'national perspective' stretches the concept to breaking point resulting in some slightly ridiculous conclusions that do nothing but reflect badly on the original concept. Although it is a valuable concept, the usefulness of 'otherness' becomes even more apparent if we describe it in another way.

Whilst accepting that this concept of 'otherness' may be important, and relevant to the events surrounding the invasion of the 'Celts', I would argue that we could reach even more secure conclusions by expressing the theory in another way. Cartledge's alterity hypothesis is based upon the work of Levinas (Hand 1989), who between the two world wars developed a theory of groups derived from the difference and exclusion suffered by one group against which a dominant group and its individual members 'define themselves negatively in ideally polarised opposition' (Cartledge 1993: 20). Application of an idea used in socio-psychology allows an extension of Cartledge's ideas and as a direct consequence resolves many of the issues identified by Romeo, Hartog, and Hall discussed earlier. Further, the approach allows an insight into the reaction of the Greeks to the invading barbarians and their need to identify them with the most important crisis in their history – the invasion of the Persians.

In order to see how the concept known as inter-group processes relates to our current study, we need to look at the history of its development. Although Levinas is credited with initially formulating the basis of social group theory, the concept of a society forming opposing groups (in-groups and out-groups) can be traced back to 1906, when Sumner used them in his discussion on cultural mores with respect to class and other self-imposed subdivisions of humanity (Sumner 1940: 50–4). In this book Sumner was also the first to consider the concept of 'ethnocentricity' as one of

the drivers of intergroup attitudes (Sumner 1940: 28–30), well in advance of later scholars. By the 1950s, the concept of social group formation and the motivation to form groups was starting to be recognised, but it remained undeveloped as a social theory.

It was not until Tajfel<sup>26</sup> devised and published the theoretical basis of inter-group behaviour and developed it into a useful tool that group, and inter-group, behaviour became an established, and now important, part of social psychology. Tajfel's main point was the postulation of a polarisation in society that is contextual and can be interpreted to form an understanding of social interaction and attitudes. In a similar manner to Levinas and Sumner, he argued that, in society, individuals see themselves in terms of groups, which provide a means of development of their social identity. However, he argued that the interpretation of this polarisation is a context-dependent state. This point was emphasised by Sherif, who defined inter-group behaviour as follows: 'whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually with another group or its members *in terms of their group identification*, we have an instance of inter-group behaviour' (Sherif (1966: 12) – my italics). The phrase 'in terms of their group identification' is most important for it defines not only the contextual group but also the manner of the inter-group process.

For the formation of a group, there are generally two criteria. The first is external and as an example, consider a modern soldier. His in-group membership and out-group contextual perception can be simultaneous as well as sequential, and in the course of a few hours they may include those identified in Fig. 2.1. The second criterion is internal and is known as 'group identification'. Internal group identification requires a minimum of two components, a cognitive one, (the group must be aware that it is a group) and an evaluative one (the self recognised group must have a concept of the value of staying in a group). Some psychologists also recognise a third component, an emotional investment within the group, but this point remains debatable.

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<sup>26</sup> The bibliography on this subject is extensive but the reader is directed to the following references for an outline of the historical development of this subject; Tajfel (1957), Tajfel and Wilkes (1963), Tajfel (1969), Tajfel *et al.* (1971), Tajfel (1974), Tajfel (1978a), Tajfel (1978b), Tajfel (1979), Tajfel (1981), Tajfel (1982a), Tajfel (1982b), Tajfel (1984).

Context number	In-Group	Out-Group
1	The army	The enemy
2	The army	Civilians
3	His regiment	Another regiment
4	His family	The army
5	His colleagues	The army pay corps

**Figure 2.1** The sequence of context based identification of an individual (a modern soldier) with an in-group (an affiliation to a group of shared values) and an out-group (a group seen as an adversary). Note how the in- and out-groups change, based upon context with the army being both an in-group in contexts 1 and 2 whilst being an out-group in context number 4.

A point to be disposed of at this time is the consideration of Sumner's concept of a universal 'ethno-centralism' as a group formation driver. Although he defined ethno-centralism as a function within group formation and intergroup competition, the arguments we have presented above show that in effect ethnicity is not necessarily a group-defining concept. Brewer (1981) confirmed this when he specifically addressed this issue and says, 'Which differences are emphasised under what circumstances appears to be flexible and context independent; this flexibility permits individuals to mobilise different group identities for different purposes' (Brewer 1981: 350). This indirectly shows again that there is no link between ethnicity and culture. Thus, within the context of inter-group theory, ethnicity does not have a strong role to play and is nothing more than an element of attribution (i.e. one of a number of possible descriptors for a group but not necessarily a reason for its formation) in context-dependent group identity. This has important implications for the debate within Greek history on the role of ethnicity. However, ethnicity may have a part to play within the establishment of the stereotype, and confusion over stereotypes, ethnicity within society, and its 'out-groups' is evident in several recent papers (e.g. Konstan 2001).

It would seem that just from the above definition we could already apply some of the theory of group process to the ancient world. As stated above, an important aspect of group formation is that continual change with group identity is essentially contextual. From this process, an explanation is available for what was once seen as a contradiction. When Romeo (2002: 21) expressed puzzlement over the twin definitions of Greekness and the inconsistency in the definition of ethnicity within two cultural contexts – economic and educational – a simple group process would

have resolved the issue. One of her definitions of 'Greekness' was in an economic, Hadrianic context, where failure to join a pan-Hellenic economic bloc would have caused significant economic disadvantage. The lengths groups went to in order to join could be witnessed by the attempts of Sardis in Lydia to claim Greekness in order to be a member of this 'club'. The other definition was within the context of education and the acquisition of a 'cultured' society. Greek education was the standard to which most aspired, and hence the definition of a cultured and educated person was a Greek. The two contexts for the definition are different, showing that self-perception and group identification change according to circumstances; thus, there is no difficulty in a dual definition. Hall's (1995: 95-6) difficulty with the changing definition of Greek identity can be similarly explained. His assertion that identity in the time of Herodotos was equated to religion, language and custom (Hdt. 8.144), but by the fourth century was applied by Isokrates to all those sharing the same customs (not the ancestry) of the Greeks (Isokrates; *Paneg.*50), misses the element of context in which they were defined. Although both are reported within an anti-Persian context, Herodotos was writing of a time of 'national' crisis within a conflict whilst Isokrates was trying to raise support for the start of a conflict. As such, Herodotos' group were the threatened group, rallying support from 'Greeks' and minimising differences, whilst Isokrates was the threatening group, rallying support from 'allies' and ignoring differences. Within two different contexts, two definitions arise. This variation in context that gives rise to different perceptions of identity is well known within social psychology and is technically known as 'meta-group contrast'.

Hartog provides some other examples from Herodotos in demonstrating the 'rhetoric of otherness' and, in particular, the rule of the 'excluded middle' (Hartog 1988: 258). His argument at this point is that 'otherness' is only bi-polar and shades of 'otherness' cannot be allowed. To demonstrate this, he takes the example of Persians, Greeks, and Scythians. Herodotos writes that Persians behave as people who do not know how to fight (Hdt. 5.97; 9.62-3; 7.9), but also writes that when in Scythia and faced with Scythians the Persians only thought is of a pitched battle according to 'Greek traditional strategy' (Hartog 1988: 258-9); therefore they conduct themselves as Greeks, i.e. they fight as hoplites. Hartog asks rhetorically why they take on these different aspects, and answers by saying that Herodotos

achieves Scythian 'otherness' by treating the Persians as Greeks in that instance. Thus, Scythian 'otherness' is emphasised within his Greek readers' Greek environment, and the principle of 'otherness' is maintained by having just two comparators, i.e. Scythians and Greek/Persians.

Although the rule of the excluded middle is sympathetic with one interpretation of the passages, it is contrived because of Hartog's bi-polar approach. One must not underestimate the intelligence of the ancient reader, and must allow them the realisation that an army will adapt its fighting and strategy to correspond to the dictates of the opposition and the environment. Thus Persians against Greeks would use mobile forces and fight on high and sloping ground (effective tactics against hoplites), whilst Persians against Scythians would wish for a fixed pitched battle as their counters against an essentially guerrilla war were ineffective (Hdt. 4.126). Hartog's arguments made with respect to the Scythians, Persians and Greeks are very weak, and an examination of the arguments and the sources shows no direct evidence for his supposition that the Greeks considered the Persians 'Greek' in order to emphasise the 'otherness' of the Scythians. The point of fighting strategy above provides a pragmatic and convincing counter-argument. Unfortunately, the role of inter-group processes cannot be applied reliably due to the anachronistic extraction of evidence used by Hartog. In addition, as the Persians and Scythians are both 'them' to a Greek 'us', one would expect a neutral differential response from the Greeks. However, no response is found, and this is explained by the definition of Sherif above. The Persians and Scythians do not form an out-group, as together they have no inter-group identification and thus no group interaction can take place. In other words, the meta-group contrast is effectively zero.

The value of the inter-group process is easily seen in clearing up the anomalies associated with 'otherness' that was originally assumed to be resolved by ethnicity or 'the excluded middle'. The inter-group process was further extended (Triandis and Trafimow, 2001) to ideas based upon empirical work in comparative social psychology in terms of their cultural variation (Hofstede 1980). This characterisation allowed the amorphous nature of 'culture' to be sidestepped and permitted theoretical frameworks and linkages that, up to that time, were stopped by the inability to define the concept of 'culture'.

When we come to the 'Celtic' invasion there is obviously no general inter-group process due to the complexity of events and the groups involved; we must look at specific instances with specific groups. Such instances are discussed in the rest of this work and will not be discussed here, which is essentially dealing with the veracity of pan-European 'Celtic' culture. However, the examples used above (Hall, Romeo, and Hartog) all have parallels in the 'Celtic' events. The only general comment that can be made here is that the socio-psychological situations of the 'Celts' and the Persians are almost identical, and thus the perception of one is always to be seen in the other. The analogy between the two events is sociologically identical but the details of each group in an historical perspective are not and to match the military reality with the socio-psychological, the actual events are 'modified'. This gives rise to armies being of similar sizes, defences being equally heroic, the gods performing the same miracles, etc. In other words, the Greeks modifying the truth of the events to meet their psychological requirements, rather than the other way around as was seen in the Roman annexation 140 years later.

The inter-group process needs to be extended to account for the process of acculturation.<sup>27</sup> This is now considered a major process in the combination of two separate but contacting cultures and is mentioned several times in this thesis. We have seen from above that the intergroup process allows the characterisation 'culture' to be sidestepped and permits theoretical frameworks and linkages that are usually stopped by the inability to define the concept of 'culture'. The work to define a better acculturation process using inter-group processes has not yet been done and we are unable to define the culture resulting from the interaction of cultures of the Balkans and the Greeks in the ancient world. We know that the marauding hosts of Galatae settled down to be peaceful farmers (Livy 45. 29. 3 – 30; Austin 1981: 146) but the complex interaction may not hold for other groups of Galatae in other regions nor other groups with other cultures elsewhere in the ancient world.

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<sup>27</sup> The term 'acculturation' in this thesis describes the process of the formation of a new culture from two interacting cultures. The mechanisms are complex and the term is a technical one, used extensively in socio-psychology – see Liebkind (2001: 386-406).

## 2.5 Migrations and Invasions

Another basis of the traditional discussion of the 'Celtic' invasions of Macedonia is that it was a part of a 'nation on the move' (Mitchell 1993: 15), a mass migration of people moving out from central Europe searching for a homeland. This search for land or a home is a recurring motif in many of the modern commentators (Allen 1983: 138, Walbank 1988: 252, Tarn 1913: 139, Mitchell 2003: 289 and 1993: 15 etc.) and relates directly back to this traditional argument. The crux of the matter lies in the word 'traditional', for, just as we have seen the fallacy of traditional 'Celtic' culture, we must examine traditional views of mass migration.

We find the origin of the hypothesis of migration and invasion at the beginning of the twentieth century, and it has always been associated with culture-historical approach to cultural development. There is some relevant comment in the primary sources (Justin 24.4.1), where the origin of the movement of the 'Gauls' relates to a 'sacred spring', a time when children of a certain generation were marked out to be sent to form a new settlement when they became adults. This comment, in addition with the 'Gauls' attacking Rome and some ancient authors calling the invaders of Macedonia 'Gauls', seems to be enough to have formed the idea of a mass migration. Of course, if the 'Celts' of traditional understanding do not exist then the notion that they migrated at all becomes sterile.

Migrations and invasions have been a well-used stock explanation for culture change and associated social activities for nearly a century. Whenever a fast cultural change took place within a society, archaeologists postulated diffusion from outside. When the rate was even faster or greater than expected, archaeologists' added immigration to the explanation, and when the rate was very rapid, they assumed an invasion (Bintliff 2004: 4). This range of mechanisms gave a simple explanation for a variety of culture change rates, and simple and easily explainable solutions to problems of cultural change (see Preucel and Meskell 2004: 240 for examples). Because of this, they did not diminish as fast as culture-history did (their associated theoretical basis), and most historians secretly retained migration and invasion explanations even though they were banished to the sidelines of archaeological thought. This ease of explanation, which seemingly

provided such simple and elegant solutions to a variety of problems, has meant that migrations and invasions have never been far from re-emergence. The idea of migration is a strong one, the hypothesis being very easy to postulate. Of course, the invading or migrating society needed identification along with its culture, but this recognition was not always managed with the concept of the 'invasion' taking precedence over the identification of the invader.

Within the Aegean context, we have many of these invasions as explanations. Examples include the fall of the Minoan culture to a sea-borne invasion by the recently developed Mycenaean culture (Hood 1976), the collapse of Mycenaean culture due to the invasion of the 'Sea People' (Sandars 1978), and the Greek invasion by the Dorians from the north (Nixon 1968). All of these provide dramatic reasons for dramatic events – the collapse of a civilised and extensive society. In all of these examples, the problem is neatly switched from the causes of the collapse to the determination of the detailed elements of the culture that was 'responsible', and much academic effort is expended in determining the nature, movement, culture and influences of these migrating or invading people. A modern and careful examination of the evidence often shows that an invasion or migration is unlikely to have been the cause; thus, the acceptance of this simple explanation has provided a hiatus in the advancement of our understanding. It is now thought, for example, that Minoan culture, like Mycenaean after it, did not disappear in a blaze of invasion-induced destruction but took at least 100–150 years to fail (Manning 1994: 247 Fig.2. and Rehak and Younger 1998: 149–52). The demise of these cultures over such a long period must be taken within the wider context of the fall and disruption of the Hittite, Levantine and Egyptian states at the same time (and according to Bouzek this should also include the Balkans as well – Bouzek 1994: 217–34). It is unlikely that such disruptions and collapses of the whole eastern Mediterranean can be laid at the feet of some invading or marauding fleet of 'sea people'.

Much of the development of invasion and migration as models came in the period 1920–60, forty years of development during a period when invasion and migration, war and incursion, and mass movement and refugees, permeated western societies. With such a strong thread in the fabric of society at that time, it is perhaps little

wonder that such an explanation of the past established itself so firmly in scholarship. Chapman discusses this influence at length, but uses the conclusions in a completely different way from what one would expect (Chapman 1997: 11–20). After acknowledging the influence of twentieth-century history on archaeological theory, he ignores the implication of this and advocates an extrapolation backwards in time to establish migration, invasion, and refugees as a typical mechanism for social movement. The difficulty with this is that a mechanism of typicality to a fixed period cannot be assumed temporally invariant without justification. Further, Chapman then uses the trauma of war-torn Europe in the first half of the twentieth-century to suggest that it was this that made archaeologists turn away from the concept of migration and invasion. He continued to suggest that if these historians were to come to terms with their unfortunate personal history and confess their own bias then they would see that migration and invasion were acceptable mechanisms. The argument that recognition of the influences that lead to an abandonment of the theory of migration and invasion somehow should then lead to its re-acceptance via the confessional, seems a little convoluted.

The slow extinguishing of the agencies of migration and invasion was reflected in the comments of some modern historians who studied culture change in the Aegean; in this context Blackman said:

Concerning historically attested migrations, we know they happened and something of how they happened. Consider the Slav migration into the Greek peninsula in the late sixth and early seventh centuries AD. There is clear literary evidence of invasions by large groups and we may accept that Greece was occupied by Slavs. What is particularly significant is that this migration does not show itself in the archaeological record. That we should be able to trace any migration into an area archaeologically seems to be a questionable assumption.

Blackman (1974: 315)

Powell in the same discussion warned of the tendency to adopt extreme positions on one side or the other and then either to use ‘the crudest concepts of what may have been involved’ or to ‘paint a picture that distracts or enhances the position taken within the argument’ (Powell, 1974: 317). Such realisation by these and other historians of the limitation of migration as a hypothesis added to the slow erosion of its acceptability.

Other archaeologists, who recognised the advances offered by new theories and new ways of looking at its subject, quickly demonised the idea of migrations. Anthony speaks of this demonization as ‘a simplistic explanation of culture change, an uncritical and inappropriate application by a previous generation of scholars to archaeological problems that subsequently are explained in more convincing ways’ (Anthony 1997: 21). Others were equally anxious to distance themselves from a theory that contained any seeds of racial and imperialist concepts. Crossland, in discussing migrations in connection with Aegean migration, indicated his disapproval:

No one expects to indulge in the lurid fantasies about pre-historic Indo-European migrations that used to be fashionable on the fringes of real scholarship: those visions of lusty, auburn-haired charioteers sweeping down from the North to revitalise flaccid Mediterraneans.

Crossland (1974: 5)

However, he did caution that reaction to the misuse of these ideas should be halted, as he believed that a healthy corrective had been applied in these studies, and hoped it has not been taken too far. Blackman cautiously repeated this comment (Blackman 1974: 315). With diffusion eliminated, processual archaeologists placed the emphasis on local adaptive sequences, and Hodder commented that ‘diffusion is now little studied as a component of cultural development’ (Hodder 1986: 93). However, he goes on to say that ‘yet within the framework of the questions being asked, diffusion does have explanatory power’. Like Blackman and Crossland above, he seems to have believed that the process retained some merit.

The re-emergence of migration and invasion as an archaeological agency came about initially via the advances in human genetics. The early study of genetic movement seemed to have breathed new life into the theory of culture-history, which had used the early studies to ‘prove’ the old concepts of migration. However, genetics was a two-edged sword and just as one edge gives the apparent freedom to resurrect the theories, the other edge is sharp enough to expose the simplistic and usually inaccurate forms taken by these old explanations. Genetics re-defined the social aspects of migration, and to some extent showed that migration was a theory of limited application.

Cavalli-Sforza, in the second half of the twentieth century, started looking at genetic variation among people in Europe (Olson 2002: 166), and his results showed an apparent wave of genetic change coming from the Near East – an *ex oriente lux* model, the term that was often used to characterise the theory of early twentieth-century diffusionism. He advanced the hypothesis that new farmers 10 millennia ago with growing populations moved into new territory, interbreeding with or displacing the indigenous hunter-gatherers (Ammerman and Cavalli-Sforza 1984). Because of the demonization of migration and diffusion, the archaeological community's immediate response to this was quick and sharply negative. Migrations were still tainted, and the thought that an advanced agricultural people swarmed out of the Near East and overpowered the indigenous people of Europe was unacceptable. However, the hypothesis did allow some archaeologists to re-examine the outright and sometimes emotional rejection of any form of migration. Anthony comments that during the late 1970s and early 1980s migration 'struggled back into semi-respectability' (Anthony 1997:21).

Despite the excitement of the *ex oriente lux* model, the reality of the spread of agriculture is a process much more complex than was originally recognised (Olson 2002: 166). In a study of mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) it has been found that the genes of about 10% of Europeans date from the initial colonisation of Europe by modern humans, 20% from the movement of Near Eastern farmers into Europe, and 70% arrived during the waxing and waning of the Ice Ages. It would seem that genetics, rather than 'proving' that migration is the agency of diffusion, has demonstrated the complexity of the total process of human movement.<sup>28</sup> In the case of the spread of agriculture, migration provided a 'minor' agency of culture spread.

With genetics first giving an impetus to migration by its original studies into farming expansion, and then taking it away with detailed studies, culture-historians embraced the concept of ancient diasporas to give a new lift to their theories (Preucel and Meskell 2004: 221), ignoring that species replacement is a different mechanism from culture change. We see the re-emergence of cultural historical

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<sup>28</sup> Genetics did establish migration as important with the implications of mtDNA 'Eve' and the origins of modern humans. It gave rise to the 'out of Africa' model for modern human dispersion (Cann, Stoneking, and Wilson 1987), which as now found support from Jobling *et al*, 2004: 252–60. There is no bigger example of the impact of migrations on human history but it is important to note that this does not refer to culture but to the replacement of species.

ideas linked with migration. Lockard, reviewing Mazlish and Schafer, discusses the concept of 'global history' and relates migrations to the concept (Lockard 1998: 272–5). Soguk, reviewing Appadurai, takes a similar view (Soguk 1999:227–30). Wurm produced a paper with disturbing overtones when he discusses the physical characteristics of Teutonic and Nordic populations with respect to other national types (Wurm 1990: 165). Migration, or migrant diasporas as it has come to be known (Nyberg-Sørensen et al. 2002: 3 and Lilley 2004: 287), re-established itself upon the basis of a scientifically proven migration and was immediately used to provide analogues for the establishment of migration at all stages of history (Blake 2004: 240). Further, we see another step whereby modern migration (e.g. North American colonisation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) is used to quantify cultural and material change, and the developed model then applied directly to past instances (such as Anglo-Saxon migrations – Burmeister et al. 2000: 539–67).

Chapman and Hamerow reviewed the situation at a conference in 1997 where most of the papers were not discussing the relevance or appropriateness of a renewed culture-historical approach using the concept of migrant diasporas, but using it as if it was firmly established (Chapman and Hamerow 1997). At this conference there was a landmark paper by Anthony, who approaches the question of migration as a social process and explored it in three ways. First, he asks if migration was a social strategy and not just an automatic response to overcrowding. Second, does migration behaviour follow specific social rules, and if so what are they? Last, he notes that language change can be associated with migration, and asks if this is also a social strategy and how it relates to migration. The defect in Anthony's paper is that he attempts to answer these questions in order to re-establish neo-diffusionism and migration, but despite this he had provided a new approach that frees up the subject from its past associations. He failed to realise that the problems and issues left behind in the 1960s are no longer relevant and that his arguments are more applicable to modern issues.

Anthony discusses the concepts of 'push-pull' in his paper, a term derived from socio-psychology and economic geography. This came about not from assuming migration was an inherent characteristic of humanity, but from asking why people

would give up the huge social, economic, and emotional investment they have in an area and decide to move to an unknown region with all the inherent dangers this entails. The decision to migrate comes from interplay between 'push-pull' factors, perceived positive conditions in the destination region, which are then mediated, by the difficulties and dangers of the transportation process (Rogerson 1984: 112). This concept was not new within the context of human geography, where Lewis (1982: 99–125) had extensively developed the work of Herberle (1938), who had originally argued that migration was caused by a series of forces.

Application of the factors of 'push-pull' allows an immediate answer to the first of Anthony's questions. A population pressure view of migration considers only one type of push factor and ignores any pull factors, transport issues and information flow. Thus it is apparent that population pressure alone fails completely to account for any migration process. In many cases, population pressure disguises the real push factor in societies. Social groups have a tendency to be fissile and to throw off migratory off shoots (Anthony 1997: 23); this is due to social regulations and not population density. These regulations favour older brothers and village elders over young siblings, so opportunities of privilege and social achievement are denied to young men. Sociologists find such dynamics in Africa and the Americas (Anthony 1997: 23), where, in stratified societies, privileges translate directly into political and economic power. Migration is not a response to overcrowding but a social strategy in which kin groups improve their competitive positions.<sup>29</sup>

Turning to information flow and transport issues, it is clear that the probability of migration is dependent upon the knowledge of the destination and of the route and its problems. This information requires a return of early migrants giving information on routes and destinations. If this is favourable, succeeding migrants use these routes and destinations. Therefore, specific routes and destinations are targeted, and the migration streams in well-used trails rather than a broad wave across the entire landscape.

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<sup>29</sup> An example of the fissile nature of ancient societies is given by Justin with his description of a sacred spring (Justin 24.4.1).

The pull factors in an archaeological sense have not yet been fully characterised and the economic geographers have used factors expressed in purely economic or financial terms. However, pull factors may be similarly defined for archaeological purposes using a wider definition of the word 'economic'. Thus, pull factors could be freedom (to worship, to structure a society etc.), economic advantage (better land, more land, more resources etc.), social (more wives, social opportunities, etc.) or any of the other characteristics that the home society deems important.

Geographers generally define the transport issues as costs, but social groups require a wider definition. The issue thus could be financial cost, survival cost, transport technologies, hostility *en route*, geography of the route, danger, difficulty, etc. We therefore need to define push, pull, information flow, and transport issues before a migration can be explained or even considered. Failure to provide these characteristics renders the argument for a migration weak and unproven.

The rules of migration, as seen by human geographers, have little application to archaeology; but Tilley (1978) re-organises some of the models into some archaeologically useful categories. These forms include local, circular, chain, career, and coerced migration. Tilley provides examples and discussions on each category, showing that there are rules that are fixed and specific.

The third question of language shift posed by Anthony has the same answer as migration under demographic pressure. Migration and language shift are not related to population density, but are critically related to vertical social mobility because access to prestige and power is the key factor. Mallory (1992: 151) notes that 'if linguistic competence isn't one of the ways of prying open access to status positions, there is little incentive for people occupying lower status positions to adopt the speech of the elite'. An example of this concerns elite dominance, where a language shift is expected; the conquest by the Romans leads to a massive language shift, whilst conquest by the Normans only leads to language enrichment. For the outsider, the acquisition of Latin gave access to state positions of prestige and power; the acquisition of Norman French did not. Social mobility into Norman French state positions would have probably led to us all speaking French.

For the first time Anthony collected together the studies of migrations from demographic historians, human geographers, economic geographers and sociologists and set them up so that they might be applied to the field of archaeological or historical migrations. From this adaptation he, and others, provided some analytical tools to identify the value, probability, reasons and methods of migrations and in some way identified the social implications of the process.

The landscape archaeologists added another dimension to the evolving complexity of migration, by addressing the issues of the relationship with the environment. Rockman and Steele (2003) edited a collection of papers that describe problems facing migrants when entering a landscape that is different from the one they had left. Rockman draws attention to a deficiency in Anthony's work in that he focuses on complex social issues rather than on those relating to adaptation and environmental knowledge (Rockman 2003: 10). Another is the apparent disparity between the narrow migration stream determined by route preference (Anthony 1997: 24) and the wave-of-advance demographic models determined from the genetic models. Kelly provides arguments, which show that although landscape is important to the process of migration, its interaction is not yet clearly understood (Kelly 2003). The value of learning the 'new' landscape is inescapable and Blanton (2003) gives an excellent view of this in his paper on the Virginia colonies of the seventeenth century. Although the initial thrust of this work concerned prehistoric peoples and aspects of diaspora associated with the spread of humanity, its application in general terms to historic migrations is relevant.

It is ironic that, just as culture-history and diffusionism finally gave way to modern theories on culture development, neo-culture-historians and neo-diffusionists (emboldened to re-emerge on the basis of human genetics) have given way again to modern theories of migration. The socio-psychological value of the reasons for migration has asserted itself and, as before, most of the neo-diffusionists arguments have proven to be not rugged enough for detailed scrutiny. Migrations are back on the archaeological and historical agenda, but in a better-conditioned and more structured form.

## 2.6 Language

The subject of 'Celtic' language occurs in many of the arguments used in validating the hypothesis of a widespread European 'Celtic' culture. The arguments are twofold; firstly, the existence of common European 'Celtic' language (Common Celtic or Proto-Celtic) that evolved from an original Indo-European language, and secondly the identification of 'Celtic-type' place-names (presumably in this language) as far apart as Anatolia and Ireland. These are often quoted as 'proof' that 'Celtic' influence and culture exist over this large geographical range and that a 'Celtic' race inhabited most of Europe at this time. In view of the importance of these arguments to the relevance of this research some observations need to be made.

The author hesitates to comment on this subject since in any multi-disciplinary research it is essential that a degree of competence or understanding is possessed in respect of the disciplines applied, and philology in this context is an unknown art to him. However, the importance of this aspect is significant and a review of the evidence and a response to the above arguments needs to be attempted.

It is with the Proto-Celtic that we need to concern ourselves for it is this that drives the pan-European view of early Celticity. The Proto-Celtic language is usually dated to the early European Iron Age with the earliest records of a Celtic language being the Lepontic inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul, and date from the 6th century B.C. Forster and Toth (2003). These inscriptions were written in a form of Etruscan and survive on coins and commemorative epitaphs. Other early inscriptions are Gaulish, in the area of Massilia, in the Greek alphabet and Celtiberian inscriptions appear comparatively late, after the third century BC. Evidence of Insular Celtic (the Celtic of the United Kingdom and Brittany) is available only from about AD 400, in the form of Primitive Irish Ogham inscriptions. In the third century BC, our Galatae invaders converged on Anatolia and established a 'nation' that existed until the days of Paul the Apostle. This province of Galatia had a language that is only attested in toponyms, in personal names, and on coins, and there is insufficient evidence to classify it as a Gaulish or Celtic dialect (Forster and Toth 2003). Besides epigraphical evidence, the only other source of information on early Celtic is

toponymy and studies of this early Celtic languages has been contentious because of the lack of much primary source data. Despite the volume of work on this subject there are fundamental issues with it and serious scholars have questioned the whole basis of extracting a common language of proto-Celtic from toponymy and inscriptions because of the poverty and the anachronistic nature of the sources.

The linguistic arguments associated with the proto-Celtic languages are daunting, as they appear to be a morass of strange histories, poor theoretical approaches, complexity, labyrinthine arguments, mixtures of concepts of ethnicity, geography, religion, philology and myth, and technical and specialist philological arguments.<sup>30</sup> As there is no clarity in the subject, modern scholars are vulnerable; marooned in that dangerous area where extreme complexity and no strong evidence allow the bias of their own opinions free reign, and give them the liberty to choose whatever aspects suit their arguments and thus convince themselves that evidence supports their thesis.

The current status of the subject has been described and now it is necessary to have a view of the historical view of the growth of the argument, for in that evolution is found the seeds of the confusion that exists today. The recognition that European languages were related started early<sup>31</sup> and with a strong biblical bias. Dante (1265–1321) believed that the world’s original language was Hebrew with all other languages coming from the time of the Tower of Babel. He identified three groups (Northern, Southern and Greek) based upon the structure of the word ‘yes’. Buchan (1582) refined the groups into *linguae latinae*, *linguae germanicae* and *linguae gallicae* but did not give his criteria, whilst Scaliger (1540–1609) recognised seven classifications based upon the word for ‘God’. Leibnitz (1646–1716) continued the religious basis by advocating that Hebrew was not the original language and it was Noah’s sons and descendants who spread the different original languages. Pezron (1639–1706) built on this theory using mythology as real events with real people. He also assumed that Breton was the last remnant of the pre-Roman language of Gaul and that this language (he called it Celtic) was one of the original languages spread

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<sup>30</sup> As an example of the complexity and technicality modern philology in this area see Rexová, Frynta and Zrzavý 2003.

<sup>31</sup> A good basic history of the classification of European languages is given by Collis (2003: 45-56) from which the above review is taken.

by Noah's descendants. He claimed that he was able to trace it from the Tower of Babel via the Gomerians, Cimmerians, Cimbri and finally Celtae.

The first non-religious comparison came from Lhuyd (1660-1709) who undertook a comparative study of Welsh, Irish, Gaelic, Cornish and Breton languages with comparable Latin and Greek words. Collis says that 'it is clear from the introduction of the work that he felt the term 'Celtic' should only be used for the language of the ancient inhabitants of Gaul' (Collis 2003: 49). Parsons (1705-70) returned to the biblical, and claimed that the Irish and Welsh languages were derived from that spoken by Japhet and his descendants – specifically Magog and Gomer. However he did undertake a comparison between Irish and Welsh with other languages in Europe and Asia, and noticed that some Asian languages were closer to European ones than some Middle Eastern and Far Eastern languages. He envisaged a colonisation originating in Scythia that spread into Italy and on to Ireland as a process of introducing a common language over much of Europe and he 'thought' that this language was 'Celt' (Collis 2003: 52-3).

It can be seen that by the late eighteenth century the migration basis and the idea of a basic pan-European language (particularly in the West) had already been established through appeals to biblical truth and explanation. Within the context of the social values of the times these arguments were powerful, and they went almost unchallenged. It was not until the quest for reconstructing the prehistory of the Indo-European language family commenced in 1786 with the discovery by Sir William Jones of the similarities between Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Celtic, and Persian, indicating a "common source" for these languages (Jones 1799) that further progress was made. The next major step occurred in 1863, when Schleicher proposed an evolutionary tree of descent for the Indo-European language family (Schleicher 1863) shortly after Charles Darwin had introduced the evolutionary tree concept to the descent of species. This was in the Germanic school of comparative languages and the school used sentence structure, declensions and forms of words, and sound shifts. The development of the 'tree' structure (*Stammbaumtheorie*) answered the question as to why the same group of languages was spoken from Ireland to India and, more importantly, it gave a crude chronological structure, which could be roughly tied to some archaeological events. It should still be

remembered that a biblical basis for the history of the initial explanations was still prevalent and that comparative studies relied upon this foundation. Thus we see the start of the connection between 'Celt' and the early language groups of North-western Europe. Pezron applied the term 'Celt' on the basis of the early inhabitants of Gaul, and Parsons connected the two (migration and Celt) in his view that the Scythians started and spread the language throughout Europe.

When we turn to the archaeological perspective we see that initially the evidence is based upon classical authors (Caesar, Strabo, and Diod.) and that archaeologists put forward culture-history based postulations of a change to a 'Celtic' culture by waves of migrating 'Celts' and invaders (Renfrew 1987: 213). This was the current model until the mid-twentieth century, when culture-history was seen as inadequate to explain much of the new archaeological data being generated. Up to this point the equivalence of thought on the society of 'Celts' and their genesis between archaeologists, linguists and art historians was close. Just as the application of the 'New Archaeology' undid much of the sociological histories of the past, so it seems that it started to unravel the linguistic basis of the 'Celts' (or at least ask important questions of the accepted theory at that time). Renfrew applied the theories of the 'New Archaeology' with the rejection of migration and invasion (see pp. 70–74) and a dissociation of the supposed relationship between culture and language. He deconstructed the traditional links of 'Celts' with language, art and social grouping and identified that no link between language and culture or specific people is seen to have existed, or can theoretically exist (see below). This challenge to the traditional view of Celticity, however, did not spread beyond the confines of archaeology, and the traditional view of 'Celts' by historical artists, philologists, and archaeo-linguists diverged.

Archaeological data has always been a problem and Green, in her discussion of 'Celtic' language, reiterates that reported by Forster and Toth above, when she says that the evidence for 'Celts' before the Roman period is very sparse and restricted to a few inscriptions, coins, and names of people and places in classical documents (Green 1995: 4). She continues by saying that the evidence of linguistic and archaeological evidence is so varied that the only way to deal with it is to recognise the two types of evidence as irreconcilable. She continues,

... the lack of congruence between language, material culture, and ethnicity means that direct correlations cannot be made. Ethnic boundaries are fluid (if they exist) and cannot define populations; specific artefacts can spread through channels other than ethnically defined groups'

(Green 1995: 6)

This irreconcilability is of little help to the researcher trying to make sense of the ancient world, for how is the bridge between these elements to be crossed?

When we turn to the philologist for clarification we find little outside the context of the language being studied for its own sake. The role of the philologist is insulated from the archaeological and cultural argument by a complexity that defies application to the concept of social and cultural establishments. Renfrew observes that 'relations and conclusions reached by historical linguists are primarily linguistic – each discipline operates first within its own autonomous field' (Renfrew 1990: 18). Evans, in reviewing the work in this direction, comments that 'when we consider in what way and to what extent the linguistic evidence of Old Celtic can play a role in our understanding of observable patterns in the fabric of society among Celtic people we have to be ruthlessly restrained' (Evans 1995: 9). As with Green's comment above, he states that despite 'the great abundance of published material in recent years, seeking to harmonise the evidence of language and archaeology, nothing has been produced that provides anything of a consensus or convincing synthesis' (ibid.: 9). Such a statement is surprising, especially when such evidence is routinely used in support of a 'Celtic' culture. However we can turn to our 'vulnerability of the scholar' model when we note that Penney comments, 'that classicists [and probably archaeologists – *my comment*] are inclined to believe whatever anyone tells them about etymologies, presumably on the grounds that philology is a black art in which anything is possible and everything equally plausible' (J. Penney 2008: pers. comm.). Evans, like Green, comes to the conclusion that the link between archaeology and archeo-linguistics is not yet established.

As help from the philologist within an archaeological context is not forthcoming (because of lack of relevance or interest) it is to Renfrew's great credit that he attempts to understand the basics of the subject and tries to relate philology and its findings to archaeology. In a landmark work he attempts to distil the philology of Indo-European languages and to see how it related to archaeology, and how

linguistic evidence can provide help in building a picture of the past (Renfrew 1987). He discusses the role of ethnicity extensively in his work, and his arguments will not be reiterated here except to say that they are in broad agreement with the ethnicity discussion above (pp. 38–45). However some points are worthy of reiterating for the sake of this short review.

Renfrew makes the point that ethnicity and political organisation do not always coincide, and ethnic groups always recognise themselves as being distinct and have this distinction as a part of their birthright we may therefore confirm that ethnicity is a self-appellation (see p.40–1 and p.54). Renfrew continues with the observation that language and *ethnos* are not equivalent – different ethnic groups speak the same language or groups within an *ethnos* speak different languages (Renfrew 1987: 216). He goes on to say that if they are aware of their distinction or ethnicity they will have a name for themselves – an ethnonym (ibid.: 216). As we have seen, there are no historical data that allow for such a label with the ‘Celts’.<sup>32</sup> Renfrew comes to the conclusion that ‘there is a strong suspicion that the term Celt is not an ethnic term but one imposed upon barbarian tribes by classical geographers’ (ibid.: 216). However, the language evidence is enough for him to say that one ‘cannot deny a language group termed “Celtic” nor deny a group of identifiable material culture at various places and times, but these two perceptions should not be lumped together and called Celtic’ (ibid.: 225). Dillion in a lecture entitled *The Coming of the Celts* says, ‘By Celts we mean people who spoke a Celtic dialect, not people who buried their dead in urn-fields or had leaf-shaped swords or a particular type of pottery. Language is the test. This is not an infallible statement of known truth; it is merely an agreed use of the term upon which linguists insist’ (quoted by Evans 1977: 67).

Renfrew seems, by deconstructing the traditional links of ‘Celts with language, art and social grouping, to be reinforcing Evans’s and Green’s view that no link between language and culture or specific people can be seen to have existed. In making this point he goes further and draws attention to the precarious certainty of the existence of a Celtic language at all. The Continental Celtic language studied by philologists is made from a collection of inscriptions and names preserved

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<sup>32</sup> Except for the single place-name, ‘Celtici’, found in south-west Iberia, belonging to a settlement occupied during the Roman period (Powell 1958: 16) no other reference is found. In addition we do not know if this was given to the ‘Celts’ or named by them (see p110).

within local cultures and regions and because this collection has no long literary text, one Irish scholar (Proinsias Mac Cana) has been dismissive of the whole enterprise of the language's reconstruction (quoted from Evans 1977: 66 - Renfrew 1987: 231).

The detailed arguments of Renfrew in his attempts to link a chronology to the linguistic data are let down by assumptions and ideas that have since been shown to be wrong, although it must be said that these have been recent developments unknowable to Renfrew at this time. His reliance on the work of Ammerman and Cavalli-Sforza (see pp. 62) was mistaken, and so his conclusion that the date of the emergence of the parent proto-Indo-European language in Europe was the Neolithic, with the 'wave of advance' of new farmers from the east, was in error (Renfrew 1990: 15). Despite this his basic conclusions seem to remain relevant and we can summarise them as follows:

- Archaeology and linguistic evidence must not be allowed to become confused (Renfrew 1987: 225).
- Language and art styles should not be equated (ibid.: 237).
- The term 'Celt' can only be applied to those speaking a 'Celtic' language, and these languages emerge by a process of differentiation or crystallisation from an unidentified early Indo-European language (ibid.: 249).
- It is not admissible to restrict 'Celtic' origins to a specific area localized north of the Alps (ibid.: 249).
- The picture that arises of the 'Celtic' languages is of a major linguistic group in central and Western Europe (ibid.: 233).

Renfrew undertook to reinforce his concerns at a conference of linguists on Indo-European languages in which he confronted his philological critics and posed the conclusions and question from his original work. He found that despite his landmark work, little positive advance had been made. He reiterated his preliminary issues but seem to find no resonance with the philologists who continued to work within their own frame of reference and to be insulated from the archaeological and cultural argument. Renfrew's previous observation that 'relations and conclusions reached by historical linguists are primarily linguistic – each discipline operates first within its own autonomous field' (Renfrew 1990: 18)

seems prophetic. This barrier is not just of Renfrew's perception, as Mallory also recognises this issue:

Perhaps most ironic is the fact that, even if archaeologists find it impossible to demonstrate the social structures predicted by mythologists, it will have absolutely no effect whatever on their continued publication of yet further examples of social tripartition and other aspects of Indo-European religion and ideology.

(Mallory 1989: 142)

Renfrew's reaction to this observation is to remark that this all-too-accurate assessment does not seem to excite any significant degree of unease, or lead to any exacting methodological re-examination (Renfrew 1989: 843).

Of the 'Celts' of the east, little can be said. Renfrew observes that virtually nothing is available very far east of the Rhine, with no linguistic data existing except to equate some local script with 'Celtic' when some La Tène-type object is found (Renfrew 1987: 232). When we come to the region of Galatia in Anatolia we find that its linguistic significance is very much disputed. Greene says:

That the Galatians were at one time Celtic-speaking is testified to only by a handful of proper names, for their few surviving inscriptions are in Greek. It is difficult to take seriously the statement of St Jerome that the Galatians of his time spoke a language that was the same as that of the Treveri (people of the Rhineland). It is hard to believe this since when St Jerome was writing in the 4<sup>th</sup> C AD, Celtic dialects were on the point of extinction everywhere on the continent of Europe.

Greene (1964: 14)

Renfrew concludes that the Galatian Celts have no bearing upon the origin or spread of a 'Celtic' language as there is no suggestion that a 'Celtic' language was ever spoken in Anatolia prior to 280 BC (1987: 233).

## 2.7 Discussion

Following the discussion of the validity of 'Celts' as a pan-European cultural entity we need to reach a conclusion to allow the exploration of the impact of these people on Greek and Roman history, without continually alluding to a pre-conceived cultural process. The protracted debate on the existence of the Celts as a pan-European culture has not yet obtained a complete resolution, for although many archaeologists now accept the idea that there never was such a culture, a few others still retain the traditional view of Celtic culture and its European-wide characteristics. The arguments are made more complex by their political implications and by the circular arguments and self-fulfilling prophecies associated with cultural and ethical dimensions of the subject. Bond and Gilliam (1994: 13) discuss the difficulty of the situation in general terms when considering the invention of traditions, whereby the act of creating a written text transforms the invention into a tangible object. With the creation of the text, there is a simultaneous creation of the tradition, and the process fixes and frames it. Sociopsychologists know the process as the 'dilemma of dual fabrication'. The result is that the supporters of a position usually have to develop paradigms to explain or interpret that which they themselves have created. The result, as observed by Jones (1996:74), is that a created tradition is retained intact only where research or a school of thought has an interest in maintaining it. Therefore, the problem is not only to extract tradition from the narrative but also to identify it in the first place. The above discussion has attempted to make such a distinction and to strip away such self-fulfilling tradition.

The existence of the 'Celt' as a member of a pan-European monoculture with a cultural identity that stretches from Ireland to Turkey is characterised by the classification of hypotheses that are no longer relevant. The ethnicity-culture debate can no longer withstand scrutiny, and the exposure of its basis as essentially a discredited culture-history one invalidates it further. A socio-psychological view can be used to adequately demonstrate the failure to link culture and ethnicity (compare this with the complex arguments of Jones in trying to discuss the definition of ethnicity, 1997: 56–83), and the dangers inherent in the culture-historical view have been more than adequately demonstrated. In a practical sense

there may be scope for some short-range application if diversity of Iron Age cultures is small within a small region, but it is difficult to see what advantage such a model may give in such limited conditions.

Therefore, from the evidence, a view will be adopted here that the 'Celts' did not exist as a pan-European culture with a centralised area setting out the cultural and ethnic norms by which the 'Celts' lived. Neither was there an extensive culture that could be commonly grouped and described as 'Celtic'. From this we must take it that the invading so-called 'Celts' or 'Gauls' of Macedonia and Asia Minor were independent of any part of a pan-European culture. They must be considered as a separate and distinct culture and peoples in their own right.

The applicability of these theoretical discussions to the current problem of 'Celtic' migration is now obvious. Ignoring the view that if the 'Celts' did not exist then there could be no migration, we can say the following. The reason given for migration was demographic pressure (Justin 24.4.1) – 'the Gauls had become so numerous that the lands that bred them could not hold them all and they sent off 300,000 men in search of new homes'. As we have seen, demographic pressure is not sufficient justification. Population pressure disguises the real push factor in societies, which is social regulations, and migration is not a response to overcrowding but a social strategy in which kin groups improve their competitive positions. In this respect, we have no evidence that any such social regulation was in place. We do know that Justin described this as a 'sacred spring', which implies a tendency to be fissile and to throw off migratory offshoots, and this has a reputable analogy with African tribes; however, such a move is on a relatively small scale in terms of size, and the distance moved is small. The general view is that the migration covered a significant distance and took the form of a lost and wandering peoples – almost biblical in its aspect. This does not fit in with the strict rules governing information flow, route establishment and destination identification that are required from our new understanding of how people migrate. The allusion to a nomadic way of life is in danger of taking on a culture-historical perspective with the implied assumption 'that settled agriculture ... represents a forward development from an earlier stage of nomadism' (Ascherson 1996: 76). The nomadic way of life is not a primitive condition but a highly specialised way of life that

developed from settled, agriculture-based lifestyles. It is a romantic view and a false assumption to believe that any migrating people would wander with a pseudo-nomadic life style, directionless in search of a homeland, as if nomadism was a simplified form of existence. A potential analogy is the diaspora of Greece in the eighth and seventh centuries BC with its extensive colonisation. The Greeks were probably responding as a social strategy in which kin groups improve their competitive positions, but did not set off in any direction with no idea of route or destination. They describe their colonies as *apoikiai* or 'homes away from home' (Shipley 1998: 56), hardly a description of a process applicable to our migrating 'Celts'.

In addition to these objections, we have the changes in the landscape, the ecology of the land, the climate, and the ability to modify behaviour to survive. Such a rapid modification of large social units is unlikely, and this view is supported by modern failures in similar circumstances. As this movement does not meet any of the requirements of the modern theory of mass migration, it cannot be considered as being very likely to have happened.

The issue of the 'Indo-Celtic' language is a complex one, but when it is stripped of the theoretical mistakes and debatable connections between language, culture, and ethnicity, the result is quite clear. There is no strong argument that linguistic evidence supports a pan-European culture known as the 'Celts'. Although there may have been a language group (not a language) that represented the linguistic character of a region of Europe, there is no link between it and culture and ethnicity. It can be added that it is likely that linguistic development around the central Mediterranean may have evolved to the point where the proto-Celtic language groups were made extinct (except in areas that was not influenced by these languages i.e. non-Roman provinces). However, all of the philologists and archaeologists involved in this work recognise that languages change and evolve, though few have explained the mechanisms that initiate those changes. Those that make the attempt usually resort to unacceptable invasion and displacement models of culture-history (see p. 58 ff). The current state of archaeo-linguistic development and its relationship to culture has very little more to say. A common linguistic root between languages cannot be said to define or dictate a people's culture.

Having assessed the validity, pitfalls, and theoretical basis of the current state of arguments surrounding the 'Celtic' question, we now need to apply the ideas, freed of factoids, to the pre-historic and historic situation in the Balkans. The arguments remain archaeological, for until the social and archaeological foundation of the history is established it is misleading and confusing to start to look at the writing of ancient authors. The next chapter will review the current state of the archaeology of the Balkans especially in the period from the late Bronze Age leading up to the incursion of the Galatae.

## Chapter 3 – The Iron Age in the Balkans

### 3.1 The Iron Age in the Balkans

### 3.2 A Review of the Prehistory of the Balkans

#### 3.2.1 Politics and Ethnicity

#### 3.2.2 Theoretical approaches

#### 3.2.3 Data Density

#### 3.2.4 The Celtic Question

### 3.3 The Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age in the Balkans

### 3.4 The Evidence for the 'Celts' and the Region's Cultural Composition

### 3.5 Discussion

### 3.6 A Suggested Homeland and Cultural Origin of the 'Celts' in the Balkans

## Chapter 3 – The Iron Age in the Balkans

### 3.1 The Iron Age in the Balkans

In the previous chapter, we have described the derivation of the position of archaeologists that has led to them revise their view on the existence and the value of the 'Celts' as a pan-European culture that migrated throughout Europe. We have also seen how migration is now regarded as a strictly regulated social strategy with specific rules and that the use of linguistic arguments is at best unsound. However, there is no satisfaction with this position as we know that there was an invasion by the Galatae, and if they were not 'Celts' who were they and where they came from. In this chapter I will maintain an archaeological approach and will review the current state of knowledge of the prehistory of the Balkans in order to attempt to answer these questions. In addition the position of historians and archaeologists who support the existence of the 'Celts' in the region will be critically examined.

## 3.2 A Review of the Prehistory of the Balkans

A review of the prehistory of the Balkans is a challenging task. Not only is the subject complex, it is further confused by the addition of at least five major interfering characteristics. These have the effect of presenting prehistory in a variety of versions with the consequent difficulty in seeing a consistent picture. These characteristics can be identified as language (and translations),<sup>33</sup> politics and ethnicity, theoretical approaches, low data density and the 'Celtic' question. Few authors address these issues in their work and because of their avoidance of counter-arguments and alternative approaches it suggests that few are aware of them. For someone coming to this subject for the first time, Balkan prehistory is confused and poorly presented and for newcomers the easy option is to jump on one of the bandwagons that are closest to their own bias. We shall look in turn at these factors to explain the difficulties.

### 3.2.1 Politics and Ethnicity

Politics and ethnicity have seriously confused the results of archaeological work in this region. Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union have had until recently dominant political agendas, closed societies, and a strong political influence on any archaeological research. Even in the twenty-first century some of these influences are still evident. When reviewing work from this region, it is essential to be aware of these political influences. Some of the politics are related to the preoccupation with ethnicity, the justification and the authenticity of legitimation that allows the declaration of cultural independence from others. In addition we have the practice of archaeology and history 'serving the state' and the profound implications on the understanding of history and past culture in pursuance of the creation of state-supported ideologies (Galaty and Watkinson 2004). These factors can be seen in many of the papers originating from the Balkans and some examples of this are now given.

The work of Condurachi (1964) and Condurachi and Daicoviciu (1971) provides a Romanian view of the history of the Balkans but their arguments have neglected a

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<sup>33</sup> Papers and books are usually presented in English but where Bulgarian, Romanian or Russian is used the modern cosmopolitan British university campus can usually provide translators.

considerable amount of data that others use in their version of the prehistory of this region. This neglect is related to the politics of history; they are adamant that the 'Celts' did not play a part in the culture or cultural growth of the region. They consistently refer only to the modern country of Romania and maintain that the indigenous population was able to assimilate any cultural influence, and declare that in spite of successive waves of Cimmerians, Scythians, Illyrians, Celts and Bastarnae, who swept over the country, the Geto-Dacian tribes preserved their distinctive characteristic and their own culture. It required the period of Roman rule to spark off the process of ethnic and linguistic mutation, which left the population of the former province of Dacia strongly and irreversibly, romanized (Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971: 209).

As we now know, historians and psycho-sociologists recognise that at a time of social or political upheaval, and when there is the destruction of existing socio-cultural patterns, there is a re-evaluation and re-presentation of identities (see pp40-1). We have seen this in respect of the 'Celts' in the United Kingdom, China following its revolution, and the ethnic horrors of former Yugoslavia, etc. During these periods of change, there is an inventing of traditions, and history is re-evaluated and re-written. Jones and Graves-Brown (1996: 4) comment that 'ethno-history provides the authenticity of legitimation which groups desire and require in their claims for independent consideration'. Condurachi and Daicoviciu published their book four years after Nicolae Ceaușescu became president and when Romania was pursuing an increasingly independent course away from the Soviet Union (Armitage 1990: 430). This need to declare cultural independence from the Soviet Union was essential, and shows up in their description of its prehistory.

The work of Andrea (1983) reflects the same approach in a paper that seems to be a carefully agreed inter-government liaison report and is the first exposure to the West of Albanian archaeology. A recurrent theme throughout the paper is the ethnogenesis of the Illyrians, the establishment of Illyrian-Albanian continuity, the formation of the Albanian people, and historical and cultural links with Kosovo. The paper gave a short but up-to-date report on all of the excavations and research being undertaken, but nearly all are characterised by internal Albanian-Illyrian development from prehistoric times to the Middle Ages, with the Romans being the

only external cultural influence. There are no perceived 'Celtic', Macedonian, or Greek cultural effects (despite the excavation of a 3<sup>rd</sup> C BC Greek theatre in the Illyrian city of Byllis – Andrea 1983: 109). The general view is of archaeology in a self-contained isolated country that has managed to maintain its cultural independence since the Neolithic.

Besides Romania and Albania, other Balkan countries show this characteristic of declaring their own ethnographic purity. Bailey, Panayotov and Alexandrov (1995) describe their work as 'scholarship pertinent to the prehistory of Bulgaria and to serve as an ethnography of Bulgarian archaeology' (Bailey et al. 1995: 3). In a review of this work, Kalogirou comments that 'the preoccupation of the authors with cultural chronologies and the search for cultural origins and ethnic identities should not deter readers from appreciating this resourceful volume; ethnogenesis has been tormenting the archaeological literature of southern Europe for a long time.' (Kalogirou 1996: 783). The importance of ethnography was not restricted to the latter half of the twentieth-century, Rostovtzeff, in a review of a Romanian book on Dacia by Pârvan (1924), comments that 'many and important problems of European ethnography can not be solved without a thorough investigation of the northern part of the Balkans' (Rostovtzeff 1928: 377).

It would seem that Balkan preoccupation with its historical and ethnic roots has always been, and still remains, an important characteristic of its people and their ideology.

### 3.2.2 Theoretical Approaches

As we are aware the conclusions in archaeology are strongly influenced by the theoretical stance taken by archaeologists. Until the mid-twentieth century most of the work of western archaeologists was essentially culture-history based. When relatively modern Balkan archaeology is examined we see a very strong element of this theoretical approach. The essential feature of culture-history is its normative and descriptive basis (Johnson 1999: 16).<sup>34</sup> This tries to establish artefacts as expressions of cultural norms and those norms define the culture. Culture history

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<sup>34</sup> For a brief overview of culture history see Gamble 2001: 22-4. Also it should be noted that Gamble estimates that over half of British university archaeologists still use this approach and that the majority of archaeologists worldwide believe it's what they do (Gamble 2001: 22).

thus looks for differences in the archaeological record rather than similarities with Hoddinott (1981), a culture-historian, taking the differences between patterns of pottery decoration as a distinct cultural difference whilst ignoring the many similarities (or more probably does not look for them – these ideas relate to process as well as analysis).<sup>35</sup> We see this illustrated where Condurachi and Daicoviciu (1971) consider mixed burial practices as normal for a culture, whilst Hoddinott considers one burial different from the rest as evidence of cultural change.

Soviet archaeological theory is again different and needs some comment. Trigger (1989) discusses Soviet philosophy in some detail, commenting that the adoption of a Marxist approach early in the twentieth-century allowed a much freer interpretation of archaeological data and allowed Soviet archaeologists to consider the development of culture from an internally generated perspective and not purely in terms of invasion, diffusion, and migration. The end of the Stalinist period had a dramatic effect on Soviet archaeology as it allowed the selective adoption of ‘culture-history’ concepts, and this, coupled with the rejection of absolute dating methods and the continued reliance on typologies, gave rise to a hiatus in the development of Soviet archaeology (Trigger 1989: 224). Davis (1983) has pointed out the striking similarities existed between the ‘New Archaeology’ of the ’70s in the West, and Soviet archaeology in the 30s, but their adoption in the 1950s of a culture-history approach produced a retrospective element that in some way ‘fossilised’ or reduced Soviet archaeology’s effectiveness.

When the work of, say, Hoddinott is reviewed we see his dependence on typologies, with pottery sequences forming the majority of dating and culture change. The lack of absolute dating information further coincides with a Soviet view, but the predominance of invasions, diffusion, and migration is more reminiscent of Western classical ‘culture-history’. It seems that Hoddinott’s interpretation of the data is biasing its presentation by applying pre-processual or culture-historical theoretical considerations. All of the culture changes take place by invasion, displacement, and migration with very little acknowledgement of acculturation.

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<sup>35</sup> The converse also applies, i.e. the approach looks for similarities in the archaeological record rather than differences and concludes a continuity of culture – see p33 for the argument used to substantiate the existence of ‘Celts’

When we take Condurachi and Daicoviciu's view, there is a much freer interpretation, with some invasion and migration arguments taken as a contribution to the indigenous culture by assimilation. Some influence from outside in respect of technology is acknowledged, but again assimilation rather than dominance is the result. The difficulty comes in considering in detail the treatment of typologies that Condurachi and Daicoviciu discuss, as there is none of the generation of cultures that one would expect from the detailed typologies of Soviet archaeologists.

Many Western archaeologists fail to understand the difference between Soviet and Western archaeologies (Masson and Taylor 1989: 783) with commentators noting the way that Soviet archaeologists ignore Western theoretical approaches and Milisauskas (1986:780) comments that the references to Western publications vary as the inverse ratio of the political distance between Cambridge and the Soviet sphere of influence. He says that Soviet archaeology is traditional and this dominates the subject, and cites Schild who notes '... the main areas of interest have always concentrated around chronology, typology, and cultural taxonomy, all serving a goal of a much higher, ultimate order – the establishment of origin of ethnic groups, their culture and the detection of the influences and contacts these groups exercised.' Schild (1980). This is an observation that relates to the prevalence of ethnic origins, which has already been commented upon. Milisauskas arrives at the same conclusion from the perspective of the application of the Marxist paradigm to archaeology. The application of dialectical and historical materialism to archaeological studies gives a degree of discipline and common structure to the research but at the same time it does not allow a productive approach and limits their works to 'ethnic, social, and ritual aspects of prehistoric cultures' (Milisauskas 1986: 782).

### 3.2.3 Data Density

The detailed reconstructions of the cultures of the Neolithic, Bronze Age and early Iron Age in this region, expressed by many of the archaeologists of the last fifty years, would lead a student to assume a plethora of data upon which it is based. It is therefore a surprise to encounter a dearth of data and a limited excavation history producing such complex histories. The initial conclusion is that much of this is extrapolation based upon personal, national, or theoretical agendas. As Taylor states 'there are few satisfactorily excavated prehistoric settlements in southeast Europe, nevertheless, those known appear to show a remarkable diversity of type over space and time.' (Taylor 1987: 1).

In Albania, Prendi (*CAH<sup>2</sup> iii(1): 209*) admits that the Bronze Age is impossible to understand in terms of its origin and evolution without more evidence and what evidence exists is found in tumulus burials scattered over the whole of Albania (see Prendi (*CAH<sup>2</sup> iii(1): 210, map10*). In considering the social contexts he admits that 'The archaeological sources in this area are too fragmentary for it to be possible to examine in their separate periods the economic, social and spiritual aspects of life in Albania' Prendi (*CAH<sup>2</sup> iii(1): 231*). Grbić confirms the unevenness of the data presented, with the important sites of Vinča and Starčevo producing large quantities of data whilst the rest of Morava has hardly any investigation in respect of the Bronze and Iron Ages and 'important evidence of subsequent phases is lacking there' (Grbić 1957:139). Although this is an early paper, Bankoff and Winter confirm Grbić's view in 1982 when in a paper discussing an excavation project in Morava they comment, 'In some regions, archaeological inquiry has been so thoroughly dominated by concern for the Neolithic that later prehistory is a blank, reconstructable only by generalizing from developments known from a limited number of sites in neighbouring regions.' (Bankoff and Winter 1982: 149).

When we come to specific archaeological questions, the paucity of data and its apparent extrapolations becomes evident. Treister undertook to examine the data pertaining to the existence of 'Celts' in the north Pontic area in the third century BC and found that the data supporting this hypothesis was misapplied, extrapolated inaccurately from associated data, and badly dated. He concluded that he could not trace any direct influence of La Tène culture on the material culture of the north

Pontic area and the 'La Tène' bronzes found were widespread in neighbouring regions in the third century AD (Treister 1993: 798–800).

Some western archaeologists have been banned from the Balkans because they questioned the illusory nature of social relationships based on material culture that was generated from inadequate data (Chapman 2002: 155). Renfrew, in reviewing Mallory's book on the location of the Indo-Europeans, points out that the basis for believing some archaeological fact of the north Pontic area finds no support from a critical examination of the archaeological record (Renfrew 1989: 843). The work of Condurachi and Daicoviciu (1971) provides another example of the lack of detail and poor temporal resolution. This lack may be due to scarceness of data so that nothing can really be said, but it may also be caused by either a desire not to confuse an already complex situation, the suspect nature of the data that is available, or a politically motivated omission.

#### 3.2.4 The Celtic Question

Nearly all of the papers and books used to review the state of Balkan prehistory contain references to the migration or invasion of the 'Celts' from central Europe. The exceptions are those who will not admit any outside cultural influence and those whose history only goes as far as the early Iron Age. The myth of a 'Celtic' migration thus remains a strong influence in the interpretation of Balkan archaeology for both Balkan and Western archaeologists. The degree of involvement varies from Venedikov's brief mention of the 'Celtic' invasion as described in the primary sources (Venedikov 1977: 79) to Theodossiev's reiteration of the traditional view of 'Celts' as a pan-European culture that spread out from its La Tène homelands (Theodossiev 2004).

The role and evidence for the Celts in the Balkans is discussed more in detail below (p84).

### 3.3 The Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age of the Balkans

With such a variation in the narratives of prehistory of this region, a consolidated or aggregate view is very difficult to deduce. If the common elements from each publication are taken, then the resulting history is too low in resolution (temporal or social) and becomes practically meaningless. An additional factor is that our period of interest straddles the divide between history and prehistory and this causes a radical change in the way archaeologists present the evidence. Taylor defines the period as 'protohistoric' because of the switch in the way the period of this region is described (Taylor 1998: 374). He suggests that the writings of Herodotos have tyrannized 'protohistoric' archaeology' (ibid.: 374) as Herodotos has allowed archaeologists to uncritically identify cultures with tribes he has described, and Balkan and Russian archaeologists have gone to the extent of using simplistic readings of Herodotos (and other primary sources) to justify lines of archaeological interpretation. However, the opposite has not taken place and material from excavations or pre-'protohistoric' cultures has not been used or allowed to test any early texts.

It is at this time that archaeologists stop talking of cultures and start talking of people, thus severing the link between what went before and after (see Gimbutas 1972).<sup>36</sup> There also seems to be a propensity to describe 'proto-history' in this region within a Hellenocentric framework. This change from 'culture' to 'people' is illustrated in the work of Hoddinott (1981) where he clearly changes direction in his review of the Balkan Iron Age. The complexity of the peoples he describes increases, but at the expense of any cultural understanding or information. Kristiansen compounds the difficulty when he points out that Herodotos was mainly referring to political and military elites rather than tribal, language groups or cultures (Kristiansen 1998: 404) and that this further isolates the cultural descriptions of people who lived before the texts were produced. This cultural discontinuity provides a very unsatisfactory obstruction in maintaining a cultural narrative of the region.

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<sup>36</sup> This reference draws attention to two aspects. The first is the confirmation of the importance of this discontinuity and the second is the way historians twist elements in this area into subjects of self-interest.

Both Hoddinott (1981) and Kristiansen (1998) talk of a Balkan-wide common cultural tradition in the Bronze Age, with Hoddinott (1981) describing the existence of a unifying Otomani-Wietenberg culture and 'empire' that spread across the Balkan peninsula, with other cultures being defined as local variants. Kristiansen goes further and describes a European-wide cultural heritage with eight major regions of common cultural traditions, one of which covered the whole of the Balkans (Kristiansen 1998: 63–4). These groupings are an attempt to rationalise the complex patchwork of cultures generated by typologies in the Balkans. The larger grouping is characterised by metalworking and rituals, whereas local groups are often defined in terms of pottery or artistic variants. These local groups do not warrant the term 'cultures' but are patterns of social interaction in the much wider frame of the regional culture (Kristiansen 1998: 22).

The more traditional archaeologists prefer to continue with the plethora of cultures generated by the material culture. Gimbutas is encyclopaedic in her lists of cultures of the region, yet despite this we learn nothing of the genesis, characteristics and evolution<sup>37</sup> of these cultural types (Gimbutas 1963: 89–92). Whatever culture was prevalent or whether it was regional, fragmented, a Bronze Age 'empire' or a myriad of self-contained cultural entities, nearly all agree that the cultural organisation was disturbed in the late Bronze/early Iron Age by the appearance of new people from the Pontic steppes, the Cimmerians and Scythians.

Before discussing these cultural inputs, the confusion over the phasing of the Iron Age in this part of the world needs to be described. When discussing metal technology, Condurachi and Daicoviciu point out that the formative period of the Geto-Dacian La Tène culture was during the end of the fourth century BC; however, it was not until the end of the second century BC and the first quarter of the first that La Tène culture in this region really began. They indicate that in Romania the evidence available clearly shows that 'Celtic' material in Transylvania cannot be dated any later than the turn of the second and first centuries BC (Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971: 83). Others provide alternative timescales for the introduction of

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<sup>37</sup> The number of cultures and the lack of description can perhaps be excused by the early publication date of this paper.

La Tène culture into the region, with Taylor indicating time periods as shown in Fig 3.1.

Region	Date of La Tène culture	Comment
East Central European	750–100 BC	Taylor 2001: 79
Eastern Celtic region	450–0 BC	Taylor 2001: 83
Northern Thracian (Thraco-Getic)	700–300 BC	
Southern Thracian (Odrysian)	650 BC–AD 50	
Geto-Dacian (Transylvania)	200 – 75 BC	Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971: 83

**Figure 3.1** The views of Taylor and Candurachi and Daicoviciu in the start of or effective date of La Tène culture into the Balkan region.

Vasić reviews the dating schemes for Serbia and describes three main chronologies for that region alone (see Fig.3.2).

Scheme	Description	Duration and Date
Garasanin's Four	Phase Scheme	
I	Transitional period from BA to IA	Hallstatt A–B (13 <sup>th</sup> C BC–8 <sup>th</sup> C BC).
II	Lasts 200 years	Hallstatt C (8 <sup>th</sup> –6 <sup>th</sup> C BC).
III	Lasts until 4 <sup>th</sup> C BC	Hallstatt D – start of La Tène
IV	Covers La Tène period	La Tène period starts 4 <sup>th</sup> –3 <sup>rd</sup> C BC
Tasić chronology	of Vojvodina	
I	Basarabi influence on pottery	9 <sup>th</sup> –7 <sup>th</sup> C BC
II	Basarabi characteristics on pottery	7 <sup>th</sup> –5 <sup>th</sup> C BC
III	Post-Basarabi culture	5 <sup>th</sup> –3 <sup>rd</sup> C BC
Todorović Five	Phase Chronology	
0a	Cimmerian influence	Before 500 BC
0b	Scythian influence	After 500 BC
I	Pre-Celtic La Tène	400–323 BC
II	Celtic invasion	323 –279 BC
III	Stabilisation of Celts in N. Balkans	279–85 BC
IV	Defeat of the Celts by the Romans	85–15 BC
V	Roman occupation	1 <sup>st</sup> –2 <sup>nd</sup> C AD

**Figure 3.2** Vasić's review of chronological schemes for Serbia. Vasić provides other chronological schemes but all (such as Glasinac, Donja Dolina, and Basarabi) are related to specific excavations or identified cultures.

(Vasić 1977: 2–3)

It can be seen that we have a variety of dates with no commonality between the descriptions. Each scheme is related to a specific region or culture and they reflect the complexity and diversity of the cultures in that area (for discussion on the diversity of the region see Taylor 1987 and Wells 1994). Western archaeologists have contended that the diversity of Iron Age culture in Western Europe argues against a pan-European culture of the 'Celts'; and now with a similar (or greater)

diversity in Eastern Europe, can we really consider any pan-European culture in this area as well?

This latter point needs some emphasis as we have seen that the concept of pan-European Celticity is still accepted by some European archaeologists. Kristiansen has attempted to find a middle path between the diversity of cultures and the European need to hypothesise a common culture by describing a scheme where European-wide cultural heritage has eight major regions of common cultural traditions (Kristiansen 1998: 63-4) and local groups with the Balkan main group do not warrant the term 'culture' as they are patterns of social interaction often defined in terms of pottery or artistic variants in the much wider frame of the regional culture (Kristiansen 1998: 22). The question must be asked if this is a realistic view of the culture of Europe or does a complete abandonment of any single common cultural heritage provide a better model to describe Europe in the Iron Age.

The multi-descriptive phasing of the Iron Age in the Balkans lends itself to another and important criticism. With all these phases of the Iron Age it seems to be forgotten that the link between a technological step and a 'cultural' period is essentially an artificial one. Piggott points out that

The change in nomenclature from Hallstatt to La Tène, based as it was on a novel and distinctive features not present in the preceding Hallstatt cultural tradition (sudden emergence and rapid development of a new and distinctive art style) has perhaps itself contributed to an interpretation in terms of a drastic cultural dislocation in the fifth century BC and an underestimate of essential continuity.

(Piggott 1983: 195)

With this view the strictness of any phasing seems to become irrelevant and the preoccupation with the fine division of these phases meaningless. Piggott shows that aspects that are determined for the Hallstatt period (rich graves and defended hill forts) can easily be made for La Tène (Piggott 1983: 195).

We have seen that all of the accounts of the Iron Age in the Balkans put the arrival of people from the Pontic steppes as a significant watershed in the development of the culture. Hodkinson argues that from the start of the first millennium BC until the last quarter of the eighth century, the nomadic Cimmerians held the Pontic

stepped to the north and northwest of the Black Sea with a looseness of control that probably reflects their past nomadic movement and life-style. Hoddinott argues that their impact, from a cultural perspective, was not to impose a direct cultural change through their own influence, but to unite the diverse cultures of Thrace in a way not seen since the Otomani-Wietenberg culture. Kristiansen takes a different view and, with reference to the archaeology of Thrace, argues that Macedonian bronzes show the emergence of a Thraco-Cimmerian cultural thread in society (Kristiansen 1998: 195).<sup>38</sup> He goes on to say that Cimmerian influences represent a dynamic input that generates new styles. There is obviously a close contact between the Cimmerians, Thracians, Macedonians, and the people of the Caucasus and from this was generated a new ceramic style – the Basarabi – ‘a complete break with former traditions’ (Kristiansen 1998: 195). Condurachi and Daicoviciu agree with Kristiansen that Romania was occupied by the Basarabi culture and declare that it was the dominant culture of the period and region and believe it had a Bronze Age basis (Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971: 69). Taylor identifies the Basarabi culture as a major cultural watershed and, echoing Kristiansen, identifies the ceramic material culture as the start of a time when ethnic differences were becoming diluted, various forms of pastoralism were forming and new cultural groups were entering the region (Taylor 1998: 379). Hoddinott does mention the Basarabi culture but believes it to be a wide-ranging culture that needs cautious treatment. He considers it to be just a remnant of the Bronze Age Otomani-Wietenberg culture<sup>39</sup> (Hoddinott 1981: 88–9) and prefers to keep the Cimmerians separate from the cultures in the Balkans. Hoddinott argues that the Cimmerians forced the amalgamation of the other cultures of the region and the various associated cultures of Transylvania to provide a cultural bloc that effectively culturally isolated the Cimmerians to the north and north-east of the region. Such was their looseness of control over the Pontic steppe that Thracians, with the Greeks’ help, managed to trade east of the lower Dnieper and establish a cultural spread despite the Cimmerians’ occupation and apparent control of the area (Hoddinott 1981: 88).

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<sup>38</sup> It must be remembered that Kristiansen describes culture in a regional sense – see p76 above.

<sup>39</sup> The Otomani-Wietenberg culture gives a strong influence, which confuses the situation. Hoddinott asks if the pottery type is an evolved form of the old extensive Otomani-Wietenberg ‘empire’ or a new type with features diffused from elsewhere that echo the design of the Otomani-Wietenberg culture. His inclination is to the former, due to Thracian conservatism producing long-lasting pottery shapes little influenced by external developments (Hoddinott 1981:83).

Whereas Taylor and Kristiansen discuss acculturation and assimilation of these steppe people into the culture of the Balkans, Hoddinott and Condurachi and Daicoviciu do not. Condurachi and Daicoviciu agree that the pattern of culture and ethnicity in Romania during this period is complex<sup>40</sup> (Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971: 70), but simplify the situation by commenting that despite these incursions, the indigenous Thracian cultural substrate was able to absorb and maintain itself throughout the whole Carpatho-Danubian area. Hoddinott, as we have seen above, retains a social and cultural separation between these steppe people and the cultures of the Balkans, and he postulates their demise by their involvement in battles far from the north-east Balkans with the Assyrians and the Urartians (Hoddinott 1981: 88–89). He implies that the Cimmerians as an *ethnos* were defeated (by the Scythians) in northern Iran, scattered, and fled westwards towards Anatolia and Ionia (Hdt. 1.6; 4.1.2). However, it is difficult to believe that this episode represented the whole of the Cimmerian *ethnos* and that they all either perished or relocated to Asia Minor.

Kristiansen has no doubts that the Cimmerians who were mounted nomads were expanding westwards. The question he asks is whether it was conquest, migration or extensive trade eventually needing the control of important trade colonies on the Black Sea (Kristiansen 1998: 195). Marčenko and Vinogradov extend the study of these people and their interaction with the people of the Balkans, and point out that the interaction was not only between communities at different socio-economic levels but between two distinctly different ways of life; nomadic pastoralists versus sedentary agriculturalists (Marčenko and Vinogradov 1989: 803). Kristiansen points out that this interaction was a recurrent feature in this region with the Scythians following the Cimmerians who were in turn followed by the Sarmatians (Kristiansen 1998: 195). Whether the Cimmerians were the first is doubtful, as Venedikov refers to a history of ‘great migrations into the Balkans’ (Venedikov 1977: 75) and Casson implies that the origin of the Thracians came from a migration of steppe people (Casson 1977: 3). Marčenko and Vinogradov place the origins of nomadism and transhumance in the steppe region with climate

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<sup>40</sup>The complexity arises with the already complex Bronze Age cultural structure now being overlaid with Cimmerians entering the area, Illyrians in various places, and finally Scythians in Transylvania.

change in the ninth to fifth centuries BC (Marčenko and Vinogradov 1989: 803). The northern Pontic region formed a natural bridge between the two societies and there was a 'diffusion of material culture and agricultural produce between them (Marčenko and Vinogradov 1989: 803–5). Mason and Taylor reiterate these conclusions within the context of a Soviet archaeological approach (Mason and Taylor 1989: 780).

Kristiansen's question relating to the movement of the nomadic pastoralists needs a response. Marčenko and Vinogradov postulate that the stability of the steppe population began to be upset due to a population increase caused by more favourable climatic conditions (Marčenko and Vinogradov 1989: 807). In terms of population pressure and migration the accounts of Hoddinott, Marčenko and Vinogradov, and Herodotos do not meet the requirements of the 'push – pull' arguments previously made for mass migration (see p59–60). Population pressure and resource limitation are not recognisable push factors and another solution needs to be found. Taylor provides an appropriate solution when he considers the steppe economy and its dependence upon a network of water sources, unevenly distributed over a wide range. The eco-system is in fine balance with no flexibility, and pressure at any point can cause a progressive displacement of the nomadic routes used by these people (Taylor 1998: 380). Taylor explains that the movement of the Cimmerians and Scythians into the north Pontic steppe started with the Mongolian pastoralists lacking water. They moved to China only to be repulsed by the Chou emperor Suan, and the reaction to this repulse spread 2,000 km westwards to result in an eruption of Cimmerian or Scythian insurgence into the north-east Balkans.<sup>41</sup> The movement therefore is not a migration but a change in the nomadic pattern to take account of the reduction in what were already sparse resources. This will inevitably bring those on the edge of the steppe into the more productive land of the sedentary agriculturalist. (Taylor 1998:380).

The result of these interactions was essentially assimilation or cultural domination of the northern Black Sea region by the former nomads. Marčenko and Vinogradov go on to say that 'it would appear that the Cimmerians and Scythians were not in any way intent on totally supplanting or destroying the indigenous population and

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<sup>41</sup> The latter part of this domino effect is recorded by Herodotos (Hdt. 1.103–4; 4.1; 4.11–12).

archaeological evidence supports the view that the local population was simply incorporated into the political, social and economic structure of the newcomers.’ (Marčenko and Vinogradov 1989: 806).

However, Taylor and Hoddinott argue that there was no amalgamation but a displacement of the indigenous people, the destination varying according to the start point of the original migration (Hoddinott 1981: 89–90). The earliest settled in Transylvania in about 575 BC and later migrations settled in the south-east bend of the Carpathians and the Siret, Muntenian and east Oltenian foothills, the Danube valley near the Iron Gates, the Carpatho-Ukraine region, and Slovenia. Following the infusion of new cultures and technologies from the north-east the next major cultural impact was from Persia in its attempts to pacify the region.

Hoddinott suggests that the loss of the Scythians’ nomadic culture was crucial to their assimilation, for they were rapidly absorbed and, despite a periodic importance thereafter, they finally disappeared from the historical record by the first century AD (Rice 1957: 24). This argument is difficult to accept, as the loss of nomadism would have taken place as a consequence of the first contact.

This brief narrative effectively brings the cultural history of the region down to the time of the incursion into Macedonia and Greece by the Galatae. The work reviewed is almost solely related to the movement of cultures from the north-east and tends to discuss the effects on the eastern and central Balkans. Little is said concerning the arrival of any cultures from the north-west and the cultural development on the Adriatic and the east Balkans. The motives and mechanisms for movement of any people entering from this direction are not as obvious as in the case of those from the Pontic steppe. Prendi’s review of Albania (*CAH*<sup>2</sup> iii(1): 228–37) provides no evidence for Celtic influences from the material culture of the area and confirms that there was a self-contained cultural growth within the region from the Neolithic to the Iron Age. He does draw a distinction between the north and the south of the region and comments that each has a mixture ‘of regional character enriched later on by internal evolution on the one hand and external on the other.’ (*CAH*<sup>2</sup> iii(1): 229). These external influences were mostly from each region until the sub-Mycenaean (eleventh century BC) when a wave of the ‘Pannono-Balkan

migration' influenced Albania in some areas. These influences were mainly concentrated on the coast and the material culture evidence is of a maritime nature and appearance (*CAH*<sup>2</sup> iii(1): 229). Hammond discusses the archaeological findings from Illyria and comments that archaeology is very young in this region with none undertaken before the Second World War and, until the date of publication (1988a), only twenty-five years of tumuli excavations (*CAH*<sup>2</sup> iii(1): 624–32). Bankoff and Winter discuss the excavations in the Morava valley to try to clarify the history and the archaeology of this main corridor between the Aegean and central Europe but there is no analysis or general conclusion that helps in understanding the social history of this area (Bankoff and Winter 1982: 149–64). We have seen that archaeologists take a political view on the cultural history of the eastern side of the Balkans (mainly due to post-war communist doctrines, parochialism, and the need to proclaim a purity of ethnogenesis – see Andrea 1984) but as so little alternative evidence is available we are forced to support this regional view of cultural growth with no major external influences. The absence of archaeological data from the Morava valley is similarly important, as it is the first archaeological survey that did not concentrate on tumuli and grave goods and was thus the first non-elite excavation. The fact that it only succeeded in establishing ceramic typologies may be important if only for the fact that no dramatic change in the material culture was uncovered.

### 3.4 The Evidence for the 'Celts' and the Region's Cultural Composition

Having established a perception of the cultural changes in the Balkans we need to address the issue of the 'Celtic' migration described by both the 'Celtic' traditionalists and many Balkan archaeologists. The view of the migration of the traditional 'Celt' as being a pivotal moment in history is not restricted to mid-twentieth century papers. Tasić in a recent paper takes a very culture-historical view of Iron Age development and uses the migration of the 'Celts' as the mark between the early and late Iron Age in this region (see Fig 3.2 and Todorović's Five Phase Chronology – Tasić 2004). The view of the traditionalists and the regional archaeologist is summed up by Theodossiev when he presents some notes to justify the hypothesis of 'Celtic' migration (Theodossiev 2004). His notes, however, reiterate the same arguments made by others, which have since been shown not to 'prove' any 'Celtic' involvement in the region. Theodossiev continually confuses 'Celt', Gaul, Galatae and other tribal names in the primary sources and what he claims can be refuted by a simple examination of the original Greek (see chapter 4 for a complete response to this question). The mistakes made here are similar to those of Fischer who specifically mentions that 'Celts' are derived from the 'lost geography' of Hekataios' and the definitions of Herodotos (Fischer 1995: 34). In addition there is a strange equation between tribal names and ethnicity without justification in Theodossiev's work. He presents the archaeological finding of a gold **torc** as support for a western Celtic presence but is undone by the evidence that in this region it is more likely that the presence of torcs is related to Persian presence (see pp45–6 and fn. 20).<sup>42</sup> He finally develops an argument that is a strange mixture of James's 'factoids' (see p23) and Hill's circular argument (see p31) that does nothing to 'prove' the existence of the 'Celts' of traditional understanding but does weaken the traditionalist arguments by its bias and naivety.

However we need to turn to the archaeology and serious argument to see what makes archaeologists believe that there was a 'Celtic' migration into this area. When we look at Hoddinott's work he does bring into the picture the 'Celts' as a cultural influence. He points out that in the mountainous land between the Danube

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<sup>42</sup> See Kidd (1988: 16-40) in which Posidonius tells how the Scordisci (remnant of the Galatae) would not have gold but only plunder for silver. See also Athenaeus 1957: IV 233D-234C.

valley and the Adriatic, a conglomeration of Illyrian and 'proto-Celtic' tribes had developed, influenced by Etruscan, Greek and Thracian involvement as well as a steady migration of 'Celts' from central Europe (Hoddinott 1981: 90). However, he is circumspect in these conclusions, for he balances the presentation of archaeological data with conflicting opinion from elsewhere and is careful not to provide a firm opinion (ibid.: 91–2). His reliance on one or two symbolic representations on some artefacts ('the running flame motif') is less than convincing and, with assertions that the 'unquestionable Celtic spirit' is evident in these artefacts, actually causes more questions to be asked. There is no further comment on the 'Celts' until the relatively safe ground of the 'Celtic' invasions of the southern Balkans in 280.

Condurachi and Daicoviciu also comment on the arrival of the 'Celts'. They indicate that the first cultural influence from these people is at the end of the fourth century BC, when they entered Transylvania with advanced iron-working technology and the potter's wheel. They see this cultural infusion as a fertilisation of the indigenous culture – in the same way that the Greek colonies fertilised the Black Sea coastal cultures. Despite the bringing of new iron-working techniques, the craft did not show notable progress; not until the end of the second century BC and the first quarter of the first that La Tène culture really begin in this region (Condurachi and Daicoviciu 1971: 82). The 'Celts', and other people of alien stock, entered Dacia during the first two phases of La Tène, but the existing culture rapidly assimilated them. In Transylvania, the 'Celts' brought superior iron-working techniques, but failed to establish themselves as the superior culture owing to their relatively small numbers.

Examining more recent work, we can identify an argument that doubts the existence of any 'Celtic' cultural impact on the people of the Balkans. In discussing the 'Eastern Celtic' (a sub-region of the East-Central European Iron Age), Taylor draws a distinction in this region between the north-west (modern Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic) and the south-east (modern Serbia, Bosnia, Slovenia, and Herzegovina). In this latter region he comments that the traces of the 'Eastern Celtic' culture are very indistinct and identifies this difference as due to settled and consolidated communal expansion in the north-west and an economy of 'trade and raid' and non-

existent community development in the south-east. Any development is connected with the settlement of the Scordisci (Taylor 2001: 83). Taylor goes on to say that the reason for the absence of easily identifiable 'Celtic' settlements is due to Hellenisation and the adoption of Thracian structures – a conclusion similar to that of Condurachi and Daicoviciu in their assimilation argument. Piggott makes an important point in this argument when he says that historians 'uncritically conflate archaeological evidence with historically documented Celtic peoples and their movements, when material culture need not be equated with language or tribal entities' (Piggott 1983: 195).

When we come to ethnological, linguistic, religious and social characteristics the correlation with 'Celtic' is now a very disputed area (Taylor 2001: 83). The technology and art associated with La Tène can be considered to have developed from previous Hallstatt groups in Bohemia, Moravia and western Hungary and then moved south-eastwards to the Balkan region through the agency of gift, prestige goods and mercenary activity (see Winter and Bankoff 1989: 162). Taylor points out that in the north-western region, the culture of La Tène is illustrated prolifically, whilst La Tène artefacts in the south-east are modest in quantity and are restricted to weapons and items found in elite graves (Taylor 2001: 84). This may be interpreted as no major migration but just a 'diffusion' of culturally indicative items arriving by the agencies given above.

Vasić makes an interesting observation when he discusses the Iron Age in Serbia at about the time the 'Celts' were supposed to appear. Although he agrees that at this time the material culture changes significantly there remains a continuity of types and forms (that can even be followed into the late Iron Age) and although these forms are designated La Tène, they appear well before the arrival of any 'Celt' and represent an identifiable continuous development of earlier types (Vasić 1977: 3). Babić also says much the same for material from Glasinac (southern Serbia/northern Albania) when he reports that there is 'an evolution of forms was established which testified for a continuous development of material culture in the Glasinac area from the early phases of the Bronze Age well into the Iron Age.' (Babić 2002: 71).

From these more recent studies it appears that La Tène artefacts may be indigenous and are not evidence of migrating people from central Europe. In the east of the Balkans the development of the cultural make-up of the people seems to be linear from the Bronze Age at least and the purity of ethnicity proposed by the Albanians may have some value.

From a sociological point of view the arguments of Piggott in respect of elitism are relevant in defining this culture. The cultural discontinuity (often proposed to identify La Tène) is more apparent in the upper strata of societies that at the other end 'both in terms of material culture (such as fine metalwork and the art style it carried) and in the geographical distribution of such pieces' (Piggott 1983: 196). In an earlier publication Piggott declared 'aristocratic art can be discontinuous, peasant craft more often continuous' (Piggott 1976: 287) and pointed out that gift-exchange was the most probable agency for this observation. We cannot define a society's material culture on the basis of a discontinuous craft obtained in unusual circumstances and as a product of an elite. Aristocratic culture is not representative, it is misleading and thus the artefacts from elite burials bears no effective relationship to either the technical achievements of the society nor its attainments in material culture.

### 3.5 Discussion

We now have two distinct accounts of the development in the Iron Age in the Balkans, with the culture and its development being significantly different in the east and the west of the region. We also have histories and narratives that are modified by politics, theoretical approaches, extrapolation from inadequate data and the ever-present 'Celtic' question. To assemble a narrative that accounts for these factors is difficult, and the present state of archaeology and its analysis in this region seems to be confused and subjective.

The predominantly culture-historical approach taken by many archaeologists provides a clear and rational view of cultural movement, migrations, and domination. It gives reasoned explanations for the various movements, and determines cultural change from the material culture found in excavation in the first half of the twentieth century. However there is never any real acceptance of acculturation, creolization or amalgamation of cultures; everything is described in terms of invasion, culture clash, and eviction. In respect of the 'Celts' the culture-historians offer nothing new, as their emergence in the narrative seems to form one of those 'factoids' to which James points (1999: 23). It would seem that, as the primary sources mention that 'Celts' invaded Greece, the culture-historians take pains to show that they exist in the archaeological record. These efforts manifest themselves as finding the material culture that comes closest to being described as 'Celtic' within the appropriate period. Following on, others examine this material culture and see this as proof that the 'Celts' invaded Greece. This is another form of the self-fulfilling situation described by Hill (1989: 18) (see p31). It appears that if Polybios had not confused Keltoi and Galatae then archaeologists would never, on the basis of the archaeology, have postulated a 'Celtic' invasion.

Recent archaeological reports and hypotheses have allowed a start to be made on the clarification of the Balkan Iron Age and although it suffers from a dearth of data, modern theoretical constructs are allowing a semblance of structure and narrative to develop. However, the lack of data and the disjointed history of the region mean that there still remains little upon which to base a definitive approach or come to a relatively secure conclusion. It is in this situation that the vulnerability

of the ancient historian and the archaeologist is most exposed. The lack of definite evidence allows the bias of their own opinions free reign, and gives them the liberty to choose whatever aspects suit their arguments and thus convince them that evidence supports their thesis.

For our purposes we need to see what we can extract from the above review in support of the arguments of this thesis. The first point is that there is no strong archaeological evidence of a massive 'Celtic' invasion or migration. Hoddinott is circumspect about the existence of the 'Celts' and their effects on the culture of the region. It is also the view of Condurachi and Daicoviciu that there are no migrations of 'Celts' in any number, and that those that are found are in Transylvania. They also point out that any 'Celtic' migrations are associated with Hallstatt phase 'C' and not La Tène as indicated elsewhere. Taylor takes the view that much of what was considered 'Celtic' can in fact be considered indigenous development, with local technology developing into its own regional form of La Tène. The closest one gets to a 'Celtic' invasion is perhaps the diffusion of central European technology and weapons coming south by the agency of gifts, prestige goods and mercenary activity. It is unlikely that these central European Iron Age people are 'Celts' of traditional understanding, but an option is to identify them as a cultural influence that others have mistakenly identified as traditional 'Celts'.

Second, the continuation of the Russian steppe into the Pontic steppe would indicate that the region is susceptible to movements by nomadic people from across the Volga and Dnieper, giving rise to a continual infusion of cultures. The Cimmerians, Scythians, and Sarmatians therefore may be considered the closest to an 'invading' force. It is difficult to accept that such a force would displace local inhabitants, and there is enough in the writing of Herodotos and in the archaeology of the region to indicate that significant amount of acculturation took place in the longer term and not the simplistic 'pitched battle with the losers escaping into the woods' scenario. The work of Taylor, Kristiansen, Marčenko and Vinogradov, and others show that co-operation and acculturation provide too many advantages to both sides not to be the main mechanism in the confrontation of two different cultures.

From an archaeological perspective, the exercise of reviewing the status of knowledge of the Iron Age in the Balkans has not provided evidence that leads us to positively confirm or deny any 'Celtic' invasion, migration or a nation *en route*. However, enough evidence exists to say that a major migration of La Tène 'Celtic' culture did not take place and there was probably no indigenous 'Celtic' tribe that acted in the traditional manner. A cultural background based upon indigenous cultures can equally describe the 'invaders' of Macedonia.

### 3.6 A Suggested Homeland and Cultural Origin of the 'Celts' in the Balkans

When we strip the Balkan 'Celts' of their traditional 'Celtic' attributes, there is very little information left and none of it archaeological. They came from the Roman province of Pannonia<sup>43</sup> (Justin 24.4) and were a warlike and savage people who continually fought their neighbours and had a 'joy and passion for robbery and plunder' (Paus. 10.19.6; Justin 24.4). Their reputation for fierceness was such that their neighbours paid them not to attack (Justin 24.4; 25.1). Justin has them expelled as a group from their original country<sup>44</sup> due to overpopulation (24.4). He tells of some of them travelling and sacking Rome (presumably in 390 BC), whilst others settled in Pannonia, and implies that these latter people were responsible for the 'Celtic' attack on Macedonia and Greece. The remnants of the army that survived the raid into Greece were supposed to be scattered throughout Asia and Thrace, but then to have regrouped and returned to their own country. He then reports that a number settled at the confluence of the Danube and Save (the region of Belgrade in northern Serbia) and took the name Scordisci (Justin 32.3.7–8).<sup>45</sup> Another band of survivors, the Tectosagi, also returned to their homeland (at Toulouse), but were 'seduced by thoughts of plunder and went back and to settle in Pannonia' (Justin 32.3). Appian, in his *Illyrian Wars*, (Appian Book 10 – *The Illyrian War*) gives a more comprehensive history of their origins. He discusses the origin of the tribes of Illyria in his introduction to the people of Illyria; he comments that the name of the country came from Illyrius – son of Polyphemus and his wife Galatea. This again relates Galatea (and hence later Galatia) with an origin myth but the name is not derived from the word 'Gauls' as traditionally assumed. Tribal names in the area are also derived from sons and daughters of Illyrius – Autarieus, Dardanus etc. Two of the grandsons of Autarieus were called Scordiscus and Triballus (Appian 10.2). From a historic perspective, we must assume that the tribes came before the mythology and provides the source for Hammond's assertion (1966: 249) that Scordisci and the Triballi were bitter enemies who fought until the Triballi were extinguished and the

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<sup>43</sup> Modern Slovenia, Croatia, southern Hungary, and northern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

<sup>44</sup> Justin does not name the land (just *terrae quae genuerant*, 'the lands that had given them birth'), but such open ended comments allow historians to substitute preconceived (and well intentioned) notions as to where Justin (and Trogus) was referring).

<sup>45</sup> Strabo reminds us that the Scordisci were collectively known as the Galatae. He refers (Strabo 7.2.2), to the 'Scordiscan Galatae' (Σκορδίσκουζ Γαλάτας), and then later (Strabo 7.5.2) 'the Scordisci who are called Galatae', and then (Strabo 7.5.6) he says '... among the Galatae, the Boii, and the Scordistae and among the Ilyrians the Autariatae, Ardiaeia, and Dardanii...' (see section 8.2: p.104)

Scordisci reduced to extreme weakness by the mid – second century AD (Appian 10.3). Appian also comments that the Scordisci were scattered and slowly returned to Pannonia, because of war with Rome and their weakness after fighting the Triballi (Appian 10.3), not because of the Macedonian and Greek raids. As for incursions into Greece and Macedonia, Appian mentions that such expeditions were a common occurrence. He tells how the Autariatae were destroyed after joining a ‘Celtic’ people (the Cimbri) in a failed expedition to plunder the temple of Delphi (Appian 10.4). Then, following the comment that the Illyrians had a predilection for temple robbing, he informs us that the Scordisci, Maedi, and Dardanii had a history of raiding Greece and Macedonia for this purpose. We can find a comment in Memnon (*FGrHist* 434: F8.8), which indicates that famine may have been the motivation.<sup>46</sup> This temple robbing by the Illyrians was prevalent enough to force the Romans, under Lucius Cornelius Scipio, to undertake military action against these tribes (190 BC). As soon as it started some Illyrians, remembering the fate of the Autariatae, abandoned the temple robbers to their fate and the Romans destroyed most of the Scordisci, whilst the Dardanii and Maedi paid off the Romans with the proceeds of their crimes.

We have therefore in the region a people with a history of raiding and plundering, who make many excursions to raid temples in Macedonia and Greece. They are warlike and there is inter-tribal fighting (to the point of mutual extinction). They had caused trouble to the Thracians on the lower Danube, were known to Philip II and Alexander III, and continued to cause problems until the second century AD when the Romans finally subdued them.

Amongst the people of the Danube valley and the surrounding regions, there are well-known tribes with the apparent strength and power to be a candidate for the role heretofore taken by the ‘Celts’. The culture of the Iron Age tribes in the Balkans derives from a variety of ancestors and cultural backgrounds, which include Scythian, Cimmerian, Sarmatian, Odryian, Illyrian, Agathyrsi, and the original

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<sup>46</sup> Translation is as follows: ‘He [*Ptolemaeos Keraunos*] committed many other crimes over a period of two years, until a band of Gauls left their country because of famine and occupied [*invaded*] Macedonia. They joined battle with him and he was killed in a manner befitting his own cruelty, being torn apart by the Gauls, who had captured him alive after the elephant on which he was riding was injured and threw him off. Antigonos the son of Demetrius, who had been defeated in the naval battle, became ruler of Macedonia after the death of Ptolemaeus. (Memnon *FGrHist* 434: F8.8).

Otomani-Wietenberg Thraco-Dacian. The candidate people and their culture, if not 'Celtic', will come from these peoples and their associated cultures.

If we are considering a temple raiding expedition and not a mass migration, then we can give an indication of their homeland at this early stage. Fig. 3.3 shows the area of interest with a range circle established based on the distance that a people can move in a 'fighting season' (see p175). We can discount the clear area in the range, as it was the territory raided and would hardly be likely to be their homeland. Therefore, if the above assumptions were correct, these people would come from the green area of the above circle centred on Niš. This would put it in the area south of the Iron Gates, south Oltenia, south-east Vojvodina, or south-east Banat. As described by Condurachi and Daicoviciu (1971:70), this location would put them on the western side of the Illyrian enclave of the Basarabi and thus make



**Figure 3.3** The circle represents a range of 200 km from Niš with lands already raided left clear. This represents, to a first approximation, the average distance an army has time to travel after raiding Macedonia and Paeonia and before winter snows and bad weather. It is within the coloured area that we might find the homeland of the people known as the 'Celts'.

(Map derived from Wilkes (1992: xx, map1)

them of Illyrian descent. If we consider Hoddinott's arguments, then their cultural descent would be from the Agathyrsi or an Agathyrsian-Scythian mix (Hoddinott 1981: 89–90), but their origin is too far east to be related to his 'Illyrian and proto-'Celtic' tribes (ibid.: 90).

Wilkes (1992: xx, map1), Hammond (1966: 240), Hoddinott (1981: 12–3; and 1975: 345–6), and Strabo (7.5.4–7) allow a reasonable attempt to be made at a map showing the identification of tribal or ethnic identities in the Balkan area. This map is shown in Fig. 3.4. In Hammond's analysis, this projected area borders the strong tribes of the Autariatae, Ardiaei and the Dardania. These were the strongest tribes in Illyria (Hammond 1966: 249) and he comments that the Autariatae were the strongest of the three and managed to expand northwards to defeat the Triballi and rule as far as the Danube. However, the Scordisci and Romans pushed back the Autariatae at the height of their expansion. This would indicate that the Scordisci maintained their strength up to this time. The Autariatae were also responsible for breaking up and destroying the Ardiaei (ibid.: 249) in the latter part of the second century BC, indicating that they were still a powerful force after the 'Celtic' invasions of the early third century and before the Scordiscan – Roman confrontation (ibid.: 249). From this it would seem that we have several candidates for the 'Celts'; namely the Scordisci, the Autariatae (or a section of them), the Agathyrsi (or an Agathyrsian-Scythian mix), and the Illyrian Basarabi. These last two, their names being ethnic or culturally based descriptions, may be synonymous with the first two. Tarn makes an interesting point when he notes that the Scordisci (This tribe was turned into an Illyrian tribe by Appian (10.5)) were also known as the 'Galatae'.<sup>47</sup> Hoddinott also comments that a few years after the 'Celtic' incursions the Scordisci occupied Banat, Oltenia, and north-west Bulgaria, defeating the Getae and Triballi (Hoddinott 1981: 131). From the evidence and the arguments, it would appear that the Scordisci are the most likely to have been the 'Gauls' or 'Celts' of the Macedonian and Greek incursions.

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<sup>47</sup> (Tarn, 1913: 143 n. 19) Tarn references Athenaeus 6, 234a and includes Justin 32.3.7–8 with the indication that Justin's comments may come from Poseidonios (Kidd 1988: 29–40).

The Scordisci would have a culture that was essentially Thracian but will have incorporated elements of Scythian and Illyrian culture. They would have had the metalworking skills identified with the Illyrians at this time, and from their



**Figure 3.4** The Iron Age tribal distribution in the fourth century BC in the western Balkans and south of the Danube. The tribal domains and boundaries are indistinct and represent only approximate positions of tribal domination. (Map derived from Wilkes (1992: xx (map1)); tribal names and distributions from Hammond (1966: 240), Hoddinott (1981: 12–3), Hoddinott (1975: 345–6), and Strabo (7.5.4–7))

geographic position they developed the warlike tendency that was necessary to maintain their position between other strong tribes in the area (Hammond 1966: 249). Their contact with Greeks and Etruscans was important, but probably more so were the links with Transylvania and the metalworking regions to the north-east. From Hammond’s descriptions (Hammond 1976: 70–1), it required appreciable knowledge to move through the mountains, and although local guides would have provided the means, familiarity with the landscape was necessary to traverse the countryside effectively. The apparent specificity of their incursions indicates extensive knowledge of their environment (Arrian 1.4.6 and Hammond and Walbank, 1988: 32–48); this argues strongly against the simple plundering of a marauding, migrating people.

This chapter has tried to show the complexity and the still partial comprehension of the Iron Age in the Balkans. In addition it has discussed the urgent need for the supporters of a 'Celtic' presence to demonstrate real and positive archaeology and arguments that are not dependent upon traditional unsupportable approaches. A simple view using an established fighting season and the work of Hammond on possible routes shows that it is possible to have the attackers as local tribesmen from a region that was warlike, had a history of raiding, and were fierce and strong enough to take on the depleted forces of an unstable Macedonia. There was no need to postulate 'Celts'.

Before we start to analyse the primary sources in respect of this incident we need to turn to the use of the words 'Celt', 'Gaul', and 'Galatae' in ancient Greek literature and inscriptions. The intention of the next chapter is to try to trace how authors over six hundred years applied these words, and to try to determine what people they were describing. Over time, in any living language, the use and meaning of words change the way that this change took place should tell us how the Greeks saw the changing location of the people they called the 'Celts', Galatae and 'Gauls'.

## Chapter 4 – Origin of the Words ‘Celt’ and ‘Gaul’ and their appearance in the Primary Sources

### 4.1 Introduction

### 4.2 The State of Understanding of the Origin of the ‘Celts’

#### 4.2.1 The Primary Sources

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### 4.3 The ‘Celts’ and ‘Gauls’ in the Primary Sources

#### 4.3.1 Textual Information

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### 4.7 Κελτοί and Γαλάται after Polybios

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#### 4.9.1 Inscriptions for ‘Celt’

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### 4.10 Conclusion

## Chapter 4 – Origin of the Words 'Celt' and 'Gaul' and their appearance in the Primary Sources

### 4.1 Introduction

In 1927, the physicist Werner Heisenberg published a work that included the statement that the more accurately the momentum of a particle is determined, the less accurately can its absolute position be measured (Heisenberg 1929). It is rare to find this uncertainty principle applied outside quantum mechanics, but there appears to be an application when the 'Celts' and 'Gauls' in the ancient world are considered. It would seem that the definition and position in history of these two Iron Age people are easier to determine the less you know about them. Ask the non-historian who they were and the response is likely to be traditional and quite clear. Ask an historian the same question and the response would be a little more muddled. Ask the ancient historian the same question (with examples or references) and they would struggle to find any clear-cut response.

For the archaeologist, modern arguments have led to the conclusion that 'Celts' of traditional understanding is a redundant concept. However this rejection and the uncertainty of historians cannot be an end to the subject, for no matter how much traditional 'Celtic' existence is denied, there were people in the past who were called 'Celts', for they are so described in the primary sources. Whatever historians have done to them or their name since, they seem to have a real and historical existence in the ancient world. It is necessary to try to understand the genesis of the 'Celt' and 'Gaul' from evidence of the primary sources in an attempt to set these people within their proper geographical and historical context.

Although discussion of primary sources must cover inscriptions as well as literary texts, the specific nature of inscriptions needs a separate treatment and this will be undertaken later. The confusion over the position of the 'Celts' and 'Gauls' is not helped by the literary sources, which appear equally bewildered by who these people were and where they resided. The apparently indiscriminate use of either

term for the same people in the same circumstance is a confusing and an examination of only a few primary sources demonstrates the problem; they show synonymous use of the terms within the same paragraph (e.g. Polyb. 2.1.8) and occasionally within the same sentence (e.g. Appian *Civil War* 2.49, *Civil War* 1.29 and Dio Cassius 53.12.6). Modern commentators rationalise this ancient usage as carelessness on the part of the ancient author, with Walbank commenting on ‘... the Gauls, whom Polybios calls Κελτούς and Γαλάται indiscriminately...’ (Walbank, 1957: 49 on Polyb. 1.6.4–6) and Strachan-Davidson (1902: 33) similarly mentioning that ‘the ancients often confounded Celts and Germans’. The explanation of carelessness gives licence to modern commentators to restructure the names in the text to meet current historical theories. This practice seems a little irrational, especially when the value of lesser facts and expressions from the primary sources is scrupulously maintained and upheld. Ancient thoughtless attention to detail is a poor excuse to uphold the neat geographical and demographic identity and classification of modern thought. If it is assumed that the primary sources were not careless in their use of the terms and that they were accurately reflecting these people, as they understood them *at the time*, then such a view might illuminate the ancient perception that the confusing translations of modern commentators have effectively obscured. The neglect of this discrepancy needs some rectification as the confusion of terms pervades the whole of the primary sources.

The aim of this chapter is to look at the etymological basis for the use of ‘Celt’ and ‘Gaul’ throughout Greek literature. It is not an examination of the story of the ‘Celts’ as seen by the Greeks, but merely of how the use of these words and their applications changed over time. To attempt a proper examination of the Greek attitude and developing relationship between Greeks and those people they called ‘Celts’ is beyond the scope of this thesis and the research question, and may be an ineffective exercise because of the arguments given in the section on inter-group processes (see p. 52 ff) and the length of time over which this history is reported.

From about the fifth century BC the Greeks seemed to undergo a revision in their identity and started to identify ‘others’ or non-Greeks as ‘barbarians’ (*barbarophōnoi*) or those who burred in a language not commonly known to the Greeks (Shipley 1998: 65 and Cartledge 1993: 37). As soon as this definition of

identity is realised by modern historians it becomes difficult to consider the position of Greeks and barbarians in the ancient world without recourse to questions of identity, ethnicity, and the development of a national self-awareness (see Cartledge 1993: 36–62). It is for these reasons that the discussions concerning ethnicity were undertaken earlier (see pp. 38 ff and p. 54).

In respect of our present exercise we cannot include the term ‘barbarian’ because of its generality. Such a non-specific term adds nothing to our understanding of the terms ‘Celt’ and ‘Gaul’. We must be aware of the difficulty this can cause as some well-known inscriptions concerning the attack on Delphi do not refer to ‘Gauls’ or ‘Celts’ but just to ‘barbarians’ (see *IGii*<sup>2</sup> 677 and *IGii*<sup>2</sup> 680 – Delphic inscriptions set up after the 279 battle). It is tempting to assign a name to these barbarians based upon events from other sources but this must be avoided. In the case of the Delphic inscriptions the attacking army may have been a mixture of barbarian types (a variety of Balkan tribes made up from the Scordisci, Autariatae, Daorsi, Ardiaei, Triballi, etc. – see Strabo 7.1.1; 7.3.2; 7.3.11; 7.5.1) in which case the term is understandable. However, we know, from other sources, that this army contained Aenianes and Thessalians (Justin 24.7.2) and as neither of these people fall under the accepted definition of ‘barbarian’ (they are a part of northern Greece) the general name is misleading. In either case the assignation of a single appellation to the general term ‘barbarian’ provide a false or ambiguous conclusion. By restricting our search to specific use of the terms ‘Galatae’, ‘Gauls’, ‘Celts’ we are basing our analysis on a usage devoid of assumptions.

It is clear that the origins of the terms ‘Celt’ and ‘Gaul’ are lost and thus provide no clear direction to their origins. However, from the surviving Greek literature we do have an evolution of use of these terms and although it is unlikely to result in a backwards extrapolation to an origin, it will allow the development of the terms over time. Who did the Greeks recognise as ‘Celt’ or ‘Gaul’, how did the social constructs of the time influence the use of these terms, how did the appellation change, and what were the influences to affect those changes? Does an examination of the Greeks’ use of these words tell us anything about their perception of the world? These questions will be answered by a statistical examination of the use of the words by various authors, giving a time-based view of the changing etymology.

## 4.2 The State of Understanding of the Origin of the 'Celts'

### 4.2.1 The Primary Sources

Discussing the origins of the name 'Celt', James (1999: 17) mentions that in its various forms it was used in antiquity by Greek and Roman authors to describe certain 'barbarian' neighbours. Collis points out that if it were not for these Greek and Roman references we would never have heard of these people (Collis 2003: 13). Therefore our search for origins and meaning must start with these ancient authors.

Many modern scholars give Hekataios as the earliest author to mention the 'Celts' and quote *FGrHist* 1: F54, F55, F56 as references (Rankin 1987: 8). These fragments are all from Stephanus of Byzantium, from whom they are transcribed below:

F 54 Νάρβων, ἐμπόριον καὶ πόλις Κελτική. Στράβων τετάρτη. Μαρκιανὸς δὲ Ναρβνωσιᾶν αὐτὴν φησι. . . . Ἐκαταῖος καὶ (δὲ Jacoby) 'Ναρβαίους' αὐτούς φησι.

(*trans.* Narbon: Keltic trading-place and city. Strabo book 4. Markianos calls it Narbonesian . . . . And (but?) Hekataios calls them Narbaioi).

F 55 Μασσαλία. πόλις τῆς Λιγυστικῆς κατὰ τὴν Κελτικήν, ἄποικος Φωκαέων. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ. Τίμαιος δὲ . . .

(*trans.* Massalia. City of Ligystike (*i.e.* Liguria) beside Keltike, colony of the Phokaians. Hekataios, in the *Europē*. But Timaios . . .)

F 56 Νύραξ. πόλις Κελτική. Ἐκαταῖος Εὐρώπῃ. . . .

(*trans.* Nyrax: Keltic city. Hekataios, in the *Europē*.)

There is some doubt as to the validity of this evidence, as it is unclear if it is Stephanus, Hekataios, or Stephanus' other sources that assigned 'Celticity' to these places. The wording of F 56 seems to imply more clearly that Hekataios used the word 'Celt', but it still remains possible that Stephanus was assigning 'Celticity' on the basis of his own knowledge or other sources.

Another possible early, though indirect, mention of 'Celt' comes from Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4: F 185 = Strabo 11.6.2 and 1.2.27) who has one occurrence of 'Celto-Scyths' (Κελτοσκύθαι). However, Strabo is quite dismissive of this usage and assigns the description to 'the credulity of [ancient] historians and their fondness for myth'

(Strabo 11.6.3). Nor does he specifically attribute the use of the name to Hellanikos, whom he cites alongside Herodotos and Ktesias.

Herodotos gives our first unambiguous extant description of the ‘Celts’:

... as the Danube, which has its source amongst the Celts near Pyrene and flows right through the middle of Europe to reach the Black Sea at the Milesian colony of Istria. (The Celts live beyond the Pillars of Herakles, next to the Kynesians who are the most westerly people of Europe.)  
(Herodotos 1996: 2.33)

... the Danube, which rising amongst the Celts, the most westerly, after the Kynetes, of all European nations, traverses the whole length of the continent before it enters Scythia.  
(Herodotos 1996: 4.49)

Based upon these descriptions, the modern traditional interpretation of Herodotos and the location of the ‘Celts’ is that in the fifth century BC they were in the western Iberian Peninsula and southern Germany. However, Collis believes that as Herodotos mentions the city of Pyrene<sup>48</sup> and not the Pyrenees (Avienus gives this in SW France: Murphy 1977: 68 n. 559) the location could simply refer to ‘Celts’ in present-day France (Collis 1997: 196). This comment of Collis does ignore the assertion that the Celts live beyond the ‘Pillars of Herakles’ (Hdt. 2.33) and are the most westerly, but this contradiction may be just a literary device.

Commentators seem to agree that Herodotos’ references are at best second-hand. Burn in his introduction to the *Histories* discusses Herodotos’ sources (Burn 1954: 27 n.1.), commenting that, from the description of the places visited by Herodotos, his travels seem not to include anything further westward than Sicily, and that his descriptions of areas west of the Greek mainland are thinner than those of elsewhere. Thus, in describing or commenting on these regions it is likely that he used the writing of others or oral information. How and Wells state that he derives the information on the ‘Celts’ being ‘without the Pillars of Herakles’<sup>49</sup> from Phoenicians, although no reason for the supposition is given (How and Wells 1912: i.

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<sup>48</sup> Its exact identification has always been disputed and suggestions have included Rosas, Cadaques, Selva del Mar, Elna, Port Vendres and Ampurias, this last suggestion being the most recent but least convincing (Murphy 1977: 68 n. 559).

<sup>49</sup> The first evidence for the ‘Pillars of Herakles’ is a mention by Pindar (c.518-434 BC) who earlier (he was read by Herodotos) described them as the limit of the world (Pindar *Olympian Odes* 3.44).

178). As Herodotos probably did not travel to the ‘Pillars of Herakles’ his acquisition of information must have been through a third party.

The geography of Herodotos must be discounted, and his description of the origins and routes of the Danube must be classified as being as accurate as his geography of the Nile. His preoccupation with elaborate parallelism between the Nile and the Danube forces errors into an already inaccurate geographic description. In reading Herodotos, the weakness of the Greeks in describing areas outside their personal knowledge becomes apparent, for we must assume that Herodotos is merely reflecting general beliefs about the Danube or specific oral informants.<sup>50</sup> The relevance and acceptance of Herodotos’ descriptions for some modern commentators is proportional to the degree of self-justification of an already created position.<sup>51</sup> A close look at Herodotos’ words shows that he makes no assertion that the ‘Celts’ were a people living on the Danube, near the Pyrenees, or further west in Iberia. The passage quite clearly says that the river ‘originates from’ the ‘Celts’ (i.e. it rises in their land) and ‘from the city of Pyrene’ (Ἴστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος ῥέει μέσῃν σχίζων τὴν Εὐρώπην, (Hdt. 2.33). There is no implication that the ‘Celts’ are living by or on the Danube, (only in the land that contains its source), and the Pyrenees are not mentioned at all (see fn. 23: p47).

Some early primary accounts link the ‘Celts’ with other people, and Collis (2003: 16) refers to the association with the Hyperboreans as mentioned by Herodotos and Hesiod (Hdt. 4.32; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 503–547; F150 Merkelbach–West 1967–see fn. 63, p110), Aeschylus (*Prometheus Unbound*–see fn. 44) and Herakleides of Pontus (ap. Plutarch *Camillus* 22.2–3). However these associations can be discounted due to either their vagueness or the incorrect use made of them. Collis believes modern historians have made an association with ‘Celts’ from Hesiod’s work, but this simplistic view may not be appropriate. Hesiod’s poetry reflects a personification of physical attributes or abstractions (West 1988: x–xi) and identification with real people is undemonstrable. Aeschylus’s lost play *Prometheus Unbound* reported the

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<sup>50</sup> See Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* (IV 282/91b = Aeschylus *Fragmenta* tetralogy 32, play B, fr. 330 in TGL) who quotes Aeschylus (*Prometheus Unbound*), as saying that the Danube rises in the territory of the Hyperboreans.

<sup>51</sup> As an example of this, acceptance of Herodotos’ position has been made by Fitzpatrick and has already been described (Fitzpatrick 1996: 238) – see p47.

Danube as rising in the territory of the Hyperboreans, which without the later comments by Herodotos (4.32) would be explained by the traditional view of the Hyperboreans as an unknown mythical people who exist in unknown northern territory. If care is taken to ensure that there is no anachronistic error, then Herodotos' comment (4.49) might be seen as either equating Hyperboreans with 'Celts' or substituting for mythical Hyperboreans a valid reported people, the Κελτοί. Within this context Herodotos has replaced the mythical with the newly discovered but has still retained the geographical error. Herakleides of Pontus (387–312 BC) uses 'Hyperboreans' to describe the people who attacked Rome (the Gauls) but as his geography of the event is confused<sup>52</sup> the comment must be seen as containing other attribution errors. Although the connection between Hyperboreans and the 'Celts' is worthy of comment, modern historians have never seriously accepted the relationship between them.

Rankin postulates a link between the 'Celts' and the Ligurians because of Hekataios' fragment F55 and the writing of Avienus, a Latin writer of the fourth century AD. The Ligurians are people who seem to be involved in the early stories of the 'Celts', and it is important that their role is explained. Rankin (1995: 22–3) comments that Avienus tells of an older source (Rankin suggests erroneously 'Skylax of Karyanda who wrote in the sixth century BC')<sup>53</sup> that reports a people called the Ligurians who were pushed southwards into Iberia from their northern Europe homeland by the 'Celts' (Avienus 130–48). This would account for the reasoning that the Ligurians were a pre-'Celtic' people in modern day France. However when we examine Avienus closely, a slightly different picture seems to arise that confuses the situation and may negate some of Rankin's views on the Ligurians. A detailed examination shows that myth and geography are not reconcilable and results in a solution that requires bands of 'Celts' driving the Ligurians southwards by 800–1,500 km.<sup>54</sup> From what is known from other authors, the location of the Ligurians in northern Europe is misplaced. Therefore we have the Ligurians being as geographically ubiquitous as the 'Celts', except that from Livy we know their

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<sup>52</sup> Heraclides of Pontus describes Rome as being near the great Ocean (Collis 2003: 16).

<sup>53</sup> Rankin is confusing Skylax of Karyanda with Ps.-Skylax. Skylax of Karyanda went into the Indian Ocean under commission from the Persians in late sixth or early fifth century BC, while Ps.-Skylax describes the Mediterranean from Gibraltar to Byzantium and the Black Sea in the 330s BC.

<sup>54</sup> This argument, which is too long to detail here comes from the work of Avienus, Berthelot (1934), Carpenter (1966), Murphy (1977), and Rankin (1995).

geographical location at the end of the third century BC in the region of modern south-eastern France (Livy 21.25; 21.59; 29.5; 28.46).<sup>55</sup> The main argument of the revisionists is that the Iron Age tribes are diverse in their culture, yet we have this other tribe, the Ligurians, seemingly as widespread as the ‘Celts’, with a homogeneous culture, and with a propensity to migrate around Europe.<sup>56</sup>

There is another reference to the Ligurians in this context. Herodotos mentions a word used by the Ligurians ‘who live above Marseilles’<sup>57</sup> and Gould explains this as ‘a word, from a “Celtic” tribesman, which is the same as one Herodotos heard in Cyprus’ (Gould 1989: 12). The passage Gould refers to translates in English as, ‘The word “Sigynna” is used by the Ligurians above Marseilles for ‘tradesman’: in Cyprus, it means, “spear”.’ (Hdt. 5.9). However, in this passage Herodotos does not use the word ‘Celt’, so Gould can only make this assertion if he equates Ligurian with Celt. Further, Livy (and hence the Roman world) saw the Ligurians as distinctly different from ‘Celts’. He mentions several times in descriptions a distinction between them (Livy 21.38; 21.58; 22.33; 28.46; 29.5) and to emphasise the point, James points out that Romans invariably thought in terms of people and states, rather than territory (James and Rigby 1997: 6). Gould’s identification of Ligurians with ‘Celts’ is unsubstantiated providing the position of their homeland did not change between the time of Herodotos and Livy. As we have no evidence of a change in location and Gould’s translation is incorrect it is safe to assume that no trust can be put into this reference. We can assume Gould’s incorrect identification may however have something to do with the writing of d’Arbois de Jubainville, an eighteenth-century antiquarian (d’Arbois de Jubainville 1904) and an early proponent of the ‘Celtic’ myth, who wrote that the Ligurians were the pre-‘Celtic’ inhabitants of France (Collis 1997: 198).<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> It should be noted that Thucydides writes about the Ligurians in Iberia pushing out the Sicilians to Sicily (Thuc. 4.2). Thucydides does not allow for a date to be determined but just refers to it as ‘ancient times’

<sup>56</sup> There is a hypothesis that ‘Liburni was a sort of label, applicable in ancient times to various populations of the Adriatic area’ (G. Shipley 2008; pers. comm). If valid then application may be extended to other areas of Europe.

<sup>57</sup> The Greek word *κατύπερθε* (Attic – *καθύπερθε*(v)) has been translated as ‘above’ in this passage in the sense of, ‘Scotland lies above England’ and not as in ‘the bird flew above the roof’. However, from Herodotos’ other writing of positions of countries it should be translated as ‘beyond’ (see Liddell and Scott, 1889 for the geographical definition). This eliminates an implied direction (northwards).

<sup>58</sup> The location of the Ligurians has an anachronistic element. Livy gives one position of the Ligurians, yet 300 years earlier Ps.-Skylax gives a different one (Ps.-Skylax 2–4).

Up to now the comments and arguments for the existence of a specific people known as the Κελτοί in a specific area has been speculative. Early historians have manipulated the ancient sources to meet a pre-conceived view of the origin of the 'Celts', almost all in an attempt to justify Herodotos' description of ancient geography. They have not discovered any information on the location and even the existence of the 'Celts' outside this classical source. Despite this, tantalising pieces of ancient information are present, but never in a form that allows a firm conclusion to be drawn. Historians who claim that the primary sources give a real contribution and valuable information about the 'Celts' are mistaken.

#### 4.2.2 Archaeological Alternatives

What does archaeology say that might support any aspect of the ancient sources? Very little, as recent re-examination of excavation data shows that the diversity of material culture, even over relatively small distances, limits any approach in this direction. Chapman, however, does provide a small piece of information, which he describes as slender evidence (Chapman 1992: 49). He mentions a single place-name, 'Celtici', found in south-west Iberia, belonging to a settlement occupied during the Roman period. Powell comments that 'this name appears to have been the only case where the name of this widespread people found a geographical memorial' (Powell 1958: 16). Chapman uses this item to discuss who named the people Κελτοί – was it a self-appellation or one imposed by the Greeks? This question is not trivial, as we shall show later, but the coincidence between a place 'beyond the Pillars of Herakles' and the name of an Iron Age tribe may be very important. The lack of place-names containing the stem 'Celt' elsewhere may be because such a concept lay outside the experience or comprehension of Iron Age tribes, however the best that can probably be said is that it is a strong indicator that the name 'Celt' is not a self-appellation for it is not celebrated in the name of any settlement or territory.

Another important aspect is that all the references so far examined seem to relate to two specific areas as the territory of the 'Celts'. The first is the area around Marseilles and the Gulf of Lyon, and the second is 'beyond the pillars of Herakles', which is judged by most to be in SW Iberia. Turner, when discussing 'Celts', argues that Cádiz and the western part of Lusitania were 'without the Pillars of Herakles', and formed a distinct and separate area of 'Celticity' with no sign of any 'Celts'

between them. He justifies this by pointing out that Carthaginian armies did not enlist them from central Iberia for if they had, Livy would have identified this 'Celtic' contingent in the Carthaginian army of Hannibal (Livy 21.21-2). It was only when he moved towards Italy beyond the Pyrenees that they took part in any Carthaginian army as a consequence of guiding Hannibal or allying themselves with him (Turner 1853: 103-4). This view of two distinct areas of 'Celticity' is confirmed by Collis whose maps show distributions of 'Celts' in these two areas based upon Strabo's descriptions (Collis 2003: 122-Fig.56), early La Tène cremations (ibid.: 135-Fig.61), graffiti (ibid.: 175-Fig.74), and language (ibid.: 232-Fig.88). I have ignored 'Celtic' occupation of France in these maps as these early authors did not discuss it and the 'occupation' came about as a result of a modern traditional view of 'Celticity'.

Although the name 'Celt' may have entered the Greek consciousness via the stories of Phoenician or Carthaginian traders, another route presents itself with reference to discussions on Illyria. Hammond (1966), writing about the origins of Illyria, points out that many of the tribes and people of Illyria (τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ ἔθνη) are known, the most powerful being the Autariatae, the Ardiaei and the Dardanii, yet the tribe that gave its name to the region, 'the Illyrii', was a small group of people on the coast, first mentioned by Ps.-Skylax and described by Pliny (NH 3.1.44). How a small tribe gave its name to an area that encompassed a whole region might provide a model for the evolution of the name 'Celts': for a small tribe in Western Europe may have become a generic term for all Iron Age tribes throughout Europe. Hammond gives the following explanation. The valley in which this small tribe lived has a large amount of evidence of significant Minoan and Mycenaean contact. He suggests that Illyria was a name taken by traders from southern Greece in the Middle or Late Bronze Age from this tribe and applied to all of the people of the region (Hammond 1966: 241). As contact was probably intermittent, the use of the name by the traders was not seriously diminished.<sup>59</sup> Hammond's explanation provides an important alternative option for the derivation of the name of 'Celt' in

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<sup>59</sup> Hammond gives two further examples of this process. The first is the tribe Ἰλλυριοὶ and Ἰλλυριοί the district, which gave rise to Albania and secondly the terms 'Graeci' and 'Hellenes', which can be traced back to similar contact with small tribes or a defunct Greek *polis* in the Gulf of Euboea, Graia. Hammond in discussing Ἰλλυριοὶ points out that once the name obtained common currency it spread up the Adriatic coast to Istria, northern Italy, central Albania, and the region of Venice and at the source of a tributary of the Danube in the Balkans (Hammond, 1966: 241).

that it relates to some characteristic or function of the people of the region (defined by others), rather than a self-appellation.

In summing up the information, we have very little of value. We have a mention without validity from the early primary sources. On the subject of the origin of the term 'Celt', Hammond's (1966) ideas on the Illyrioi are sympathetic with the data and, with some extrapolation, may provide the basis of an explanation of the origin of these 'Celts'. We have the name of a Roman town called Celtici (*Tabula Imperii Romani*-N<sup>o</sup>.6) in south-west Iberia, but this is only credible because of circumstantial evidence. We can dismiss much of the geography of Avienus and consequently his narrative<sup>60</sup> because of the inaccuracies and ambiguities of the south-west European Atlantic seaboard geography and the diversity of the options when following the directions based upon known and unknown place-names – he was after all writing poetry rather than geography.

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<sup>60</sup> Avienus is an interpolator not a traveller and all of his information comes from written sources, which include Hekataios of Miletus, Hellanicus of Lesbos, Phileas of Athens, Skylax of Karyanda, Pausimachus, Damastes, Bacoris of Rhodes, Eucternon of Athens, Cleon of Sicily, Herodotos of Thurii and Thucydides (Avienus 32-50).

## 4.3 The 'Celts' and 'Gauls' in the Primary Sources

### 4.3.1 Textual Information

The terms 'Celt' and 'Gaul' for ancient people who live outside the Greco-Roman world have been used in a diverse way in modern times. Paton was indiscriminate in his translation of Polybios (Polybios 1922), translating many examples of Κελτοί as Gaul and many of Γαλάται as 'Celt'. A similar accusation can be made against White in his translation of Appian (Appian 1913). In addition nearly all are guilty of translating Γαλάται as 'Gauls'. These mistakes in translation are seen as attempts to achieve two goals, the first being the provision of a degree of conformity in the translation of the text that makes it clearer, and the second the provision of a translation that meets the accepted historical theory at the time of translation. The choice of one form over another ('Celt' or 'Gaul') is a theoretical or a political decision and can thus cause us to be mistrustful of the information presented to the English reader.

Identifying the reasons for the apparent diversity of use of these terms in the Greek texts would allow some resolution of this issue as well as providing a more logical basis for translation. The diversity of terms in the primary sources has led to a misunderstanding of the Iron Age, and in the current debate over the existence of 'Celticity' many arguments are advanced that are based upon primary source passages. The ambivalence of this primary source evidence must weaken any argument, and allows doubt to be cast on the value of these sources in this respect. Modern commentators, in using the primary sources, particularly in arguments concerning the 'Celtic' debate, often disregard any changes over time in the use of these terms. Within any society, ancient or modern, language has always undergone changes and to expect the terms for 'Celt' and 'Gaul' to maintain an exact and unchanging meaning over eight centuries of Greek and Roman history is unrealistic.

An approach to the resolution of this problem is to count every occurrence of the terms 'Celt' and 'Gaul', or more accurately all words that are formed from the stem 'Κελτ-' and 'Γαλατ-' in the primary sources, recording the context of their use and

in particular with the reference to their homeland. This would provide an understanding of the application of the terms within a temporal as well as a geographical and a social dimension. A time perspective of the use of these terms may provide some answers, and will at least show how they have developed. A secondary aspect is to record the rendering of each term by modern translators and thus identify the theoretical basis on which they were translating. For reasons of practicality, I have limited this latter investigation to English translations.

To write the stems ‘Κελτ-’ and ‘Γαλατ-’ as such in this thesis, gives a stilted and confusing presentation. Therefore, although not precise or strictly correct, I will use the whole words Κελτοί and Γαλάται to represent all of the forms identified in the primary sources.<sup>61</sup>

Ideally, a simple time linear sampling of the primary sources would be best, as it would show any change in usage and application of the terms. However, variations in the subjects recorded, and the arbitrary survival of texts, limit the samples that can be used. The purpose of the work is to examine how the Greeks used the terms ‘Celt’ and ‘Galatae’ over the period from Homer to the early first millennium AD. As such, the evolution of the word ‘Gaul’ or ‘Galli’ in the Roman world will not be considered, except where Roman influences directly affect the Greek perception. The authors in this study were thus restricted to Greek writers. Other reasons for only considering Greek writers were that they had a longer history and were writing about the Κελτοί and Γαλάται long before any Romans and in addition the Gauls were interwoven into Roman consciousness from relatively early times (the tradition of the sacking of Rome in about 390 BC) and therefore had a degree of the iconic about them. This would interfere with our analysis and therefore the view of these people from the Greek and Roman perspective could not be easily reconciled.

As discussed above, the search was for words in the original Greek rather than in translation. This eliminates any possible bias imposed by the translator and any pre-supposition of the context that maintains a traditional view of the use of these

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<sup>61</sup> In considering all of the forms in the primary sources consulted, my database reveals that there are 41 versions of ‘Κελτ-’ of which 13 are Celt-Iberian, 1 Celto-Scythian, and 2 Celti-Ligurian. The 2<sup>nd</sup> declension masculine form is more prevalent than the 1<sup>st</sup> declension masculine form. There are 32 versions of ‘Γαλατ-’ with only one compound word - Ελληνογαλαται.

terms. Once the word had been identified, the reference, the translation, the Greek form, the context, and the subject were noted.

Careful exceptions were made of words containing the stems that do not relate to words that match the context of this study (e.g. γαλαθηνόν, γαλααδίτιδος, γαλάτιδος, γαλακτοφάγων, etc.) and words that relate directly to γάλα (milk).

Forty-seven authors and all of their works were examined<sup>62</sup> (except in the case of Plutarch whose ‘Lives’ alone were considered) to establish the number of occurrences of Κελτοί and Γαλάται. The period represented by these authors ranged from Homer (eighth century BC) to Achilles Donatos (fourth century AD). Use was made of the TLG (Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (2002)) database coupled with the Musaios search engine to search the various works, and then each reference was examined in the original Greek and in an English translation using TLG and the Loeb Classical Library. When we come to the reference of their homeland the

<b>Region</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Gaul - Cisalpine	Basin of the Po and Adige. As far north as the foothills of the Alps and southwards to the Arnus. Eastwards to Isonzo at Trieste and westwards to include Liguria, modern Turin, and where the Alps reach the coast (modern Monte Carlo or Maritime Alps).
Gaul - Narbonese	Southeast and triangular section of modern France bordered on the south by the Pyrenees, on the east by the Alps and going as far north as modern Lyon.
Gaul	The Roman provinces of Aquitania, Gallia Lugdunensis and western Gallia Belgica.
Gaul - Transalpine	The Roman province the other side of the Alps including western Upper Germany.
Gaul - Alpine	The Alps, Raetia and western Noricum
Germany	Eastern Gallia Belgica, eastern Upper and Lower Germany
Balkans	Illyria, Thrace, northern Macedonia, Moesia, Dalmatia and Dacia
Russian	The region north and east of the Dnieper
Pyrenean	The region of the Pyrenees.
Galatia	Galatia in Anatolia
Iberia	People from Iberia not specifically referred to as Celtiberians
Other	People described who do not fit in to the categories listed above. e.g. Egyptian, Libyan etc.
Unknown	Non-specific people usually connected with mercenaries in armies.
Generic	Terms used to relate or describe general characteristics of people or objects e.g. ‘Celtic dagger’.

**Figure 4.1** The geographical and miscellaneous categories into which ‘Celts’ and ‘Gauls’ were put when their location was extracted from the primary sources. (Geographical data by Cary (1949: 244), Wiedemann (1989: xii–xiii), and Wells (1984: map 1)).

<sup>62</sup> The choice of authors was made on the basis of an even a distribution over time as possible, substantial fragments that gave a contextual basis of the words, and the importance of the work or the author. Where important authors gave a null return this is included for completeness.

Author	Born	Died	Κελτοί	Γαλάται	Author	Born	Died	Κελτοί	Γαλάται
Homer	c.800 BC	c.730 BC	-	1	Demades	380 BC	318 BC	-	-
Hesiod	c.800 BC	c.730 BC	-	1	Ps-Skylax	370 BC	310 BC	2	-
Stesichoros	640 BC	555 BC	-	-	Hyperides	370 BC	300 BC	-	-
Hekataios	550 BC	476 BC	6?	-	Dinarchos	361 BC	291 BC	-	-
Aeschylus	525 BC	456 BC	-	-	Epicuros	341 BC	270 BC	-	-
Pindar	522 BC	443 BC	-	-	Euclid	325 BC	265 BC	-	-
Bacchylides	507 BC	440 BC	-	-	Kallimachos	305 BC	240 BC	1	1
Sophokles	497 BC	406 BC	-	-	Lykophron	290 BC	240 BC	1	-
Hellanikos	490 BC	410 BC	2	-	Apollonius Rhodius	280 BC	200 BC	3	-
Herodotos	484 BC	425 BC	2	-	Polybios	203 BC	129 BC	124	132
Euripides	484 BC	406 BC	-	-	Apollodoros	180 BC	120 BC	1	-
Antiphon	479 BC	411 BC	-	-	Ps-Skymnos	140 BC	70 BC	5	-
Thucydides	460 BC	400 BC	-	-	Diodorus Siculus	90 BC	21 BC	48	75
Aristophanes	456 BC	380 BC	-	-	Strabo	63 BC	AD 24	117	59
Lysias	440 BC	380 BC	-	-	Josephus	AD 37	AD 95	2	19
Andokides	440 BC	390 BC	-	-	Plutarch	AD 46	AD 127	61	149
Isokrates	436 BC	338 BC	-	-	Arrian	AD 89	AD 175	-	-
Xenophon	427 BC	355 BC	2	-	Appian	AD 95	AD 165	182	78
Plato	428 BC	348 BC	1	-	Pausanias	AD 120	AD 180	30	62
Aeneas Tacticus	410 BC	350 BC	-	-	Alciphron	AD 170	AD 230	-	-
Lykurgos	390 BC	325 BC	-	-	Diogenes Laertius	AD 200	AD 260	1	2
Aeschines	389 BC	324 BC	-	-	Aristides Publius Aelius	AD 117	AD 180	-	-
Demosthenes	384 BC	322 BC	-	-	Achilles Tattius	AD 250	AD 310	-	-
Aristotle	384 BC	322 BC	18	3	Aelius Donatos	AD 350	AD 400	-	-

**Figure 4.2.** The ancient authors studied with their birth and death dates, and the number of occurrences of the terms Κελτοί and Γαλάται in their writing. Birth dates and death dates are in many cases unknown, but the aim in including dates was only to indicate the period in which the author was writing. Where the dates are not known with any certainty, a consensus from a variety of modern sources has been taken.

people referred to in the texts were categorised as given in Fig. 4.1. This short regional grouping was adopted to avoid confusion and too much data. The number of instances where the terms Κέλτοι and Γαλάται are used is shown in Fig. 4.2. Attention is drawn to the low frequency of the term Γαλάται in Fig 4.2 until the writings of Polybios. So marked is this that for the purposes of this work, we will consider three periods of time, pre-Polybios, Polybios, and post-Polybios in attempting to assess the use and the changes of the words.

The category of Celtiberian has not been included because the term is used quite specifically by all the ancient authors and relates to only one type of people from one specific geographical location. This specificity is such that the ancient sources make the distinction between Celtiberians and ‘Celts’ within the same geographical area, and furthermore there is no evidence that they were peripatetic. Their static and contained existence is enough to justify their omission from the current consideration, as they add nothing to our understanding. A further reason is the political use made of their existence by ‘Celtic’ traditionalists. The name is often used as proof of an invasion of Iberians into Celtic territory forming a mixed culture dominated by Iberians (van Nostrand, *OCD*<sup>3</sup> s.v. ‘Celtiberian’). With a revisionist view of the non-existence of pan-European Celts adopted above, and the absence of other evidence for any migration into Iberia, such a view can be dismissed. It should be remembered that the Greek tradition for the names of people on the fringe of the known Greek world in the earliest times was made up from a mixture of Herodotean geography mixed with known tribal names, so we have *Celto-Scythians* (Hellanikos, *FGrHist* 4: F185.7 and Strabo 11.6.2), *Celto-Ligues* (Arist. *Mirab. Aus.* 834a07, and Strabo 4.6.3), *Gallo-Scythians* (Plut. *Marius* 3.2), *Greco-Gauls* (Diod.5.32.5), and of course *Celto-Iberians*. Skylax uses the phrase Λίγυες καὶ Ἰβηρες μιγάδες, which is close to *Ligo-Iberians* without using a Greek compound word (Ps.-Skylax 3.0). These compound words probably arise from an attempt to better define people who were just coming into the sphere of Greek awareness,<sup>63</sup> not a description of acculturation. This error, in respect of Celtiberian, has had political implications

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<sup>63</sup> Skylax’s use of μιγάδες might give the impression of a ‘mixing’ of cultures and hence his use of this phrase instead of \*Λιγυίβηρες. However, it might also just be a way of describing a transition region between Iberes and Ligyes where no real information existed. Better, this assumption than the postulation of a complex acculturation processes at work.

throughout Spanish history and Zapatero (1996) discusses in detail the historical consequences of this view.

#### 4.3.2 Inscriptions

Inscriptions are the most primary of primary textual data. This advantage, however, is counterbalanced by some significant disadvantages that render their use marginal in the context of this study. The value of textual information lies in the explicit description and identification of a people described and an excellent view of their origin. Where textual information lacked the description and identification (such as Plutarch's writings other than his *Lives*) or when a more informative context was required, the textual information was discarded. If it had not been there would have been an increase the content of the categories 'unknown' or 'generic' which would not have illuminated the context of the use of the words (see n. 77). It is this inadequate factual context of people and places that we find with inscriptions.

Another drawback of this source of information is its lack of consistency. In textual information we have a description of the world as seen by a single Greek i.e. a common or consistent view of the world which may be right, wrong, biased, political or otherwise – it does not matter as we are seeking the relative use of words. With inscriptions we see the world as described by a series of authors, and coupled with the low data density of the relevant use of the words the consistency of the viewpoint is lost. Further, geographical data is mostly presumed within the inscription and rarely is specifically described. The temporal aspect of the required data is also variable, as some inscriptions are dated within large temporal time frames (a century or so), and this degrades the quality of the data for statistical purposes.

Despite this, the primacy of the inscription data may be important and it was recognised that although the information from this source would not be additional to that of the textual, its analysis may provide some other forms of data. An examination of the inscription database was therefore made for those inscriptions containing the words whose stems are 'Κελτ-' and 'Γαλατ-'. The search of such words was made using the PHI (Packard Humanities Institute 2008) database to

search inscriptions. Upon the inscription identification each inscription reference was examined in the original Greek.

It became evident that the classification of regions used in the analysis of the textual information was not relevant to inscription data and a separate regional definition was needed. As the database provided a regional classification, based upon where the inscription was found, and this was used as a basis for the new definition of regions (Fig 4.3).

<b>Region</b>	<b>Definition</b>
Greece	Athens, Peloponnese, Delphi, Thessaly, Boiotia, Aitolia
Macedonia	Macedonia , Thrace
Asia Minor	Ionia, Galatia, Mysia, Lycia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Troas, Lydia, Caria, Pontus and Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Aeolis, Pisidia
Middle East & East	Syria and Phoenicia, Persis
Aegean & Cyprus	Rhodes, Delos, Samos, Cyprus
Balkans	North shore of Black Sea, Moesia Superior
N. Africa	Egypt, Nubia, Africa Proconsularis
Sicily, Italy, and the West	Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and neighboring Islands

**Figure 4.3** The geographical categories into which ‘Celts’ and ‘Gauls’ were put when their location was extracted from inscriptions.

In addition to the change in regional attribution there is also a major change in the categorisation of their temporal occurrence. There was no clear-cut pre-Polybios, Polybios, and post-Polybios classification and so the information was not susceptible to a similar treatment to the textual information and analysis. As the data is so different for inscription the comments on its contributions to this argument will be undertaken separately (section 4.9).

#### 4.4 Γαλάται before Polybios

Until the time of Polybios, there are six occurrences of Γαλάται, three in Aristotle, and one each in Homer, Hesiod, and Kallimachos. The single instances in Hesiod (*Theogony* 250) and Homer (*Iliad* 18.45) are almost identical and relate to the lists of the children of Nereus and Doris (the Nereids). This mythology and theology of the ancient world has little to inform us of the understanding of this word within our context of study.

The three mentions in Aristotle relate to geographical areas of the Mediterranean; but before discussing these it must be remembered that some of Aristotle's works should be attributed to much later authors, but this will be discussed in detail later. Aristotle, in describing the geography of the sea from the Pillars of Hercules, tells of three large areas he calls seas or bays (πελάγη - he is specific about them not being gulfs - ἀποκολλούμενος) on the left side of a ship entering from the Atlantic (*De Mundo* 393a(27–8) and 393b(9), *Fragmenta varia* category 1, treatise title 3, fragment 35 line 4). These are, the Sardinian (Σαρδόνιον), the Galatian (Γαλατικόν), and the Adriatic Sea (Ἀδρίαν). It would be logical to expect from this sequence that the Galatian Sea would be what we now call the Tyrrhenian Sea. However, Strabo later identifies this Galatic Gulf (or Sea) as the modern Gulf of Lyon (Strabo 1924: 2.5.28). Whether there is any difference between Strabo's Galatic Gulf (Γαλατικός κόλπος) and Aristotle's Galatian Sea is impossible to say, and it is doubted if any valuable or relevant information can be drawn from these descriptions.<sup>64</sup>

Discussions on Aristotle's descriptions in *De Mundo* with other authors are pointless as is recognised that this work is not a genuine work of Aristotle. The date of its composition is unknown but is usually identified as no earlier than 50 BC and no later than AD 140 (Furley 1955: 340). With such a late date, we can draw no conclusions, as the language has changed and reflects no ancient usage. Calling the Gulf of Lyon the Galatic Gulf is now meaningless in an ancient context as we can assume it derives from the Roman use of 'Gauls' (i.e. it means the Gallic Gulf). At the time of Aristotle the region was only identified with Κελτοί and the Roman

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<sup>64</sup> Talbert (2000) refers to this area as the Galatian Gulf and gives as a reference Burr (1932) *Nostrum Mare*, who in turn quotes Aristotle *De Mundo*.

involvement with the *Galli* as a term for people *in this area* was still sometime in the future.<sup>65</sup>

Kallimachos is the first true encounter of a Greek mention of the term Γαλάται that connects the Balkan Galatae with the ‘Celts’. In his *Hymn to Delos* (Hymn IV) line 184 (Kallimachos 1921),<sup>66</sup> he mentions the Γαλάτῃσι - ‘which shall cause an evil journey to the foolish tribe of the Galatians’. In an earlier passage he relates them to the Balkan Galatae:

Yea and one day hereafter there shall come upon us a common struggle,  
when the Titans<sup>67</sup> of a later day shall rouse up against the Hellenes barbarian  
sword and Celtic (Κελτῶν) War and from the furthest West rush on like  
snowflakes and in number as the stars when they flock most thickly in the  
sky.

(Kallimachos 1921, *Hymn to Delos*: 171–7).

It is in this passage that he makes the first connection between Galatae and the ‘Celts’. Although there is but a single instance of ‘Galatae’, the text is clearly describing the invasion of Greece by them in 279 (the Celtic War is taken to mean this Celtic incursion [Mair 1921: 99 n. e]) and Kallimachos was contemporaneous with this incursion. He was born in Kyrene<sup>68</sup> and arrived in Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemaios II (285–247). He wrote most of his extant work about 280–240, thus if not writing contemporaneously then within living memory of the incursion of the ‘Celts’ or ‘Gauls’ to Delphi. His work in this case is poetry of the epic kind and a review of his work does provide some limited information on Brennus and the incursion. Kallimachos’ contribution to the whole debate is important, as he appears to be the first to mention the Galatae and provides the first confusion with the ‘Celts’. This confusion can easily be explained and the writing or the cause of the error is not thought to be the origin of later confusion (although it might have added to it).

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<sup>65</sup> The Romans at this point were occupied in establishing their national identity with wars against the Samnites (343–341), the Latin War (340–338) and the war with the Etruscans (311–308). Their horizons were still on the establishment of Roman supremacy within Italy.

<sup>66</sup> Another good translation is by Lombardo and Rayor. It is not overpowered by exact grammatical translation yet capture the poem’s meaning simply and effectively (Lombardo and Rayor 1988: 26).

<sup>67</sup> Mineur suggests the choice of Τιτῆνες for word play since the Gaul’s characteristic is their use of gypsum (τίτανος) to dress their hair (Diod. 5.28). The comparison of the Gauls with snowflakes may be due to the same characteristic. (Mineur 1984: 170).

<sup>68</sup> The best estimate of his life is thus 310–235 BC (Trypanis 1958: viii).

It is obvious from Kallimachos' work that he did not range far outside Kyrene and Egypt and thus his experience of 'Celts' or Gauls was restricted. He had had personal experience of their behaviour, however, for in 278 there took place the revolt of Magas of Kyrene, Kallimachos' birthplace and probably his place of residence at the time. To help put down this rebellion, Ptolemaios II (Philadelphos) used mercenaries that included 4,000 'Gauls' but these mercenaries became rebellious and attempted a *coup* to take over Egypt. Ptolemaios had them marooned on a deserted island in the Nile and left them to starve or die of self-inflicted murder (Paus. 1.7.3). This revolt occurred about the time of the Delphi attack by the Galatae. For Kallimachos this incident would have occurred at about the time he made his move to Egypt and thus provided him with an insight into the acts of these people.

The origin of Ptolemaios' mercenaries is unknown, but mercenaries were used in the eastern Mediterranean at least during the preceding 100 years. Our first recorded use was with Dionysios I using mercenaries from Iberia and southern France to help the Lakedaimonians (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.20). Dionysios also used the same men against the Etruscans (Justin 20.5.4-6), and Diodorus tells of mercenaries coming from northern Italy and southern France to be used by Agathokles in 307 (Diod. 20.64.2). It would seem, then, that the recorded origins of mercenaries used at this time were from the western end of the Mediterranean. As this was the case, we can suggest that it was either known by Kallimachos (or assumed by him) that the mercenaries of Ptolemaios were from the west and not northern tribesmen from the Balkans. Upon hearing of the attack on Delphi, we may also suggest that he would have also assumed that these western people were responsible for those attacks. Some support is given for this view by examining the words of Kallimachos where we can see that he reports the 'Celts' coming from the West (Kallimachos *Hymn to Delos*: 174). Upon examining Kallimachos' work further we find in fragment 379 (Kallimachos 1958: 229) the phrase 'οὓς Βρέννος ἀφ' ἑσπερίοιο θαλάσσης ἤγαγεν Ἑλλήνων ἐπ' ἀνάστασιν', or 'those whom Brennus led from the western sea to the destruction of the Greeks'.<sup>69</sup> This strengthens the argument that he considers the Celts as coming from the west and not the north and it is confirmed by his

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<sup>69</sup> This fragment is added to the fragment of the poem 'Galatea' (first mentioned by Athenaeus (vii.284c)) by Pfeiffer (1949) (Trypanis 1978: 228). The poem tells of Cyclops love for Galatea the Neireid but we do not know how Callimachos treated the subject. We do know that the Galatae are descended from Galates, the son of the Nereid Galatea.

familiarity with the writing of Ephoros (Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F118), which identified the Celts as living to the west ‘lying along the pathless ocean’ (Tarn 1913: 139). With this suggestion the confusion between Celts and Galatae is inevitable.

If we turn to another source for Kallimachos, we see the same emphasis. Timaios of Tauromenium, born in 340, was exiled to Athens in 317 where he spent the rest of his life, and would have been contemporaneous with the events at Delphi. Further, Timaios travelled extensively seeking information on the ‘Celts’ as Bury puts it ‘gathering information about these ill-known western nations’ (Bury 1909: 168). Timaios’ history, which reached to 264 (Bury 1909: 168) allowed him to include the Delphi attack. However, we do not know if he concluded that Brennus and his followers were identical to the ‘Celtic’ tribes of the west whom Timaios studied. Bury points out that the writings of Timaios were used by Kallimachos (Bury 1909: 168), but given Kallimachos’ direct involvement with ‘Gauls’ in Egypt he did not need instruction from Timaios and the dates of their writing would have given rise to mutual influence.

It seems that in the pre-Polybios period, apart from the mention by Kallimachos, the use of the word Γαλάται was restricted to religious or mythological subjects of Hesiod and Homer and therefore we can say that Γαλάται, as the name of a people, was not used or recognised by the Greeks at this time. There is no reference to ‘Gauls’ or Galatians in the literature before the second century BC. Although absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, the specific nature of Herodotos’ description of Iron Age tribes in the Balkans would indicate that if there were any ‘Galatians’ or ‘Gauls’ he would have mentioned them. The only reference to the *Galli* in a Roman sense comes much later (Plautus 1916, *Pot of Gold*: 287)<sup>70</sup> although the word was probably in usage well before his time (c.254–184).

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<sup>70</sup> Plautus uses the word in a play and the value of its inclusion is confirmation of its social value and acceptability. No author would use a term or allusion that was not in common usage, as its meaning might be lost on his audience. As the play was probably written about 195 BC, the word *Galli* would have a presence in the vocabulary and consciousness of the Roman populace.

#### 4.5 Κελτοί before Polybios

We have seen that many consider the first extant recording of the word Κελτοί to be found in the fragments of Hekataios of Miletus (*FGrHist* 1: F54; F55; F56).

However, because it is Stephanus of Byzantium quoting or citing Hekataios we may be reading an assignation applied by Stephanus that incorporates the knowledge of his day rather than literal report from Hekataios (see p99). Pearson (1975: 34) notes that none of the names of these cities or tribes occur in Herodotos and can only be explained by comparison with fragments of Ps.-Skylax or in the *Ora Maritima* of Avienus. He further comments that any interpretation based only on these fragments must be treated warily. In view of the uncertainty already found in Avienus, Hekataios' fragments will be ignored here because of their unreliability.

With Hellanikos we see the next use of 'Celt' to name a people (*FGrHist* 4: F185.7 = Strabo 11.6.2 and 1.2.27) although it is a compound word that has already been discussed (see pp99–100). The important aspect from Hellanikos' use of the word is not the location of the people he describes but the use of 'Celt-' as a prefix in a descriptor of an unknown people. The word he uses is Celto-Scythians (Κελτοσκούθαι), and certainly the Greek world was aware of the Scythians at this time. The addition of a prefix can be seen as an attempt to define a people 'beyond' the Scythians.

The contribution of Herodotos has already been commented upon and will not be reiterated here.

After Hellanikos it is about forty years before the word Κελτοί again appears in extant writing. Xenophon uses the term twice in relation to 'Celtic' mercenaries who came from Dionysios I (tyrant of Sicily) to help the Lakedaimonioi against the Thebans in 369/8.

Just after these events had happened, the expedition sent by Dionysios to aid the Lakedaimonians sailed in, numbering more than twenty triremes. And they brought Celts (κελτούς), Iberians, and about fifty horsemen.

(Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.20).

And when Archidamus led the advance, only a few of the enemy waited till his men came within spear-thrust; these were killed, and the rest were cut down as they fled, many by the horsemen, and many by the Celts (Κελτῶν).  
(Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.31)

From the descriptions given, the mercenary band was made up of ‘Celts’, Iberians, and ‘horsemen’. It would seem logical that these ‘Celts’ were from the northeast part of modern Spain or the southeast part of modern France in the regions associated with Greek ‘*emporía*’. This assumption is based upon the proximity of these regions, the juxtaposition of Celts and Iberians, and the links to Syracuse.

Plato uses the word only once (*Laws* 1.637.d.9), which indicates that the ‘Celts’ were now an established race in the mind of the Greeks for he includes them in the warlike barbarian list alongside Scythian, Persians, Carthaginians, Iberians and Thracians as people who are drunkards. There is no geographical information and it would appear that the list is a general one and may be nothing more than the generic naming of people.

It was about another twenty years before Aristotle used the term Κελτοί. All of Aristotle’s eighteen references are given in Fig. 4.3, with seven of them occurring in works that are now not recognised as Aristotelian<sup>71</sup> (*Mirab. Aus.* and *De Mundo*). All of the remaining terms are either geographical or generic, and none gives any indication as to the origin or the location of the people being described. Closer inspection shows that he does not refer to a specific people as being ‘the Celts’ but refers to regions as being ‘Celtic’ and he assigns such regions to France, Spain, Germany, Asia, Russia, and central and northern Europe in his geographical groupings. Aristotle is obviously using the term Κελτοί to indicate the unknown mass of tribal communities that exist in the world outside his society’s experience. His use of the term is not like that of modern ‘Celtic’ traditionalists, as he assigns no commonality of culture or identity to this generic term. Aristotle does nothing to further our understanding of the ancients’ view of Iron Age tribes in Europe.

When we come to Pseudo-Skylax we have the first geographical location, other than in Herodotos, of a tribe known as the ‘Celts’ and their location is unexpected

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<sup>71</sup> See Hett (1955: 237) and Furley (1955: 337–41).

Reference	Greek	The People	Comment
<i>Gen. Anim</i> 748a26	Κελτούς	Unknown	
<i>Hist. Anim.</i> 606b04	Κελτικῆ	Unknown	Celtic Country - Balme (1991) suggests Gaul
<i>Mirab. Aus</i> 834a06	Κελτικόν	Generic	<b>Pseudo-Aristotle</b> - Celtic tin melts more easily than lead
<i>Mirab. Aus</i> 837a14	Κελτῶν	Generic	<b>Pseudo-Aristotle</b>
<i>Mirab. Aus</i> 834a07	Κελτολιγύων	Generic	<b>Pseudo-Aristotle</b> - 'A road to the land of the Celts, Celtoligyes and Iberians'
<i>Mirab. Aus</i> 837a07	Κελτικῆς	Generic	<b>Pseudo-Aristotle</b> - 'A road to the land of the Celts, Celtoligyes and Iberians'
<i>Mirab. Aus</i> 837a12	Κελτοῖς	Generic	<b>Pseudo-Aristotle</b>
<i>Politics</i> 1269b26	Κελτῶν	Generic	...races under the sway of their women - except the Celts
<i>Politics</i> 1324b12	Κελτοῖς	Generic	Military strength held in honour example ... the Celts...
<i>Politics</i> 1336a18	Κελτοῖς	Generic	The treatment of their young children
<i>de Mundo</i> 393b09	Κελτικῆν	Unknown	<b>Pseudo-Aristotle</b> - The outer reaches of the world
<i>de Mundo</i> 393b13	Κελτούς	Unknown	<b>Pseudo-Aristotle</b> - Beyond the land of the Scythians and Celts'
<i>Frag. Var. cat.</i> 1-tit.3-frag.35-line 4	Κελτοῖς	Generic	
<i>Frag. Var. cat.</i> 6-tit.37-frag.264-line 1	Κελτικον	Generic	
<i>Frag. Var. cat.</i> 8-tit.45-frag.610-line 2	Κελτῶν	Generic	
<i>Eud. Ethics</i> 1229b29	Κέλτοι	Generic	
<i>Nic. Ethics</i> 1115b28	Κελτούς	Generic	Celts have no fear of anything
<i>Metrol.</i> 350b2	Κελτικῆ	Generic	General name given to France and Spain (Lee 1952: 97 n. f)

**Figure 4.4** All of Aristotle's eighteen references to Κελτοί. All of the words are either geographical or generic, and none give any indication as to the origin or the location of the people being described.

He gives a location as the northern end of the Adriatic Sea. He does imply however that this was not their homeland but a place they settled after being left behind 'from the expedition' (Ps.-Skylax 18). There is no more information here on them or the expedition of which they were a remnant. It is usually assumed that the 'expedition' was the sack of Rome, however this belief cannot be realistically maintained as it is based upon no more evidence than a rough historical coincidence. We have knowledge of only one traditional 'expedition', the sacking of Rome, which occurred 60 years before Ps.-Skylax's account. It is circumstantial in the extreme to equate these two events without more evidence.

Both Cornell (1995) and Williams (2001), in examining the historical basis of the invasion of the Gauls and the sacking of Rome, cast further doubt upon either the traditional invasion (or expedition) of the Gauls and their sack of Rome. Williams in

investigating the events, identifies some complex social processes that cast doubt on the traditional versions of the ‘invasion’ (Williams 2001: 137). He concludes that the sack of Rome did not happen as tradition has it and what we have accepted is not a simple representation of reality but a complex characterisation of true and traditional events (Williams 2001: 183).<sup>72</sup> Cornell echoes Williams’s doubts, but he proposes that the attack on Rome was by a mercenary band of Gauls travelling south to the Mezzogiorno (Cornell 1995: 316). He further postulates that they were in the service of Dionysios of Syracuse and were there to undermine the growing power of Rome and its ally Caere. With such doubts over the events, the description of the ‘Celts’ of Ps.-Skylax being the remnants of the Rome attack must be further rendered unlikely. We may add that even if the interpretation of Ps.-Skylax’s comment is probable, we have the further complication that the invading Gauls would have been from the northern regions not from the eastern areas of Italy and Yugoslavia.

The only other literature before Polybios that contains the term Κελτοί is the single occurrence in Kallimachos (Κελτὸν – *Hymn to Delos* line 173) and Lykophron (Κελτοῦ – *Alexandra*, line 188) and three occurrences in Apollonius Rhodius (Κελτοί – *The Argonautica* 4.611, Κέλτων – *ibid.*: 4.635, and Κελτῶν – *ibid.*: 4.646). Kallimachos uses it in the same sense as his use with the Galatae from the Balkans and as explained above, seems to confuse the Galatae with ‘Celt’ whilst referring to the invasion of Greece by the Galatae in 280. The use by Lykophron harks back to Herodotos when he describes the Danube as the ‘Celtic stream’; this must be seen as either poetic licence or a mythological application (‘...and shall dwell for a long space in the white-crested rock<sup>73</sup> by the outflowing of the marshy waters of the Celtic stream<sup>74</sup>’, Lykophron, *Alexandra*: 188).

Apollonius Rhodius’ use refers to the people around or east of Marseille. It is interesting to note that the ‘Celtic’ element in his *Argonautica* again comes from a

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<sup>72</sup> Space restricts the treatment of Williams’s work but it would seem that the socio-psychological forces described in Chapter 2 were at work in this history of Rome. The simple characterisation of events and their apparent use in re-defining societies resonate as much here as they do for the Celts. It would seem that the ideas of Graves-Brown have relevance to this area (Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 4 – see also p38–9) as well as the arguments of Gruen (1996) on cultural legends of early Rome and its developing culture.

<sup>73</sup> The island of Leuce – see Mair (1921: 510 n. e)

<sup>74</sup> The Danube – see Mair (1921: 510 n. f)

traditional view of geography. Jason is said to escape up the Danube from the Black Sea and emerge into the Mediterranean from the Rhône – justifying the thought that the Danube rose in the Pyrenees and had a connection with the Rhône. However, it is comforting to see another early reference to the area of the Gulf of Lyon in connection with the Celtic story. One conclusion can be drawn from Apollonius' work and that is confirmation that the word at this stage is used as a collective noun, as he mentions 'the countless tribes of the Celts and Ligyans' (*The Argonautica* 4.646).

#### 4.6 Κελτοί and Γαλάται in Polybios

When we come to examine Polybios' use of the words Κελτοί and Γαλάται, we find a complete change in their application and meaning with a profusion of usage that forces a change in analysis. The frequency of use is such that some simple statistical analysis can be undertaken, with each of the occurrences categorised in respect of geographical area. If the words are true synonyms there should be no bias in their application to specific areas. If there is a bias, we can use this to say something about those areas or Polybios' use of the terms and hence draw some conclusions.

Polybios uses Κελτοί 124 times and Γαλάται 132 times in his extant writing. Unlike many of his predecessors, he specifically applies the terms to a distinct people and not usually to a territory or to a generic aspect. He does seem indiscriminate in his use of the terms (Walbank 1957: 49, note on Polyb. 1.6.4-6; and see Polyb. 2.1.8-20) and uses them to describe a variety of peoples from a variety of sources. An analysis is given in Fig. 4.4.

People referred to	Κελτοί	Γαλάται	Total Occurrences
Cisalpine Gauls	57 (70%)	25 (30%)	82
Alpine Gauls	8 (47%)	9 (53%)	17
Pyrenean & Transalpine Gauls	19 (50%)	19 (50%)	38
Spanish	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	4
Balkan	0 (0%)	24 (100%)	24
Galatian (Asia Minor)	0 (0%)	42 (100%)	42
Other	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1
Unknown	27 (87%)	4 (13%)	31
Generic	11 (65%)	6 (35%)	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>124 (48%)</b>	<b>132 (52%)</b>	<b>256</b>

**Figure 4.5** Polybios' use of the terms Κελτοί and Γαλάται in his writings in respect of Iron Age tribes

The ambiguity of terms is evident, with Polybios sometimes using different terms for the same people in the same sentence. He was clearly confused or indifferent about the definition of these peoples and their lands. However, he is clear on one point – he refers to no 'Celts' in the Balkans or Galatia. The question is, how did the Greeks move to this position from having had no clear idea of the 'Celts' and less of the 'Galatae' at the time of Aristotle and Polybios? Investigations of extant literature between these times has shown nothing. Apart from the authors already discussed above others were looked at (Euclid, Dinarchos, Hyperides, and Demades)

but no further reference to Κέλτοι and Γαλάται was found. Something clearly went on to change the perception and nomenclature of foreign peoples. It is suggested here that it was contact with the Romans.

The changes in the use of these terms to describe Iron Age people are specific. Up to the time of Polybios we see the following:

- Γαλάται can now be used to describe the people of Cisalpine Gaul, Pyrenean and Transalpine Gaul, the Balkans, and of Galatia
- Κελτοί can now be used to describe the people of Cisalpine Gaul, Pyrenean and Transalpine Gaul, and to assign unknown or generic descriptions
- Γαλάται has become equated to the Roman 'Galli'
- Κελτοί is specifically not used for people in the Balkans and Galatia or Asia.

The most important of these is the generation of a new meaning for Γαλάται through its identification with 'Galli'. We have seen that 'Galli' was in the social consciousness of the Romans by 180 BC from the writings of Plautus.<sup>75</sup> Polybios was taken to Rome as one of the one thousand eminent Achaeans taken hostage following the downfall of Perseus in 170 and his sojourn in Rome would have given him the opportunity to study the literary achievements of that country. His friendship with the Scipio family allowed him access to the library of Perseus (Walbank 1957: 3 n. 5) and he would have become very familiar with the stories, facts, and mythologies attached to the Iron Age tribesmen from the north who raided the civilised parts of Roman countryside and sacked Rome. The Romans would have made out the tribesmen to their north to be warlike, savage, and cruel people, who like to invade, raid, pillage, and steal. It is when Polybios came to write about these incidents that difficulty arose as the direct translation of *Galli* into Greek is Γάλλοι; however, this word had a special meaning as it is the name given to the priests and priestesses of the cult of Kybele<sup>76</sup> and its usage would have confused

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<sup>75</sup> Plautus' work is the earliest we have from Roman writers (Plautus c.254-184 BC; Ennius c.239-169; Cato c.234-149, and P. Terentius c.190-159 being the earliest) and consequently is the earliest mention of *Galli* from a Roman source. Because of the need to maintain a purity of usage, this investigation ignores any later mentions to an earlier time involving the words 'Celt' or 'Gaul'.

<sup>76</sup> Γάλλος is a priest of Cybele and Γάλλαι a priestess. Early use of the word can only be deduced from later writings as all of the references are after the 1<sup>st</sup> / 2<sup>nd</sup> C BC (Schwyzer 633.11 (*Eresus*), Arrian *Epict.* 2.20.17, Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 4.290 and Diogenes Laertius 4.43). However, several references to Γάλλος in the Greek Anthology (Paton 1916: 6.217, 6.220, 6.234 and 6.237) are attributed to a collection by Stephanus of Meleager and Paton attests them to the seventh to third century BC (Paton 1916: v). We therefore have a specific meaning of the word at or before the time of Polybios. Cybele the mother goddess of Anatolia was established in Greece by fifth century BC and associated with Demeter. The cult was brought to Rome from Asia Minor in 205/4 BC (F.R. Walton, *OCD*<sup>3</sup> s.v. 'Cybele').

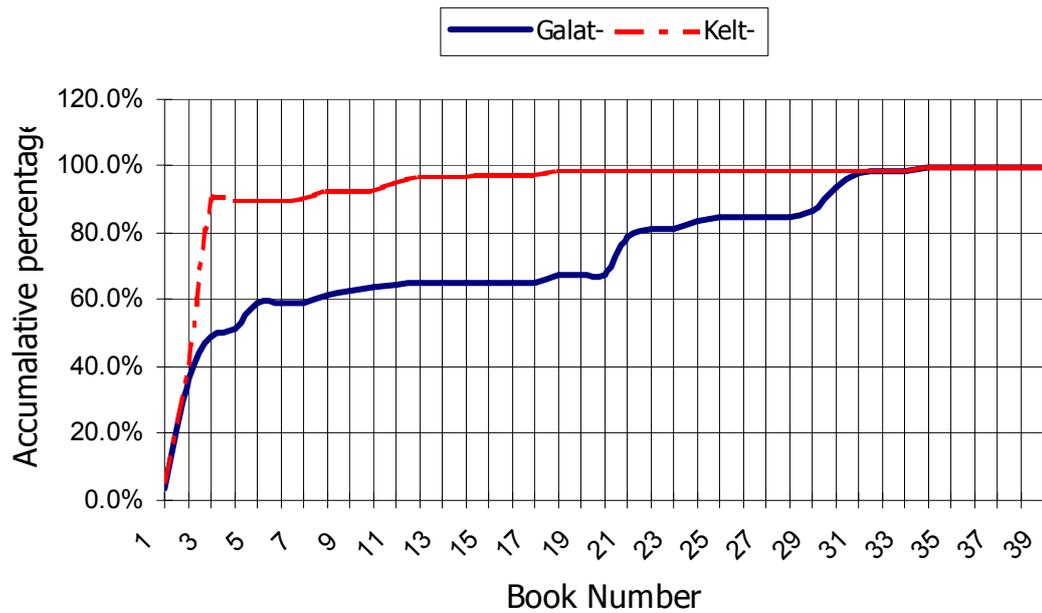
many Greeks, if not offended some religious sensibilities. However he did not have to offend a religious cult as Greece had its own warlike, savage, and cruel tribesmen to the north who also liked to invade, raid, pillage, and steal – the Galatae. Thus, it was a simple step to equate *Galli* and *Galatae* especially when their apparent *modus operandi* was apparently so similar.<sup>77</sup> Both terms are generic or collective; both refer to ‘natural enemies’ to the north; both have a place in the history and mythology of the respective societies’ ‘nationhood’;<sup>78</sup> both are warlike, savage, and cruel; and both like to steal, pillage, raid, and invade civilised neighbours. To a Greek, *Galli* would mean little, but the term *Galatae* would convey exactly the meaning that *Galli* would have to a Roman citizen.

The change in the use of the term Celt is harder to determine. If we examine the occurrence of Κελτοί and Γαλάται with respect to Cisalpine Gaul we may see the confusion that Polybios generates. Cisalpine Gaul contains the people that the Romans generically called *Galli*. Beyond the western end of Cisalpine Gaul is Narbonese Gaul, whose people we have seen have been generically called Κελτοί by earlier writers. We would expect Polybios, from a Roman perspective, to discuss the affairs of Cisalpine Gaul as ‘Gallic’ or Γαλάται, using the argument above, with some infusion of Κελτοί due to the western proximity of Narbonese Gaul. Examining the occurrence of the terms, we find a more complex picture. The first three books of Polybios contain 89.5% of all the occurrences of Κελτοί in his writing, and 49.2% of all the mentions of Γαλάται (see Fig. 4.5). By closer examination of the subjects covered by these three books, it is found that it is in the passage concerning Rome and Gaul (Polyb. 2.21–35) and Hannibal in Italy (Polyb. 3.33.5–59.9) that we have the greatest use of the terms, with 80% and 88% respectively of the occurrence of the terms used in the first three books. It is in these two areas that Polybios is at his most inconsistent in his use and it is easy to find instances where he uses different terms for the same people in the same or in adjacent sentences (2.32.8–9; 2.30.8; 2.18.6–8; 2.31.5–8; 3.67.8; etc.). It is difficult to ascribe the errors and inconsistencies here to laxity on the part of Polybios; the indiscriminate use of terms is just too obvious. It would appear that Polybios is using the terms as synonyms, with little or no shade of meaning between them. Walbank (Polybios 1979: 32–4, and

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<sup>77</sup> It is interesting to note that Appian does use the form Γάλλοι CW3 4.27.6 but he is writing about 300 years after Polybios and religious constraints on its use may have weakened.

<sup>78</sup> *Galatae* in the plundering of Delphi and *Galli* in the plundering of Rome.



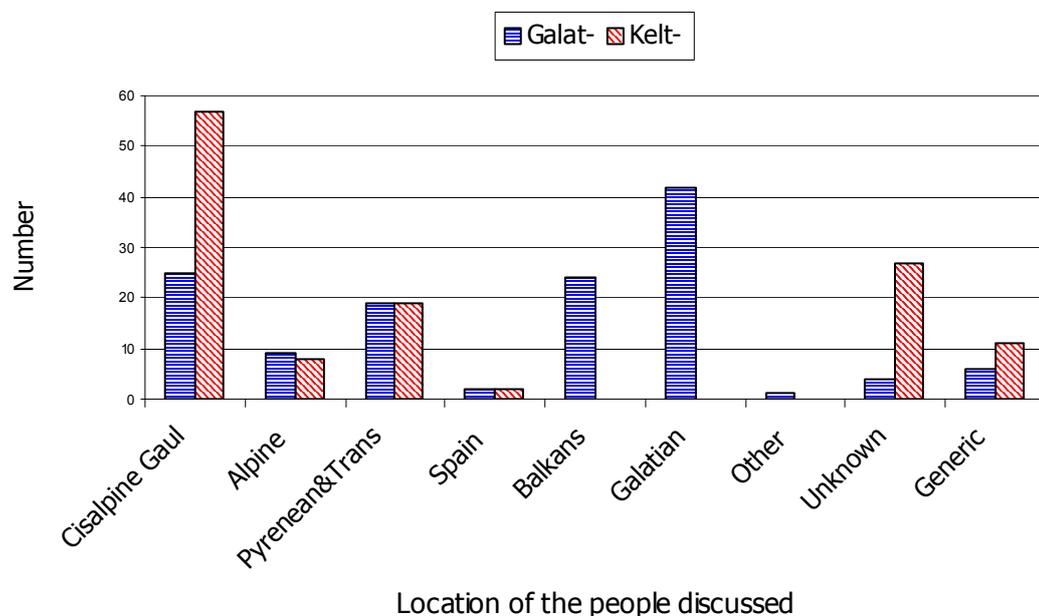
**Figure 4.6** The accumulative mention of Γαλάται and Κελτοί in the books of Polybios

Walbank 1957: 27) gives the sources used by Polybios in his first two books mentioning Aratos for the aspects of Greek events, Phylarchos on Kleomenes III, and Fabius Pictor and Philinus of Agrigentum for the first Punic War. These were used for subjects that did not have significant use Γαλάται and Κελτοί.

There are no apparent sources for ‘Rome and Gaul’. Walbank does mention that unidentifiable sources must have been used and suggests private letters and interviews with Romans as likely sources. If this is so, then it is likely that Polybios did not have access to a rigorous academic history (in so far as these writers provided one) but relied on oral history, memories, and stories. A source of confusion in the use of ‘Celt’ and ‘Gaul’ may be proposed because of an existing synonymy within Roman society at this time. Coming into this environment, he would find it difficult to establish an independent view on the correctness of the terms. This would then transmit itself to Polybios’ treatment of ‘Hannibal in Italy’ (Book 3) with the continuation of the confusion over the mistaken synonyms. The only difficulty is that in the case of ‘Rome and the Gauls’ (Book 2), the inconsistency is equally spread between Γαλάται and Κελτοί (43 vs. 43 times), whilst in ‘Hannibal in Italy’ Κελτοί dominates four to one as the term of description (61 vs. 17 times). Thus, it would seem that from the undefined sources the terms appear to be truly synonymous, yet by his own writing on Hannibal he biases the description. This

bias has a logic, in that Hannibal did use ‘Celtic’ mercenaries from northern Iberia, crossed the Rhone in ‘Celtic’ land, crossed the Alps with both the help and interference of the ‘Celts’ and finally mustered an army of ‘Celtic’ people to invade Italy. His usage is in line with the Celts traditionally living around the Gulf of Lyon.

Although there is a bias, a thorough analysis of the use of these terms in these passages shows no clear pattern. Shields described as ‘Gallic’ are used by ‘Celts’, whilst ‘Gauls’ use ‘Celtic’ knives. ‘Gauls’ and ‘Celts’ are terms to describe a generic people who are then put into named tribal units. The *Boii* are Celtic and Gallic in different passages. There is no consistency of use which points to a single explanation. To confirm the inconsistency, Fig. 4.6 shows Polybios’ geographical spread of the names he uses.



**Figure 4.7** The geographical spread, and the number of times, Polybios uses the Iron Age tribal names Γαλάται and Κελτοί

Thus, we may propose that by the time of Polybios the terms had become synonymous in Rome, the mechanism of the elevation of ‘Celt’ to same status as ‘Gaul’ being similar to Hammond’s explanation of the ‘Illyrioi’. Trade, or the provision of a commodity, had given an appellation to people who lived at the western end of Cisalpine Gaul and transcribed it onto all people in the region and then into Cisalpine Gaul itself. Thus, the ‘Celts’ and the Cisalpine ‘Gauls’ could be seen as generically the same people.

#### 4.7 Κελτοί and Γαλάται after Polybios

Apart from Apollodoros locating the ‘Celtic’ land (or more exactly their ἔθνη) traditionally around Marseille (Apollodoros 1939: 1.9.24),<sup>79</sup> and Ps.-Skymnos’ poetic geography identifying it similarly, little is mentioned of the ‘Celts’ or ‘Gauls’ until Diodorus Siculus. This author was writing about a century later, after Rome had significantly extended its territory, and his work is important for seeing how the terms had changed in a now Roman-dominated Greek world.

In Diodorus Siculus’ writing the total relative occurrence of the terms has changed, with Γαλάται becoming predominant with 75 occurrences as opposed to 48 for Κελτοί. With the power centre of the eastern Mediterranean moving from Greece to Rome, this may be expected. When this is compared with Polybios’ use of these terms, we see an analogous shift. Polybios used 0.94 Κελτοί for every Γαλάται (see ‘Total’ Fig. 4.4) whilst Diodorus mentioned only 0.63 Κελτοί for every Γαλάται, a reduction in the relative use of these terms, with Κελτοί becoming less common (see ‘Total’ Fig. 4.7). This reduction in the interchangeability of the terms is not only as suggested above, but also due to exploration of the world and increased familiarity with its peoples. This becomes obvious when we examine the data that relates to Cisalpine Gaul and see the halving of the inconsistency in the description of the peoples. Polybios had 2.28 Κελτοί for every single Γαλάται (see Cisalpine Gauls in Fig. 4.4) whilst Diodorus mentions 1.3 Κελτοί for every Γαλάται (see Cisalpine Gauls in Fig. 4.7). When discussing these terms with respect to ‘unknown’ people, we have gone from a ratio of 6.75 Κελτοί per Γαλάται to 3.5 Κελτοί per Γαλάται, thus showing that people’s origin or ethnic allegiance is less undefined.

Diodorus still maintains that the Balkans and Galatia are only peopled by Γαλάται with no hint of occupation by Κελτοί (the reference, Diod. 30.21.3 of ‘Celts’ in the Balkans, refers to mercenaries and not indigenous people).

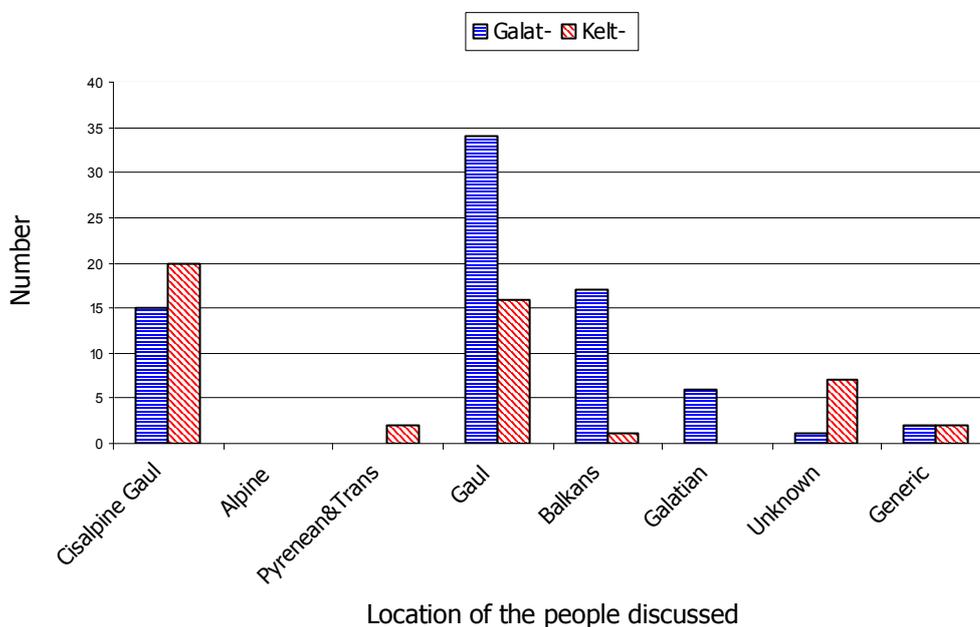
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<sup>79</sup> It is now generally accepted that the date of the writing of ‘The Library’ is no earlier than the middle of the first century BC (Frazer 1938: x) and more likely to be first or second century AD (*OCD*<sup>3</sup> s.v. Apollodoros (6)). As Apollodoros’ dates are c.180 BC–c.115 BC, we should designate this as Pseudo-Apollodoros *Bibliotheca*.

The reduction of the use of Κελτοί by Diodorus reduces its dominance of the literature and reverts its use to the occupation of Western Europe (essentially Gaul and Cisalpine Gaul). The use of generic descriptions of both terms is reducing in number and has become evenly spread between the terms (compare this with Polybios who had a 2:1 ratio in favour of ‘Celt’). The use of the terms in Diodorus is given in Fig. 4.7 and the geographical spread in Fig. 4.8.

People referred to	Κελτοί	Γαλάται	Total Occurrences
Cisalpine Gauls	20 (71%)	15 (29%)	35
Alpine Gauls	–	–	–
Pyrenean & Transalpine Gauls	2 (100%)	–	2
Gaul	16 (32%)	34 (68%)	50
Balkan	–	17 (100%)	18
Galatian	–	4 (100%)	4
Other	–	1 (100%)	1
Unknown	7 (78%)	2 (22%)	9
Generic	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>48 (39%)</b>	<b>75 (61%)</b>	<b>123</b>

**Figure 4.8** Diodorus’ use of the terms Κελτοί and Γαλάται in his writings in respect of Iron Age tribes



**Figure 4.9** The geographical spread, and the number of times, Diodorus uses the Iron Age tribal names Γαλάται and Κελτοί

In addition to the above information there are two interesting aspects to Diodorus’ writing. The first is that he appears to be the first author to use the term

‘Celtiberians’ and then to use it extensively. There are fifteen instances of its use, over half in Book 5. The second point is an inaccurate translation, which seems to link the ‘Gauls’ with the Balkans. Diodorus uses the term Ἑλληνογαλάται (Diod. 5.32.5), which has been translated as ‘Greco-Gauls’, which would imply a Gallic link with this region, but Diodorus’ use follows a mythological description of Γαλάτης (Galates), the son of Herakles, who became king and called his subjects Galatae, who in turn gave their name to the land (Diod. 5.24.3). The translator adds the phrase ‘or Gauls’ after Galatae to attempt a non-existent link and translates Ἑλληνογαλάται as ‘Greco-Gauls’ when a better translation would be ‘Greco-Galatae’.

It has often been commented that Diodorus relied heavily on his sources and contributed little in respect of his own work and Sacks (1990: 3) comments that his contribution to history is to preserve it rather than create new historical traditions. Although Sacks goes on to say that this view when taken to extremes (as in the nineteenth century) can be considered a little harsh, the value of Diodorus’ work remains his interpretation of others’ works in a first-century BC context. This view provides the present study with some support in assessing the overall Romano-Greek world’s attitude to the terms for these peoples. Of course a first century BC interpretation of other’s work may cause an unknown modification of the meaning of these terms for we do not know how consistent Diodorus was in his interpretation. As Sacks has commented Diodorus’ histories, while not considered great scholarly material in their own right, have value in that they borrow heavily from other writers whose works are now lost. In this regard, Diodorus is valuable as a historical record for those writers who came before him but offers little in terms of the interpretation of Κελτοί and Γαλάται unless we assume a consistency of approach in his re-interpretation of these terms. Accepting that a consistency has been adopted we find that in general, there has been a reduction in the looseness of use of these terms as a better knowledge of the world and of the Iron Age people grew and consequently ‘Celt’ was diminishing as a term for a general description of Iron Age people.

When we come to Strabo in the early first century AD, we see a continuation of this specificity in identifying Iron Age peoples. Although the mention of Κελτοί has not diminished (Strabo uses Κελτοί 117 times, Γαλάται 59 times, and ‘Celtiberians’ 27

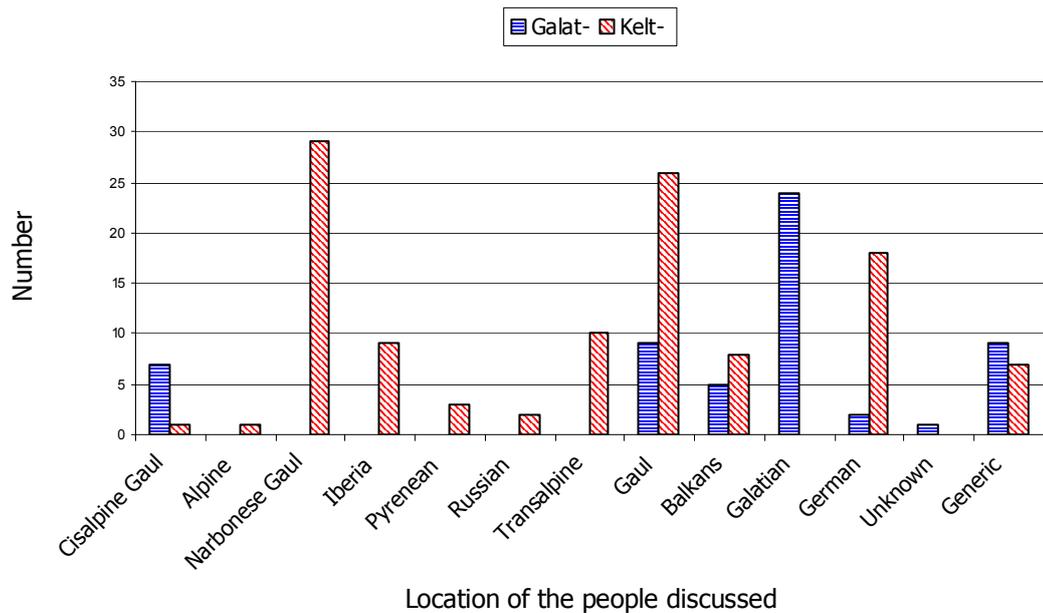
times) the use is predominantly concerned with tribes on the edge of the known world. It is with Strabo that we first see the compound words Κελτολίγυαι and Κελτοσκύθαι, which have been translated as Celto-Ligurians and Celto-Scythians respectively, and from which we deduce that extra resolution is being given people on the periphery of the known world. The Celtiberians of Diodorus are still being used with a significant frequency that substantiates their currency in the Greek world at this time, but as was said before, their location remains static and well defined. The geographical spread of Strabo’s use of the terms is given in Fig. 4.9 and illustrated graphically in Fig. 4.10.

People referred to	Κελτοί	Γαλάται	Total Occurrences
Narbonensis [Gaul]	29 (100%)	–	29
Cisalpine Gaul	1 (13%)	7 (87%)	8
Alpine & transalpine	11 (100%)	–	11
Pyrenean	12 (100%)	–	12
German	18 (90%)	2 (10%)	20
Russian	2 (100%)	–	2
Gaul	26 (74%)	9 (26%)	35
Balkans	8 (62%)	5 (38%)	13
Galatians	–	24 (100%)	24
Other	–	–	–
Unknown	–	1 (100%)	1
Generic	7 (44%)	9 (56%)	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>114 (67%)</b>	<b>57(33%)</b>	<b>171</b>

**Figure 4.10** Strabo’s use of the terms Κελτοί and Γαλάται in his writings in respect of Iron Age tribes

Strabo has given back the Κελτοί their ‘out there’ status and meaning, as well as historically putting them back into the region of the Gulf of Lyon and into Lusitania (shown in the list as Iberia). He defines the land of the Κελτοί and includes the area from where the Pyrenees come to the coast in northern Iberia, via the Gulf of Lyon is the region where the Alps come down to the sea. Some of the early history he recounts alludes to the Κελτοί living in the extreme west of Cisalpine Gaul.

The other locations, Alpine Gaul and Pyrenean, refer to the lands that border ‘Celtica’ (Κελτική) and Strabo uses this general term as a descriptor of the land rather than a land sharply linked to the people. Other areas refer to the outer reaches of the known world, and again Strabo describes the land and not the people. In his description of the country north of Massalia to the ‘great ocean’, he



**Figure 4.11** The geographical spread, and the number of times, Strabo uses the Iron Age tribal names Γαλάται and Κελτοί

mentions the country of the Κελτοί extending to the ocean beyond which is Ireland (Ἰέρηνν). His general description of these northward outlying regions is that they are either the land of the Κελτοί or of the Scythians. The construction he uses is not one that should be taken to represent a pan-European collective of a single culture; it is more of a shorthand expression of the unknown in a similar manner to Aristotle.

The initial surprise from the writings is the growth in the term Κελτοί for people in the Balkans. However, upon closer inspection the confusion is due to lack of geographical resolution. The *Iapodes*, a mixture of ‘Celtic’ and Illyrian tribes who inhabit the north Adriatic coast, now modern Slovenia, represent most of the mentions; the rest refer to tribes from north of the Danube (and not Scythians) who have ‘mixed with the Thracians and Illyrians’ (Strabo 7.1.1; 7.3.2; 7.3.11; 7.5.1; etc.). With this exception, there is no description in Strabo of the people of the Balkans described as Κελτοί.

There are three main elements that influenced Strabo’s writing, philosophy, politics and motivation. In philosophy he was a declared adherent of Stoicism (Strabo 7.3.4), which allowed him to produce a unified and logical account of the world, and developing completely autonomous individual will, and at the same time a universe

that is a deterministic single whole. In his politics he seems to have followed Polybios in his profound respect for the Romans, with whom he is in entire sympathy. He never fails to show great admiration for the Roman Empire and particularly for its administration, which fits with his Stoical philosophy. However, his reasons for writing are not those of a man with an autonomous will, one who is writing and travelling for its own sake. It would seem that his efforts was for the sake of others as he saw himself as an instructor and politician, travelling in the interest of persons of high rank – he was their teacher and guide.

From this profile we can add that he travelled much and prepared his geography from either personal experience or from sources that he trusted. He declared his experience by saying that 'you could not find another person among the writers on Geography who has travelled over much more of the distances than I' (Strabo 2.5.11). Thus, coupled with his Stoic philosophy, his sense of order and his experience, his descriptions and writing carries with it a strong element of validity and trust in terms of the places described and the people encountered. With this view we can assess his contribution to the current debate. The geography of Strabo seems to re-fix the original genesis of the words Γαλάται and Κελτοί and clarifies the confusion initially set up by Polybios and partially corrected by Diodorus Siculus, and by the natural exploration of the world by the developing Roman Republic/Empire. His use of Κελτοί and Γαλάται is more accurate with Κελτοί reverting to the western Mediterranean and Γαλάται to either Gaul or Galatia. There is little more to be said as Strabo's distribution, when looked at in detail, seems to revert the ancient world to the original distribution of these peoples as seen by the ancients.

Perhaps adapting to a more Roman perspective, we will now consider the work of Plutarch. In this analysis, only Plutarch's *Lives* have been examined.<sup>80</sup>

Plutarch was a Greek; but when his writing is analysed we see a uniquely Roman view in the use of these terms. The majority of the incidences of their use are in

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<sup>80</sup> Plutarch's other writing was examined but the mention of Gauls, Galatians and Celts in these works was lacking in geographical and social context due to the shortness of the passages. As the goal of the work was to see how the ancient authors used these words, a larger narrative or a more informative context was required and so only Plutarch's *Lives* were used.

Roman subjects. Nearly 93% of the occurrences of these terms are in the Roman *Lives*. Of the 7% in Greek *Lives*, all but 1% occurs in the *Life of Pyrrhos*. Although therefore, we consider Plutarch a Greek, his writing of Roman subjects reflects a Roman view of its enemies and foreigners.

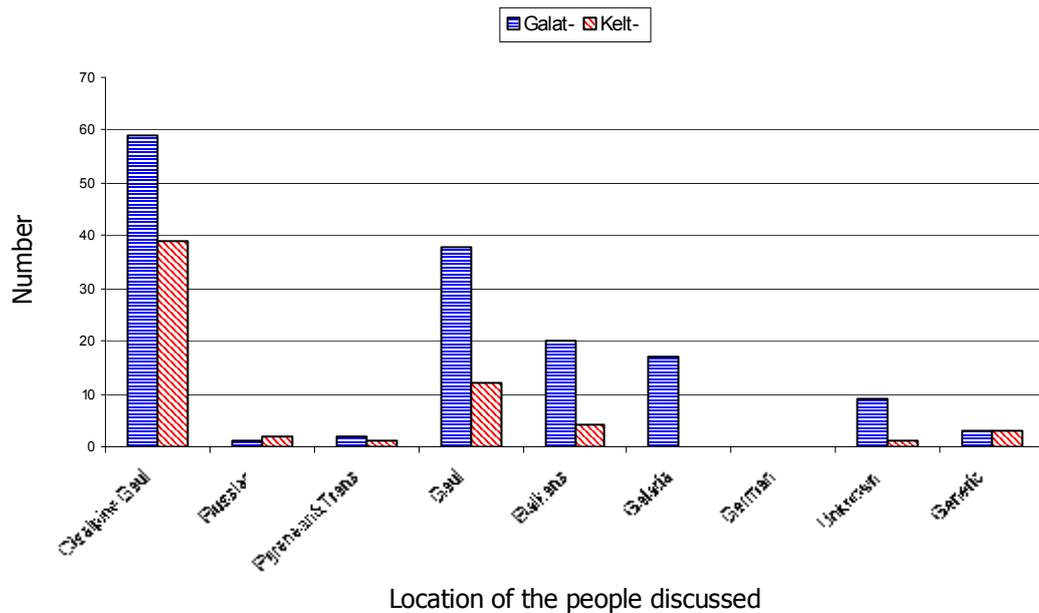
As expected the results show that Γαλάται occurs more times than Κελτοί, which reflects the preoccupation with Cisalpine Gauls in Roman history. Due to the confusion with *Galli* and *Galatae* we have the usual bias with Γαλάται and the confusion with Κελτοί. The results for Plutarch's *Lives* is that the occurrences are 61 for Κελτοί and 149 for Γαλάται with the geographical split given in Fig. 4.11 and the geographical representation given in Fig. 4.12.

People referred to	Κελτοί	Γαλάται	Total Occurrences
Cisalpine Gaul	39 (40%)	59 (60%)	98
Russia	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2
Pyrenean and Transalpine	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	3
Gaul	12 (24%)	38 (76%)	50
Balkans	4 (17%)	20 (83%)	24
Galatia	–	17 (100%)	17
Unknown	1 (10%)	9 (90%)	10
Generic	3 (50%)	3 (50%)	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>61 (29%)</b>	<b>149 (71%)</b>	<b>211</b>

**Figure 4.12** Plutarch's use of the terms Κελτοί and Γαλάται in his writings in respect of Iron Age tribes

The reversion to a strong 'Celtic' bias associated with Cisalpine Gaul shows the effect of Roman sources upon the writing of Plutarch. The growing clarity shown by Diodorus Siculus and Strabo has since disappeared with the Roman view of these terms. It is interesting to note that despite the romanization of history there is maintenance of the Balkan peoples as Γαλάται.

The dominance of the Roman view in Plutarch's *Lives* confuses a picture that was starting to resolve itself with Strabo. Whether this data from Plutarch tells us anything is problematical due to this confusion. It is to be expected that the romanization of written history will not reduce from this time onwards, so further



**Figure 4.13** The geographical spread, and the number of times, Plutarch uses the Iron Age tribal names Γαλάται and Κελτοί

analysis should show a consolidation of the confusion or more precisely the synonymy of these terms. The appearance of Κελτοί in the Balkans (translated by Perrin as ‘Gauls’ in the Loeb edition) appears in one book only – the *Life of Camillus*. We are told specifically that the Κελτοί ‘set out from the Adriatic Sea’. Whether this is from Illyria, further north or even from the region in north-east Italy (as a result of Plutarch reading Ps.-Skylax (18)) is not made clear. It would seem that we are seeing the first taint of ‘Celticity’ in the Balkans; otherwise we retain our record of having no reference to ‘Celts’ in the region.

Plutarch was obviously influenced by his Roman patrons and friends. He was a priest and a magistrate and he represented his home on various missions to foreign countries during his early adult years. His patronage by high status Roman citizens includes a Roman consul (L. M. Florus) who sponsored Plutarch as a Roman citizen, and (according to Syncellus) patronage from the Emperor Hadrian. He was influenced significantly by Rome and its history. Whether it was his training as a priest or just his own sense of moral values his writing shows a very strong moralistic view. This coupled with his Roman bias has led to a recognition of a modification of histories to emphasis moral imperatives. At worse Plutarch can be said to fabricate evidence whilst a more sympathetic view would be that he modifies and emphasises aspects in order to illustrate a moral point allowing

history to be a tool rather than an end in itself. This can be seen in his *Life of Pompey*, where Plutarch praises the Roman in order to conjure a moral judgement that opposes most historical accounts. In addition he is seen to stretch and occasionally fabricates the similarities between famous Greeks and Romans in order that he may write their biographies as parallels, again ignoring the niceties of historical accuracy.

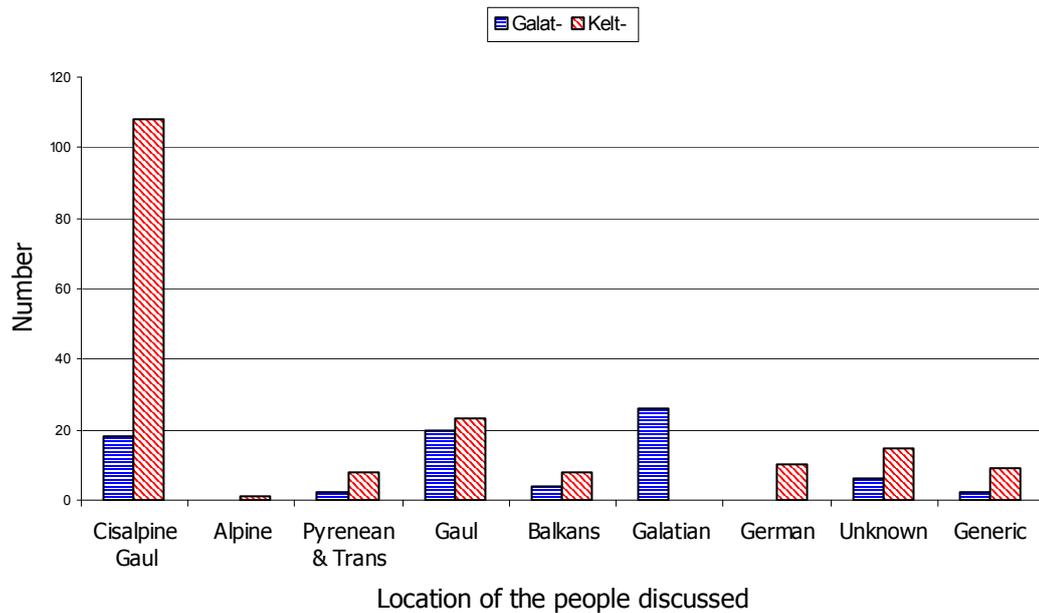
With this view we can see that an absolute acceptance of his view of the world in respect of our study is suspect and that the bias of Roman history is prevalent. In some respects he is a second Polybios reiterating a Roman perspective and returning the understanding of Strabo back to that of the confused status of Polybios.

Appian is the next author analysed, and by now the romanization of history is firmly established. Appian's *Roman History* will inevitably put forward the Roman view,<sup>81</sup> and we can expect that by this time the original use of Κελτοί and Γαλάται will have been lost. The dominance of *the Civil War*, *the Gallic history*, and *the War with Hannibal* all reinforces the use of the preconditioned identification that the Romans used for these enemies. The confusion is made worse by Appian's indiscriminate use of Κελτοί and Γαλάται in a similar manner to Polybios. Like Walbank on Polybios, Strachan-Davidson (1902: 33 n. 29.2) on Appian, comments upon his indiscriminate use of these terms. However, this lack of discrimination does not help us much in our analysis, which is given in Fig. 4.13 and Fig. 4.14.

People referred to	Κελτοί	Γαλάται	Total Occurrences
Cisalpine Gaul	108 (86%)	18 (14%)	126
Alpine	1 (100%)	–	1
Pyrenean and Transalpine	8 (80%)	2 (20%)	10
Gaul	23 (53%)	20 (47%)	43
Balkans	8 (67%)	4 (33%)	12
Galatia	–	26 (100%)	26
German	10 (100%)	–	10
Unknown	15 (71%)	6 (29%)	21
Generic	9 (82%)	2 (18%)	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>182 (70%)</b>	<b>78 (30%)</b>	<b>260</b>

**Figure 4.14** Appian's use of the terms Κελτοί and Γαλάται in his writings in respect of Iron Age tribes

<sup>81</sup> Although Greek he had Roman citizenship.



**Figure 4.15** The geographical spread, and the number of times, Appian uses the Iron Age tribal names Γαλάται and Κελτοί

There are still a few interesting aspects to derive from the results. The first is the complete change in the names of the people in the Balkans. Up to this point, the authors have been consistent in describing the people as Γαλάται, yet for the first time we see Appian changing this convention and using the term Κελτοί almost exclusively. It is expected that the Roman generic term for any Iron Age tribe that was not from 'Gaul' is now 'Celt' (although to add to the confusion even the 'Gauls' are called 'Celts' by Appian 50% more often than they are called 'Gauls'). Another aspect is that the distribution of occurrences of the terms in Appian and Plutarch is almost opposite, with Appian split 182: 78 whilst Plutarch splits 61: 149. Although the form of the literature is different, the subjects are very much the same and such a reversal shows the significant swing in the meaning of the terms in the intervening 50 or so years that exist between these authors.

Despite the confusion over the terms the use of Celtiberians remains constant with no variation in meaning or geographical region. Appian uses this term 37 times in his writing. One interesting point is Appian's use of the word Γάλλος as the generic term for a Gaul (Appian 6.1.1). This is the first time this is seen in primary sources and would mark a use that overcomes any religious implications.

Unlike Plutarch, Appian was a Roman born in Alexandria into the Roman equestrian class. He claimed Greek decent or ethnicity and grew up expecting and getting high political and administrative office. Most of the events in Appian’s history took place before his own time and thus the influence of his sources must be taken into consideration. Recent scholars have analysed Appians work and have concluded that his sources were probably exclusively Latin official annalists. It is concluded that these sources were unreliable and politically biased. Criticism of his writing includes a charge of historical novel writing as, like most ancient writers of the time, his aim was to make an interesting book, a development of political ideas or moral principles, and historical accuracy was subordinate to this aim. In the case of our study we know that this was an influence on the use of the words we are examining as myth, supposition, and oral history fueled the political bias of the amateur annalist writers of Appians past. What we see from Appian is a Polybios form of construction of history that was probably less researched.

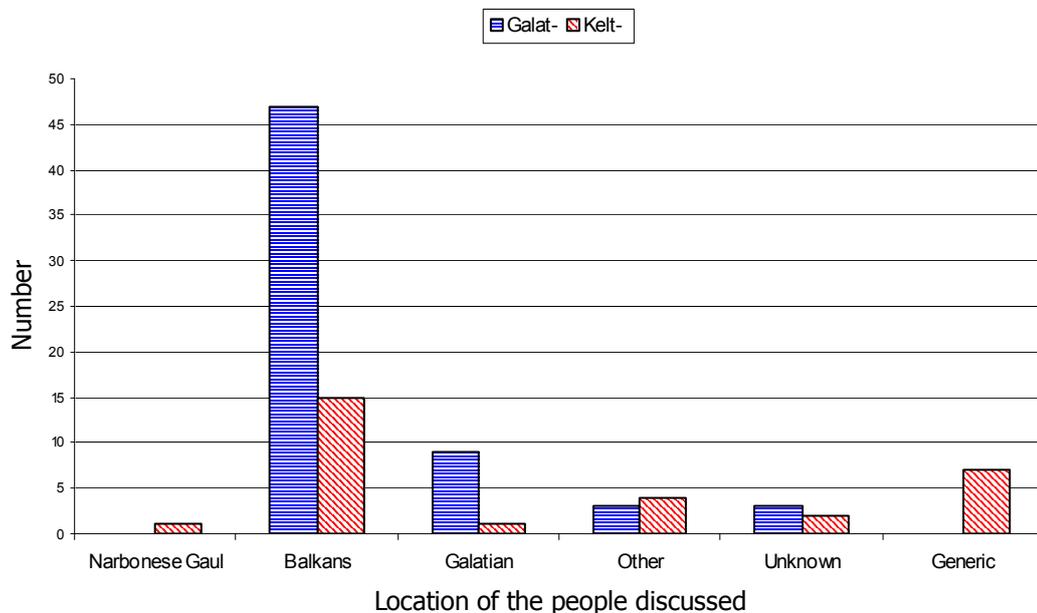
Lastly we come to Pausanias who although writing only a few years after Appian, seems to have concentrated his use of the words Κελτοί and Γαλάται on those people living in the Balkans and in Asia Minor. This usage gives us a very clear view of how these people were described by those writing in a world dominated by Rome. A close look at Pausanias’ usage shows the dominance of the Balkans and Asia Minor in his writing (Fig. 4.15).

<b>People refered to</b>	<b>Κελτοί</b>	<b>Γαλάται</b>	<b>Total Occurrences</b>
Narbonese Gaul	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
Balkans	15 (24%)	47 (76%)	62
Asia Minor	1 (10%)	9 (90%)	10
Other	4 (57%)	3 (43%)	7
Unknown	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	5
Generic	7 (100%)	0 (0%)	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>30 (32%)</b>	<b>62 (68%)</b>	<b>92</b>

**Figure 4.16** Pausanias’ use of the terms Κελτοί and Γαλάται in his writings in respect of Iron Age tribes

Over two-thirds of his references are to the invading tribes of the Balkans (67%) and all are described as Γαλάται and not Γάλλοι. This last point is instructive as we are aware from the writing of Appian that the term Γάλλος was available at this time if Pausanias wanted to identify these people as Gauls.

As far as the general use of these terms for people in and outside of the Greek and Roman world is concerned, Pausanias does not give us much help. His writing is geographically specific (he was writing a guide to Greece) and hence constrained. His use of Κελτοί does show a degree of synonymy with the Γαλάται of the Balkans (15 out of 30 uses of the term) in line with the trend we have seen from contemporary (or near contemporary) authors. The best use of either word describing the same people in the same sentence can be found in Pausanias 10.3.4 and 10.20.7. The remainder of the terms are unspecific, with meanings which are essentially ‘those in a far off land’ (10 uses) and the rest referring to language, mercenaries, and the size of the country in which they live. As a consequence the geographical spread (shown in Fig. 4.16) of the use is almost entirely limited to the Balkans and Asia Minor.



**Figure 4.17** The geographical spread, and the number of times, Pausanias uses the Iron Age tribal names Γαλάται and Κελτοί

We can easily detect in Pausanias’ writing the glorious Greek past with emphasis on its greatness. This view must bias and distort his history but has been excused as a representation of the identity of a united and free Greece during the time of Roman occupation. His narrative has strong political implications (Elsner 1994: 245–252; Beard and Henderson 1995: 36ff; Alcock 1996), and yet Pausanias is a prisoner of the cultural memory of his times. Elsner comments the ‘the complexity of Pausanian ‘Greek’ identity lies in the fact that it bases its self-image and dignity on the

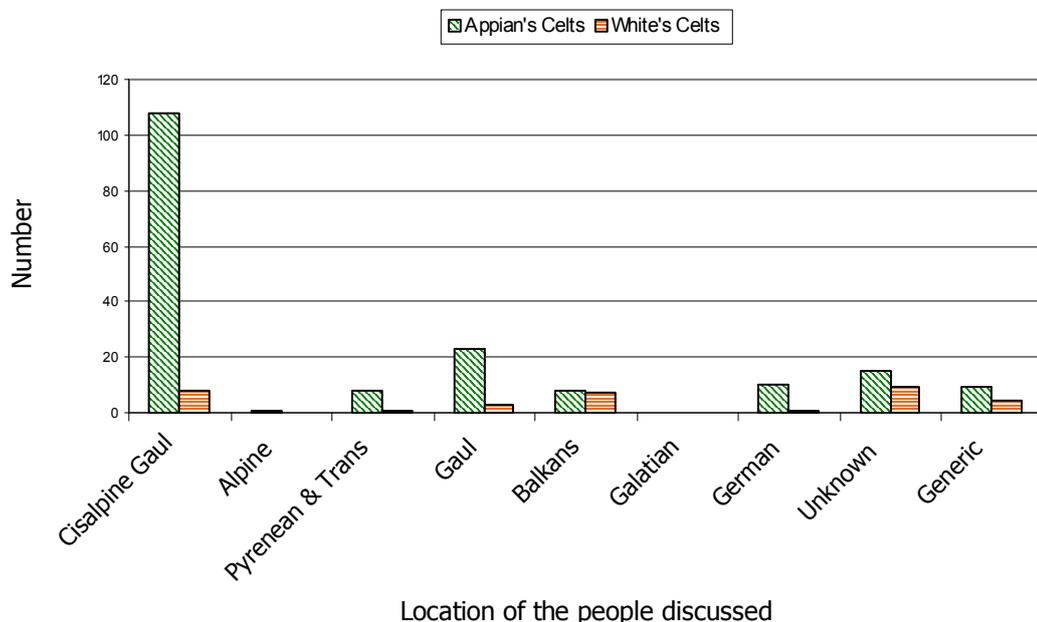
monumental past as opposed to the present, but can only do so because of the way the Roman present has framed what it is to be Greek.' (1994: 248). The implication here is that the Roman influence has extended to include Greek history and thus Pausanias may over-emphasise aspects of Greek events that are seen as heroic. The confusion in the terms of Γαλάται and Κελτοί are explained by the reliance on past accounts providing they show how great were the Greeks.

From the writing of Pausanias, Appian, and Plutarch we can see that the clarity brought by Strabo has been abandoned and the confused state of these terms indicates that the primary sources by this time have come to use the terms as synonyms, and very little can be extracted as to their original meaning. The influence of Rome has been the major cause with Pausanias, Plutarch and Appian being biased (for a variety of reasons) into adopting a Roman view that does not synchronise with Greek history. In the 650 years over which these words have been examined, this change is to be expected. Consequently, the assumption of modern historians to assume a constancy of use and application must be considered ill advised.

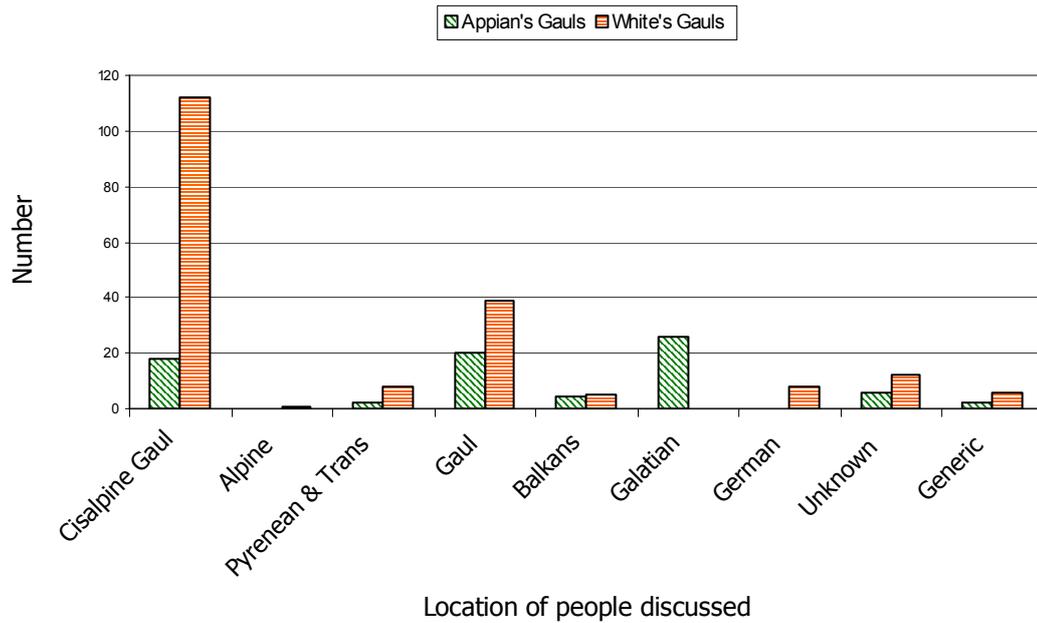
## 4.8 Modern Translations

Before concluding this chapter, something must be said about the English translations of these terms from the examples studied. As mentioned previously the original Greek was looked at in determining the incidence and meaning of the terms. However, the English translations were also taken and this shows a modification to the text and the meaning. It is obvious that the translators have freely interpreted the terms to reflect the historical demographic distribution as understood at the time of translation and have not been true to the words used. We may look at the translations in chronological order, and thus examine White's translation of Appian first.

Appian uses the terms Κελτοί and Γαλάται 182 and 78 times respectively, whilst White translates the terms as 'Celt' and Gaul (or Galatia) 30 and 158 times respectively. This is a reversal of the actual distribution in the text. This is illustrated in Fig. 4.17a and 4.17b, where the geographical spread of the variation in the terms Κελτοί, and 'Celt', Γαλάται and 'Gaul' is plotted.



**Figure 4.18a** The geographical spread of original Appian's term Κελτοί and White's translation 'Celt'

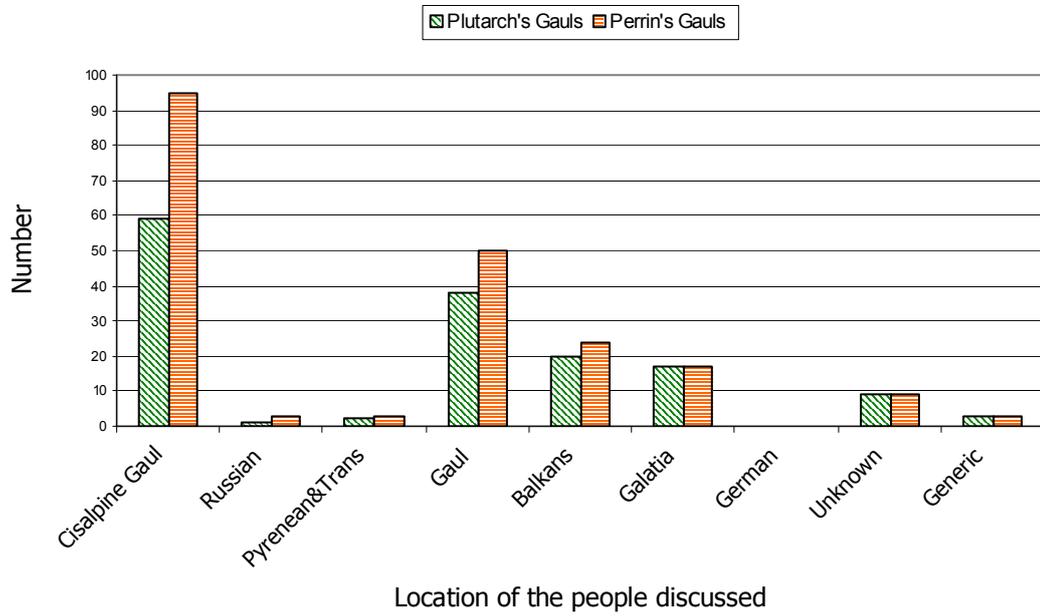


**Figure 4.18b** The geographical spread of original Appian's term Γαλάται and White's translation 'Gaul'

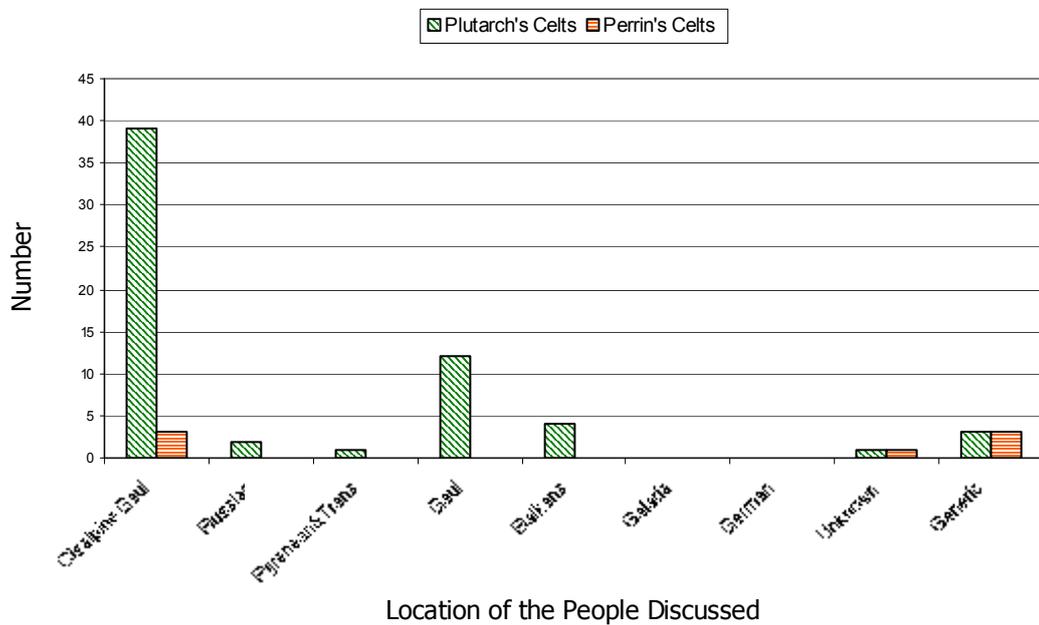
It will be seen that it is in the region of Cisalpine Gaul and Gaul that the major changes have taken place. This may be thought to be an attempt to rationalise Appian's use of the terms, but White does not translate all of the terms this way. The reason is that the original text does not allow such a blanket change, and thus the indiscriminate use of these terms by Appian would have caused anomalies in White's translation. White may also have been uncomfortable with a consistent translation, for although the archaeological hypothesis at the time included 'Celtic' migrations and a pan-European culture, it is obvious from the text of Appian that enough anomalies exist to cause problems in accepting this view. White may have been erring on the side of caution, but in doing so, he overlaid Appian's confused use of the terms with his well-intentioned but erroneous use.

Next comes Perrin's translation of Plutarch, undertaken at about the same time. There is a similar philosophy at work although Perrin seems to have been more rigorous in her attempt to translate these terms in one way. Plutarch used the terms Κελτοί and Γαλάται 62 and 149 times respectively, whilst Perrin translates the terms as 'Celt' and Gaul (or Galatia) 7 and 185 times respectively, with 19 translations as other specific peoples viz. Galatian, Unknown, Cisalpine Gaul and Russian. The similarity with White and the excessive use of the rationalisation is indicative of the period in which the translation took place and reflects the culture-

history hypothesis of the early twentieth century with respect to Iron Age peoples. Fig. 4.18a and 4.18b where the geographical spread of the variation in the terms Κελτοί, and ‘Celt’, Γαλάται and ‘Gaul’ is plotted.



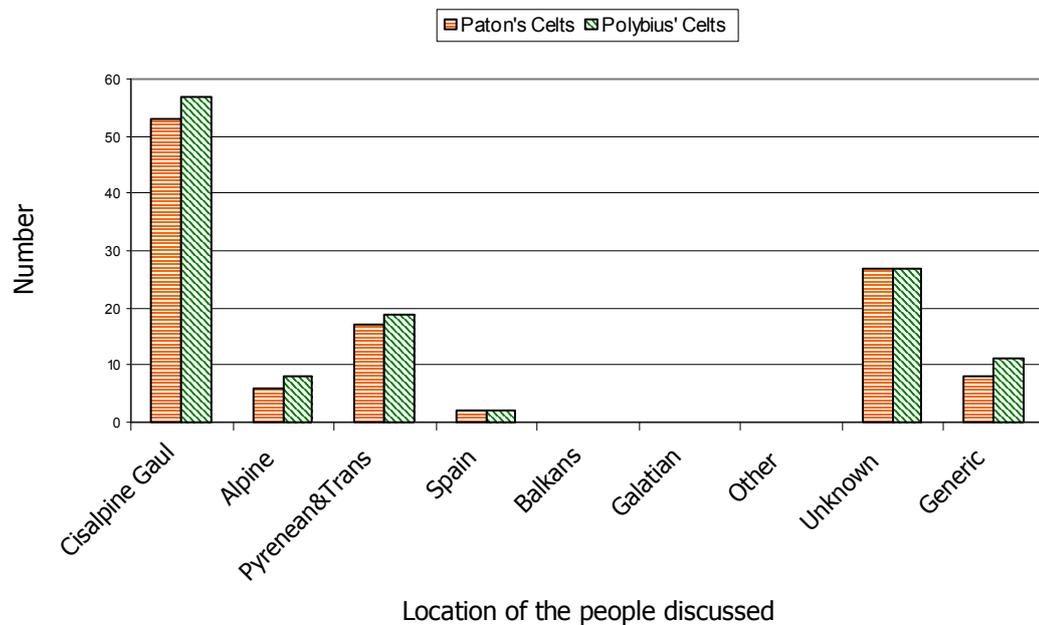
**Figure 4.19a** The geographical spread of original Plutarch’s term Κελτοί and Perrin’s translation ‘Celt’



**Figure 4.19b** The geographical spread of original Plutarch’s term Γαλάται and Perrin’s translation ‘Gaul’

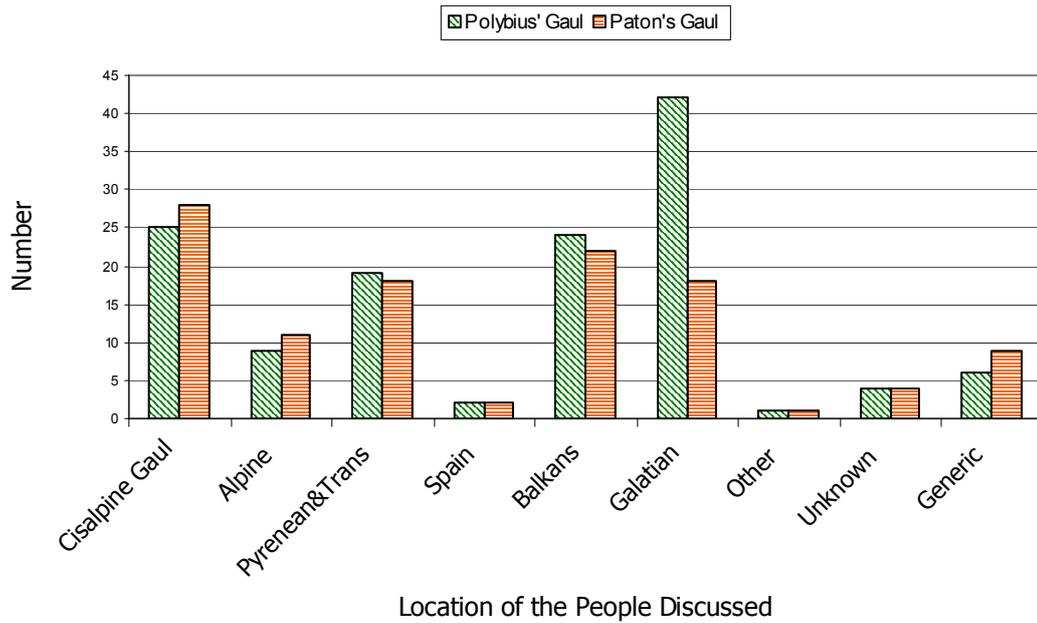
By the 1920s, the heavy-handed attempts at seriously modifying the original texts have stopped and some effort is being made at translating the texts more

accurately. It not need be supposed that this was due to any insights into the archaeological theoretical process (for there had been none at this time); it may be more from a need to retain accuracy after the wholesale changes made by White and Perrin. The translation of Polybios by Paton in 1922 shows a much closer harmony between use and translation, with Polybios' use of the terms Κελτοί and Γαλάται being 124 and 132 times respectively; whilst Paton translated the terms to 'Celt' and Gaul (or Galatia) 113 times each (with 30 translations into other peoples). The only apparent major discrepancy is the reluctance of Paton to call Galatians 'Gauls' as many others had done. His translation as Galatians is responsible, with only Gauls being mentioned when he was discussing the 'Gauls' in Asia. The geographical distribution of Paton's translations with respect to Polybios' terms is given in Fig. 4.19a and 4.19b.



**Figure 4.20a** The geographical spread of original Polybios' term Κελτοί and Paton's translation 'Celt'

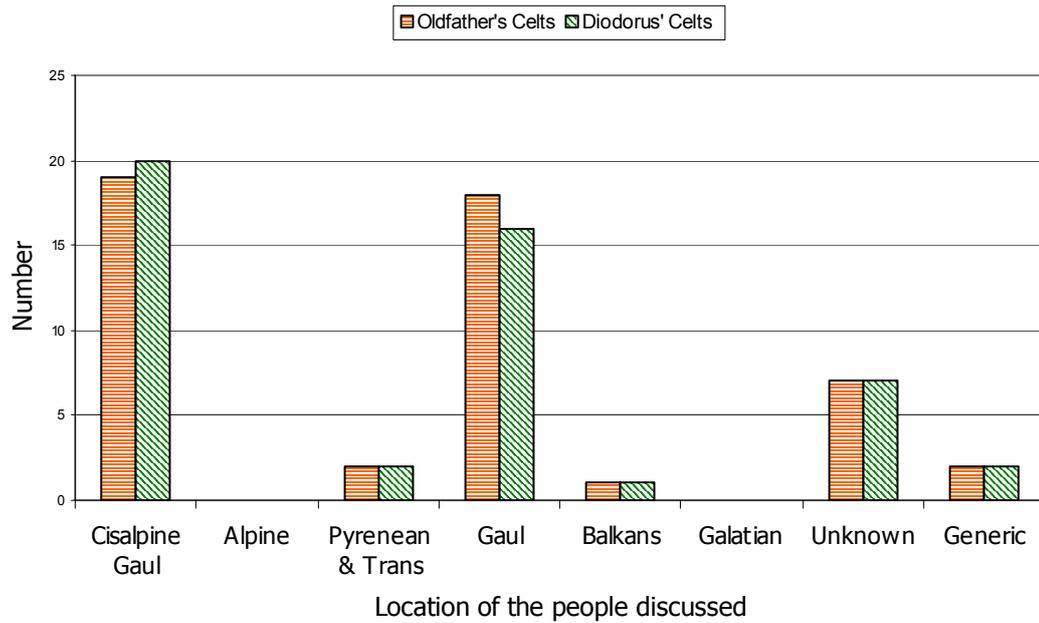
Paton is still responsible for some modification of the text in that he seems to attempt to rationalise some of the misuse of Polybios. Attention is drawn, for, example to Polybios 2.27.2–6 where Polybios refers to Κελτοί in northern Italy, yet Paton translates them as 'Gauls'.



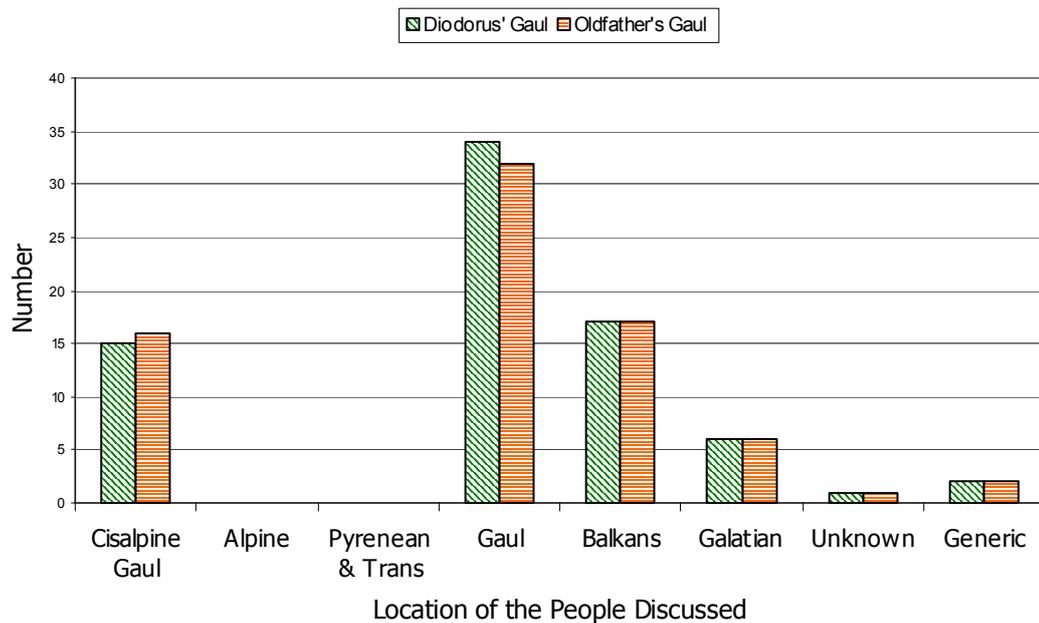
**Figure 4.20b** The geographical spread of original Polybius' term Γαλάται and Paton's translation 'Gaul'

The translation of Strabo by Jones in 1924 shows a remarkable faithfulness to the original with Strabo's use of the terms Κελτοί, Γαλάται being 146 and 59 times respectively, and Jones' translation being exactly the same, word for word. The translation does not use direct equivalents in every case but Jones achieves an excellent degree of faithfulness by the use of terms such as 'Celtica', 'Celti', and 'Celtae', to impart shades of meaning that reflect the text more accurately. As there is no difference in the use between Jones and Strabo, it is unnecessary to produce graphs of the geographic distribution.

When we come to the translation of Diodorus Siculus by Oldfather in the late 1940s we find a similar situation with another very good translation in this respect. Diodorus' used the terms Κελτοί and Γαλάται, 48 and 75 times respectively and Oldfather's was 49 and 74 times respectively. The geographical distribution of Oldfather's translations with respect to Diodorus' terms is given in Fig. 4.20a and 4.20b.



**Figure 4.21a** The geographical spread of original Diodorus' term Κελτοί and Oldfather's translation 'Celt'



**Figure 4.21b** The geographical spread of original Diodorus' term Γαλάται and Oldfather's translation 'Gaul'

From these translations, it is obvious that any English version (early versions more than later ones) must be treated with some circumspection. The translation reflects (perhaps unknowingly) the bias of the historian towards his/her current hypothesis concerning these people and consequently would provide the student with a wrong view of the distribution of Iron Age tribes in Europe. The social and political

situation at the time of writing the texts modified the use of the terms, and then two millennia later social and political hypothesis of historical understanding further modifies the use of these terms. In addition, it is interesting to recall the circular argument of Hill mentioned above, where the traditional view of 'Celticity' modified the text (with White and Perrin) and then later the text was used by others to justify the traditional views of the 'Celt' (Rankin 1995).

## 4.9 Inscriptions

### 4.9.1 Inscriptions for 'Celt'

With texts we saw that the dating of the information resolved itself into three distinct periods namely pre-Polybios, Polybios, and post-Polybios. An investigation structured along this time-scale gave the data we have analysed above. When we examine the data for inscriptions we find that for Κελτοί we have only eleven inscriptions (for a list of these inscriptions see Appendix II, Fig. A2.1 p 302). Of these seven are datable and they cover a temporal range of 350 BC to AD 380 and a geography covering Greece, Macedonia, Egypt and the Aegean. Of the four that have not been dated two are from Sicily and one each from Aegean and Anatolia.

The oldest (*SEG* 19: 129; 4<sup>th</sup> C BC) is a general description talking of 'Celtic Iron'. This pre-dates the incursion of the Galatae into Macedonia and would correspond to about the time of Ps. Skylax and the sack of Rome (see comments on p 137-8). Only two others are dated BC, one from Alexandria in 3<sup>rd</sup> C BC which has only two words and a third from Rhodes commenting on the land of the Celts and Iberians. The balance of four inscriptions are dated between 300 and 660 years after the event, and as we have seen from the textual information this is far beyond the expectation of consistency of use of these terms. Of the remaining 4 whose dates are unknown little can be said as in most cases the context is insufficient to establish any value to the inscription.

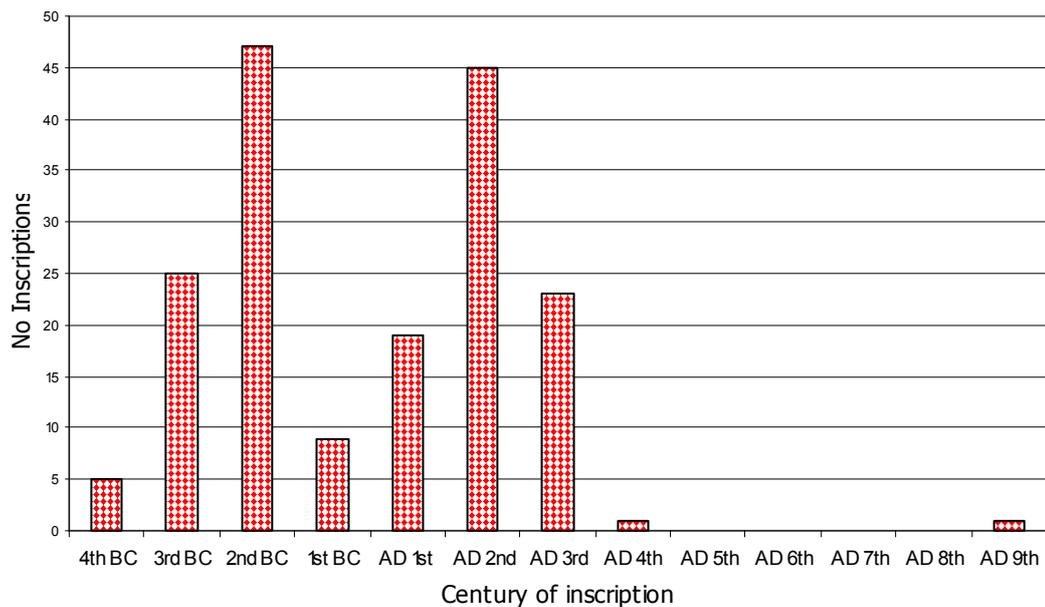
Inscriptions in respect of the term Κελτοί do not provide any useful information that clarifies the evolution of this word in the context of the question we are addressing here. Clearly to attempt an analysis of these inscriptions is statistically unsound.

### 4.9.2 Inscriptions for Galatae

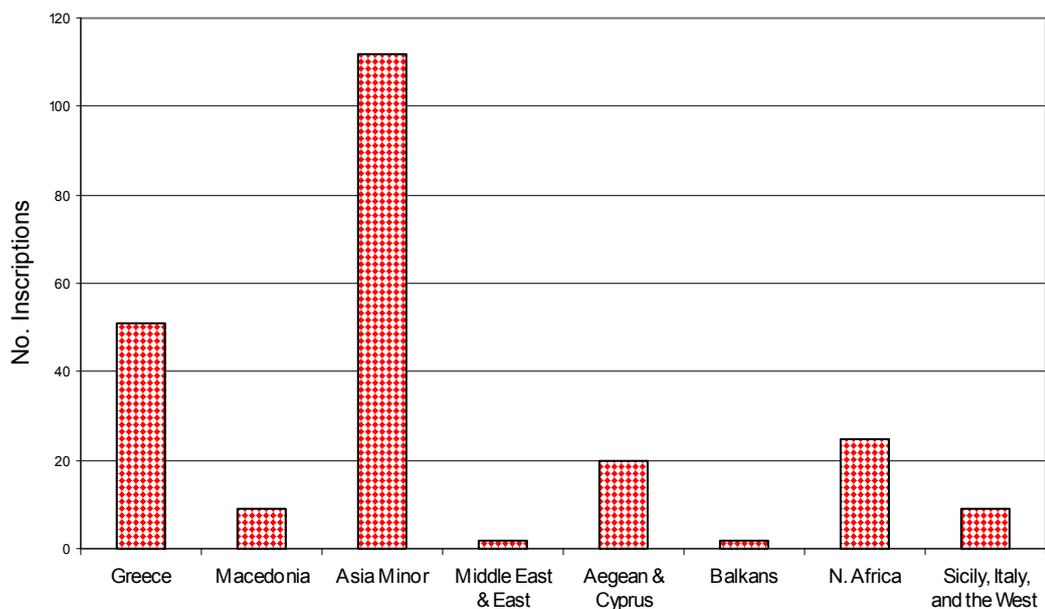
In comparison to Κελτοί, the use of Γαλάται in inscription is much more abundant. In this analysis the distinction between Γαλάται and Γάλλος is expressed more rigidly with no allowance being made to confuse the two terms. An associated study

looked at the occurrence of Γάλλος and found that there was a distinct group of inscriptions that overlaid those for Γαλάται, making it clear that the word for ‘Gaul’ was a distinctly different term and used differently than that for ‘Galatae’.

The number of inscriptions found was 230 of which 55 were undated (for a list of these inscriptions see Appendix II, Fig. A2.2 p 303). Of the remaining 175 their temporal spread is given in Fig 4. 22 and their geographical spread in Fig 4.23.

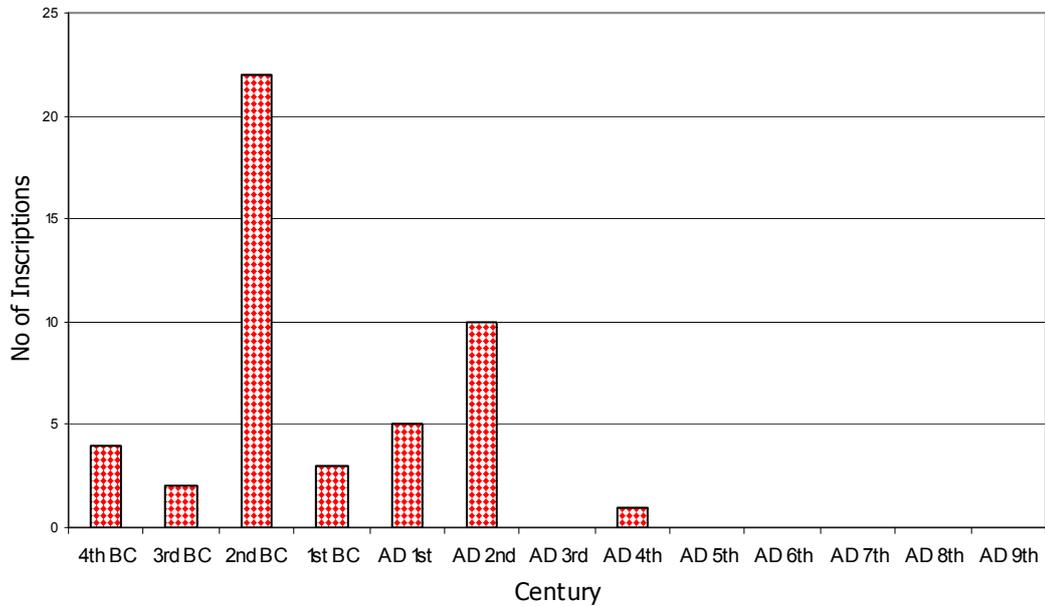


**Figure 4. 22.** The temporal distribution of inscription that include the word Γαλάται.

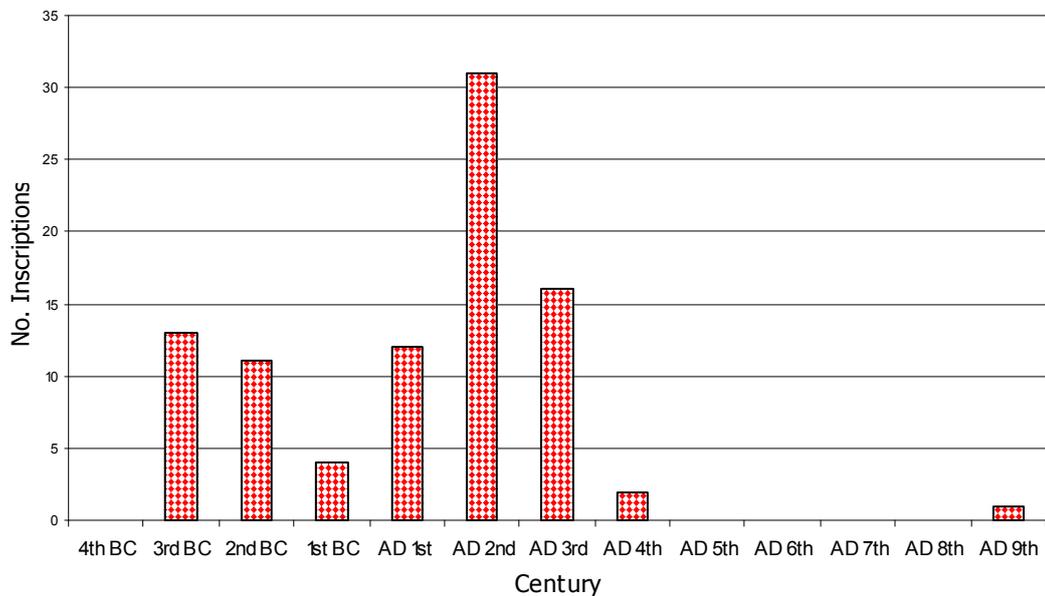


**Figure 4. 23.** The geographical distribution of inscription that include the word Γαλάται.

The temporal distribution in geographical areas where the total number is small does not tell us anything as the statistics become meaningless. However for those areas with large total numbers, i.e. Greece and Anatolia, the temporal distribution is useful and is given in Fig 4.24 and Fig 4.25.



**Figure 4.24.** The temporal spread of inscriptions in Greece.



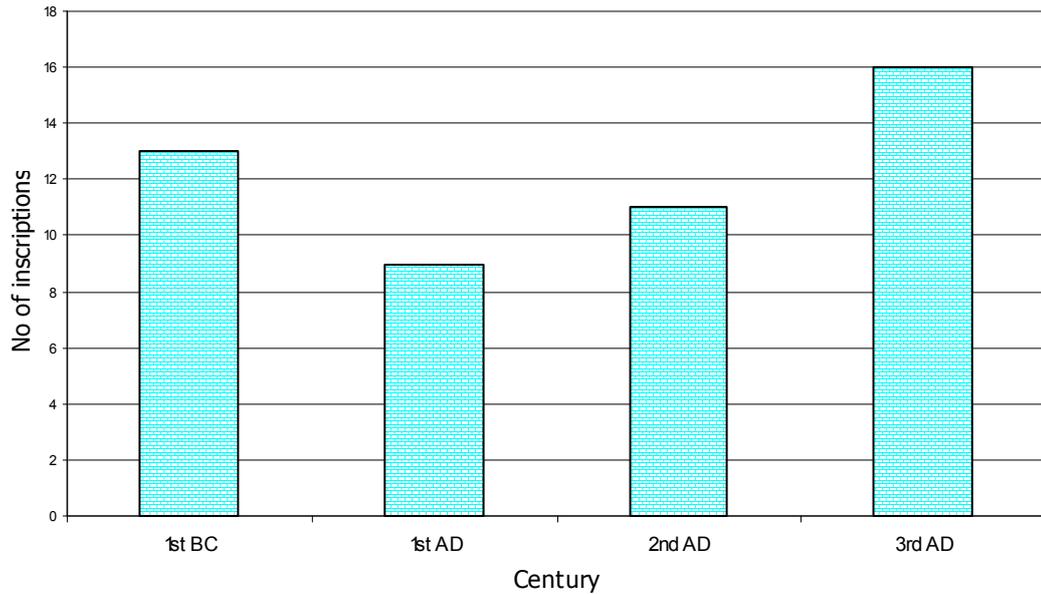
**Figure 4.25.** The temporal spread of inscriptions in Anatolia.

The high volume of inscriptions in the second century in Greece (Fig 4.24) is due to Delphic inscriptions that relate directly to the past incursion of the Galatae or with the penteteric Soteria (see p 249–50). In respect of this study the information adds little to that obtained from the textual information of this period and adds nothing to the understanding of how these words are used and how the usage has changed over time. When we come to the Anatolian data we must be careful to remember that the correct translation of Γαλάται is ‘Galatian’ and not ‘Gaul’, and it relates either directly to the inhabitants of either the pre-Roman territory of Galatia or its later Roman status. The third century data mainly consists of honorary decrees to Antiochus and memorials to battles fought between Antiochus and the Galatians. The second century peak (Fig 4.25) relates to dedications, honorary decrees, funerary inscriptions and legal notices that are essentially Roman.

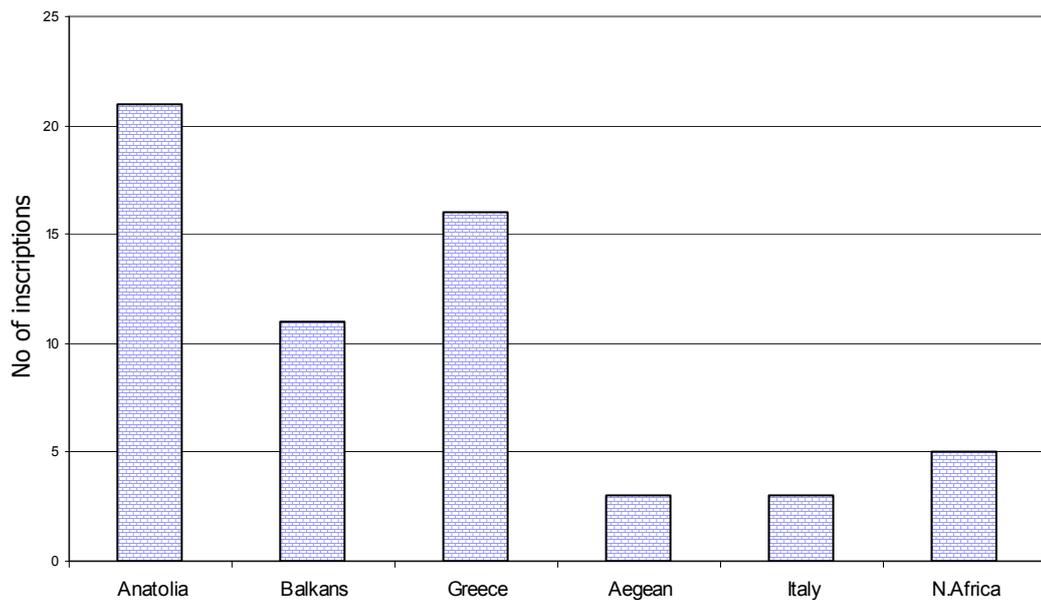
It would seem that the identity of the Galatians was strongly expressed from at least the third century BC, and the inscriptions give a feeling of consistency and permanence from this time until well into the Imperial Roman period. The whole perspective is strongly Anatolian-centred with a disregard to any genesis from the Balkans in the third century. However the idiosyncratic nature and individual presentation of information from inscriptions makes any conclusion suspect, and the assessment based upon these individual pieces of information is uncomfortable and perhaps in the long run unjustifiable. The value of inscriptions is diminished by their inability to be representative of a society.

It was mentioned at the beginning that an associated exercise of searching for the term Γάλλος was undertaken. A total of sixty inscriptions were found (for a list of these inscriptions see Appendix II, Fig. A2.3 p 311). The most interesting aspect was that the date range did not start until the beginning of the first century BC and had most of its use in the second and third century AD. The temporal distribution is given in Fig. 4.26 and its geographical spread in Fig 4.27.

The extensive use of the term only starts to appear with the rise of Rome outside Italy and its adoption by Greek speaking peoples. We have previously commented upon the religious nature of the term Γάλλος (see footnote 73 and p148) and how



**Figure. 4.26** The temporal distribution of the term Γάλλος in inscriptions.



**Figure. 4.27** The geographical distribution of the term Γάλλος in inscriptions.

Appian started to use the word as the generic term for a Gaul (Appian 6.1.1). It would appear from inscriptions that it entered the Greek lexicon in the form meaning ‘Gaul’ earlier than the end of the first century AD. Its appearance in the first century BC is mainly in mainland Greek inscriptions and could possibly relate to the Roman influence at this time. Its use in Anatolia is evenly spread over the four centuries, thus providing a consistency of use that is not seen elsewhere.

#### 4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the use and meaning of the word ‘Celt’ and ‘Gaul’ changed significantly in ancient times. In addition, the change in the complex morphology has been revealed, shown from the examination of the use of these terms from their first recorded mention in the literature of Greece through to the third century AD. The variations in use over this period do not give any succour to the Celtic traditionalist, and this approach adds some strength to the archaeological arguments that such a pan-European culture of ‘Celts’ of traditional understanding did not exist. It would seem that at no time in the history of the ancient world was any such tribal or cultural entity seen to exist, and the variations in the texts of the primary sources do not allow for an interpretation to justify such an existence.

When we come to inscriptional evidence its fragmentary and piecemeal presentation of data does not allow any statistical analysis to be undertaken. However, a view of the use of the term ‘Gaul’ (Γάλλος) can be made. It is evident that the term is in use as well as the more common ‘Galatae’ and is understood to relate to a different people. Its loss of any religious implication allows its use to spread (probably from Rome) and it is equally obvious that the people of the Mediterranean understood the difference between the two at least from the first century BC to fourth century AD.

It is clear that ‘Celts’ or ‘Gauls’, within the context discussed here, are engineered entities that allow shorthand or a simplified view of the Iron Age. The adoption of such a terminology is neat and convenient, and links can be made between cultures and nations that allow explanations to be made of what, in reality, were a complex tribal and cultural system. Gauls did not invade or have incursions into Macedonia; it was the Galatae – which is either a generic term indicating a variety of Balkan tribes made up from the Scordisci, Autariatae, Daorsi, Ardiaei, Triballi, etc. or a proto-name for one of them (probably the Scordisci). Although the question may be asked whether it matters what they were called, the response should be quite clear. Labelling them ‘Gauls’, ‘Celts’ etc., involves a process of adding a traditional or pre-conceived intellectual baggage onto their identity. This was clearly seen in Tarn’s explanation (see p45) and in more subtle ways by a variety of scholars who would

otherwise claim independence from such an idea. It is important to identify the tribes with whom the Greeks, Macedonians, and Romans interacted, not simply label them with a convenient catchall name. If they are not known, they should be addressed as 'Iron Age people', for although that carries some baggage; it is at least more neutral.

## Chapter 5 – The Chronology of the Incursions of the Galatae

### 5.1 The Chronology

### 5.2. The Primary Sources

### 5.3. The Modern Commentaries and Discounted Data

### 5.4 The Invasion Route

### 5.5 Further Evidence

#### 5.5.1 Raiding Party or Army

#### 5.5.2 Transport and Movement of Supply

#### 5.5.3 Weather and Energy Requirements

#### 5.5.4 Supplies

#### 5.5.5 The Size of the Forces

#### 5.5.6 The Speed of Ancient Armies

#### 5.5.7 Army Column Length

### 5.6 Summation of 'Further Evidence'

## Chapter 5 – The Chronology of the Incursions of the Galatae

### 5.1 The Chronology

In about 280/279 Greece narrowly avoided a catastrophe and supposedly achieved a greatness that is regarded by the ancient authors to be commensurate with the Greek action in the Persian invasion 200 years earlier. The event started when Iron Age armies, traditionally described as ‘Celts’ or ‘Gauls’, invaded Macedonia, Paeonia, and the lower Danube valley, went on to invade Greece and attempted to sack Delphi. It has been proposed above that those responsible were not ‘Gauls’ or ‘Celts’ of traditional understanding but Galatae, and the origin of these people is unknown and their culture indeterminable. The events associated with them are seen as of the utmost importance by the Greeks, yet little or no evidence exists in the primary sources for the exact chronological sequence of these events. Scholten, in describing the actions, says that the invasions of Greece and Macedonia, ‘has been written about more than any other event (Scholten, 2000: 31 and n. 5) and as a result there has been much debate and argument in the modern commentary concerning dates, events and interpretations. This chapter seeks to examine the evidence from the primary sources, discuss the arguments for various interpretations, and provide some further evidence that allows the elimination of many arguments and reinforces one particular view of events.

## 5.2. The Primary Sources

Despite the proclaimed importance of the ‘Celtic’ attacks on Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, the chronological sequence described by the primary sources is either missing or very poorly recorded, and in many instances is confused and even contradictory. The events famously carry an analogy to that of the Persian invasions, but unfortunately, in terms of the detailed description of the chronology there is no valid comparison. This whole era is characterised by lack of detail, and such is the confusion that the time preceding the reign of Antigonos Gonatas is referred to as the ‘Years of Chaos’ by Walbank (1988: 239–58). Errington (1990: 159) talks of a ‘dearth of reliable details,’ and ‘unreliable chronological order’, whilst Walbank (1957: 50) comments that ‘...no [temporal] solution covers all events,’ and ‘closer dates must await further evidence.’<sup>82</sup>

It is desirable to increase the temporal resolution of events in order to establish the sequence that leads to the eventual establishment of Galatia in Anatolia. The whole sequence is characterised by a very short interval of five to six years, in which we have a tribe ‘migrating’ from the countryside north of Macedonia to Anatolia, and the start of a new ‘nation’.<sup>83</sup> In this period, we have the near-destruction of Macedonia, the rape of Greece, and the start of strong, stable conditions in the region. In order to understand what is needed, in terms of resolution or at least some clarification of aspects of this period, it is useful to review the current state of knowledge and established interpretation.

The information on these incursions from the primary sources is relatively clear. The information comes from Diodorus 22.3–4; Justin 24.3.1.0–5.1.1; Memnon (*FGrHist* 434: F8.8); Pausanias 1.4; 10.1.9.5 –10.23; Porphyry of Tyre (*FGrHist* 260: F3.9–10); Syncellus (1984: 507–8)<sup>84</sup>; Appian (*Syr.* 10.62–63; *Illyr.* 1.3–5); and Polybios 1.6.5;

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<sup>82</sup> This description contrasts with Tarn’s and Hölbl’s confident approach to the events (Tarn 1913: 139–67 and Hölbl 2001: 35–6). They see no difficulty in fixing a logical sequence. However, unfortunately is based upon many assumptions including a Celtic diaspora and a homogeneous Celtic culture spreading from Ireland to Turkey.

<sup>83</sup> By ‘nation’, I mean a geo-political entity, not a nation in terms of a modern-day social structure.

<sup>84</sup> The first part of this reference is specific to Syncellus. Οὗτος ὁ Λάγου καὶ Εὐρυδίκης παῖς τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου Σέλευκον ἀνελῶν εὐεργέτην τε ὄντα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐκ φυγῆς ὑποδεξάμενον ἔτος ἔν ἐν καὶ μῆνας εἴ ἀναιρεῖται καὶ αὐτὸς Γαλάταις πολεμῶν, κατακοπεῖς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων. The second part is identical to Diod. 22.4.

2.20.7; 4.46. In addition information from most Delphic inscriptions is given from the third and second century BC (see appendix 2).

The information from the primary sources can be stated thus. Memnon (*FGrHist* 434: F8.8) describes the Galatae as a people who would make attacks into Macedonia based upon the need to escape famine. He portrays their cruelty, and this reputation is supported by Pausanias and Justin, who describe them as a warlike and savage people who continually fought their neighbours, and had a 'joy and passion for robbery and plunder' (Justin 24.4.4; Paus. 10.19.5). Their reputation for fierceness was such that their neighbours paid them not to attack (Justin 24.4.7; 25.1.3). They came from an area that became known as the Roman province of Pannonia<sup>85</sup> (Justin 24.4.3). Appian (*Illyr.* 1.5) provides slightly more information by mentioning that these 'Pannonians' had a predilection for temple robbing, and he informs us that it was the tribes of the Scordisci, Maedi, and Dardanii who had a history of invading Greece and Macedonia for such a purpose.

The primary sources describe three major incursions of the Galatae into Macedonia and Thrace, and because it is so easy to confuse them I will name them as follows:

Incursion I is the 'Kambaules' incursion and was the first major recorded attack by barbarians on Macedonia in the early Hellenistic period. It was led by the chieftain Kambaules who raided as far as Thrace, after which his forces returned home because of inadequate manpower (Paus. 10.1.9.5).<sup>86</sup>

Incursion II is the second invasion and is here called the 'three-detachment' incursion. The army comprised a considerable throng of cavalry and a mass of infantry (Paus. 10.19.4), which was split into three detachments. Four chieftains led the three detachments, with Kerethrios leading an army against the Thracians and the Triballi, Brennus and Akichorios leading an army on Paeonia, and Bolgios leading the attack on the Macedonians (Paus. 10.19.4). The king of Macedonia at this time was Ptolemaios Keraunos (Paus. 10.19.4). Syncellus adds the biographical note

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<sup>85</sup> Modern Slovenia, Croatia, southern Hungary, and northern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

<sup>86</sup> The date of this attack is not recorded, but Pausanias tells us that the veterans of this 'first' raid drove the argument for a second (Paus. 10.19.5); thus we would expect the 'Kambaules' incursion to be within five years of the 'three-detachment' incursion of 280.

that Keraunos' parents were Ptolemaios Lagos and Eurydike (daughter of Antipatros), and that Keraunos was a 'capricious' man. Diodorus tells us that Keraunos became king seven months after the death of Lysimachos, after murdering Seleukos (Diod. 17.2) for the throne. When Bolgios marched into Macedonia in the three-detachment incursion, Keraunos engaged him in battle (Paus. 10.1.9.7; Syncellus (1984: 507); Justin 24.4.8). Justin adds that Keraunos' army was 'a few undisciplined troops' (24.4.8), and Diodorus says he would not wait for the balance of his army to arrive before bringing Bolgios to battle (Diod. 17.2). The king of the Dardanii offered the help of 20,000 troops to Keraunos but he insultingly rejected them (Justin 24.4.9). Bolgios offered Keraunos peace at a price (Justin 24.5.1.), but this was similarly rejected (Justin 24.5.1-4). Battle was joined, and Keraunos was defeated and killed (Paus. 10.1.9.7; Justin 24.5.6-7; Memnon *FGrHist* 434: F8.8; Syncellus (1984: 507)). His army was destroyed, along with his elephants (Memnon *FGrHist* 434: F8.8; Syncellus (1984: 507); Justin 25.5.8-11) but Sosthenes, a Macedonian general, mobilised the balance of the army and repulsed the Galatae whilst they were still rejoicing over their victory (Justin 24.5.12-13). Pausanias tells us that again the Galatae lacked the confidence to advance further and so they returned home (Paus. 10.19.7). Following Keraunos' death, Porphyry (*FGrHist* 260: F3.10) tells us that the succession of the crown was rapid and confused, with Meleager ruling for two months, though Diodorus gives Meleager's reign as only a 'few days' (Diod. 22.4) and then has Antipater ruling for only 40-45 days. Finally, Sosthenes took control, not via the throne of Macedonia, as he refused the crown, but by control of the army (Justin 24.5.12-14).

Incursion III this is called the 'Delphi' incursion. The relative success of the 'three-detachment' incursion gave Brennus, another chieftain of the Galatae, the spur to return for bigger and better plunder, believing the defeat of Keraunos had reduced the Macedonian defences. With a larger army he re-invaded Macedonia (Justin 24.6.1). Pausanias also tells of this re-invasion by Brennus (a leader of one of the detachments in the earlier 'three-detachment' incursion), who was influential in his home councils and called for a campaign against Greece using the attraction of great plunder to persuade the Galatae to march again (Paus. 10.19.5). Brennus chose Akichorios as second-in-command (Paus. 10.19.5) presumably the same man who was second-in-command in their attack on Paeonia in the 'three-detachment'

incursion (Paus. 10.19.4). Pausanias tells us that the size of the new army was 52,000 infantry and 20,400 cavalry (Paus. 10.19.6).<sup>87</sup> Brennus marched to Greece (Paus. 10.19.6), a country whose spirits were at a low ebb (Paus. 10.20.1), for the Greeks remembered what had happened on the previous invasions into Macedonia, Thrace, and Paeonia. Brennus' army started its outrages in Thessaly then continued to Delphi (Polyb. 4.46). They attacked Delphi via Thermopylae and were defeated by Delphians, Aitolians, Phokians, and help from nature, ghosts, and gods (Paus. 1.4).

Polybios confirms that Brennus was the leader of the attack on Delphi, and he sets the time of the attack as a year after the Tarentines appealed to Pyrrhos for help against the Romans (Polyb. 1.6.5). He gives another time marker in remarking that the Boii fought against the Romans at Lake Vadimon 3 years before the crossing of Pyrrhos to Italy and 5 years before the destruction of the Galatae at Delphi (Polyb. 2.20.7). To confirm the sequence, Polybios further includes Keraunos' death in the 124 Olympiad, which is late summer 284 to late summer 280 (Polyb. 2.41.2).

In addition to the information in the primary sources above, we have the Babylonian king lists (Sachs and Wiseman 1954: 203–5) showing that Seleukos I was slain by Keraunos sometime between 25 August and 24 September 281. Eusebius (1967: 118) in his king lists gives Keraunos a reign of one year and five months and, following his death during the three-detachment incursion, confirms a reign of two months for Meleager (before he was deposed) and then 40–45 days for Antipater 'Etesias'. The name 'Etesias' is given to him as he is said to have reigned for as long as the Etesians blow, in July–August (Walbank 1957: 50).<sup>88</sup> Other information includes the Greek table of Macedonian kings (Eusebius 1967: 118), which gives Meleager a reign of one year and two months, and the Tarentine appeal occurring in the consular year 281. We can also add that Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 22.2) implies that Pyrrhos received news of Keraunos' death in the summer of 279, a few months before his expedition to Sicily (early in 278) and after Ausculum (Walbank 1957: 50).

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<sup>87</sup> The cavalry number is of those horses available for action; for each horse and horseman there were two grooms. Each was a good rider and available to replace the fallen horseman; thus there were potentially 61,200 cavalry (Paus. 10.19.9).

<sup>88</sup> The official or traditional length of these summer winds is 40 days, but Eusebius gives 45 days. This seems to have caused some confusion in the literature and so a reign of 40–45 days is usually written. Five days' error in this period of confusion can be ignored for practical reasons.

### 5.3. The Modern Commentaries and Discounted Data

The basic information from the primary sources has been commented upon in many ways, as its incomplete nature requires much interpretation. The information is also, in places, inconsistent (e.g. the reign of Meleager) and this, with uncertainty of the dates, has presented the commentators with some problems.

The date of the 'three-detachment' attack is not known but is generally deduced from subsequent events. Walbank (1988: 252) give it as spring or early summer of 280, Errington (1990: 159) gives a date of winter 280–79, whilst earlier Walbank (1957: 50) puts it sometime between early spring 280 and early spring 279. Although it may be satisfactorily placed somewhere in the range given by Walbank, a little more temporal resolution will be required in this study if subsequent events are to be better understood. Walbank, when discussing Polybios, identifies the main difficulty, which is the several ways in which the death of Keraunos during the three-detachment' incursion can be determined.

It is usual for the many of the modern commentators to adopt the sequence as defined by the death of Seleukos I and Eusebius's duration for Keraunos' reign. However, when we look at all of the information from all of the sources, a much wider spread of possibilities is presented. The dates and durations of events have been illustrated in Fig. 5.1 to show the range of conclusions in a clearer manner. In all of dates given there is an implicit rounding up or down of time, for example Eusebius' 1 year and 5 months for Keraunos' reign could easily be over 16 months or under 18 months. As we are trying to fix the date to the season and the year we will ignore this aspect as well as any time slippage in interregnums, coronations, travel etc. as these are indeterminable.

I will comment on each of the sequences derived from all of the sources in the order presented in Fig 5.1.



### 1. The traditional date of Keraunos' death

The traditional date comes from the evidence (Babylonian king lists, Sachs and Wiseman 1954: 203–5) that Seleukos I was slain by Keraunos between 25 August and 24 September 281, and from the fact that Porphyry (*FGrHist* 260: F3.9) gives Keraunos a reign of one year and five months.<sup>89</sup> Assuming that he took the crown of Macedonia at the time of Seleukos' death, then his own death at the hands of Bolgios' army would have been in late January to late February 279. However, Walbank notes that this is an unlikely date due to the weather, as Bolgios needed to start the three-detachment incursion into Macedonia at the start of winter in November–December 280 (Walbank 1957: 50).

### 2. The date of Keraunos' death based upon succession

This sequence for the date of his death can be established by considering the dates of Keraunos' successors. Following Keraunos' demise, Eusebius tells us that Meleager reigned for 2 months before being deposed and succeeded by Antipater 'Etesias' who reigned for 40–45 days (1967: 118–9). As Antipater's reign falls in July–August (at the time of the Etesian wind), this would date Keraunos' death to late March to early April 279 at the latest.

### 3. The date of Keraunos' death based upon the Tarentine appeal

Another derivation can be made by noting the remark by Polybios (Polyb. 1.6.5) that dates the three-detachment incursion one year after the Tarentine appeal to Pyrrhos. This appeal occurred in the consular year 281/0 (March to February) and Hammond (1988b: 580) equates the three-detachment incursion (II) to the Olympiad 125/1 (year 280/79).<sup>90</sup> The most reasonable date for the start of this incursion would be autumn 280 (as the new Olympiad starts in August/September) and this would then give some confirmation of Keraunos' death sometime in early in 279.

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<sup>89</sup> Eusebius is usually quoted as collaborating the duration of this reign. However, in the 'Armenian' version of his work he gives two years, whilst in the 'Hieronymus' version he gives one year (Eusebius 1967: 118–19). It is clear from the events and dates he quotes either side of Keraunos' reign that these numbers have been rounded up or down.

<sup>90</sup> Calendar conversions from ancient times to modern reckoning always provide a source of confusion and concern. The Greek calendar is summarised by Mikalson (*OCD*<sup>3</sup> s.v. *Calendar Greek*) and the Roman by Rix and Price (*OCD*<sup>3</sup> s.v. *Calendar Roman*) and a more detailed description is given by Feeney (2007).

Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 22.2) implies that Pyrrhos received news of Keraunos' death in the second half of 279, following the battle of Ausculum. Hammond (1988b: 580) suggests this also confirms a January–February date, as he indicates that it is not unreasonable to assume that it would take six to eight months to convey the information to Pyrrhos in southern Italy.<sup>91</sup>

#### 4. The date of Keraunos' death estimated by Hammond

Hammond reviews all the information and concluded that Keraunos died sometime between January and March 279 (1988b: 580). He dismisses any alternative evidence as being 'in obvious error' (*ibid.*). Yet despite his confidence there seems to be some residual doubt, as he maintains a reservation when he say that the dates seem unlikely due to the weather.

#### 5. The date of Keraunos' death estimated by Errington

When we turn to other commentators, we find the same arguments and presentation of data. Errington (1990: 159) admits that the ordering of events is impossible as they are described in the primary sources only briefly and without any causal connections. He nevertheless puts the death of Keraunos at February 279. This is on the basis that Keraunos formed an agreement with Pyrrhos on military support before Pyrrhos crossed to Italy in May 280, after which Keraunos had to marry Arsinoe, murder her two sons and fight a war of invasion with Ptolemaios (son of Lysimachos) and Monounios. This could not have taken a few weeks, and would be more likely to result in a date no earlier than the beginning of 279 for the encounter with the Galatae. Errington mentions that Sosthenes was included in the later lists of rulers and given a reign of two years, yet he later gives the date of his death as the spring of the following year (Errington 1990: 160).

#### 6. The date of Keraunos' death estimated by Scholten

Scholten confuses the situation with descriptions of two Galatian invasions of Delphi – one between March and October 280 and one between August and

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<sup>91</sup> I must disagree with Hammond as six to eight months does seem an unreasonably long time to send such an important message. However, Hammond makes an interesting point when he draws attention to Plutarch's description of the message coming from Greece, and not Macedonia (1988b: iii. 253 n. 3 and *Pyrrh.* 22.2). This indirect route may perhaps go some way to explaining this time delay.

October 279, with the Galatae fleeing north from Delphi in February–March 278 (Scholten 2000: 37). He has Keraunos' death as either February or May 279, both dates being derived from the 1 year 5 months of Eusebius and the timings of Keraunos' successors. No mention is made of the anachronisms caused by taking these dates.

7. The date of Keraunos' death based upon Meleager's reign from the 'Greek table of Macedonian kings' – 1

Hammond, in discussing the chronology mentions that in the 'Greek table of Macedonian kings', Meleager is said to have reigned not for 2 months but for 1 year and 2 months. (1988b: 580). There is no direct reference to the 'Greek table of Macedonian kings' but elsewhere Walbank cites this as Porphyry, Eusebius and Syncellus (1988: 229 n. 1) as the appropriate reference. Although these references have been examined confirmation of a mention of 1 year and 2 months cannot be made. However, for this exercise we will assume that there is a reference to Meleager ruling for 14 months. Fixing Antipater's reign to July/August (the time of the Etesian winds) of 279 gives a date of about April 280 as Keraunos' death.

8. The date of Keraunos' death based upon Meleager's reign from the 'Greek table of Macedonian kings' – 2

The date of April 280 for Keraunos' death is very early in view of Errington's comments above and a second sequence needs to be presented which puts the rule of Antipater a year later, i.e. the Etesian winds of July/August 278. With this shift we have Keraunos' death occurring about April 279.

9. The date of Keraunos' death based upon Meleager's reign as given by Diodorus (#1)

Eusebius (1967: 118–19) and Porphyry of Tyre (*FGrHist* 260: F3.10) tells us that following the death of Keraunos, Meleager reigned for two months, yet Diodorus records the reign as only a few days (22.4). An acceptance of Diodorus' information on his reign would date the death of Keraunos no later than June 279. Hammond (1988b: 580) declares that Diodorus is mistaken.

10. The date of Keraunos' death based upon Meleager's reign given by Diodorus (#2)

The year of Antipater's rule (i.e. the year in whose summer the Etesian winds blew) is undefined and could be a year either side of the date of July/August 279. Applying Diodorus' information to the Etesian winds of 280 (a year earlier), and Polybios' assertion that his death was in the Olympiad 124.4 (see 13 below), we have a date for the death of Keraunos of May/June 280.
11. The date of Keraunos' death based upon Meleager's reign given by Diodorus (#3)

The complementary date of an Etesian wind of 278 and the information of Diodorus provides a date of death of about May/June 278. This must be considered one of the extreme dates, but is presented here for completeness.
12. The date of Keraunos' death based upon his reign according to Memnon  
Memnon (*FGrHist* 434: F8.8) gives Keraunos' reign as two years and if (1) above is modified accordingly we have Keraunos' death as no earlier than late August 279.
13. The date of Keraunos' death based upon his according to Memnon and modified by Hammond  
Hammond (1988b: 580) suggests that Keraunos' reign might have been counted from the death of Lysimachos (February–March 281), not from the death of Seleukos I. Thus we would have Keraunos' death as about April 279. A possible reason for this change, apart from the support it gives to an early 279 date, is that ancient Macedonians might wish to deny that Seleukos was ever their king.
14. The date of Keraunos' death based upon Polybios' Olympiad  
Polybios includes Keraunos' death in the 124<sup>th</sup> Olympiad (Polyb. 2.41.2), which would require it to have occurred before the summer of 280, but Hammond dismisses this as another error as it cannot be made to fit the evidence for an invasion of the Galatae. He sees it as an attempt by Polybios to fit as many events into an Olympiad as possible (Hammond 1988b: 580).

#### 15. Porphyry's date for Keraunos' death

Porphyry (*FGrHist* 260: F3.9) tells us that it was in the battle against the Galatae he met his death after he had ruled for 1 year and 5 months and this is measured from the fourth year of the 124<sup>th</sup> Olympiad to five months into the first year of the 125<sup>th</sup> Olympiad.

#### 16. The possible range of dates for Keraunos' death

From this illustrated comparison of events, the truth of the modern commentator's comments on confusion, chaos and unreliability is demonstrated. Taking all of the dates possible for Keraunos' death we end up with a range that stretches for two years and two months. Although some arguments are stronger than others and temporal definition may be poor for individual events, we are not in a position to judge the value of one range over another, as there is just no corroborating evidence. The best that can be said is that there is a *terminus post quem* of March 280 and a *terminus ante quem* of June 278 for the date of his death. Little more can be added from the primary sources. The resolution of this issue, as commented by Walbank 'must await further evidence' (Walbank 1957: 51).

There is one further point needs to be made in respect of these dates. Antipater 'Etesias' reigned, according to the Armenian list of Macedonian kings, for 2 months in the summer 'whilst the Etesian winds blow'. Now Walbank has argued that this means he reigned **whilst** the 'Etesian' winds blew, but Nachtergaele (1975: 135) points out, that based upon a philological argument, it could be interpreted as him ruling **as long as** the 'Etesian' winds blew without necessarily ruling at the same time. This would remove the temporal anchor of July/August and allow no date to be set, as it eliminates many of the arguments for his death date. However, whilst it is accepted that this is a valid alternative interpretation, it is difficult to see why this name is given at a time far removed from the time of the Etesian winds. Walbank makes this very point when he mentions that lasting only as long and not at the same time would make the name a poor one (Walbank 1957: 50). It only makes sense if the term 'Etesian' means 'lasting for two months at any time of the year', and there is no evidence for this usage. In view of this, and the difficulty in accepting that

someone would be called after an annual event of the year without a connection to the event, we must dismiss Nachtergaeel's hypothesis.

It would appear that there is some confusion in the sequence of events following the battle between Bolgios and Keraunos of the three-detachment incursion, irrespective of the date of their meeting. Walbank is clearly of the opinion that it was on this incursion that Brennus passed through Paeonia and went on to attack Delphi. He argues that two armies invaded Macedonia, that of Bolgios withdrawing after destroying Keraunos whilst the other under Brennus and Akichorios continued south into Greece (no comment is made in respect of Kerethrios and his detachment at this stage - see p247). Brennus' forces then split, and Brennus took a raiding party and attacked Delphi (Walbank 1957: 51). Errington takes a different view in which Sosthenes repelled Bolgios and then strengthened the Macedonian defences. When Brennus and Akichorios arrived in Macedonia later that year (in the autumn on invasion III, the Delphi incursion) they avoided the Macedonian defences and continued south to Greece (Errington 1990: 160). Hammond and Walbank (1988: 255) do not maintain the earlier theory of Walbank's with Brennus heading south, as they envisage a slightly different situation. They talk of Brennus commanding a large expedition (presumably the Delphi incursion although this is not made clear) in which a large section (20,000 troops led by Lonorius and Lutarius) breaks away in Dardania and passed into Thrace and later over to Asia. The rest of the Galatae under Brennus passed south, fought Sosthenes, ravaged the countryside, and then attacked Delphi.

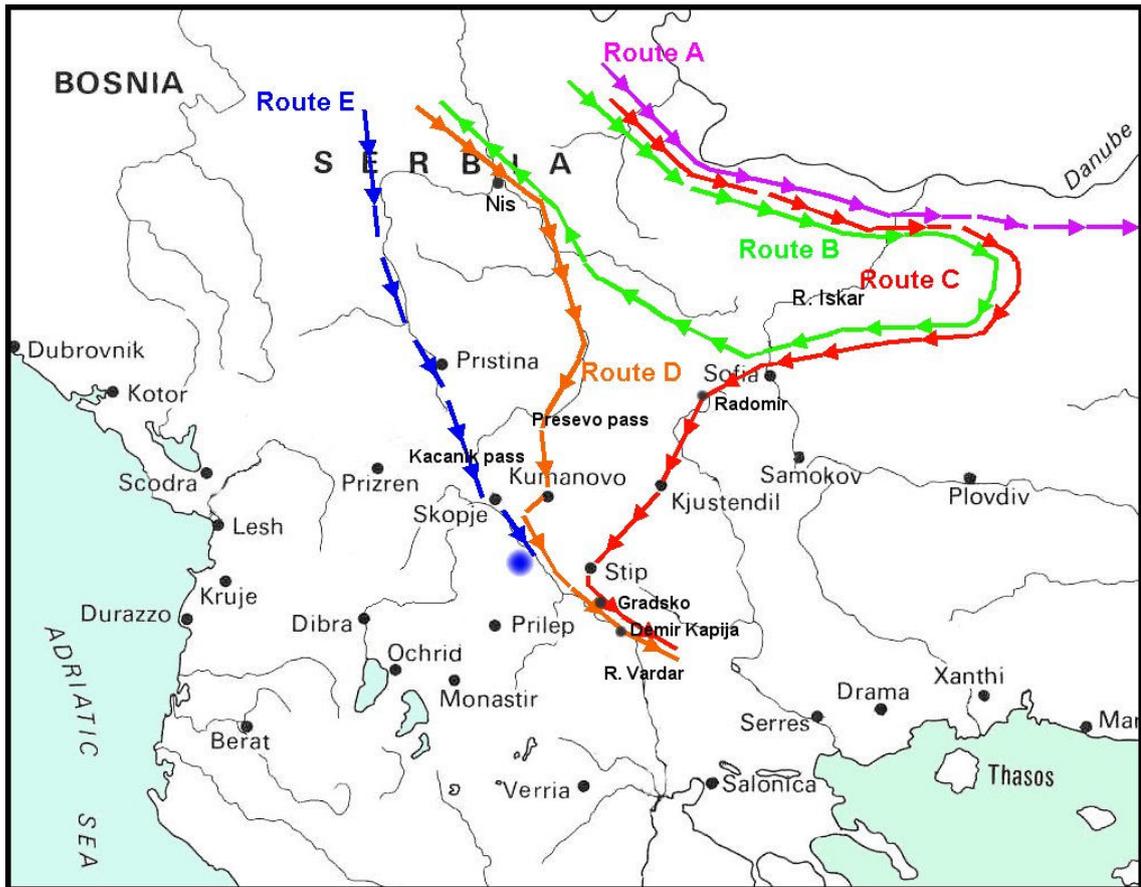
There seems to be much confusion over the timing and sequence of these incursions. One must suspect that this is due to the incomplete narrative and the need to adjust the events to meet a pre-conceived sequence based upon those described above. However, whatever is proposed above, they all seem to ignore the comment of Pausanias that this second expedition returned home (Paus. 10.19.4). This, if true, would imply that Brennus' incursion to Delphi was simply a third one (the Delphi incursion) and not an extension of the second (the three-detachment incursion).

## 5.4 The Invasion Route

The terrain in which the ‘three-detachment’ attack on Thrace and Macedonia operated was a mixture of mountain passes, foothills, flat valleys, and alluvial plains. Hammond (1976: 70–1) determines that the terrain had the effect of guiding or forcing the invaders in specific directions, and that these armies were predisposed to travel particular routes defined by valleys and mountain passes. His routes can be augmented by studies of the landscape to add detail, and the conclusion of these studies is presented in Fig. 5.2 along with some alternative route options. Each of these routes and options has been described in detail in Figs. A1.1–1.5 in Appendix I.

(a) The first route reported by Hammond in 1976 was an attack on ‘the Thracians and the Triballi i.e. between the Danube and the line Sofia-Plovdiv’ (Hammond 1976: 70). Later he amends this route and describes this attack as ‘Thrace (via Sofia) and then back through the country of the Triballi (via Niš)’ (Hammond 1989: 298). Both of the routes are shown in Fig. 5.2. The first (Route A – the Hammond 1976 route) is along the Danube until the River Iskâr, where it stops and turns to retrace the same route back. The second option (Route B – the Hammond 1989 route) is along the Danube until the river Iskâr and then passes south along the Iskâr valley to Sofia and then north-westwards along the southern flanks of the Stara Planina to Niš.

(b) Brennus and Akichorios were to attack Paeonia. Two routes, C and D, were available for this purpose. The first (Route C) requires this detachment to travel along with Kerethrios’ army on route ‘B’ until Sofia. The route then takes the Sofia–Radomir–Kjustendil route to the Pčinja and Bregalnica river basins and then progresses to Štip, along the River Vardar, and through the Demir Kapija pass to the heart of Paeonia. The second option for this army (Route D) has the army passing east through Niš to the Preševo pass. It would then travel south until it meets the river Vardar, then on to the Demir Kapija pass. The route after Gradsko is coincident with that of Route C. The return journey would be simply back along route D.

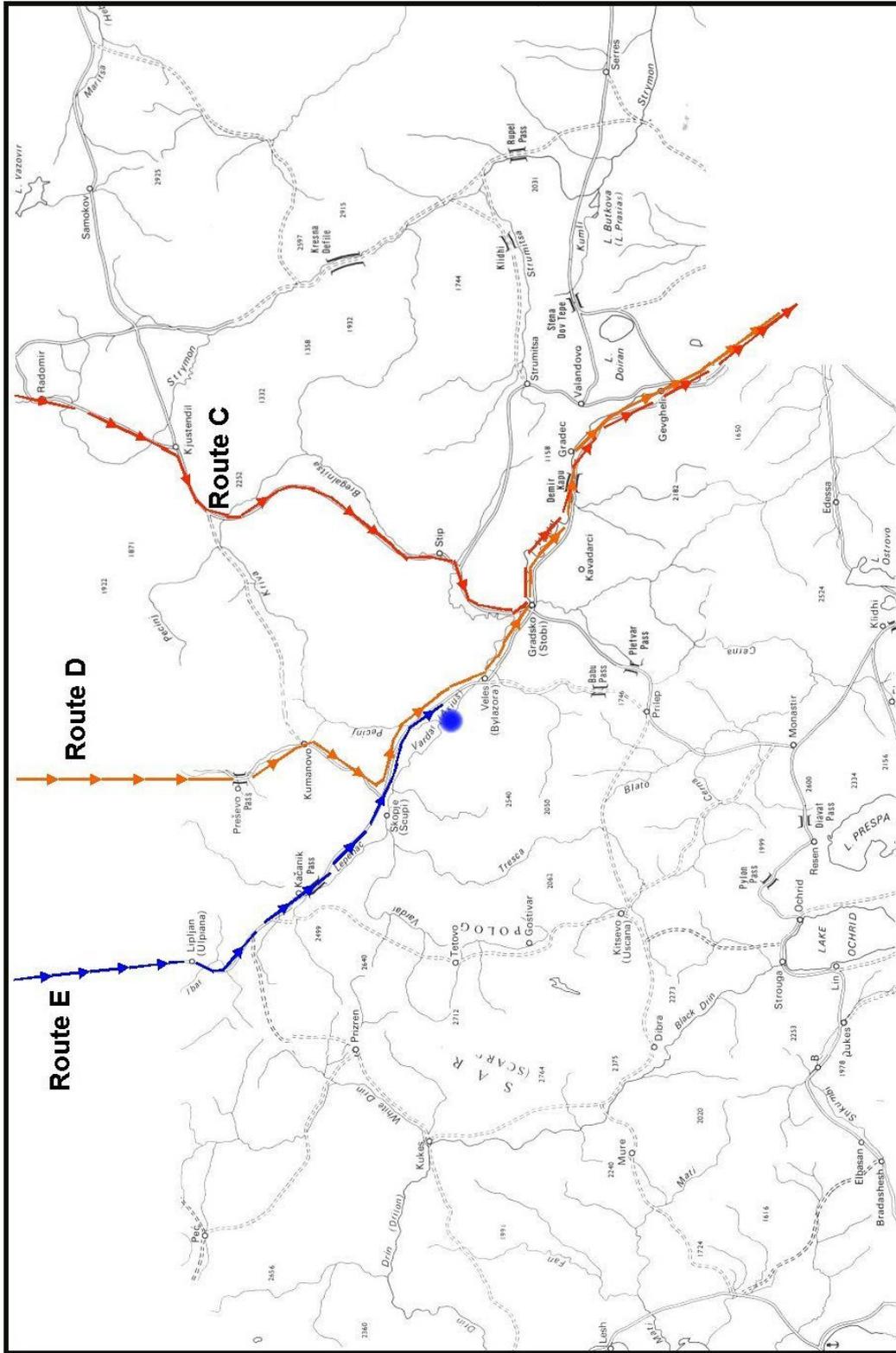


**Figure 5.2** The routes of the three detachments in their incursions into Thrace and Macedonia. Route A & B represent the possible routes of Kerethrios in his attack on the Thracians and Triballi; route C & D represent the possible routes of Brennus and Akichorios in their attack on Paeonia; and route E represents the route of Bolgios in his attack on Macedonia. The blue spot indicates the probable site of the battle between Keraunos and Bolgios.  
 (Data obtained from Hammond (1976 and 1989))

(c) Bolgios was to march against the Macedonians. He followed Route E, travelling south-eastwards towards the Kačanik pass. The first flat land is south-east of Skopje and it is assumed that he met the Macedonians here. Following the battle with Keraunos, the army of Bolgios, according to Hammond (1989: 299), marched through east Macedonia, overran Illyria, and returned northwards. He quotes Justin (24.5.12) in support of this, but nothing in the two translations used here has anything about such a movement. The Yardley translation (Justin 1994) states that Sosthenes mustered an army and attacked the ‘Gauls’ whilst they were still gloating over their victory (Justin 24.5). This would imply that Bolgios had no time to raid Macedonia or Illyria and that after his defeat he would have returned directly home (Paus. 10.19.7). It is assumed that due to the topography this army returned the way it had come. Therefore, we have the middle parts of the total route defined, and Fig.

5.3 gives the details of these three routes (C, D, and E) on an enlarged scale. This shows how the position of the passes and the topography influenced the direction of the armies.

It is important to understand the terrain in which this action occurred. Taylor describes it as 'tertiary folding of the Dinaric and Albanian ranges enclosing many small steep fertile valleys...' (Taylor 2001: 79). A more illustrative comparison of the countryside, in terms of topography, is similar (apart from the alluvial valley of the Danube) to that encountered in the Parnassos or Taygetos ranges in Greece. However, the Greek ranges are not as extensive as the mountains and hills described above, nor are the river valleys as steep and as narrow.



**Figure 5.3** Details of the three routes (C, D, and E) of the three-detachment incursion on an enlarged scale. This shows how the position of the passes and the topography influenced the direction of these detachments. The blue spot indicates the likely position of the battle between Keraunos and Boigios.

(Map formed and amended from maps given in Hammond 1976)

## 5.5 Further Evidence

As we have seen in respect of the sequence of the narrative, Walbank's comment that '...no [*temporal*] solution covers all events,' and 'closer dates must await further evidence' (Walbank 1957: 50). As it is unlikely that new primary source data will be found, the application of associated knowledge is the only realistic way to understand the sequence of events and perhaps provide some of Walbank's 'further evidence'.

Additional information may be derived by applying the principles of military logistics to the incursions where the supply needs, weather, terrain, and human physiological constraints will allow many of the assumptions made by the major commentators to be tested, for it is well known by military scientists that such mundane factors control the effectiveness and disposition of armies. The inability of many historians to understand the effect of logistics is seen in most descriptions of ancient warfare. As an example the battlefield tactics of Alexander are discussed in detail with troop dispositions and movement being analysed. However, his real genius was his ability to deliver his army in sufficient numbers, health, fitness, and motivation and with the appropriate weaponry, to win battles in unknown territory far from home over a long period. It is instructive to compare the number of descriptions of his battlefield tactics and strategy with the few attempts to put his logistic efforts into context (see Engels 1978).

Before starting to discuss the 'additional evidence' we need to address an argument commonly used in the assertion of the mobility of ancient armies. This argument is best described by the example of the 'same-day' march of the Athenians in 490. Until the late nineteenth-century historians accepted a version of Herodotos that indicated the Athenians undertook the march to Marathon, fought the battle and returned to Phalerum to repulse a Persian naval landing all in the same day. In the late nineteenth-century scholars challenged the naive acceptance of this position, with Rawlinson (1880: v.iii. 492 n. 9) saying 'it was most remarkable if it happened', Muller-Stubing (1879: 445 n. 7) arguing that it was a physical impossibility, and How and Wells (1912: 113) commenting that the distance was more than an army could march following a battle. It was Hammond who regenerated the debate when in the

mid-twentieth century he walked from Athens to Marathon and back in a day and declared it entirely possible (Hammond 1967: 216 n. 2; 1968 and 1988a: 512–3). His action ‘proved’ that it was perfectly feasible for the trip and the battle to be undertaken in one day. Such was Hammond’s scholarly eminence that this observation received a wide currency for this myth in both academic and popular literature. It was not until Holoka (1997: 329–53), using practical physical conditions, human physiology, the topography, and the exertion of the battle and the march, demonstrated convincingly that such an activity was impossible (see Herodotos 1954: 587 n. 52). We therefore see the danger and fallacy of using a single person’s experience extrapolated to that of an army.

Another example is the journey of Polybios in his retracing of the routes of Hannibal. Credibility has been given to Polybios’ account, as he, like Hammond, was a professional soldier. However, Polybios’ party was not 40,000 soldiers, a large baggage train with elephants, and neither was he under perpetual attack by local tribesmen who had good knowledge of the terrain. It is tentatively suggested that Polybios’ account, based upon his own small party, distorted both the route and timings of Hannibal’s transit of the Alps.

These two small examples show the danger of concluding that if one person could do it so could an army. It is accepted that young men with backpacks or donkeys could transverse these terrains quite happily now and in the past, but it is not accepted that armies of any size could do so under the same circumstances.

### 5.5.1 Raiding Party or Army

The three-detachment invasions of Macedonia, Paeonia, and the lower Danube valley by the Galatae are usually written with some descriptions that imply a rapid and mobile attacking force. Some of the more obvious examples are those given by Tarn (1913: 143), Hammond (1976: 70; 1989: 298), and Darbyshire *et al.* (2000: 75), all of whom discuss the incursions in such terms. Further, there is the impression that the Galatae were a large group of undisciplined barbarians intent on raiding and pillaging. Mitchell does caution against such an impression when discussing the Galatae, as inscriptions and Pausanias indicate that this was not the case and that they must be considered ‘not a tumultuous horde but a disciplined warrior band with responsible and effective leaders’ (Mitchell 2003: 288). However, the term ‘warrior band’ should be noted, as it still implies that these forces were small groups of soldiers. Their numbers, method of fighting, and strategy are unknown, apart from some unique techniques (Paus. 10.19.10 and Diod. 22.9.1), however, because of their success against experienced ‘national’ armies, they cannot be considered warrior ‘bands’, nor can we place any reliance upon the ‘secret weapon’ of a new tactic. They had a properly organised military structure and a disciplined approach to military matters, and must be given due respect as an army.

### 5.5.2 Transport and Movement of Supply

The route of the incursions has been looked at in detail, and this provides our first assessment of the invasion. The roads in this region and at this time will have been no more than trackways at best. Casson (1974) gives some descriptions of ancient roads in Greece, in countryside with few or no resources to build or maintain them. Light, spoked-wheel vehicles were used for the transport of light goods but their use was restricted to relatively well-surfaced tracks and short distances. Travellers would often think twice about using any vehicle on a road, and any journey was neither pleasant nor easy (Casson 1974: 94). The best roads were those that had economic or religious value, yet even these were sometimes impassable on foot, let alone with any form of transport. If the roads in Greece were such, then the roads in the mountains of Illyria and western Macedonia would be no better and certainly a lot worse.<sup>92</sup> Piggott when discussing roads for wagons in Iron Age Western Europe

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<sup>92</sup> Pausanias tells of the road to Delphi being even difficult for a man on foot (Paus. 10.5.5). A route beyond Sicyon was almost impassable and a pass in the Peloponnese was called the ladder because

tells of the need, even on flat ground, to have relatively heavy corduroy construction with transverse planks or logs. He postulates that there were societies that even rejected wheeled transport due to economic imponderables and unsuitable terrain (Piggott 1983: 64). We are safe to conclude that the route taken by the incursive armies would have been in a rough and rugged environment, with high mountain passes (Kačanik pass, 1,551 ft or 446 m; Priština pass, 1,955 ft or 596 m), and with no effective roads suitable for four-wheeled wagons (see Engels 1978: 16).<sup>93</sup>

Although this rugged terrain does not disallow military activity, it does restrict some aspects of it. The altitude and the climbing would have increased the provisions needed, as marching in a taxing terrain increases oxygen, water, and energy demands<sup>94</sup> and slows down movement.<sup>95</sup> The lack of made roads would be a major source of difficulty especially in respect of any wheeled transport.

Tarn implies a traditional use of wagons for the Galatae (Tarn 1913: 143),<sup>96</sup> but the use of this sort of vehicle must have been restricted to the steppes and plains further north and east. The reason for this assertion relates to the means of traction power for wagons at this time. Horse harnesses for wagons had not been invented, nor had draught horses been bred. The main draught animals were oxen (Hdt. 4.69) that pulled heavy wagons, and small horses that pulled light two wheeled carts (Engels 1978: 16; Peddie 1978: 48; Piggott 1983: 199). Wagons with oxen gave a distinct advantage in the size of loads carried, and oxen could exist on lower-quality food. They had disadvantages in that they could only travel at about 3 kph (less if there are any obstacles or the ground is not flat), they could only walk

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travellers had to pass via steps cut into the rock (Paus. 8.6.4). The road from Corinth to Megara and Athens ran along an *arrête* with vertical falls to the land below and was known as the 'staff road' because staves were needed to traverse it (Casson 1974: 68).

<sup>93</sup> Pikoulas' (1999) work on the track ways of the Peloponnese may provide some evidence that counters Casson's arguments but their existence, if related to transport, is between established commercial centres that would justify the labour investment. Tausend (2006) extended Pikoulas' work and presented more examples of these track-ways. Shipley (2008) in reviewing Tausend's work asks important questions especially concerning the nature of surface travel in the ancient world and the technical issues that relate to their use as commercial or military roadways.

<sup>94</sup> Holoka (1997: 344) indicates that on taxing terrain, there is an increase of 20% oxygen demand. Engels (1978: 123-4) gives an 'on-the flat' requirement from 3,600 calories per man per day, which must rise to about 4,000 due to the slope.

<sup>95</sup> The implication of Bolgios' raid is one of speed and manoeuvrability (Cary 1951: 237; Tarn 1913: 40-2), as can be seen in the adjectives used by many commentators of this event.

<sup>96</sup> Tarn (1913: 143) comments that these people, being of nomadic extraction, were used to travelling in such transport and in fact carried their families with them on these raids.

for a maximum of five hours per day, they need to rest every third day, and their hooves are unsuitable for travelling long distances or on rocky ground (Engels 1978: 15).

An argument against light horse-drawn carts being used on the Galatian incursions can also be made on the basis of the primitive nature of the cart<sup>97</sup>, the roughness of the ground, the quantity of fodder needed for the horses, and the unreliability of this form of transport (Casson 1974: 67–8; Engels 1978: 16).

We are left with horses and mules<sup>98</sup> as the only mode of supply transport in this landscape, but although they can be considered faster and more reliable than carts, wagons, horses and oxen, they will only travel at about two-thirds of the speed of marching men, reducing the optimum speed of a marching army (Peddie 1978: 74). With mules there is a need to stop the army to rest every seven days, as the pack animals cannot withstand the pressure on their backs for longer, continued use will cause the animal to break down and become useless, and there are always the fodder and grazing requirements to be considered (Engels 1978: 29).

### 5.5.3 Weather and Energy Requirements

Grazing will obviously be dependent upon the season. The current view that the three-detachment incursion it was accomplished in December–February allows us to examine Walbank’s comment on his concern over a transit at this time of the year. As Taylor (2001: 79) has determined, the climate at this time is comparable to modern times,<sup>99</sup> and thus it allows us to examine historical weather profiles by reference to modern data. Modern temperature statistics provide an average maximum and average minimum on a month-by-month basis, and this data can be

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<sup>97</sup> A four-wheeled covered carriage from Barrow 5 Pazyryk that is typical of the period is shown in Hartog 1988: Plate 4 (see also Rudenko 1970: plate 131 and pp 189–93). The construction is unsuitable for unmade mountain tracks and the carrying capacity is relatively small.

<sup>98</sup> In this thesis I will use the word mules although as Adams confirms, donkeys and small horses were more likely to have been used (CDCC s.v. Donkeys and mules).

<sup>99</sup> Taylor states: ‘*The climate of the area is*...generally similar to present-day climate: harsh winters that freeze the lower Danube; hot summers, moist to the north of the Stara Planina, and dry to the south; 2800 BP and 2300 BP mark cool points in the cycle of post-glacial average temperature fluctuations – Taylor (2001: 79).

adjusted for altitude to provide data that reflects the temperature along the route at this time.<sup>100</sup> Such data is given in Fig 5.4.

Place	Height (m)	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Kačanik	446	2	7	12	16	22	26	28	28	24	17	8	3
		-5	-3	0	3	8	11	13	13	9	4	-1	-4
Priština	586	1	4	9	14	19	23	25	25	22	16	9	3
		-6	-4	-1	4	8	11	13	13	10	5	0	-4
Titova Mitrovica	530	1	4	9	14	19	23	25	25	22	16	9	3
		-6	-4	-1	4	8	11	13	13	10	5	0	-4
Kraljevo	32	0	2	8	16	21	24	26	26	22	15	8	2
		-6	-3	0	6	10	14	15	14	9	6	1	-1

**Figure 5.4** Annual temperature profile (°C) for the cities and towns stated and modified for altitude. The upper number represents the average maximum temperature and the lower number represents the average minimum.

(Data from World Weather 2006)

An army traversing this region in the winter months of December–March would endure temperatures that would periodically average below zero and precipitation data shows that they would encounter snow and ice. This cold would cause a serious slowing-down on movement, and increase the food supply requirement to maintain survivable energy levels.

Although it is difficult to assess the energy requirement to maintain body temperature under hard environmental conditions, the work of Westerterp-Plantenga *et al.* (2002)<sup>101</sup> shows that the cold, coupled with the extra requirements of the slope, gives an approximate total caloric requirement of 5,200 calories per man per day, increasing the provisioning requirements. Further, the amount of daylight is restricted in the winter months and less than 10 hours is the maximum available – for practical purposes the time for movement might be two-thirds of this maximum (U.S. Naval Observatory Astronomical Applications Department, 2005). Based upon these figures the period of effectiveness of an army in this region is very much reduced, and it is suggested that military operations within the range of April to early October<sup>102</sup> represent the limit of practical military deployment in this

<sup>100</sup> This does ignore other meteorological effects such as wind channelling along the long NW-SE valleys, changes in precipitation etc., all of which would further depress the effective temperatures.

<sup>101</sup> Westerterp-Plantenga *et al.* (2002) showed that to a first approximation, that there is a 1% increase per °C (from a base temperature of 22 °C) in energy requirements.

<sup>102</sup> Temperatures are as given above but although they average 6–4° C over a 24 hour period in March, snow remains on the ground until April and can persist to May-June in the high passes (BBC World Weather, 2005).

region. This would imply that Walbank had a right to be concerned by attacks at this time of the year.

Although Tarn (1966: 42) comments that Alexander introduced the practice of winter fighting, it appears this was a consequence of his military expeditions rather than a specific innovation. Before Alexander, a Greek or Macedonian citizen army could not fight throughout the winter due to both domestic considerations and logistic difficulties. Tarn observes that by the time of the Successors, war there was a reversion to its previous seasonality and remained so with mercenaries being retained on a military year of about nine months (Tarn 1966: 43). Hieronymos of Kardia, fifty years after Alexander, dated his history by campaign years illustrating a 'fighting season'. Because of this, the raising of a Macedonian army to confront Bolgios is unlikely in the winter months, and in the case of bad weather it would have been in Keraunos' interest to leave Bolgios in the high terrain. The winter would have made an excellent guardian of Macedonia's north-west frontier.

#### 5.5.4 Supplies

Having established the difficulty of traversing this region in terms of the weather and transport, we are now in a position to identify one of the most crucial logistical issues that surround the march: supplies. Vegetius has much to say in respect of supplies, and comments that armies are more often destroyed by starvation than battle; 'hunger is more savage than the sword' (Veg. 3.3; see also Front. *Strat.* 4.7.1, cf. Caesar, *Bell. Civ.*, 1.72.1; Amm. 25.7.4). In a winter campaign, Vegetius identifies three main concerns: grain for the men, fodder for the animals, and firewood. The Roman solution is to have these supplies stored at strategic locations in advance, coupled with a degree of foraging. This was not an option for Bolgios on his raid into Macedonia (apart from the foraging), and so he must have taken his supplies with him.

Thorne, in a paper discussing the effect of warfare on agriculture (Thorne 2001), discusses the effect on the countryside economy of a large force travelling through and aggressively foraging or deliberately ravaging and devastating the countryside. Although his thesis shows that ravaging was an instrument of economic coercion among the Greek states, some of the arguments are applicable to Bolgios' situation.

At the supposed time of Bolgios' transit, foraging would be of grain from winter storage, and of firewood, both of which by midwinter would have been half consumed. Surprising the local inhabitants would have been difficult in these narrow valleys, and it is expected that the local populace had time to evacuate their property and secure much of the grain supplies needed for their own survival (Hdt. 5.34; Thuc. 2.14). Thorne has calculated that to evacuate a farmstead of six members would take about two days per trip to ensure relative safety (Thorne 2001: 243–4). As long as the people had two to three weeks' notice,<sup>103</sup> a safe evacuation was possible. However, despite the optimistic view of evacuation, Thorne (2001: 246) believes that evacuation is more easily spoken of than achieved.<sup>104</sup> For the subsistence farmers of the Balkans, the effect of foraging could have been fatal.

The effectiveness of foraging in this region is not the same as the plains farms of Attica discussed by Thorne. The countryside in Illyria and northern Macedonia is mountainous, and it is doubtful that there were sufficient grain stores, as the farming economy of the shoulders of the hills and mountains would have been predominantly based upon livestock. Grain farming would have been confined to the valley floor, and the limited space would have meant that the harvest was small. It is doubtful that the army could obtain the supplies needed from this source, and the amount of available forage would be too small to consider as a valuable alternative to carrying supplies. It should also be remembered that foraging consumes time and slows down an army on the march (see Hibbert 1964: 83).

If forage was not a major contributor to the supply problem (apart from firewood which was plentiful in these wooded hills), then Bolgios will have had to carry his own grain supplies. Peddie (1994: 50) gives the daily grain requirement as 1.5 kg/day/man, and each man could carry a maximum of 10 days' ration or 15 kg of grain. Any travel in excess of 10 days requires the balance of the supplies to be carried by pack animals or vehicles.<sup>105</sup> As each mule could carry only about 100 kg,

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<sup>103</sup> The movement of supplies would take eight trips with human carrying only, five trips with a donkey, and two trips with a wagon.

<sup>104</sup> For more details on this see Hanson (1998) and Foxhall and Forbs (1982)

<sup>105</sup> It would be unrealistic to suppose that a man could carry the whole of his grain ration. He would start with a pack of 65 kg (food, armour, weapons and water), which would reduce to 25 kg in 20 days. Smith (1993) comments that on average a man cannot march carrying more than 36 kg. The weight of packs carried in the past include: Roman – 25–30 kg, Napoleon (British) – 27 kg, Crimea – 29 kg, WW1 – 26 kg (Watson 1969: 62, Atkinson & Morgan 1987: 99 and Winter 1978: 77).

it is a straightforward calculation to determine the number of mules needed to carry the extra days' rations.<sup>106</sup> The daily ration comes from a modern nutritional analysis; and Peddie's figures come from a classical source (Livy 3.27) and represent a reported standard army ration. Bolgios' aim must have been for a quick transit of these mountains, and although a long baggage train would not have suited this strategy, neither would a weak, sick and reduced army suit the aim of the incursion. As well as grain for bread, biscuit or porridge there was a need for meat (fresh, salted or smoked), cheese, vegetables, and salt, and this provision (estimated to be 0.25 kg/man/day) calls for extra mules.

This grain and protein ration only provides 3,840 calories (3,040 from wheat and 800 from a protein source – Engels 1978: 123–4), whereas it has been shown above that the requirement is a minimum of about 5,200 calories. Thus, even with this amount of wheat the soldiers were going on less than 60% rations (with the less nutritious barley or oats, the diet would be even more inadequate). It is therefore proposed that for a march in the mountains of Illyria a minimum of 2 kg of wheat per person plus 0.25 kg of protein base supply is required. According to Engels, the effects of a diet that does not satisfy the requirements of the body cannot be endured for more than a few days as it produces 'a lack of drive and initiative, avoidance of physical and mental effort, and excessive rest' (Engels 1978: 126). Although these men would be of a hardy stock and be better able than most to withstand some temporary starvation, they would still succumb to the eventual, basic physiological effects.

This supply requirement brings us back to the transport issue. If there are no wagons or carts the supplies must be carried by soldiers and mules. In addition to the food there will be other supplies such as weapons, ammunition, tents, tentage leather, anvils, fireboxes, smithing tools, metal reserve, clothing, and cordage (Peddie 1994: 50). The army had to have enough supplies to defeat the well-equipped army of the Macedonians. From this and the food supplies requirement it

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<sup>106</sup> Judson (1888) proposed a daily food ration of 1.66 lbs (0.75 kg) and later Garlan (1975) gave the basic ration as 1¼ litres of wheat (1.1kg). For Alexander's army, Engels (1978: 18) gives a minimum ration of 3lb (c. 1.5 kg) of grain per day. If we assume a 25,000-man army, then for Judson's estimate this reduces the pack animal requirement to zero, as a single soldier could carry 20-day supply. For Garlan's requirement, 3,300 mules would be needed and 4,500 mules for Engels' figure. In view of the conditions, Garlan's ration will result in a rapid weakening of the army and a considerable slowing of progress, with resultant death from exposure and malnutrition.

is a simple matter to calculate the size of the baggage train for Bolgios' army, assuming an army of 15,000 men. This is given in Fig. 5.5.

Army Size	15,000
Grain - 20 days @ 2.0 kg per day	600 tonnes
Grain carried by men	225 tonnes
Balance to be carried by mules	375 tonnes
Mules to carry grain	3,750
Protein - 20 days @ 0.25 kg per day	75 tonnes
Mules to carry protein	750
Mules to carry military equipment	1,250
<b>Total Mules required</b>	<b>5,750</b>

**Figure 5.5** The requirements of the baggage train based upon an army size of 15,000. This is based upon 20 days without re-provisioning, foraging for water and firewood, and 2.0 kg of grain per person per day.

We are still not at the end of our figures for the supply train of the army, for we know there was a significant contingent of cavalry (Paus. 10.19.4) as well as mules and these horses must be fed and maintained. Grazing, if available, will have reduced the provision requirement (Peddie 1994: 52, 57), but the grazing requirement of 425 acres of grazing per day for 8,500 animals (cavalry, mules, and horses for officers, scouts, messengers etc.) is large.<sup>107</sup> The space required for both grazing and stabling of animals was considerable, and the question of its availability must be asked. If it was not available, then fodder was needed for the animals and Peddie (1994: 52, 57) suggests that another 15.9 tonnes of fodder is required per day.<sup>108</sup>

Engels makes the most important point in respect of supplies in our current study, when he says that as a general principle

An army whose supplies are carried by animals and men cannot advance through land where neither grain, fodder, nor water is available for more than four days. If the army is fed on full rations, it could not advance for more than two full days without incurring heavy losses.

Engels (1978: 22)

<sup>107</sup> The grazing requirement for the animals would need to be extensive; with a grazing density of 20 animals to the acre, this gives 425 acres (170 ha.). Stabling would also be extensive. Assuming a space of 3 x 1 m per animal, stabling for 8,500 animals requires 6.4 acres (2.6 ha.).

<sup>108</sup> The cavalry horses need 6 tonnes of grain and fodder per day, the mules 9.9 tonnes for our 8,500 cavalry and 5,750 mules (Peddie 1994: 52, 57).

### 5.5.5 The Size of the Forces

The number of soldiers in an army dictates the speed of movement and this in turn determines the supply requirements. Unfortunately, no information about Bolgios' strength exists. Pausanias tells us that the whole army of the Galatae in this three-detachment incursion came in 'a mass of infantry and a very considerable throng of cavalry' (Paus. 10.19.4), but in all of the primary sources there is no other indication of its size (Hammond 1988b: 253). Although no figures exist, an estimate of the size of the armies of the Galatae and the Macedonians can be made. This derives from two pieces of information, namely the 20,000 men offered by the Dardanii to Keraunos (Justin 24.4.9) and the current understanding of the structure of the Macedonian army.

Considering the Dardanian offer, we can initially conclude that it was made because Keraunos had arrived with too small a force made up of 'undisciplined men' (Justin 24.4) and the Dardanii realised that Keraunos' self-confidence and arrogance would cause his defeat. Thus, Keraunos' forces were under strength, and an extra 20,000 would be needed to secure a good chance of victory. This implies that Bolgios' forces were in excess of 20,000 men. Another conclusion is that the Dardanii would not offer a force that put Keraunos at a numerical disadvantage, and this puts the Macedonian force at a minimum of 20,000. The Dardanii then see a combined force of 40,000 as necessary to achieve victory. This would imply a barbarian force under Bolgios of about 30,000 men.

Turning to the Macedonian forces for further resolution, we see a confused state that admits very little certainty in terms of numbers. The basic Macedonian phalanx was a variable entity,<sup>109</sup> which in this period comprised of 4,096 men (a 'phalangarchy'). As a king was commanding the force, it is unlikely that the force was less than this. These numbers refer just to the heavy infantry and these would be supported by light troops and auxiliaries. The numbers of these support troops are less easy to identify but using the recorded ratios (Arrian 1993) we can estimate

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<sup>109</sup> The structure of the Macedonian army was as follows: the basic unit of the phalanx was the *syntagma* – 256 men (16 files of 16 ranks), two *syntagmata* form a *pentekosiarchy* (512 men); two *pentekosiarchies* form a *chiliarchy* (1,024 men); two *chiliarchies* form a *merarchy* (2,048 men), and two *merarchies* form a *phalangarchy* (4,096 men). A *merarchy* was sometimes known as a 'wing' (*keras*) or a complement (*telos*). The *phalangarchy* would have been the smallest force commanded by a general (*strategos*) (Connolly 1981: 76-7).

additional forces as being about 3,600 troops giving a total of 7,696 men per phalangarchy.<sup>110</sup> It should be remembered that the Macedonian forces were stretched in their numbers, as Keraunos had supported Pyrrhos with men and, Diodorus tells us (22.3), he decided to face Bolgios with a reduced number of troops because elements of his forces had not yet arrived. Thus, a partial phalangarchy (those that had arrived) could have been the minimal extent of his forces – he could have faced Bolgios with as few as 4,000–5,000 men instead of the standard number (7,696 – phalangarchy plus support troops). As for a maximum, it is unlikely to be greater than a phalanx of three phalangarchies and support troops (about 23,000 men). This upper limit is based upon three considerations. The first is the limited military resources left in Macedonia following Keraunos' military support of Pyrrhos. Secondly, Perseus fielding 40,000 troops, at Pydna is said to have had the largest army since Alexander and hence Keraunos' army could not be greater than this. Thirdly, an army half of the size of Perseus' would have been a large force to deal with even a large incursion. Based upon these arguments, and factoring in Keraunos' arrogance and the fact that a small Macedonian force would not require the leadership of the king (the matter could have been left to a garrison), then a Macedonian force of about 10,000 men is the most probable (a phalangarchy and a merarchy).

If the Macedonian force is taken to be 10,000 men, then the case of the Dardanian offer seems strange, as it puts Keraunos in a military and politically vulnerable position. The information comes from Justin (24.4.9) who is stressing the murderous, insulting, and arrogant character of Keraunos. Justin implies he was mad (due to his unnatural crimes), had no concept of military matters (he met the Galatae with a few undisciplined troops), and was arrogant and rude in spurning help. An overstatement of the help offered would diminish his preparedness and cast him as reckless as well as foolish. Justin's emphasis is on how his death was not only natural justice but also as a result of his own wickedness and recklessness. Whilst we need not argue for Keraunos' rehabilitation, it seems that Justin overdoes the character assassination. Thus, we may take 20,000 troops offered by the Dardanii as an exaggeration.

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<sup>110</sup> The support troops were generally 2,000 peltasts (light infantry), 400 cavalry, 800 archers and slingers, and 400 staff officers and bodyguards per phalangarchy (Connolly 1981: 76-7).

If we accept that the Dardanian force was about twice that offered we have a potential solution, as we have about 10,000 Macedonians and an offer of about 10,000 Dardanians. From the arguments above, we can therefore equate Bolgios' forces to about 15,000 men, which would be made up of about 13,500 foot and 1,500 horse. These numbers represent the best estimate of the combatants based upon the interpretation of the available evidence. My view is that despite this logic, these numbers are still too high based upon the logistics and historical analogies of army size in this period and under these circumstances.

#### 5.5.6 The Speed of Ancient Armies

It has been assumed that Bolgios took 20 days on the trip from Kraljevo to Skopje, on the basis of supply and transport considerations. If, however, it took considerably longer, then suspicion that Bolgios did not come this way in January/February turns to certainty. Therefore, it is necessary to establish the speed of ancient armies traversing this form of terrain in order to determine the probable duration of this march.

A survey of the primary sources and military histories gives indirect information on speeds of armies, as it is usual to find a setting-off point and a destination coupled with duration. Reference to a good atlas provides the distance, and a speed estimate can be made. Such a survey was undertaken and the variations in recorded speed are remarkable but so are the conditions and circumstances. The most relevant data to the present case is that concerning Hannibal crossing the Alps, as it gives the closest analogy in terms of terrain and climatic conditions. The march, however, does contain a debate, which centres on the validity of the data (route and elapsed time), and this distracts from being a useful analogy. It is appropriate to include two versions of the speed of Hannibal, those by de Beer (1967) and Lazenby (1978) with supplements from the primary sources where necessary. The speeds of Alexander's army are important, as they allow identification of specific marches that offer a relatively good analogy with our current study. These would be marches with no predominance of cavalry units and no significant river crossings or other obstacles, additionally, Alexander to improve manoeuvrability and speed, banned carts

(Front. *Strat.* 4.1.6) and did not use them until Iran (Engels 1978: 15). However, it should be mentioned that the terrain is not similar and Alexander's army is larger.

From all of the data collected it is impossible to find an exact analogy, as none of the campaigns had the same elements. Nevertheless, from a careful consideration of the historical information, a determination can be made of the most likely speed of this ancient army. It is interesting to note that no matter what historic period is under discussion the speed is fairly constant, and significant departures from the average usually indicate some factor that distorts the report. By taking this derived average we do not have to factor in any changes due to fighting, raiding, or the implications of supply and logistics, as these are implicitly already reflected in the recorded figures. When the data is sorted and selected for applicability, we obtain an average of 14.1 kpd (kilometres per day) or 8.8 mpd (miles per day) with a standard deviation of 4.5 kpd (2.8 mpd). The speed of Bolgios under these conditions would have not been greater than this average, due to the effect of the terrain and weather. Erring on the side of caution and optimism, we may take the average of 14.1 kpd, which gives a minimum transit time from Kraljevo to Skopje of twenty-four days, without rest and assuming good weather. As it is unlikely that the weather was good all of the time, and it caused them some delay then with rest days we must add another five to six days. With such a transit time over this stretch of the route, the indications are that Bolgios did not come this way in January/February.

### 5.5.7 Army Column Length

There remains one further factor to determine before we can sum up the evidence to see whether we have added to Walbank's requirement for 'further evidence'. This information is on the probable column length of the army. This characteristic determines the efficiency of the army's marching and relates to the speed that it can attain. Winter, for example, in his description of allied armies marching to the western front in the First World War, comments that

they were formed in fours by platoons in company columns. Each brigade was given 5,505 yards of road so a division would occupy 15 miles of road. The marching column was thus made up of 12,000 men, 6,000 horses and 1,028 wagons, taking 5 hours to pass any one spot.

Winter (1978: 75).

The length of the marching column is determined by its width. Throughout history every commander has known that the choice of the width of the column at the start of the march is essential, as the width of the column must be no larger than the smallest width of track or defile to be traversed that day. It does not require too much imagination, in this day of motorway lane closures, to imagine the resulting tailback and disruption if a column width is chosen that is wider than the smallest defile. For Bolgios the column width would be dependent upon the width of the valley he was traversing in this sparsely inhabited and rugged country, and this would be very variable. A section of the route is illustrative of the need to pre-determine the column width before setting out. The author has examined the distance from the riverbank to a point where the land has risen by 10 metres over one short section (between Rudnica and Lešak on the Kosovan–Serbian border). There is a variation in width of between 18 m and 350 m over only 1 km (Google Earth 2006). This width, however, includes the river, rocks and marsh at the side of the river and riverside vegetation. The track could have been no more than a few metres wide.

From the assumed constitution of Bolgios' army (15,000 men), the length of the column for various widths is given in Fig. 5.6. It can be seen that the column length varies considerably, from 9.6 km to 60.05 km depending upon the width of the track being used. With an average track width of four files, we have a column length of 34.7 km. It would either take 19.7 hours for the army to pass any one point with no rest, or two and a half days to pass any one point (assuming eight hours of marching was available). The above figures must be an under-representation of the column sizes, as we have deliberately taken the lowest estimates of the amount of provisions and military supplies, and slaves, servants, grooms, craftsmen, cooks etc.; but also they may be an exaggeration if the track was wider than assumed.

Any conventional army at this period included a large number of camp followers. Garlan comments that armies grew quicker than the ability of their society to administer them, and consequently they developed their own services (Garlan 1975: 134). As campaigns lasted longer and armies became professional, then wives, women, and children began to accompany them. Then came scavengers, entertainers, and other hangers-on to the extent that they formed a huge convoy,

which hampered military manoeuvres. In the case of Bolgios, the primary sources and commentary give a dual impression of his army. The first is that this was a long-duration raiding party rather than an extended military campaign, whilst another is that it represented a mass migration of the Galatae. In order to maintain our lower estimate of army size for the benefit of column length, we must assume that there were no camp followers, other than those defined as servants and slaves, and that the Bolgios lead a large raiding army.

<b>Military elements</b>	<b>Column length 10 per file (km)</b>	<b>Column length 8 per file (km)</b>	<b>Column length 6 per file (km)</b>	<b>Column length 4 per file (km)</b>	<b>Column length 3 per file (km)</b>	<b>Column length 2 per file (km)</b>	<b>Column length single file (km)</b>
Soldiers (13,500)	2.47	3.09	4.12	6.18	8.24	12.35	24.71
Cavalry <sup>a</sup> (1,500)	0.34	0.46	0.69	1.37	6.86	6.86	6.86
Servants <sup>b</sup> (1,000)	0.22	0.27	0.37	0.55	0.73	1.10	2.20
Mules <sup>c</sup> (5,750)	6.57	8.76	13.14	26.28	26.28	26.28	26.28
<b>Total Army length (15,000)</b>	9.6	12.58	18.32	34.30	42.11	46.59	60.05

**Note (a).** With soldiers in 10, 8, 6 and 4 files, it is assumed that the cavalry can deploy conventionally to protect the flanks, i.e. 750 on each flank, 500 cavalry is in the rearguard.

**Note (b).** For servants also read slaves, craftsmen, and general non-combatants.

**Note (c).** The number of mules taken relates to the full ration option.

**Figure 5.6** The column lengths calculated according to the structure of the march and the number in each file. The configuration and figures are based upon the armies of Julius Caesar and Alexander and are given in Peddie (1978: 35, 72–3), Josephus (*Bellum Judaicum* 3.110–34), Brueggeman(2003), and Engels (1978: 154–6). It should be noted that the distance between ranks for soldiers is given as 1.83 m but an argument for a closer formation may be made (to 1.3 m). This has been discounted on the basis that such a formation runs the risk of collision with those in front when travelling over un-paved terrain and subsequent disruption and continuous stoppages.

(see Peddie 1978: 72)

## 5.6 Summation of 'Further Evidence'

The extra information given above indicates that it is unlikely that any one aspect would definitely refute the hypothesis that Bolgios marched through the mountains in the months of January and February. However, taken as a body of evidence, it is clearly unlikely that he did move his army through this terrain at this time.

Hammond's arguments based upon a degree of pre-determination of the route because of the topography are convincing. Thus, we may conclude that the weather, daylight, army size, marching speed, provision and supply arrangements all contribute to making a January/February date unlikely for the meeting of Bolgios and Keraunos. The weather conditions, no matter how hardy the men, do not allow movement in a way necessary to maintain a fighting force. With temperatures predominantly below zero for two months and with snow, movement would have been slow and dangerous. The animals would have died from malnutrition or the cold, and the men would have had their physical and mental well-being compromised. Under such conditions, the maintenance of a cohesive fighting force that could meet the disciplined ranks of the Macedonian phalanx was impossible. As the defeat of the Macedonians can only have come from a well-motivated, fit and disciplined force, a midwinter date for this incursion is not tenable. An army that has suffered two months of cold and near starvation cannot be considered a potent force or as strong as the primary sources claim.

We must also note that Bolgios must have originated somewhere to the north of Kraljevo and so would have travelled at least 100 km before reaching it. This town at the time was in the territory of the Dardanii (Hammond 1966: 240; Hoddinott 1981: 12-3; Strabo 7.5.4-7) and it is thus extremely unlikely that this was the origin of Bolgios. The terrain is flatter and more easily traversed north of this region but it is colder with much higher precipitation. Thus the snow would be deeper and the going for an army just as difficult. The second point is that Keraunos must also have passed through difficult countryside to reach Skopje. The terrain to the south-east and into Macedonia was as difficult for him as it was for Bolgios. Keraunos had the added disadvantage (in a movement sense) of having elephants, with their slow pace and huge appetites.

The logistics, weather, daylight, and supply situation strongly suggest that military operations within the range of April to early October represent the limit of practical military deployment in this region. Thus, the battle with Keraunos must have taken place no earlier than May, as time was needed to get to the battlefield. It is recorded by Justin that, following Keraunos' defeat, the Galatae rested long enough for Sosthenes to gather an army and attack Bolgios in approximately the same place (Justin 24.5.12). Therefore, there is a need to add time for post-battle recuperation, rearming and regrouping. Following the second battle, we still need Bolgios to return to his home before the winter snows began, so the latest this could have happened is September. It would therefore appear that from a logistical consideration the battle between Keraunos and Bolgios was sometime between late May and July.

From the time-line of Fig 5.1 we see that the month of May for Keraunos' death could be in 280, 279, or 278. Polybios' specification of the 124<sup>th</sup> Olympiad (Polyb. 2.41.2), and his comments that the attack on Delphi occurred within one year of the Tarentine appeal (Polyb. 1.6.5), put it clearly in 280. However, Plutarch's comments that Pyrrhos did not hear of Keraunos' death until the summer of 279 gives us difficulty, as even if there was poor communications between Greece and Italy, twelve months for the information to travel to Italy seems long, especially considering its importance to Pyrrhos. Therefore, having established the time of year in which Keraunos died, it remains to establish the year, as the information currently available is still ambiguous.

## Chapter 6 – The Galatae at Thermopylae - The Xerxes and Brennus Analogy

6.1 The Confusion of Events Prior to the Delphi Attack

6.2 A Suggested Resolution

6.3 Xerxes and Brennus at Thermopylae

6.3.1 The Geographical and Geological Implication of History

6.3.2 Thermopylae and the Great Isthmus Corridor

6.4 Thermopylae – a Re-examination and Discussion

## Chapter 6 – The Galatae at Thermopylae - The Xerxes and Brennus Analogy

### 6.1 The Confusion of Events Prior to the Delphi Attack

The primary sources are imprecise, failing to give a structured account of the start of the incursions by the Galatae into Greece that result in, or precede, the attack on Delphi, and this imprecision gives rise to a variety of hypotheses by modern commentators about the sequence of events that leads to the Delphi attack. Pausanias tells us that the initial large force of Galatae was split into three detachments (Paus. 10.19.8) and that all three raided at the same time – or at least he does not say they left at various times of the year. He tells us that they all returned home (10.19.4). Following this return, Brennus was persuasive in his council at home and talked them into a full-scale attack on Greece (10.19.5). The army of Brennus that set out for Delphi on the ‘Delphi incursion’ (III), which consisted of 152,000 foot and 20,400 horse (10.19.6)<sup>111</sup> and he chose Akichorios again as his second in command.

Justin is less clear in his narrative. He starts with the assertion that Brennus had poured into Greece (24.6.1), then continues with Brennus’ anger upon hearing of Bolgios’ defeat and the loss of plunder at the hand of Sosthenes (24.6.1). This sequence implies that Brennus ‘poured into Greece’ before he heard of Bolgios’ defeat at the hands of Sosthenes, i.e. Brennus’ detachment after invading Paeonia had carried on to invade Greece. However, Justin continues with Brennus, as a consequence of his anger at Bolgios’ defeat, raising an army and invading Macedonia (24.6.1). This implies that Brennus had returned home, argued for a larger army, and returned to Macedonia to recover the spoils of Bolgios, or the reputation of the ‘Gauls’, and the tradition of temple robbing and plunder. From Justin’s account, the events are clearly that the ‘Delphi incursion’ was a new one and not a continuation of ‘the three-detachment’ raid.

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<sup>111</sup> This number is more precise than the large horde of the earlier. Other sources give other figures for the cavalry, but nearly all are agreed on the infantry figure. Rather than confirming the numbers it probably means that it was derived from the same source (Tarn 1913: 148 n. 42)

Diodorus has little to add to the above accounts, except to confirm the size of the army and the initial aim of invading Macedonia (Diod. 22.9.1).

From all of the accounts it is clear that the original reason for entering Macedonia was to take advantage of the confusion of leadership in Macedonia following the death of Lysimachos, the failure of Seleukos, the depletion of the army in supporting Pyrrhos, the weakness of Keraunos, and the inability of the Macedonians to choose a strong king to follow him (Diod. 22.4.1). Effectively the state had no leader following Keraunos, with Meleager and Antipatros failing to secure the support of the Macedonian aristocracy. It was left to a general, Sosthenes, who rejected the crown but maintained control of the army.

When we look at modern commentaries, we find a range of options imposed upon the narrative of the primary sources. Walbank ignores Pausanias and assumes that Brennus continued from his 'three-detachment' incursion in Paeonia to Delphi without returning home (Walbank 1957: 51) thus making the 'Delphi incursion' and 'three-detachment' incursion the same. Errington (1990: 160) takes the opposite view and has Brennus returning home and then setting out again the same year (in the autumn) to strike further south into Greece and at Delphi. Hammond (1988b: 581) adopt a middle path by assuming that Brennus did not set out until the autumn to attack Paeonia in his three-detachment incursion and carried on to Delphi, thus covering both alternative proposals. Scholten (2000: 32) assumes that the earlier incursion was made up of two detachments only (Bolgios and Kerethrios), and that after the return of these armies Brennus united these bands and later in the year moved south against Greece.

## 6.2 A Suggested Resolution

There is some difficulty, due to the relative clarity of the primary sources, in seeing why modern commentators feel the need to manipulate the time schedule of the 'Delphi' incursion. The attempt to redefine timescales and structure by the commentators is probably to time the arrival in Delphi in the late autumn or winter so that the story of the defeat of Brennus with the help of hail and snow can be fitted into the overall history (Paus. 10.23.4; Justin 24.8.10, 14).<sup>112</sup> The snowstorm is usually taken as an historic event as it fulfils an element of the prophecy of the 'White Maidens' (Paus. 10.22.12). The possible origin and evolution of this aspect of the story is dealt with elsewhere but suffice to say religious allegory can satisfactorily explain snow and 'white maidens', and religious parable within this episode does not leave much room for a practical explanation.

The 'flavour' of autumn at Delphi comes about from Justin's description of the countryside being well stocked with wine, grain, and other provisions (Justin 24.4). There is an impression of being just past harvest time, and Justin mentions that the local people had asked if they should hide their 'harvested crops and wine' (24.6). This is opposite to the comments from Pausanias and Justin that the army of Brennus had experienced long deprivation and was near to starving when it arrived in Delphi (Justin 24.4 and Paus. 10.23.5). This implies that forage was minimal on the journey, and thus unlikely they travelled at a time of harvest. In another contradiction between Justin and Pausanias' we are told by Justin of near anarchy as the army roamed the countryside taking whatever they wanted (Justin. 24.7.4) whilst Pausanias mentions that the Phokians kept a guard on the army of Brennus, attacking them whenever they tried to forage maintaining them at a state of near starvation (Paus. 10.23.5).

With the 'snow' issue being a potential misinterpretation, misidentification, or a deliberate attempt to make the oracle valid, and with the 'harvest' and supply issue being a slight contradiction, we are left with little to say at what time of year the Delphi attack took place. If the weather in the narratives were correct then we

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<sup>112</sup> The use of hail and snow is a part of the divine story of the defeat of the Galatae at Delphi and some validity can be brought to the story by assuming it was winter when the events happened.

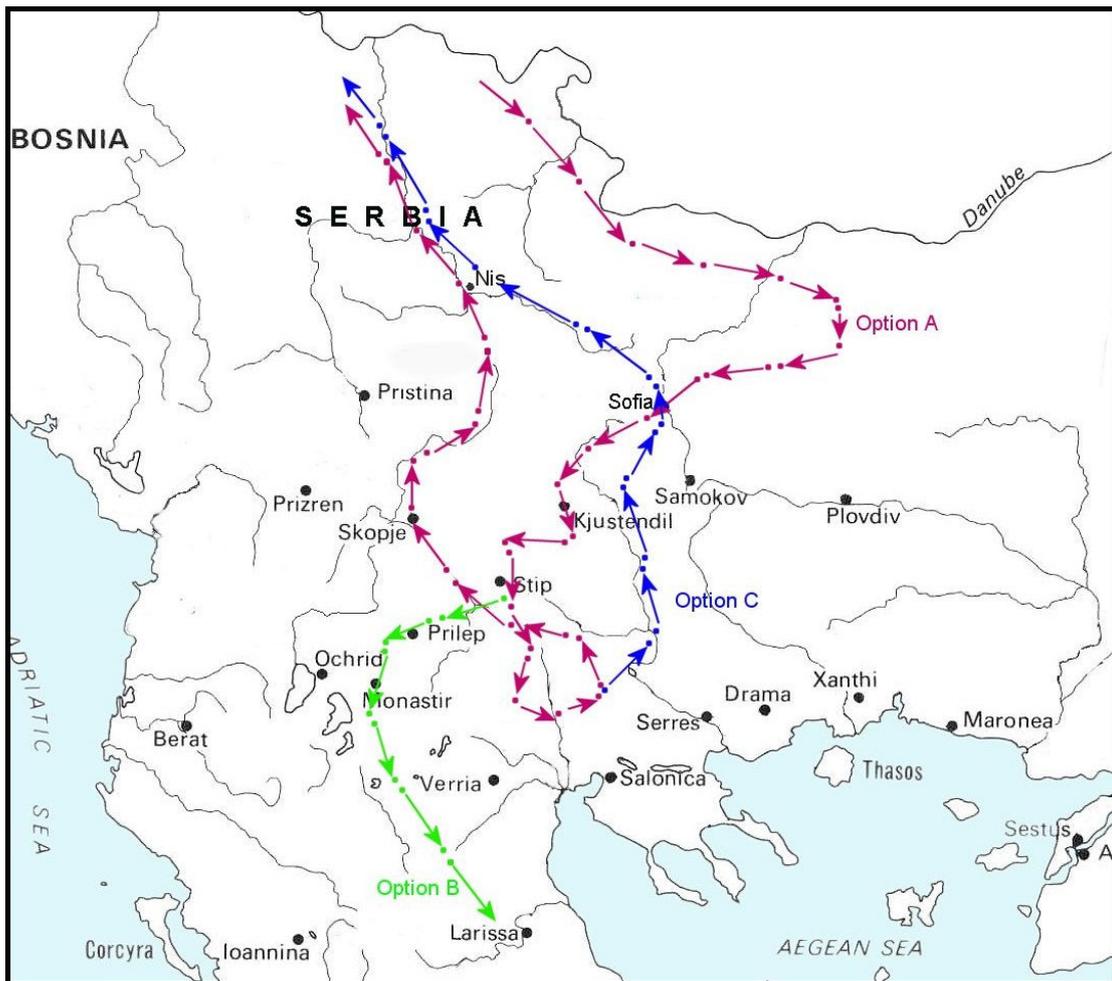
would expect the attack to be in the winter but as Taylor (2001: 79) indicates, the climate at this time was comparable to today's, and modern weather data makes a snowstorm being most likely in January and February. Snow is seen in these months because of the altitude (435 m) but it is usually short lived (Greeka – Delphi-weather, 2007), however this comment refers to average weather conditions and does not take into account freak conditions or even the occurrence of divine intervention.

We need to ask some other question and the first is that if Keraunos marched from Pella, Thessalonike, or from Amphipolis, to meet Bolgios just south of Skopje, the most direct route is along the Axios valley and through Paeonia. As Brennus was raiding Paeonia at the same time as Keraunos marched to meet Bolgios, why did they not encounter each other? There are three possible reasons: Brennus had not arrived in Paeonia, Keraunos had missed him, or he had already raided and left the area. The most likely solution is that Brennus had not arrived in the area as it has been shown that Bolgios probably only reached Skopje in May, which was as fast a transit as could be made. Brennus could not have reached Paeonia before this without an earlier start, a situation that was probably impracticable. It is possible that he had been missed, for Paeonia was a large region, but this is unlikely as his impact on the countryside would have alerted Keraunos to Brennus' presence. After all, the effect of Bolgios was felt and responded to by Keraunos and he was further away.<sup>113</sup>

The three possible options for Brennus' route are shown in Fig. 6.1 where 'Option A' represents the assumed raid into Paeonia following the pattern of Route 'C' in Fig. 6.2. The two other options shown are that Brennus could have been missed because he had travelled south to Greece (and on to Delphi as suggested by Walbank, 1957: 51) or because he had deviated from the Axios valley. The first is a relatively simple deviation (option B in Fig. 6.1), where Brennus turns away from Macedonia towards modern Prilep and Bitola and then southwards towards Larissa and Delphi, passing

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<sup>113</sup> A possible option is that Keraunos was in fact responding to Brennus' incursion, missed him and then mistook Bolgios for the incursive force to which he was responding.



**Figure 6.1** The options for Brennus' routes on the 'three-detachment' incursion. Option A is the traditionally held view that he raided Paeonia and returned via Skopje and Niš; option B is that he continued to Delphi (proposed by Walbank) and option C is that whilst in Paeonia he took a circular route and returned via Sofia and Niš.

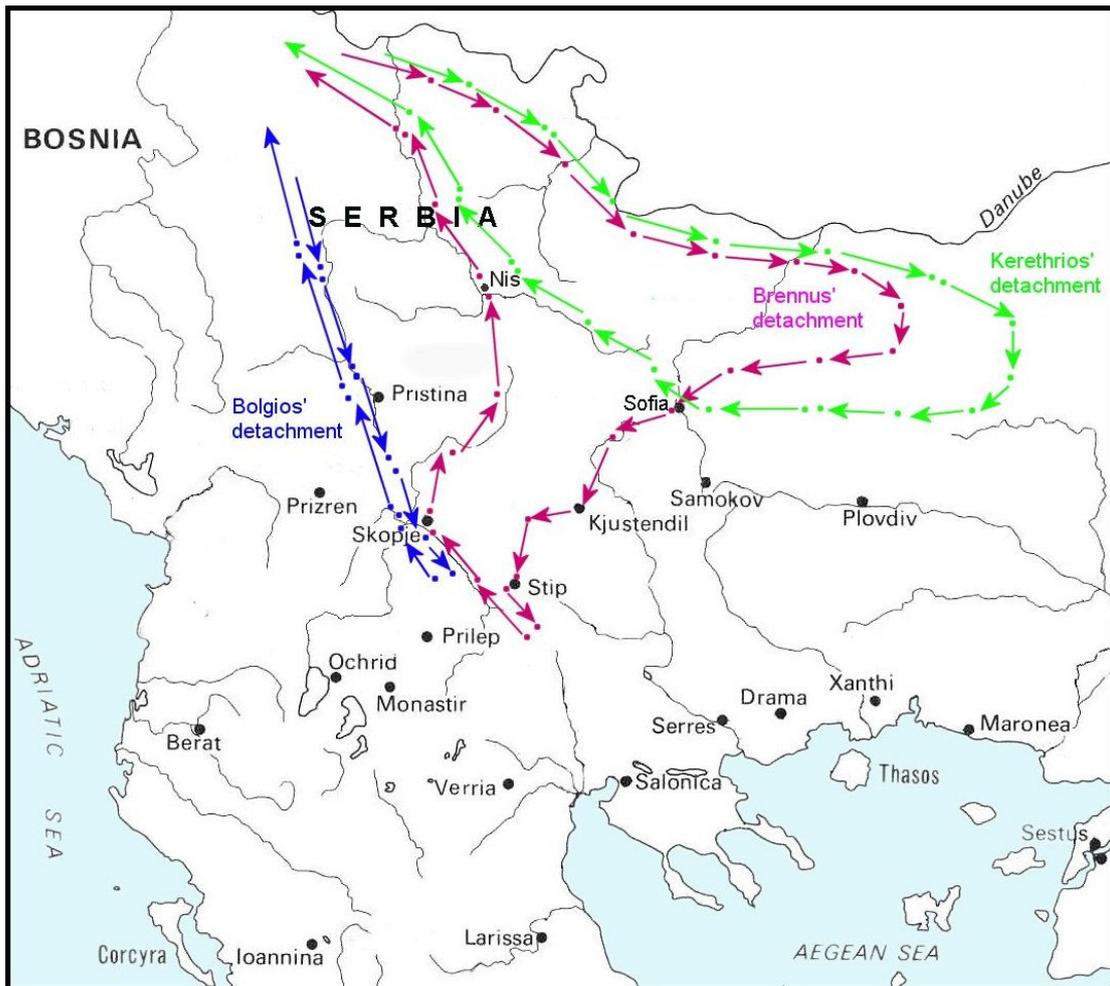
out of sight of Keraunos. The second is another simple deviation (option C in Fig. 6.1), where after passing through the upper Axios valley he took take a circular route through Paeonia that returned him to Niš - an apparent rendezvous for returning Galatae. This route would avoid any high mountain passes and still take in all of the major ancient settlements.<sup>114</sup>

Of the three possible routes the best may be identified by a re-examination of the primary sources. Having established that he was either missed or had not yet

<sup>114</sup> The route is relatively simple, travel down the Axios to modern Gevgelija (all cities given modern names), strike north-east to Strumica, then east along the Doberos to Petrich. A turn to the north along the Strymon valley to Sandanski and Sofia then northwest would bring him to Niš. This route keeps to river valleys and only one low and wide mountain pass from Gevgelija to Strumica (300 m). This route takes in the whole of Paeonia and northern Macedonia.

arrived; we can eliminate one by reference to Justin. Following Keraunos' defeat, Sosthenes rallied the forces of Macedonia and defeated Bolgios whilst he was still gloating over his victory. Justin tells us that he then kept Macedonia from being pillaged by the 'Gauls'. This last element may be read as that by stopping Bolgios, he stopped the 'Gauls', or that after his success against Bolgios he fought Brennus to stop further pillage by the invaders. This would imply that Brennus arrived in Macedonia just after the defeat of Bolgios. Now Hammond (1976: 70–1) determined that the terrain forced the invaders to travel particular routes (see p165–7 and Fig. 5.2) and if Brennus left at the same time as Bolgios he would be at Sofia if he travelled via route C (see Fig. 5.2) and crossing into Paeonia if he travelled via route D. These positions are determined directly from a speed-distance-time calculation, based upon the routes and distances of Appendix 1. If he travelled route D and was entering Paeonia he would have met Keraunos. As we know he did not, he must have taken route C and was some 225 km away at Sofia. This would imply that Brennus met Sosthenes following the defeat of Bolgios, and so was halted in his pillage of Macedonia and Paeonia. This gives value to the assertion that Sosthenes halted all of the pillaging of the 'Gauls'. Fig. 6.2 shows the final proposed movement in the three-detachment incursion.

It is clear that the 'three-detachment' incursion all left their homelands at about the same time – the start of the fighting season in March/April. We can postulate that Brennus was not near Bolgios at the time of the battle with the Macedonians and Keraunos' death. Because of his longer route, he was behind by some 225 km but was still *en route* for his final destination. Following Keraunos' death and the re-grouping of Macedonian reinforcements and the balance of Keraunos' army, Sosthenes re-engaged and defeat Bolgios, and then went on to harry and minimise Brennus' pillage of Paeonia and Macedonia. The option of considering the move of Brennus directly to Delphi from this incursion is not viable, as he would not have had time to get there ahead of Bolgios' rapid movement to Skopje, or hear of Bolgios' defeat until his return from Delphi. Moreover, he could not have persuaded the tribal elders and council to mount a raid on Delphi without returning home. Justin and Pausanias are both clear on this point, that he needed to return to persuade his tribe of the value of another raid into Greece. It is unlikely that this occurred within the 'three-detachment' fighting season, as his return,



**Figure 6.2** The return routes of the ‘three-detachment’ incursion based upon the arguments of timing, distances, and established events.

re-mobilisation, re-arming, and re-planning of such an undertaking could not all be undertaken within such a short space of time.

The outcome of these justified assumptions is that if the Delphi attack was in 279 then Keraunos’ death occurred in 280, the previous fighting season. Thus we are able to date Keraunos’s death to May–June 280. This date fits well within all of the assumed dates other than those chosen to meet a February date.

### 6.3 The Analogy of Xerxes and Brennus at Thermopylae

The similarity in the primary source accounts between the Persian assault at Thermopylae and later that by the Galatae means that very little can be extracted about this later attack. Over the years there has been much discussion of the parallels between Herodotos' treatment of the defence at Thermopylae against the Persians with Pausanias' (and others) description of the same defence against the 'Gauls'. The modern references are many, but a small selection includes Tarn (1913: 153) saying 'the resemblances to Herodotos' stories are patent', and Nachtergaele (1975: 141-2 and note 75) commenting on the way the style of Herodotos is imitated. Parke and Wormell (1956: 255) talk of how the accounts of what happened at Thermopylae and Delphi suffer from a desire to emphasise the parallelism between the cases of Xerxes and Brennus. Although there is no untainted information from the primary sources, some progress in reconstructing the events can be made by examining them in the light of recent geological and archaeological findings.

The first aspects that were recognised as being at variance came from the description by Pausanias of the Greeks' defence at Thermopylae against the Galatae. Some of the naval and military matters seemed to pose a difficulty. The variances under question are that Pausanias tells us that the Athenians only sent 500 cavalry and 1,000 hoplites and they sent all of their seaworthy triremes (Paus. 10.20.4). Also, the Athenians in the triremes brought their ships in close to the barbarian flank during the battle, and shot arrows and other missiles at the Galatae causing them 'unspeakable distress in their confined space' (10.21.4). At the end of the battle the whole Greek army withdrew with the help of the Athenian fleet (10.22.11).

These incidents were the first aspects to be questioned in this research as other known facts contradicted them. The first is that because of Herodotos' description of Thermopylae (Hdt. 7.200) and its mountainous topography, the impression is given that the sea, although close by, does not play a significant part in the battle. The second point concerns the phrase 'sent all their seaworthy triremes', as the force of 1,000 hoplites and 500 cavalry would take a modest amount of shipping, nowhere near the number of the available ships of the Athenian navy (Casson 1994:

82–3). The third point is that if the number of ships is sufficient to take the Athenian force to the Malian gulf, how could it be capable of extracting all of the Greek forces afterwards (Paus. 10.22.11) as the Athenian infantry contingent was only 4 per cent of the total soldiers used and 33 per cent of the cavalry present at the battle.

Therefore, the initial questions are, what is the relationship between the sea and Thermopylae, and is it such that it is possible to use missile weapons upon an attacking force at the pass. How close is it possible to get, and what was the range of an archer in the third century BC? Why would Pausanias give details of Athenian ships and their activities, while we have evidence in an inscription that the Athenians sent none?

### 6.3.1 The Geographical and Geological Implication of History

The key to answering most of the questions and unlocking the ‘uncluttered’ account of the analogy comes from understanding the ancient topography of the region and the relationship between Thermopylae and the sea. But in this subject lies one of the most heated debates of recent times and one that has implications for that other defence of Thermopylae in 480.

The Malian Basin is ‘U’-shaped with its opening pointing east. It is recognised that the shoreline has been changing over the years with the Gulf slowly filling with alluvial deposits from the ancient Spercheios, Dyras, Melas, Asopos and Boagrius rivers.<sup>115</sup> This infilling of the deep Malian trench has extended the position of the shoreline. There have been no appreciable changes in sea level in the last 2,500 years and seismic activity in the Malian basin may have mitigated the degree of deposition (Szemler *et al.* 1996: 13, 10).

The position of the 480 BC shoreline was established by Szemler *et al.* taking a series of cores from drills located at strategic positions on the modern surface. These cores could determine the rate of alluvial deposition from the stratigraphy of the sub-surface and provide organic material which could be carbon dated to fix

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<sup>115</sup> The modern names for these rivers are: Hellada, Gorgopotamos, Xirias, Karvounaria, and Platania respectively.

absolutely the dating sequence of the cores and hence the stratigraphy. In this way, an accurate picture of the ancient landscape was obtained.

The results of the test drilling in the area may be summarised by examination of Fig. 6.3 and identifying that in 480 the peak sea level in the Gulf washed against the cliffs of Mt. Kallidhromos and closed off the Middle Gate of Thermopylae.<sup>116</sup> As Szemler *et al.* formally reports:

... the empirical geological data from the drill core cannot be ignored. The subsurface data indicate that in 480 BC there was about a 2.7 km long colluvial and alluvial fan, the fan of Anthele, arching from the West Gate along the sea in an easterly direction. At a point about 900 metres west from Herodotos' Kolonos (Hill II), the Anthele fan ended. There, at a sandy beach interlaced with minimal travertine deposits, began the ever-narrowing choke or ἀρχήν<sup>117</sup> described by Herodotos, and immediately adjacent to the ἀρχήν lapped the waters of the Malian Gulf with a sandy bottom up to three metres deep. Indeed, it would have been possible for a trikonter [*sic*; sc. triakonter] to remain near the shore or beached, in order to provide contact with the Greek fleet at Artemision.

(Szemler *et al.* 1996: 17)

One of the conclusions of Szemler *et al.*'s work is that in 480 there was no coast road and there was no way through to eastern Lokris (Szemler *et al.* 1996: 18–19).<sup>118</sup>

Szemler concedes that small narrow tracks connecting settlements would have existed for use of the local population, but these would have been inland and not coastal (Szemler *et al.* 1996: 19) and large armies could not have been expected to use these small tracks (see Hdt. 7.176, 216, and 229, along with the comment that there were 'less than a cart's breadth' of beach leading up to the 'Middle Gate'). If this is the case then the major question to ask is, why were either Leonidas in 480, or the Greeks in 279 defending this non-existent pass?

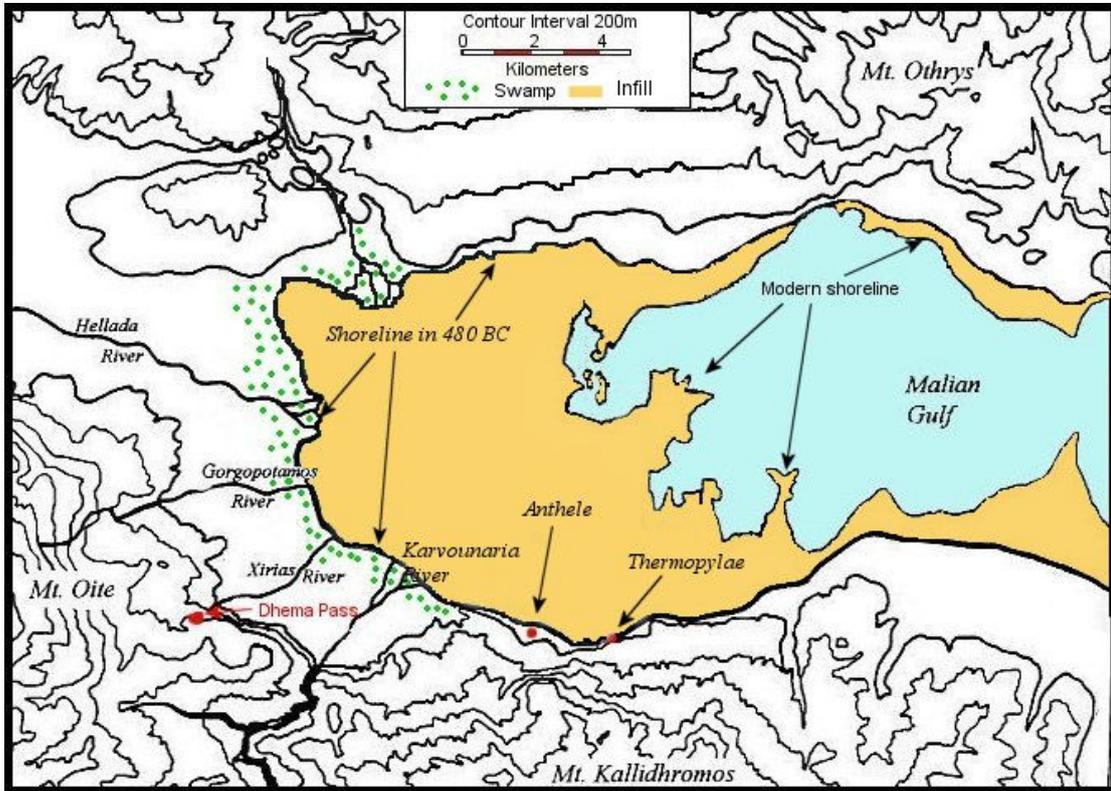
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<sup>116</sup> References to 'West Gate' (the western approach to Thermopylae), 'Middle Gate' (an ancient wall in the pass – Hdt. 7.176), and 'Kolonos' (Hdt. 7.225) refer to the detailed topographic structure of Thermopylae and are not shown here because of issues of scale.

<sup>117</sup> Hdt. 7.223

<sup>118</sup> The implications in respect of Thermopylae and Xerxes' attack on Greece are at first assessment significant. The removal of Thermopylae from the Greek consciousness, the quantity of academic study and the amount of vested interest on the subject are too significant to be surveyed here. One of the most telling criticisms of the Szemler paper is the apparent disregard for the importance of the implications of the work in respect of its modern social, cultural, national, and political aspects. Lazenby, in his review, did not seem to understand the reasons for his adverse reaction to this work (Lazenby 1998: 521–2), and the same comments can be applied to the review of Salmon for his less reactive approach to a subsidiary paper by the Szemler team on the same subject (Salmon, 1993: 370–1). This is not the case with Osborne's review, in which he did a good job of identifying the value of the work (Osborne 1992: 145–6).

The geology and geography described above provides some answers to these initial questions. The pass of Thermopylae was a coastal pass (if anything at all) and not a mountain one, and the depth of water (estimated as about 3 m) was sufficient for



**Figure 6.3** The position of the ancient shoreline in the Malian Gulf (circa. 480) including the relative positions of Thermopylae, Anthele, and the Dhema Pass (Map taken and amended from Szemler *et al.* 1996: map 1)

the Athenians to bring their ships close enough to the shore to be effective in an exchange of missiles, though there is no record of them doing so. Therefore, we need to ask if at the time of Brennus' attack two hundred years later, did the water retain its depth or had the coast started its movement north-eastwards? The results from test borings show, that at the Middle Gate, there has been since 480 approximately 20m of alluvial deposit and 3m of water at a distance of 25–50m from the cliff face, giving a sea bottom of about 23m lower than the present day levels. Assuming a linear deposition over the last 2,500 years it is easy to interpolate the depth at the time of the attack of the Galatae. This calculation gives a seawater depth of just over 1m at 25–50m from the shoreline in 279, with significant mud flats across the area leading up to the shore. This depth would have been marginal for a trireme to approach the shore within effective lethal range of the Athenian bows (c.100m – Strickland and Hardy 2005: 36). This is confirmed by Pausanias who

comments that although the ships could get near enough to shoot at the barbarians, it was difficult to navigate there as the, 'mud extends far out to sea' (Paus. 10.21.4). Channels might have existed from the influx of streams from the cliffs of Kallidhromos that may have allowed the Athenian fleet to come closer to the shore,<sup>119</sup> although this by no means certain and if it was possible, would have only allowed a few of the triremes in close enough to use the Athenian archers. In the time of Pausanias (mid-second century AD), the shoreline would have changed further and another interpolation shows that there was no water at this time with deep mud flats extending far out into the Gulf. At a distance of 50m, the ground level was about 3m above high water mark and the shoreline was about 500m away. It is obvious that Pausanias was reading an earlier account, as he would have been unable to determine the naval archers' action from the topography at his own time. We can therefore say that the topography was such that some ship-borne archer support against the attack of the Galatae was possible in 279 (but not spear or javelin), but because the high water level and the draft of the trireme were equal it would have been marginal, very dangerous, and not probable.

Now by 279 the beach at the Middle Gate had grown a little because of the change in shoreline, and this 'choke point' was now slightly wider, but the road (if there was one) still stopped at the Middle Gate of Thermopylae. The question remains in Brennus' (as well Xerxes) time, why defend a pass that led nowhere?

### 6.3.2 Thermopylae and the Great Isthmus Corridor

If the pass of Thermopylae was a *cul de sac* there must be a reason for its defence against Xerxes and Brennus. The one presented by Szemler *et al.* for the defence against Xerxes is of direct relevance to this study as it involves the identification of a new and quicker route southwards for any invading army. For some time scholars had been looking for alternative routes southwards, as the supposed Thermopylae route was at best inconvenient for Delphi or any city on the Corinth Gulf. The route via Thermopylae (if it existed) was to lead to east Lokris, through Thebes and onto Athens with a diversion around lake Copais. This proposed route southwards was

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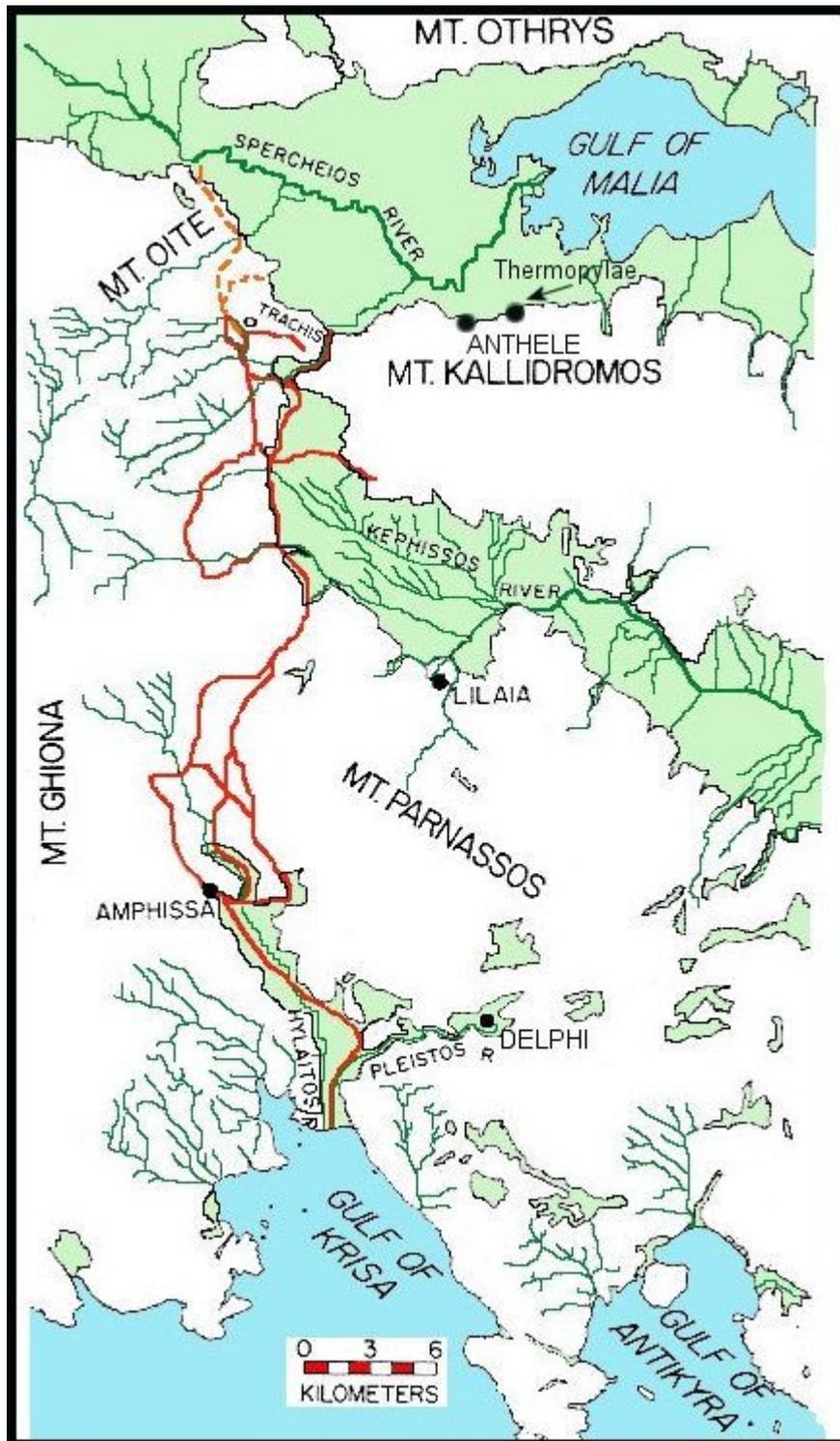
<sup>119</sup> The draft of a trireme when fully loaded (40 tonnes) was 1.1 m. It was expected that these ships had discharged their cargo of men and equipment and were just under power from thranite rowers (see later). As such, their load would have been reduced by a minimum of 10 tonnes giving a reduced draft of about 0.9 metres (Coates *et al.* 1990: 63; Fig. 33).

not short, easy, or quick. If the Malian Gulf only had this problematic land route and exit, why did Lamia have so much success as an emporium?

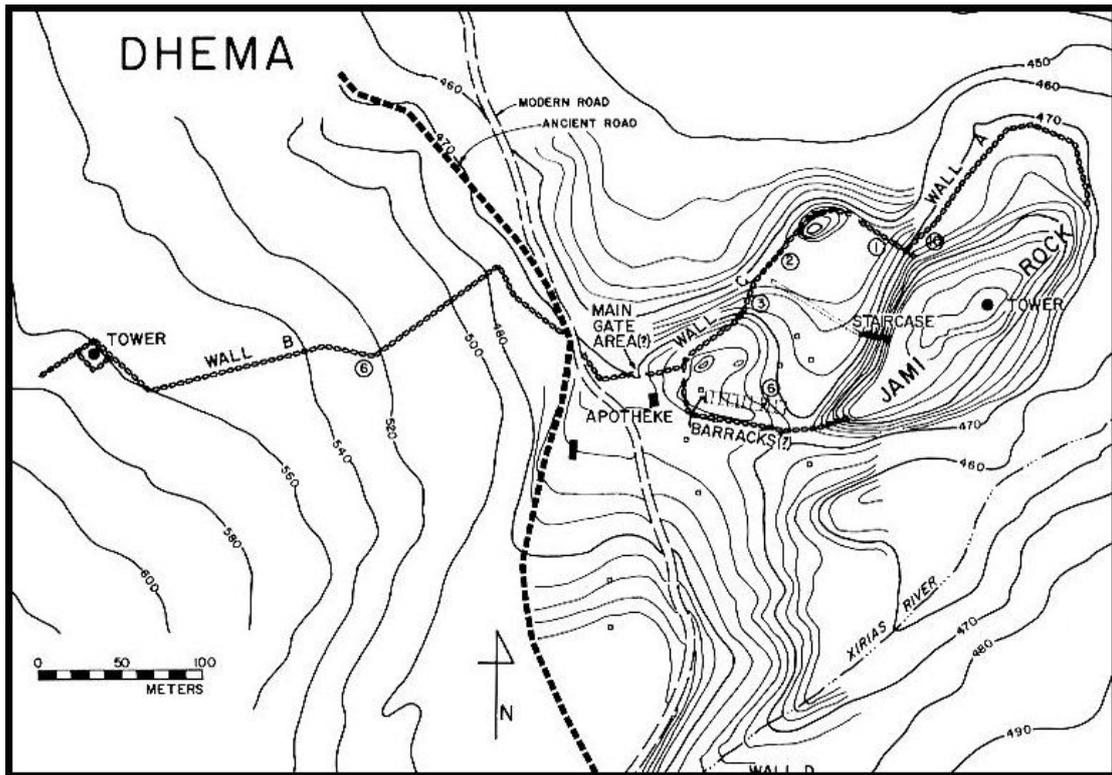
It can be said that the notoriety of Thermopylae, and its modern topography (which gives good access), was always going to be a deterrent to the search for any another route. Grundy goes as far as to say there was no way out of the Malian basin apart through Thermopylae (Grundy 1901: 207). However, in 1934 Stählin identified a narrow saddle just behind the city of Herakleia known as the Dhema Pass. This alternative way out of the Malian basin seemed to connect with an internal corridor route within Phokis (Stählin 1934: 2401.63).

Surveys in the late second half of the twentieth century have finally established that this was a crucial gateway to a north-south route and of significant importance (Kase *et al.*, 1991). Kase *et al.* has shown that it was the shortest, all-season overland route between the Malian Basin and Amphissa, Delphi and Krisa in the South. (see Fig. 6.4). It had well-built roads and was the most practical way to move trade or military forces and from surveys the route had been in use from the early Helladic through to the late Roman period and was well guarded and well constructed at its northern end (Fig. 6.5). Kase and Szemler both suggest that this road, leading almost directly to Delphi, was well-known and available throughout history (Szemler *et al.* 1996: 97).

The gates at Dhema have been found to have a two-road system approaching the pass from the north, extensive fortifications guarding it with the latest being late Roman. The width of the gates is 18 m, with a broad road going southwards across the Pergara plain towards Doris. The countryside around is fertile, providing adequate food and water along the course of the road, and would have been of immense interest to any invader.



**Figure 6.4** The Great Isthmus Corridor Route from the Gulf of Malia to the Gulf of Krisa (modern coastline is shown).  
 (Modified from Kase *et al.* 1991: plate 14.6)



**Figure 6.5** The gates of Dhema showing the main archaeological sites, roads and defences. It is clear that the extensive remains constitute a major gateway to a strategically important route.

(Kase *et al.* 1991: plate 14.6)

We cannot accept the assertion by Kase and Szemler that the pass was well known in ancient times. Although the pottery scatter ranges from Late Helladic to Roman, and the fortifications are extensive at Dhema's gate, a reference in the primary sources would be of value in establishing its importance and existence to the Greeks at this time. There is a quote from Herodotos concerning the 'pass through Trachis into Hellas' (7.176) and it has been generally assumed that Herodotos meant Thermopylae. However, a careful reading of the passages requires a note to be made that after the battle at Thermopylae, Xerxes turned back 'westward' towards 'Trachis' and entered 'Hellas west of Thermopylae with the help of the Thessalians' (Hdt 8.31-2). The Persians thus passed through Doris and not along a non-existent northern coast route of eastern Lokris. This inconsistency of Herodotos in this area has been commented on a few times, with Hignett announcing his confusion (Hignett 1963: 134) and Larsen declaring that he feels that Herodotos was confusing the role of the Thessalians in the first Sacred War (Larsen 1968: 109). It must be remembered that at this time it was generally held by scholars, that Thermopylae

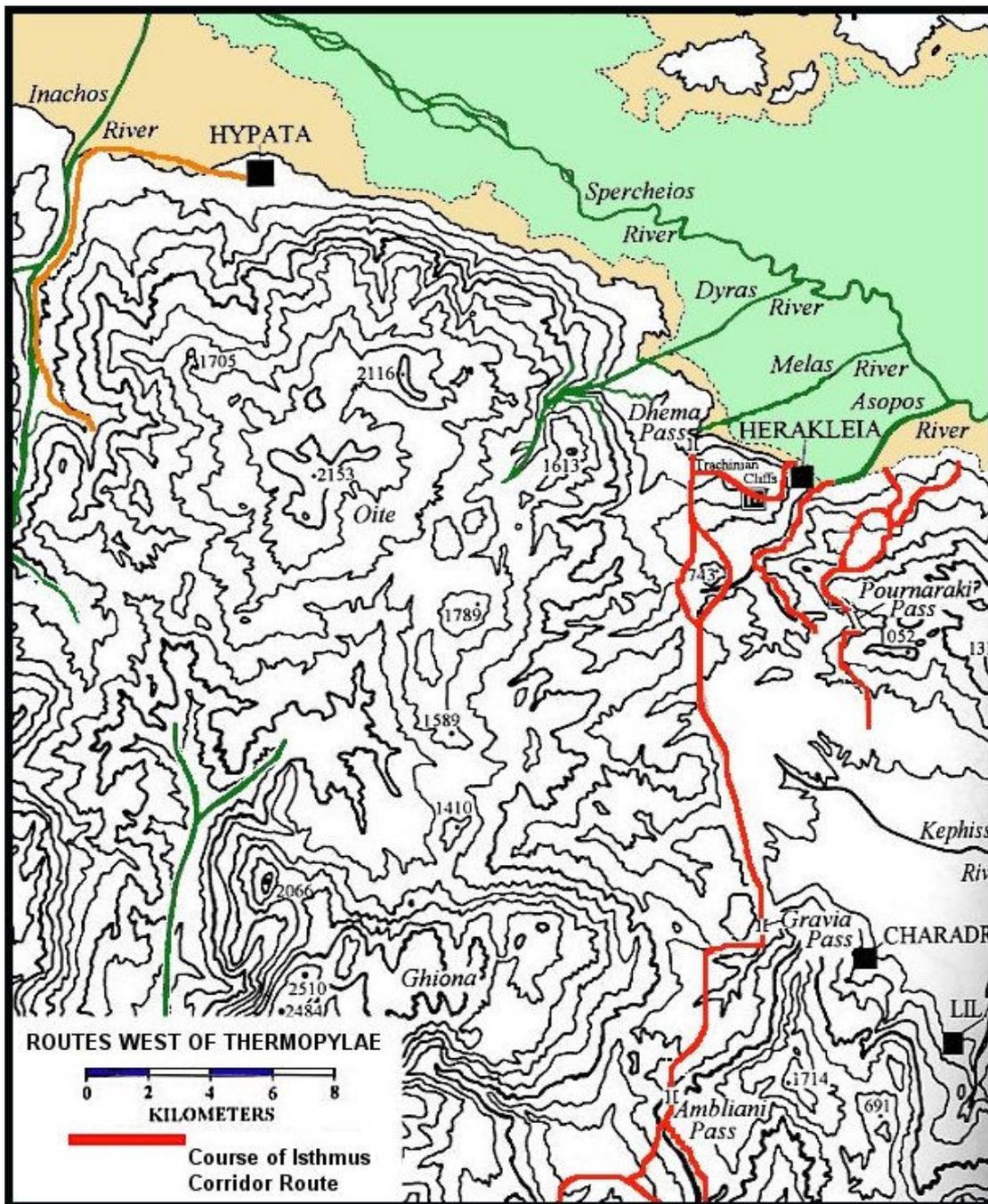
was the only route, and detailed topographical information on anything else was not available and who was going to argue with the obvious.

The town of Trachis no longer exists, nor is its position positively known. During the Dhema survey, work was done in trying to identify the position of the city and Szemler *et al.* make a compelling case for its position to be close to the Spartan colony of Herakleia (Szemler *et al.* 1996: 33–40, and appendix 1: 101–4). Herodotos tells us that Xerxes was camped just outside Trachis (Hdt. 7.201) and Brennus, after crossing the Spercheios, also camped outside Herakleia<sup>120</sup> (Paus. 10.20.9). Both armies were then poised to attack the gates of the pass at Dhema (assuming Szemler is correct in his positioning of Herakleia (Herodotos could not mention Herakleia, as it was not established until 426). The position of Herakleia (Trachis) with respect to the pass at Dhema is given in Fig. 6.6 and from this its strategic value can be appreciated.

Two further aspects need discussing before we undertake a review of the two historical events. They concern the flanking or rear attack movements of both invaders of the Greek positions, and the situation with respect to the Athenian fleet in the instance of the attack by the Galatae. In the case of Xerxes we know that there were numerous small pathways behind Leonidas' position that connected surrounding small settlements. The Persians were a professional army with scouts, intelligence-gathering functions, and staff officers planning a complex and logistically challenging route through enemy territory as so it is naive to believe that they were unaware of the state of the Greek numbers, morale, position and access before crossing the Spercheios. This would have been easily attained from their own scouts, informers and questioning of the local people. It is only the naivety of Herodotos in things military that leads us to believe otherwise. The weakness of Leonidas' position is explained elsewhere (p209–10) but it's the repeated failure of the defence against Brennus that needs explanation.

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<sup>120</sup> Szemler gives the route of Xerxes from the north, and it is likely that Brennus would have passed the same way. The bridge over the Spercheios is defined as being from Stavros west of Lamia southwards to a place just west of Kestalexi. Below this point, the river would have widened and crossing is only possible through mud and sea marsh. This bridge is the last crossing point. Up-river a crossing can be made through fording but this was only possible in the summer months (note).



**Figure 6.6** The routes to the west of Thermopylae. Although ancient roadways are shown it is only the Isthmus Corridor route that goes south from the pass at Dhema. Thermopylae lies to the east at a distance of 12 km from the right-hand edge of the map. (Szemler *et al.* 1996: map II)

Up until chapter 22 of book 10, Pausanias maintains the analogy between Xerxes and Brennus. The analogy between the two accounts breaks down substantially from chapter 22 onward for it is clear that, given the existence of a second pass (Dhema), the rest of Pausanias' writing would equally apply to an assault here. The Dhema pass lies at the foot of Mt Oite whilst that of Thermopylae lies about 20 km east in the cliffs of Kallidhromos. Pausanias tells us that the 'Gauls' went up Mt Oita

by way of Herakleia past the ruins of Trachis (10.22.1) in an attempt to outflank the defenders. If Szemler is correct in his positioning of the ruins of Trachis, this is to the west of Herakleia and even further away from Thermopylae. The 'Gauls' came upon the Phokians guarding the approach to the Dhema pass and were beaten back. Brennus returns and orders a weakening of the defences by drawing off the Aetolians in his diversary attack on Kallion to the west (Paus. 10.22.2). Following this diversionary attack Brennus takes another path over Mt Oite with 40,000 men. If we take the traditional view and assume this outflanking move applies to path of Kallidhromos, we know of its difficulty from Plutarch's description of Cato's struggle (Plut. *Marcus Cato*. 13), yet we are expected to believe that Brennus took his force and within one misty day completed the move, brought the Phokians to battle, and won the day, driving the Phokians away to warn the Athenians and other Greeks who withdrew from the pass and went home on the Athenian fleet. This cannot be the same pass of Thermopylae or the paths of Kallidhromos but must refer to Dhema.

Szemler *et al.* say that the Isthmus Corridor is the 'easiest and shortest way between the Malian basin in the north to the plain of Krisa in the south' (Szemler *et al.* 1996: 97). However, for troops from Athens the distance is about 240 km via the Isthmus Corridor route and 200 km via the east Lokris and through the pass of Hyampolis. With an Athenian army of 1,000 foot and 500 horse (Paus. 10.20.3), it would have taken 12–15 days.<sup>121</sup> The sea distance from Athens to Malian gulf is 300 km and with a trireme, this distance will be covered in 2.5 days. This assumes all 160 men rowing for eight hours at a trireme's cruising speed of 15–16 kph (Morrison and Coates 1986: 169). Thus sea transportation would have been much quicker and effective. Morrison and Coates describe how older triremes were modified for troop and horse transports with the removal of the lower two tiers of seating for the rowers (the thalamite (hold) and zygite (thwart) benches). This would have left the top or thranite rowers only giving 60 oarsmen instead of the 160 of a fully complemented ship (Morrison and Coates 1986: 157, 225–6). Shaw has pointed out that the power required in such a ship varies as the cube of the speed, thus the optimum cruising

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<sup>121</sup> This assumes a marching speed of 16 km per day with no rest days.

speed produced by 60 oarsmen becomes 10.8 kph<sup>122</sup>, which for an eight-hour rowing day gives 86.5 km and a time of 3.4 days to traverse the distance from Athens to the Malian gulf (Shaw 1995: 169). It is easy to identify the number of ships required, as each horse transport is capable of carrying 30 horses with cavalymen and grooms, which gives 17 ships for this cavalry force. For the troop transport, another 8 ships are required.<sup>123</sup>

The 25 warships represent a very modest contribution by Athens. The naval inventories in 326/5 show that it had 360 triremes, 43 '4s' and 7 '5s'.<sup>124</sup> This however, was before its defeat in 322 in the battle of Amorgos (Diod. 18.15.8–9). Although it is expected that its numbers would have reduced by 280, it would not be significantly less than its 325 inventory showing Pausanias' assertion that Athens sent all of its seaworthy triremes is a ten-fold exaggeration (Paus. 10.20.3).

The crew of a trireme apart from rowers and seamen has a contingent of about 8–10 'marines' (Casson 1994: 63) who were especially trained to fight at sea (javelins and arrows were shot sitting down – Morrison and Coates 1986: 161–2 and Thuc. 7.67). These would have provided the arrows and javelins used against the Galatae in the flanking attack from the ships (Paus. 10.21.4). With 25 ships and 8–10 'marines' per ship, the archery and javelin force would have been about 200–250 strong. But this significant force would have been well dispersed, at extreme range, and probably ineffective because of the ship's size and the existence of mud flats.

The last question concerning Pausanias' description of the fleet action is that he tells us that, following the out-flanking of the Greek defenders, the Athenians with their fleet succeeded in withdrawing the Greek forces from Thermopylae (Paus. 10.22). The size of the Greek army was 23,890 foot and 1,500 cavalry (Paus. 10.20.3) and the Greeks would need to have a fleet of 50 horse transports and 184 troop

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<sup>122</sup> Power =  $K \cdot (\text{speed})^3$ . For 160 rowers producing a constant speed of 15 kph the constant of proportionality ( $K$ ) = 0.047407. Now for just 60 rowers this gives a speed of 10.81 kph.

<sup>123</sup> The 100 seats made available by reducing the rowers to 60 from 160 provide some space, and there is room to have another 30 soldiers on the after deck without interfering with the handling of the ship. This is addition to the 10 'marines' who are already on board and whom form a part of the ship's crew. Thus, 130 soldiers can be carried which requires 8 ships.

<sup>124</sup> The terms '4s' and '5s' refer to the number of rowers per side arranged in either a single, double or triple bank of oars. Thus a trireme is a '3', three banks of oars with a single rower per oar, a '4' could be a trireme with two rowers on the Thranite bench, a '5' could have been a trireme adapted to have 2 men on the zygite as well as the thranite, etc. (Casson 1994: 82–3).

transports to achieve their withdrawal. Even allowing for the Phokians, Lokrians and Aetolians not requiring transport and casualty figures given by Pausanias (10.21.2), we still have a requirement for 30 horse transports and 85 troop transports. The Athenian fleet did not take off the Greek army.

## 6.4 Thermopylae – a Re-examination and Discussion

In the light of all of the above evidence and discussion, it would seem that we are in a position to re-examine the invasion via Thermopylae of central Greece by Xerxes and Brennus to see what in fact are common elements in the stories. Although a very strong case can be made for a revision of the events at Thermopylae (mainly in the interpretation of Herodotos), I shall not abandon the accepted narrative of Thermopylae in the time of Xerxes just yet, and proceed on the assumption that (for good military reasons) Xerxes did attack the defended position of this Greek camp. However, the evidence and views of Szemler *et al.* do demand some serious consideration from Herodotos scholars and ancient historians.

Reviewing the stories of both invasions, we can see the variances and determine where Pausanias attempted to liken the invasion of the Galatae to that of Xerxes. The route into the Malian Gulf for both armies was probably identical, as the topography of the north of the gulf dictates the route. The westward sweep past Lamia, the crossing of the Spercheios, and the encampment outside Herakleia (or Trachis in the case of Xerxes) are the same. One might even suppose that the river crossing would have been identical. It is suggested that the encampment was for the purpose (other than resting and preparing for an assault) of entering the Isthmus Corridor at the pass of Dhema, which was for both armies the quickest way through central Greece.

Now we need to consider the Greek responses to the invasions. In the case of Xerxes, the Greeks had initially sought to hold at a line near Mt. Olympos, at the pass of Tempe (Hdt. 7.173–4) but amended this either through fear of the Persians or from concern that the Persians might be able to divert around them. A second line was quickly planned for the Malian Gulf and the pass to the south, but Szemler *et al.* indicate that the real defence was to be at the Gulf of Corinth and at the Isthmus. The east-west axis of defence at the Malian gulf was a secondary consideration that gave a gesture of support to the Phokians, Lokrians and Aetolians, and provided some vital time for the southern defences to be made ready, hence the relatively modest forces deployed in the area from the south. A similar conclusion is made by (Tarn 1913: 151) when he declares that Antigonos

certainly took the view that the best defence was to be at the Gulf of Corinth and at the isthmus. Tarn's view however is based upon the traditional view that the invasion of Brennus was seen in the same light as the Persian invasion – a pan-Hellenic threat to their existence rather than a temple raiding incursion. The main defence at Thermopylae against Brennus fell to local forces with 50% being Phokians, Lokrians, Megarians, and Aetolians, or 92% if the Boeotians are included in the definition of 'local'. The absence of any Peloponnesians is conspicuous (as is the modest force of Athenians) and either gives weight to the relative comfort of these people behind the defensive wall of the Gulf of Corinth or that nobody else saw any danger in a group of barbarians on a temple raiding excursion, i.e. it was a small local affair.

It is now necessary to examine the defence of Thermopylae by Leonidas, for if Szemler *et al.* are correct, we require an explanation for the defence of a 'pass' that had yet to exist. Szemler *et al.* does provide an explanation, which from the evidence is convincing (Szemler *et al.* 1996: 49). Szemler *et al.* expresses the military position in the following way: with such small forces given to him (in relation to the forces opposing him), Leonidas could only strengthen two regions on the east-west defensive axis, these being the pass of Dhema and a link or command headquarters at Thermopylae. This link was the most easterly point he could occupy to maintain contact with the fleet at Artemision and, as we have seen, a trireme could dock at Thermopylae at this time. Leonidas' defences at Thermopylae were not exceptional but with the sea to the front, Phokian guards in the hills on the minor tracks protecting the rear, the cliffs of the Kallidhromos, and the internal walls of the Middle and Eastern Gates on his flanks, it was the best that could be achieved in the short time available. Access from the west should only have been via the narrow beach, which should be easily defendable (as indeed it proved). The link with the fleet in the east and the major local forces in the west guarding the Dhema pass should have provided a significant interruption to Xerxes' advance. Xerxes had to remove Leonidas from Thermopylae, for if he took the pass at Dhema and left the Greeks on his flank untouched, he would be in an exposed and dangerous position. Movement of his army through the pass would allow progress through Greece, but a reinforcement of the area of the Malian Gulf via Artemision meant that they could retake the pass. If this happened he was outflanked and trapped. In view of the new

evidence on the topography, this seems a realistic possibility. This explanation does little to repudiate Herodotos or undo the magnificence of Thermopylae. The only criticism of Herodotos might be his incompleteness in his account of this incident, with his emphasis on Thermopylae rather than the 'pass through Trachis into Hellas'.

When we come to Brennus there is no comparable situation. The defence of the pass at Dhema is all there is. There is no need to be involved with Thermopylae 18 km to the east as there was no strategic naval support. The only activity is in Kallion where the slaughter of the inhabitants by the Galatae took place to draw away the Aetolians (Paus. 10.22). It is tempting to believe that with the skills of mountain people the Galatae would have found a flanking route around the pass, but it is more likely that they forced it with a frontal attack.

With no need for a base at Thermopylae, the difficulty of bring any ship close enough to shore, the inadequate number of archers supplying flanking missile attacks and the inadequate supply of ships to take away the army following its defeat, it is obvious that the Athenians did not send a fleet. There was no Greek base camp at Thermopylae in 279 as there was no need for one, there was no fleet, no flanking movement by ships archers, no cavalry on the beach, no very rapid discovery of a minor track that would have allowed 40,000 troops to overcome the small Greek force. The whole of the Thermopylae encounter can be reduced to a fabrication that is constructed to make this invasion reflect and imitate that of the first.

Following Pausanias' chapter 21, construction of events is sympathetic with all of the evidence except the use of the term 'Thermopylae'. Such use may be expected so that pretence of the analogy may be maintained. It is unlikely that Pausanias visited the site, as his description of the shallow sea and mud flats, although consistent with the recent geological data, would not have matched his view of history.

The question remains why did Pausanias write such an analogy. Earlier (p. 154) we saw that Pausanias was writing about the glorious Greek past and emphasising its

greatness and further he has been described as being a prisoner of the cultural memory of his times. Such a description would answer for the reason for the analogy but it is not a complete response. From the writing we have seen that he does not describe the topography accurately and thus we are forced to concede that he did not visit the site but took his account from someone else. However we come to a halt at this point as his sources are unknown and we are forced to say that we do not know if the analogy comes from Pausanias or from his source but in view of his bias towards the glorious Greek past we must indicate that Pausanias probably coloured and modified the facts to reflect such a Persian analogy.

## Chapter 7 – Delphi

7.1 The Delphi Attack

7.2 The Armies and the Routes

7.3 Delphi and the Persians

7.4 The Attack of the Galatae

7.5 The Elements of the Analogy of Xerxes and Brennus

7.6 Conclusions and the Unwinding of the Analogy

## Chapter 7 – Delphi

### 7.1 The Delphi Attack

The strong use of the analogy between the Galatae and Persian assaults at Thermopylae is continued in the ancient descriptions of the conflict at Delphi. The primary sources give some differences in the details of the route and the events, but the descriptions of the assaults on Delphi are similar. The continued use of analogy again obscures events, and the literary technique used to illustrate the greatness of the Greeks. Freud commented on the poverty of the use of analogy when he said that ‘analogies decide nothing, but they can make one feel more at home’ (Freud 1998: 118). We can thus assume that the Greeks did not use this analogy to explain events but merely to take comfort in the thought that they had retained the greatness of their past.

Because of the use of the equivalence in the attacks and our wish to have it unravelled, it will be necessary to discuss the events of Xerxes’ invasion. The introduction of a possible ‘new’ route into Greece for the invading armies complicates the issue, as we now have to identify an alternative sequence of events for Xerxes’ movements. The use of this new route allows the solution to some of the problems associated with Xerxes invasion but it also casts some doubt on the veracity of Xerxes’ Delphi assault. This doubt means that Brennus at Delphi may be a fabricated analogy to a fabricated event.

The political use of the events at Delphi becomes obvious in regards to the Phokians, Aetolians, and the Delphic oracle, all of whom stand accused of political gain because of this fabricated similarity. I will examine the political involvement of Delphi in both events, especially with respect to the Persians, as the retelling of the Persian–Delphic interaction will clarify the political use that Delphi, the Phokians, and Aetolians made of the attack by the Galatae. There is no archaeology to challenge the analogy, as at Thermopylae, but a military assessment of the events will allow a more pragmatic view to be taken of the incidents.

## 7.2 The Armies and the Routes

At the start of the campaign, Pausanias declares that Brennus' army was 152,000 foot and 61,200 horse, Diodorus gives 150,000 foot and 10,000 horse, and Justin gives 150,000 foot and 15,000 horse. As Pausanias calculates the total cavalry figure differently<sup>125</sup> from the other sources, I shall not follow his description but set them at 20,400 – the number of horses Pausanias says was available. Tarn comments that these figures should not be read as giving proof of accuracy, but more in terms of their extraction from a common source (Tarn 1913: 148 n. 42). Tarn, like many commentators, is dismissive of the numbers quoted for Brennus' army, saying that any attempt to analyse them is a waste of time (Tarn 1913: 148). Mitchell similarly comments that 'fear and self congratulation have inflated these figures which the Greeks were in no position to assess accurately' (Mitchell 1993: 14 n. 14).

The irrationality of the numbers becomes apparent when we examine the history of casualties for the whole expedition. The army size and its variation throughout the Delphi campaign according to Pausanias are given in Fig. 7.1.

Action	Brennus' Army	Comment
Sets out	172,400 <sup>126</sup>	Paus. 10.19.6
Faces Greek forces at Thermopylae		27,000 Greeks-Paus. 10.20.3
After Thermopylae and Kallion	150,580	Brennus loses 21,820. Paus. 10.21.4; 10.21.7; 10.22.4
Brennus takes detachment to take the pass	40,000	Paus. 10.22.5
Akichorios splits the army & takes half to follow Brennus	55,000	55,000 left as a rearguard – assumed equal split of army Paus. 10.23.2
Brennus loses 26,000 at Delphi	14,000	Brennus' losses – Paus. 10.23.6
Brennus retreats & meets Akichorios.	60,000	10,000 lost on the retreat. Paus. 10.23.7
Meet up with rearguard	115,000	Combined army at Herakleia
Attacked by Greeks on their retreat back to their homeland	0	115,000 destroyed before reaching their homeland Paus. 10.23.8

**Figure 7.1** The army of Brennus and its fate according to Pausanias.

<sup>125</sup> Pausanias gives the numbers available for action not the effective cavalry that could go into action and he talks of men not horses. He comments that for each horse there was a cavalryman and two servants who were skilled riders. Should the cavalryman be wounded or killed one of the servants would take his place. This allowed the cavalry number to be maintained in the battle (assuming horses did not die) but gives an exaggerated manpower figure (Paus. 10.19.9–10).

<sup>126</sup> From this point on, I will combine the infantry and cavalry numbers, as the maintenance of a distinction is not relevant in this discussion.

Pausanias' numbers are clearly ridiculous; a casualty rate of 40 Greeks to 320 Galatae in the large military action at Thermopylae looks remarkably small.<sup>127</sup> The destruction of such a large host by such small numbers gives rise to further incredulity when we remember other aspects of the Galatae. Only a few thousand of these warriors under Bolgios defeated the Macedonian army of Keraunos, they had a 'joy and passion for robbery and plunder' (Paus. 10.19.4; Justin 24.4.4), and their reputation for fierceness was such that their neighbours paid them not to attack (Justin 24.4.7; 25.1.3). This description does not fit the portrayal of the dejected and massive army of Galatae that was so easily overthrown at Delphi.

Although the episode of divine intervention is common to all three accounts, it is only in Pausanias that there is such detail of the supernatural aspects of the defence of Delphi. The state of Delphi is relevant to this account. Diodorus and Justin (Trogus) were writing approximately one and half centuries before Pausanias and at this time Delphi was a poor, dilapidated place with not much more than its own history. In the time of Pausanias, it had re-grown to its former glory<sup>128</sup> and thus we would therefore have expected a more detailed and vigorous version of its role.

Diodorus' figures give a slightly different version in that Brennus suffered losses before he reached Thermopylae, Fig. 7.2 summaries Diodorus' account. Brennus'

Action	Brennus' Army	Comment
Sets out	160,000	Diod. 22.9.1
Faces Sosthenes in Macedonia	120,000	Assume 40,000 lost. Diod. 22.9.1
After the battle for Delphi	65,000	Looses 55,000. Diod. 1962: 22.9.1.n. 3
Akichorios kills Brennus and other wounded, frost bitten and starving	45,000	Looses another 20,000 on retreat. Diod. 22.9.2
Akichorios abandons starving men on the way back to Thermopylae	25,000	Further losses of 20,000 on retreat. Diod. 22.9.3
Attacked by Greeks in the land of the Dardanii	0	The remaining army of 25,000 destroyed before reaching their homeland. Diod. 22.9.3

**Figure 7.2** The army of Brennus and its fate according to Diodorus.

<sup>127</sup> Brennus' casualties were four to eight times those of the Greeks, Paus. 10.21.4.

<sup>128</sup> The Delphic oracle had undergone major changes in the period from Sulla to Hadrian. It started to decline from Sulla's time. Nero was the first emperor to show any interest in the oracle, and he started a tradition of patronage that brought it from a very poor shadow of its earlier status to a return to glory with the establishment of verse oracles in hexameters. Diodorus and Trogus would have seen Delphi at its poorest and shabbiest, whilst Pausanias would have seen it restored by Hadrian's patronage (Parke and Wormell 1956: 283–91).

transit through Macedonia was not straightforward, with Sosthenes interrupting the outward journey. Diodorus does not give the size of his losses but implies that the numbers are significant. If we assume that 25% losses would constitute ‘significance’ without putting too much strain on the ability of the Macedonians or causing Brennus to consider the fight with the Macedonians a defeat, we have him entering Greece with 122,500 men. It is interesting to note that Diodorus does not include any complicated issue at Thermopylae or even mentions the event.

Justin’s version follows similar lines to Diodorus and a summary of his account is given in Fig. 7.3.

<b>Action</b>	<b>Brennus’ Army</b>	<b>Comment</b>
Sets out	165,000	Justin 24.6.1
Faces Sosthenes in Macedonia	148,500	Assume 16,500 lost after pillaging Macedonia Justin 24.6.2
Brennus selects men to go with him to Delphi	65,000	Justin 24.7.9. The rest is left behind as a rearguard (83,500)
Greek forces at Delphi		4,000 - approximate agreement with Pausanias. Justin 24.7.9
After Delphi and the retreat.	10,000	Losses 55,000 at Delphi (Justin 24.7.12)
Attacked by tribes through which their retreat lead	0	The remaining army of 10,000 destroyed before reaching their homeland. Justin 24.7.14-16

**Figure 7.3** The army of Brennus and its fate according to Justin.

As in Diodorus, there is no description of any attack at Thermopylae. After the battle at Delphi, Justin tells us that there was a slow extermination of the retreating army, but it is not clear if this is before or after it rejoined the rearguard. If we assume that it did not, and it was this rearguard that became the army of the Galatae that moved to Thrace and then to Asia, it would clear the confusing comment made later (Justin 32.3.6-12) that the remains of this large army moved to Asia and Thrace, and that the destruction of whole army did not take place.

It is necessary to pay attention to one further point, that the attacking force was not just Galatae. Justin comments that in the discussions concerning the best time to attack, the generals of the Aenianes and Thessalians gave Brennus advice. These people had joined him to share in the plunder (Justin 24.7.2) and such an addition to his force meant that the 65,000 chosen army had a significant element of Thessalian

members in it. This would not have increased the rearguard numbers, as Livy tells us that two of Brennus' commanders, Lonorius and Lutarius split off and turned aside to Thrace (Livy 38.16.2–3) before reaching Greece. These Aenianes and Thessalians might have helped to replace those lost by this desertion.

As Tarn rightly points out, any attempt at assessing the numbers would be a waste of time and it is difficult to see how to extract any information. Although there is some agreement on the numbers, the casualties and movements are all different between the works of these ancient historians. If the numbers in the armies give no information except to isolate Pausanias' Thermopylae account and analogy, we need to turn our attention to the routes taken. One of the significant elements in the argument for the change in emphasis of Thermopylae in favour of the Isthmus Corridor route was Herodotos' passage concerning Xerxes' movement away from Thermopylae to take a route through the 'pass through Trachis into Hellas' (Hdt. 7.176) and ignore Thermopylae altogether. The pass of Dhema leads to Doris at the start of this route, and Lazenby now supports this argument by indicating that there is no reason to doubt that at least some of Xerxes' army went this way<sup>129</sup> (Lazenby 1993: 151). It is when we examine the distances of these routes that extra information becomes available.

Looking at the route of Xerxes first, we see that if he used the Thermopylae coast road (although it probably never existed at this time) into north Lokris, and then turned inland from Atalante to Panopeus his army would have covered the distances<sup>130</sup> given in Fig. 7.4 (see map – Fig. 7.8). We also know that Xerxes ravaged Phokis from Drymos and Amphikaea in the north-west to Hyampolis in the south-east (Hdt. 8.33) and so his entrance into the Kephisos valley would have required him to travel NW to Drymos and Amphikaia to start this ravaging and then return. This loop would have added another 58 km onto his journey.

At Panopeus, Herodotos tells us, a small detachment split off from the main army to go and sack Delphi via Daulis and Aiolidai (Hdt. 8.34–5; Lazenby 1993: 151). The

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<sup>129</sup> Lazenby says that Kase and Szemler (1982: 353 ff.) might be right about the route taken by Persian troops through Doris but wrong to insist that this was the only route *even if there was no route through Thermopylae*. Lazenby does not, however, give any other route if Thermopylae was not available (Lazenby 1993: 151 n. 1).

<sup>130</sup> All distances and topographical features taken from Talbert 2000: map 55

distance from Panopeus to Delphi along this route is 28 km and Fig. 7.5 gives the total distance from Dhema to Delphi along this route.

<b>Route</b>	<b>Distance (km)</b>
Dhema (Herakleia) to Thermopylae	12
Thermopylae to Thronion	16
Thronion to Knemis	10
Knemis to Daphnous	6
Daphnous to Alope	7
Alope to Kynos	10
Kynos to Atalante	7
Atalante to Hyampolis	17
Hyampolis to Panopeus inc. loop to ravage Phokis	72
<b>Total</b>	<b>157</b>

**Figure 7.4** The distances involved in the north Lokris route, assuming that the coastal pass of Thermopylae existed and there was a suitable coastal road.  
(Primary sources, Talbert 2000, and Szemler *et al.* (1996))

<b>Route</b>	<b>Distance (km)</b>
Dhema (Herakleia) to Hyampolis as in Fig 7.4	85
Hyampolis to Panopeus	14
Panopeus to Delphi	28
<b>Total</b>	<b>127</b>

**Figure 7.5** The distances involved in the north Lokris route to Delphi following the route defined by Herodotos. It assumes that the pass of Thermopylae existed and that there was a suitable coastal road.  
(Primary sources, Talbert 2000, and Szemler *et al.* 1996)

If, instead of the problematical north Lokris route, with its loop for devastation in the Kephisos valley, Xerxes' army used the Isthmus Corridor route from Dhema to Panopeus, he would have travelled the much shorter distance, as given in Fig. 7.6.

<b>Route</b>	<b>Distance (km)</b>
Dhema (Herakleia) to Amphikaea	20
Amphikleia to Panopeus	28
<b>Total</b>	<b>48</b>

**Figure 7.6** The distances from Dhema to Amphikleia and Panopeus measured along the Isthmus Corridor route.  
(Primary sources, Talbert 2000, and Szemler *et al.* 1996)

If this route was taken, it is likely that he would have detached a small force in the Isthmus Corridor to send to Delphi rather than from Panopeus, as by this time he had moved a considerable distance away from the sanctuary. The distance from Dhema to Delphi along this Isthmus Corridor route is given in Fig. 7.7.

Route	Distance (km)
Dhema (Herakleia) to Delphi via Isthmus Corridor Route	40

**Figure 7.7** The distance from Dhema to Delphi along the Isthmus Corridor route.  
(Primary sources, Talbert, 2000, and Szemler *et al.* 1996)

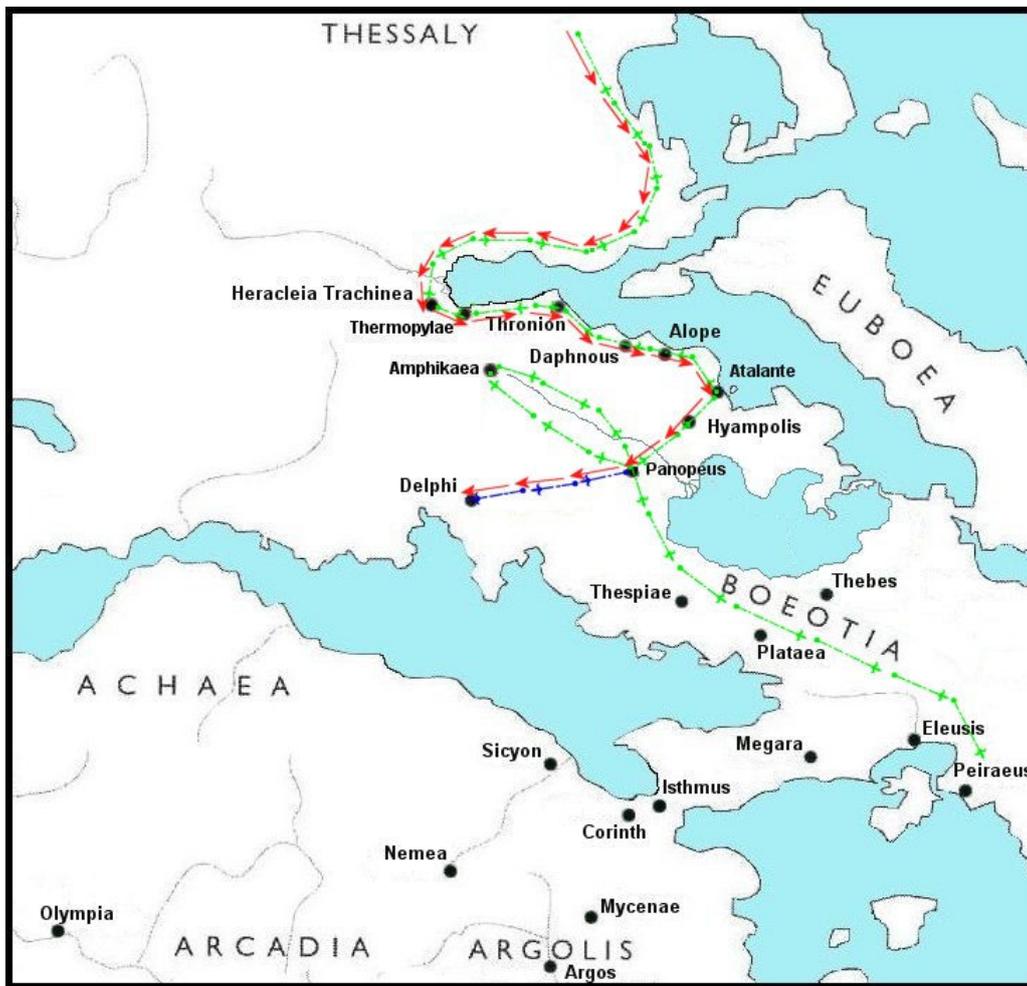
It can be seen that the Isthmus Corridor route provides access to Delphi that is one-third of the distance proposed by Herodotos, and to reach Panopeus it is one-half of the distance. These advantages are so great that the choice of the longer route is difficult to justify (even if a road existed along the north Lokrian coast). The value and the disposition of these routes are illustrated in the maps of Fig. 7.8 and 7.9.

Another reason to believe that use was made of the Isthmus Corridor route is the report of the ravaging of Phokis from end to end, from Drymos and Amphikaea in the north-west to Hyampolis and Abai in the south-east (Hdt. 8.33). If Xerxes had used the northern Lokris route and come inland to Hyampolis, he was already near the south-east end of Lokris and would have had to send his troops back north-westwards towards Doris to complete the sacking of the north-east so described. This would mean a large loop in his march and a hiatus in his advance. Alternatively, the Isthmus Corridor route brings Xerxes through this region on his way to Panopeus from Doris, and no deviation is necessary. Such is the ease of the route that the pattern of sacking in Phokis (north-west to south-east) provides further justification for its use.

Travelling along the Isthmus Corridor route would have been obvious to Xerxes' Thessalian guides. This route, as Szemler *et al.* have pointed out, has its nodes at Delphi, the religious sanctuary of Apollo and co-seat of the Pylaian Amphiktyones<sup>131</sup> in the south, and Anthele (See Fig. 7.4), the seat of the Pylaian Amphiktyones in the north. Anthele was always closely integrated with the Isthmus Corridor route, and

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<sup>131</sup> The Amphiktyonia was a Greek religious organisation that supported specific sanctuaries. The most important was the Great Amphictyonic League, supposedly founded in 1100 BC, for the protection of the temples of Apollo in Delphi and Demeter in Anthele. These Leagues had great political power and religious authority at this time, and could punish any offence against the temple, from expulsion to sacred war.

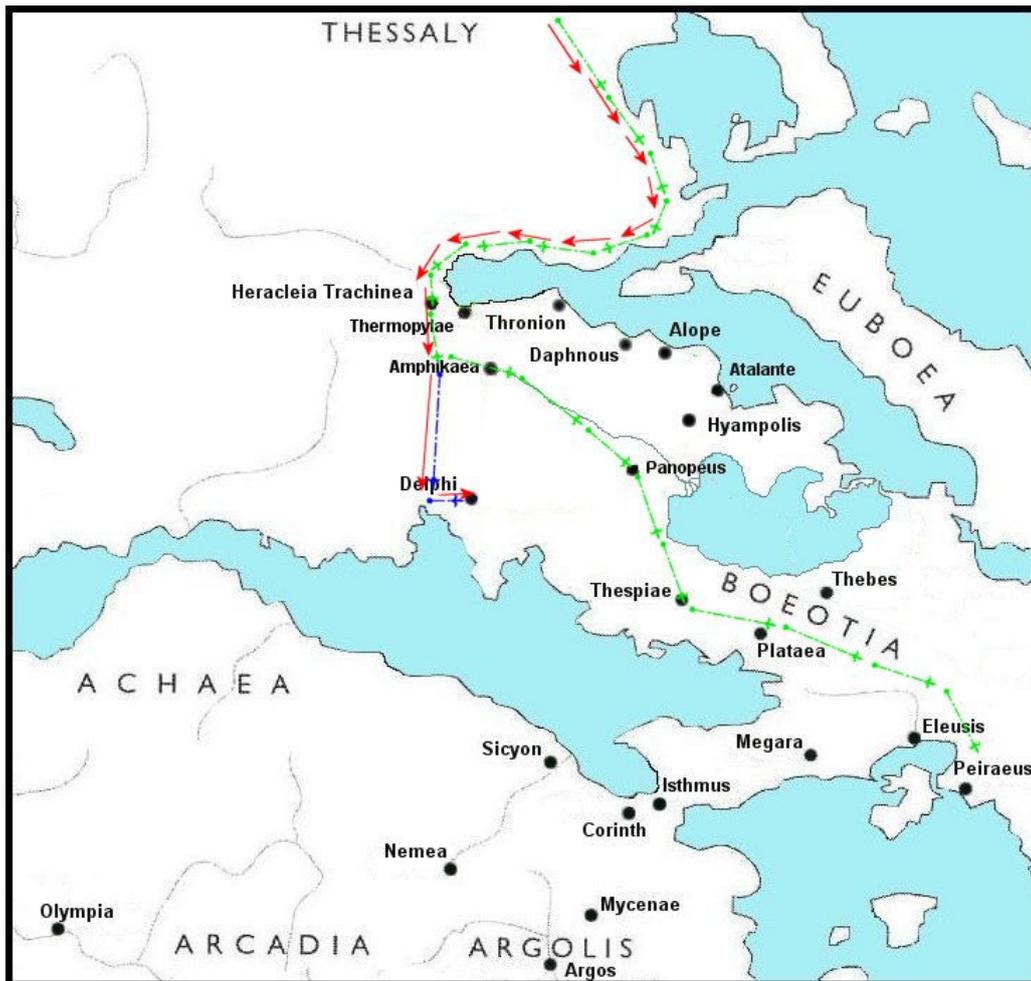


**Figure 7.8** The routes of Xerxes and Brennus as defined by Herodotos and modern commentators. The fleur-de-lis arrows illustrate the advance of Xerxes. The first half of this route is defined in Fig. 7.4. The route to ravage the upper northwest part of Phokis from Panopeus to Amphikleia is shown before the march to Athens. The coast road from Thermopylae to Atalante did not exist but is shown here to make sense of the march. The spur from Panopeus to Delphi, taken by a detachment of Xerxes' army, is shown and described in Fig. 7.5. The arrowed line is the assumed line of advance of Brennus based upon the premise that Thermopylae was the only route into Greece. The coastline is shown as it was in 480 BC.

(Map from Whitby (2002), modified from Talbert (2000), and route data from Herodotos 1996))

these religious centres would have always defined the spiritual dimension of the route (Szemler *et al.* 1996: 5–6).

Of course, Xerxes may have used the Isthmus Corridor route and ‘forgotten’ about Delphi, remembering only after he had committed his troops towards Thebes. Upon realising his mistake, he could only send a detachment to Delphi from the east. However, the Persians knew the importance of international shrines and their importance in influencing Greek opinion; for example, the shrine of Didyma was



**Figure 7.9** The routes of Xerxes and Brennus in their invasion of Greece if the Isthmus Corridor route was used. Thermopylae is not used, apart from the necessary defensive elimination by Xerxes, and all the routes are through the pass at Dhema. The line of advance of Xerxes is given by the fleur-de-lis arrows and is defined in Fig. 7. 6. The use of a problematical coast road is now no longer required. The short dotted line is the probable route of a detachment of forces to attack Delphi if planned by Xerxes and is detailed in Fig. 7.7. Xerxes' main army would have turned off the corridor route in Doris ravaged Phokis from Amphikaea to Panopeus on their way to Athens. The arrowed line is the assumed line of advance of Brennus going directly to Delphi in the manner of Xerxes' detachment. (Map from Whitby (2002), modified from Talbert (2000), and route data from Szemler *et al.* (1996))

destroyed after the Ionian revolt, yet they scrupulously respected Delos on their way to Marathon (Lazenby 1993: 152). It is unlikely that the Persians 'forgot' Delphi.

Having two distinct routes with significant differences in distance, we may be able to determine the more likely by calculating Xerxes' speed. It has already been shown that a good average speed of an ancient army is about 16 kpd (kilometres per day). Faster times have been reported, but investigation shows that these are achieved either by small mobile groups or exaggerated for political and

nationalistic reasons. Slower speeds are usually associated with either large or complex movements of men and arms, or are due to difficult terrain. From a study of army movement, a speed of 16 kpd is appropriate for Xerxes' army.

Hignett in his study of the invasion of Greece provides a timetable of the progress of Xerxes (Hignett 1963: 453). He calculates that the Persian army (and navy) was in Athens nine days after the breakthrough at Thermopylae (about 7 September). If a distance of 110 km (the distance from Panopeus to Athens) is added to those in Fig. 7.4 and 7.6, we have the length of the two routes from Thermopylae to Athens. The total distance along the north Lokris is 267 km (209 if we ignore the ravaging loop – a detachment may have been sent for this purpose), which give an average speed of 29.3 kpd including the loop and 22.9 kpd excluding it. Both of these are very fast and quite unreasonable. Undertaking the same exercise using the Isthmus Corridor route through Doris, the distance is 158 km, which gives an average speed of 17.6 kpd. This is still high but within a standard deviation of the average result of army speeds.

Hignett does comment on the speed of Xerxes' army on the north Lokrian coast route, and expresses some concern over the speeds given by other commentators (Hignett 1963: 195). Herodotos allows only five days for the Persians to reach Athens from Thermopylae, and Hignett comments that even taking short cuts and going cross-country, this is impossibly fast. Beloch (1914 and 1916) estimates the distance at 170 km; Hignett feels that this is much too low, and notes that other scholars (even Beloch himself) had trouble believing an army could travel at over 30 kpd. Some scholars believe that Xerxes' army could travel this fast with Obst (1914) arguing on the evidence of Xenophon that the army of Cyrus could march at a rate of 28–45 kpd. He concludes that over this countryside a speed of 26.5 kpd is achievable. Hignett finds these figures improbable and suggests that the only way the distance, speed, and time can be reconciled is if a fast cavalry detachment marched to Athens in advance of the main army. However, he is unhappy with this suggestion and adds that the difficulty only arises 'if the time-indications of Herodotos are correct' (Hignett 1963: 195). This is a valid comment in the light of other difficulties with Herodotos' account.

To remove all of these difficulties all that is required is to use the Isthmus Corridor route. A speed of 17.6 kpd (about 11 miles per day) is relatively fast but well within the limits of speed of such an army over such terrain. The adoption of this route does overcome many of the difficulties in the history of the invasion, and it would allow an army to march, ravage, forage, and arrive as a unified force with maximum military effectiveness.

### 7.3 Delphi and the Persians

The role of Delphi in the Persian invasion has always been subject to mild criticism at best and accusations of outright treacherous behaviour at worst. Parke and Wormell regard Delphi's position in respect of its support for the Greeks as dubious (1956: 168), whilst Lazenby comments that at best Delphi had a defeatist attitude (1993: 152). Hignett is more specific, in that he agrees that Delphi did take a pro-Persian attitude but argues that the situation demanded it. He asks why the priests should not have believed that the Persians were about to overrun the Greeks, considering the size of the invading force and the fractious condition of the Greek city-states. It would appear that, based upon the oracles issued before the invasion, they had made up their minds that Persia was bound to win. Hignett explains this attitude as one of genuine belief rather than one based upon selfish or corrupt motives (Hignett, 1963: 444).

Whatever point of view is taken, it is essential to realise that sitting on a fence is uncomfortable and that, by having taken a pro-Persian stance to ease that discomfort, Delphi had a major public relations problem when the Greeks won the war. Delphi had to provide an exercise to re-establish its credibility and its pre-eminence within Greece. It had to make the most of whatever positive (or semi-positive) contributions it had made to the Greek cause, whilst playing down (or keeping secret) the support it might have given to the Persians.

When we come to examine the position of Delphi during and after the war, we have some difficulties, as the only information we have is based on or presumed to be derived from Delphic sources. Parke and Wormell suggest that this information is, in fact, material composed as an apologia after the event and thus tainted. The physical consequences of their support for Xerxes were harder to hide, as it would be noticed that the Persians never looted Delphi, nor did they control it, and we must see this immunity as remarkable (Parke and Wormell, 1956: 171). How did Delphi make it seem that it had always been pro-Greek in the war, and what was its position in the invasion and its relation to the Persians?

Delphi had two unique advantages in its attempts to reclaim its position after the war: its oracular pronouncements and its close association with the supernatural. The oracular pronouncements were by far the more important, and I will now make an examination of their use.

Delphi, since Kroisos' fall, had refrained from any advice that seemed to resist Persia. The severe blow that it received following Kroisos' death, and the obvious error of having supported the losing side, caused it to prepare a careful apologia (see Hdt. 1.91) that turned a disastrous speculation into eternal credit (Parke and Wormell, 1956: 141). From the first move by Xerxes, Delphi took a pro-Persian line, directly based upon the medizing policies of the northern Greek states, which formed the majority of the Amphictyony.<sup>132</sup> Following the defeat of Xerxes, the sanctuary had the task of re-establishing its position within Greece, and the experience of doing this was to prove useful for taking advantage of another situation a few generations later with the attack of the Galatae.

The use of oracles, as mentioned above, was Delphi's prime method of modifying history. Fontenrose has undertaken an analysis of all of recorded oracles from Delphi during the Persian invasion, and has identified eighteen in the period from 481–479 (Fontenrose 1978). He has classified all of these as 'quasi-historical' and none as 'historical responses'.<sup>133</sup> Of these 'quasi-historical' oracles, Fontenrose and others have placed all but six in the sub-category of 'not genuine', and this classification generally appears to be well accepted. Of the six, the sub-category classifications are given in the list below (Fig. 7.10).

Some scholars (N. Fisher 2007: pers. comm.) believe that Fontenrose's definitions of 'historical' and 'quasi-historical' (and hence 'genuine' and 'not genuine') are a little strict, and with such restrictions on primary source material there is bound to be a narrowing of arguments and opportunities to expand on ancient work. However, I

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<sup>132</sup> These states (and hence Delphi) knew that in the event of a Persian invasion it would be practically impossible to get the armies of the Peloponnese to defend them. Thus Thessaly and its allies medized on the approach of Xerxes (Parke & Wormell 1956: 165).

<sup>133</sup> 'Historical' means that the date of the oracle falls within the lifetime of the writer who reports it; 'Quasi-historical' means that it is allegedly given within historical times but first reported by a writer who lived after the response.

believe in this instance that the strict application of Fontenrose’s definitions does restore credibility.

Reference N <sup>o</sup> . (See Fontenrose 1978)	Year	Detail of Oracle	Category Status
Q146	481/0	Persian invasion of Hellas (Hdt. 7.139)	Doubtful
Q147	481/0	Persian invasion of Hellas (Hdt. 7.141)	Doubtful
Q148	480	Persian threat to Delphi and Hellas	Possibly genuine
Q154	479	Mardonios’ campaign	Partly genuine
Q156	479	Victory at Plataia	Probably genuine
Q157	480/79	Victory at Salamis	Probably genuine

**Figure 7.10** Details of those oracles made by Delphi in the period of the Persian invasion that Fontenrose considers partially, partly genuine, or doubtful. He considers all other oracles false.

(Data from Fontenrose 1978)

Oracles Q146 and Q147 are well known. The former is the one given to the Athenians telling them to ‘fly to the ends of the earth’, and the latter is the oracle the Athenians demanded following Q146 and includes the ‘wooden walls’ quote. Oracle Q148 suggests that the Greeks pray for the winds to blow, and is considered by Parke and Wormell to be the only positive contribution of Delphi to the Greek side in the whole conflict (1956: 168). Oracle Q154 is a direction to fight the Persians at Plataia (although the location aspect of the oracle is considered *post eventum* and thus ‘not genuine’), and the last two concern themselves with sacrifices and offerings for the victories at Plataia and Salamis.

Fontenrose’s classification limits the usefulness of the oracles as historical documents, but more importantly it demonstrates the trouble Delphi took to ‘seed’ such oracles in the consciousness of the Greeks following the Persian invasion. Delphi went to significant efforts to construct and modify the pronouncements in order to provide at worst a neutral and at best a pro-Greek perception of its allegiance and pronouncements. The evidence for this activity comes from Parke and Wormell, and Fontenrose’s analysis does appear to be strong. It would appear that Hignett’s opinion of Delphi as not having a choice, although understandable within the context of the northern states control of the Amphictyony, covers up the reality that Delphi did have a choice, but could not afford to make a wrong one. The reputation and the social standing of Delphi after the war were effectively restored and enhanced, which showed that at least the practice and lessons learnt after

Kroisos' death were well used and the strategy of playing for both sides was possible.

The supernatural is the second unique asset Delphi had in re-establishing its position and power within Hellas. The manifest link with the supernatural and expressions of it are fundamental to the sanctity of the site. In the context of Xerxes' attack, Delphi did not use the supernatural as effectively as it did following the attack of the Galatae. The supernatural was not on the same scale; sacred weapons appearing ready for use, thunderbolts, rocks falling and crushing the attackers, battle cries from the gods, and gods and heroes chasing the retreating Persians (Hdt. 8.37–9) are not as dramatic as in Pausanias' account of the wrath of the gods at the Galatae. Either this is due to an early and unpolished production, or Delphi had a better writer in Pausanias than in Herodotos.

In examining the attack by the Persians, How and Wells point out that, the supernatural aspects of Delphi story 'are the stock accompaniments to a miraculous victory' (How and Wells 1912: ii., 246). Parke and Wormell (1956: 173) strongly echo this view and go on to say that, apart from the supernatural elements, the whole story as described by Herodotos is not very convincing and has a very unsatisfactory conclusion. Presumably the impression and meaning conveyed by this event is that, whoever you are, you cannot defeat the power of the temple and the gods. Xerxes had ordered the attack but the supernatural defeated him. Therefore, Delphi would have established its inviolability and Xerxes would leave the temple alone in the future. This would allow Delphi to explain why, despite being surrounded by Persians, it remained inviolate throughout the invasion. Secondary elements of the story allow Delphi *gravitas*, belief in its status as the home of gods and a place that can help Hellas in time of need.

Would such tales discourage Xerxes so easily? Based upon what we know of the Persian army, it is unlikely that Xerxes would allow a major defensive hole in his right flank. This 'hole' would effectively disrupt his lines of communication and provide an opportunity for an effective counter-attack. Delphi held the key to controlling the Isthmus Corridor route (Szemler *et al.* 1996) northwards, which was the main overland route back to Persia for Xerxes. If he wanted to take Delphi, he

could have done so easily. Consequently the question to be asked is what was the attack on Delphi – a fabrication by Delphi, an undisciplined band of Persian soldiers working on their own initiative, or a carefully orchestrated and artificial ‘attack and retreat’ that was planned between Delphi and Xerxes to establish Delphi’s credibility?

The third possibility can be dismissed; as such a plan required too much organisation and contained the chance that things could go badly wrong. Of the other reasons, the route argument indicates a choice. If Xerxes planned the attack, he would have ordered his troops down the Isthmus Corridor route and they would have attacked from the west. If they were a band of ill-disciplined soldiers acting on their own, they would have detached themselves from the main army that lay to the east and attacked Delphi from that direction. Herodotos tells us that these attacking Persians marched ‘keeping Parnassus on their right’ (Hdt. 8.35), which shows they came from the east. Further, Herodotos tells us that they first came upon the temple of Athena Pronaea, which again lies to the east of the sanctuary complex (in the Marmaria - see How and Wells, 1912: ii. 245–6; Hdt. 8.37; and Fig. 7.11). The second part of Herodotos’ chapter now becomes clearer. He tells us that, ‘their purpose of parting from the rest of the army was to plunder the temple and lay the wealth before Xerxes.’ Based upon the arguments above, and on the balance of probability coming from the east, it seems that the band was operating without Xerxes’ knowledge and that their temple raiding was either to curry favour with him, to enrich themselves, or to retrieve the offerings of Kroisos, which they might consider as Persian (Hdt. 8.35). Nowhere in Herodotos is Xerxes directly implicated in this raid, and it must be concluded that this was not an ‘official’ raid but an opportunistic adventure by a group of soldiers.

Parke and Wormell agree that it was a marauding band, out to loot in defiance of orders, which attacked Delphi (1956: 173). Their reason was that, as they believe, Delphi and Xerxes had agreed a secret compact; they suggest this is the only way that Delphi could have remained unscathed. From Xerxes’ point of view, he needed Delphi to unite the soon-to-be-defeated Greek states, and Delphi had not done anything to displease him. The attack by the band of soldiers did threaten to upset the plans, but the small defensive force of Greeks at Delphi saw off this raiding

attempt. Such a raid would have provided an explanation of the suspicious immunity of the sanctuary. Later, Delphi could exaggerate the incident to look like a major attack against a small defensive force, one that the gods and ghosts helped to route the evil Persians. Apart from explaining away its isolation, it also enhanced its power and religious significance. The addition of the circumstantial evidence regarding the inviolability of Delphi indicates that this was for the purposes of obscuring or deflecting a suspicion of collusion with the Persians. It is the gullibility (and innocence) of Herodotos and his success in disseminating the stories that added significantly to the apparent pro-Greek or biased neutrality of Delphi during the Persian invasion.

## 7.4 The Attack of the Galatae

The politics and reasons behind the attack of the Galatae are in comparison very simple. The aim of Brennus was to raid the temple in the same way his people had raided temples in the past. Memnon (*FGrHist* 434: F8.8) describes their past behaviour as that of a people who would make attacks into Macedonia for the purposes of temple robbing and is a tradition based upon their need to escape famine. Appian (*Illyr.* 1.5) mentions that these people had a predilection for temple robbing and informs us that it was the Scordisci, Maedi, and Dardanii who had a history of invasions into Greece and Macedonia for such a purpose. Therefore, the politics was that of greed, plunder, and perhaps tradition. To postulate anything else would need a very strong argument.

The military situation must have been of concern, as Brennus was well armed and powerful enough to manage the sacking of the sanctuary, and in this respect only the bravery and fighting prowess of the defenders saved the day. While not wishing to take anything away from the defence, we must concede that the defenders of Delphi did have the enormous military advantage of having the high ground and were behind defensive barriers. Further, the landscape of the surroundings strongly favoured the defenders. Modern conventional military doctrine declares that in this situation Brennus needed to outnumber the defenders seven to one to have a chance of defeating a good defence (see Fig. 7.11 and 7.12 to appreciate the terrain in which they fought). Parke and Wormell (1956: 255) mention that the Galatae were undisciplined and inclined to scatter in their attacks; but although this is taken directly from Justin (24.7.4–5), it is not reflected elsewhere. This view of the Galatae can be dismissed, as it does not equate with the military success they had enjoyed against experienced and well-trained superior forces.

Whether Brennus achieved a breakthrough and actually sacked the sanctuary is still a matter of some debate. Both Justin and Pausanias agree that the temple was not touched, whilst Diodorus says Brennus breached its walls and entered (Diod. 22.9.4). There is much mythology on the possibility of the sacking of Delphi<sup>134</sup> but it has been shown by Segre (1929) that these accounts cannot be traced further back than

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<sup>134</sup> Posidonius *FGrH* 87: F48; Diodorus Siculus 5.32.5 and 22.9.4; Strabo 4.1.13; and Livy 40.58.3.

the second century BC. Cary gives some reasoned arguments to show that Brennus could have breached the defences (Cary 1951) whilst Parke and Wormell argue that, as the oracle had already declared it would protect its own, the priests would overcome their appeal to the pious and take much care to conceal the breach. However, as we have seen above, the oracle declaring that it would take care of its own was a construction after the event, so there is no need to conceal anything. This being the case, we can conclude that there was no breach of the defences and Brennus did not gain access to the temple.



**Figure 7.11.** The sanctuary of Delphi. The view is looking east towards Marmara with the temple of Apollo and the theatre in the foreground. Marmaria and the sanctuary of Athene Pronaia can just be seen below the modern road in the background. The picture gives a dramatic view of the landscape and the terrain under which the Galatae and Greeks fought. The difficulty of any assault in this landscape can be appreciated.

(Photo by the Author)



**Figure 7.12.** The Gulf of Krisa (visible in the distance) when viewed from Delphi. The steep valley is that of the river Pleistos and it leads to the southern end of the Isthmus Corridor route. The terrain is quite unsuitable for large formal army assaults and cavalry and the defensive nature of the shoulders of Mt. Parnassus are evident.

(Photo by the author)

## 7.5 The Elements of the Analogy of Xerxes and Brennus

As we have seen, the possibility of extracting any useful information from the description of the primary sources of the attack by the Galatae is limited by the presence of the analogous element and further reduced by the probably fictitious element of the Persian attack. In order to proceed we will have to re-examine the recorded incidents in the primary sources to obtain some clarity.

In comparing the accounts of the attacks on Delphi by the Persians and the Galatae, the similarity in the accounts becomes abundantly evident as shown in Fig. 7.13.

<b>Xerxes' attack</b>	<b>Ref.</b>	<b>Brennus' attack</b>	<b>Ref.</b>
Oracle tells them the God will defend his own	Hdt. 8.36	Oracle tells them the god will defend his own	Paus. 10.22.12
Defenders small - 60 Delphians + others unknown	Hdt. 8.36	Defenders small: - 1600 + unknown no. of Phokians	Paus. 10.22.12
Continuous thunder and lightening	Hdt. 8.37	Continuous thunder and lightning	Paus. 10.23.01
Lightning bolts from heaven	Hdt. 8.37	Lightening set fire to the Attackers	Paus. 10.23.2
Ghosts of heroes, Phylacos and Autonomous	Hdt. 8.38	Ghosts of heroes, Hyperochos, Laodocos, Pyrrhos, & Phylacos. Gods: Apollo, Artemis & Athena	Paus. 10.23.2 Justin 24.8.5-7
Rock and crags falling on attackers	Hdt. 8.37: Hdt. 8.39	Rock and crags falling on attackers	Paus. 10.23.4: Justin 24.8.9
Rocks killing many at a time	Hdt. 8.37	Rocks killing many at a time	Paus. 10.23.4: Justin 24.8.9
Attack by defending Greeks	Hdt. 8.38	Attack by defending Greeks	Paus. 10.23.4-5
Attackers chased back to Boeotia	Hdt. 8.38	Attackers chased back to Herakleia	Paus. 10.23.12: Justin 24.8.15: Diod. 22.9.3

**Figure 7.13** The similarities between the stories of the invasion of Xerxes (by Herodotos) and that of Brennus in their attack on Delphi (by Pausanias, Justin, and Diodorus)

The main differences between the two attacks on Delphi are the degree of involvement of heroes and gods, and the account of the effect of frost and snow on the 'Gallic' attackers. With such an increase in the disproportionate difference between attackers and defenders at the Galatae attack, the degree of divine intervention would be expected to increase to account for the improbable victory. Although the number of Galatae attacking Delphi is recorded (and certainly exaggerated), the sources do not give the number of Persians attacking Delphi, but the implication is that it was much smaller. In Herodotos' account, the falling rocks,

sixty defenders, and the appearance of ‘heroes’ are enough to see off the band of Persians. With Brennus’ horde, there is a need for more heroic defenders, greater involvement of the gods and heroes, help from the elements (snow, frost, earthquakes, and falling mountains), and weakness of the attackers (starvation and exposure) to help explain the eventual defeat of such an apparent immense number of attackers.

By looking at the differences between the two stories of Brennus and Xerxes, we can identify those elements that are outside the analogy. Those elements in the Brennus description that do not appear in the Persian account are given in Fig. 7.14.

<b>Event</b>	<b>Pausanias</b>	<b>Justin</b>	<b>Diodorus</b>
Apollo and the white maidens will care for Delphi			Diod. 22.9.5
Oracle says not to bring in crops and wine		Justin 24.7.6	
Galatae delayed as they foraged for food		Justin 24.7.7	
Defenders are reinforced		Justin 24.7.9	
Earthquakes	Paus. 10.23.1	Justin 24.8.9	
Brave defenders killed and honoured	Paus. 10.23.3		
Invaders beset by calamities and terrors	Paus. 10.23.4		
Severe frost and snow at night	Paus. 10.23.4	Justin 24.8.10, 14	
Rocks fall on attackers		Justin 24.8.2	
Leader wounded & attackers fall back	Paus. 10.23.6	Justin 24.8.12	Diod. 22.9.2
Galatae killed those who were wounded	Paus. 10.23.6	Justin 24.8.12	Diod. 22.9.3
Attackers at night visited by madness	Paus. 10.23.7		
Greeks attack maddened Galatae	Paus. 10.23.9		
Keep them from foraging	Paus. 10.23.10		
Galatae starved and many died	Paus. 10.23.10	Justin 24.8.14	Diod. 22.9.3

**Figure 7.14** The events not reflected in the story of the Persian attack and events that were specific to the attack of the Galatae on Delphi.

Delphi called upon the gods, and the gods and heroes responded to this plea for help. With the ‘white maidens’ being supernatural<sup>135</sup> (they were the Eumenides-Erinyes or Furies), the recorded defence of Delphi was primarily a religious experience and not the reporting of a conventional battle. When reading the account of Pausanias, it is essential to take this view. Commentators have always accepted his report as being a mixture of truisms and allegories of events, and

<sup>135</sup> Diodorus, refers to oracle given in response to the question ‘should we hide the treasures of the sanctuary?’ The response was, ‘I and the White Maidens will attend to this’ (Diod. 22.9.5), a response that, in modern times, has caused some debate and discussion as to its meaning. Space restricts any arguments but it is suggested that the white maidens were the Furies, appearing white to their allies and black to their enemies. The power of these entities is precisely that reported in the supernatural effects seen on the battlefield, and these attributes are common currency of belief in the ancient world.

spend much time and endeavour in ascribing real and convoluted arguments and actions to these mythical or religious descriptions. Taking the battle as a religious experience gives it more clarity. The effects of madness, awfulness, vengefulness, death, fear, and anger inflicted upon the attacking army by the spiritual is now a consequence of the supernatural characteristics of those called to help, their influence becomes obvious, and dominates the description. Pausanias, like the other primary sources, is recounting the religious dogma of Delphi in reference to this incident, not describing the battlefield action. The description of the battle is a classic demonstration of the power of the Furies upon the mortal (cf. Justin 26.2–6), and explains their defeat without recourse to a large material and corporeal army.

Whilst explaining some of the fabulous aspects of the attack on Delphi, this hypothesis does not allow us to separate the religious and mythological consequences from the reality of what happened. By examining the description of the attack in the primary sources after the extraction of the supernatural, it is clear that there is little left. It reduces to those elements given in Fig. 7.15.

<b>Event</b>	<b>Pausanias</b>	<b>Justin</b>	<b>Diodorus</b>
Oracle says not to bring in crops and wine		Justin 24.7.6	
Galatae delayed as they foraged for food		Justin 24.7.7	
Defenders reinforce		Justin 24.7.9	
Brave defender killed and statue set up	Paus. 10.23.3		
Severe frost and snow at night	Paus. 10.23.4	Justin 24.8.10, 14	
Leader wounded & attackers fall back	Paus. 10.23.6	Justin 24.8.12	Diod. 22.9.2
Galatae killed those who were wounded	Paus. 10.23.6	Justin 24.8.12	Diod. 22.9.3
Keep them from foraging	Paus. 10.23.10		
Galatae starved and many died	Paus. 10.23.10	Justin 24.8.14	Diod. 22.9.3

**Figure 7.15** The events that may not be a consequence of mythological action in the attack of Brennus on Delphi

The aspects of the story that deal with the crops and foraging need some comment, as there is some evidence that argues for and against such an event. Several aspects give rise to doubt that forage was a problem and the Galatae were hungry when they arrived at Delphi. Brennus started out early in the fighting season and, although he spent time in pillaging Macedonia, he would not have left it too late to make his way southwards to Delphi. Justin tells us that Brennus fought and beat Sosthenes, then ravaged and pillaged in Macedonia and Thessaly (see also Paus. 10.20.1) before turning towards Delphi (Justin 24.6.2–5). He ravaged the countryside (Justin 24.6.3) and, as such, forage for his army would have been easy to obtain. The

army of Brennus was experienced in this form of warfare, and would have had knowledge of living off the land for extended periods. After making up his mind to attack Delphi, he continued south with the support of Thessalian lords to help with men and supplies (Justin 24.7.2). This again implies that he had access to a reasonable quantity of food from the Thessalians. When he arrived in the area of Thermopylae-Dhema, he had the fertile valley of the Spercheios to supply him as well as the Thessalian plain to the north. If it was late in the year, then the harvest was just in and provisions were at their most abundant. It is not reasonable to believe that the army of Brennus continued short-rationed or under-supplied. Following his successful attack on the pass, I will assume that the Isthmus Corridor route was used, as it was only 40 km to Delphi. Pausanias tells us that Brennus did not wait for the rest of the army, but continued straight on to Delphi with the men he used to force the gates at Dhema (Paus. 10.23.1). The implication is that he moved without supplies. If Brennus did move with his detachment and without supplies, he was travelling light and fast in countryside, that because of the imminent or just gathered harvest, was more than capable of supplying his needs (Szemler *et al.* 1996: 54). The distance of 40 km to Delphi means that the army at an average speed would have been at Delphi in two days. Living on either their self-carried rations or having access to forage, they would have arrived in good condition.

We are aware that upon reaching Delphi the soldiers of the Galatae foraged again (Justin 24.7.4–5) but Justin tells us that it was because of long deprivation that they ranged the countryside taking the well stocked provisions and wine of the farmers. Justin mentions that the oracle forbade the farmers to transport their harvested crops (Justin 24.7.6) but this oracle, as a formal oracular pronouncement, could not be found in Fontenrose (1978) or Parke & Wormell (1956).<sup>136</sup> The forage by the Galatae in preparation of an extended military operation and following a forced march would seem an acceptable strategy, and such a delay in the attack on Delphi would allow the defenders to reinforce and so to that extent the report seems reasonable. However, the deprivation of the Galatae does not, and similarly the

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<sup>136</sup> Justin's report of the agricultural produce being hidden is not specifically mentioned. Parke and Wormell (PW329: ii., 133) comment that Justin's quotation is an extension to cover private property of the enquirers and Fontenrose (Q231: 344) makes no comment at all on this extension. The oracle definitely refers to the offerings and possessions 'at the Oracle' and not the surrounding countryside. Trogus (or Justin) appears to have made an unsupportable extrapolation.

deprivations following the battle leading to mass starvation seem improbable. It would appear that this aspect, like that attributed to the Furies, must be a supernatural occurrence or an author's invention.

Only the aspects of snow, frost, and the death of wounded soldiers remain for comment and examination. On the issue of the snow, modern weather show that snow is nearly always present in January and February and unlikely at other times (Greeka 2007). Justin's account makes it quite clear that the season is late summer or early autumn and as such makes the likelihood of snow more remote. In view of the meteorological conditions and the time of the year then on balance the snow is another supernatural or spiritual effect that should belong to the religious aspects discussed above. We should not discount the poetic, with Kallimachos' description of the Gauls when they 'rush on like snow flakes' (Kallimachos 1921 Hymn to Delos: 171-7) where Mineur suggests their use of gypsum to give a white hair dressing may give rise to this phrase or image (Mineur 1984: 170).

The action of executing wounded soldiers (Justin 24.12) is harsh but understandable; for it ensures that carrying the wounded does not slow down the retreat (more evidence of no wagons?). The badly wounded Brennus died when it was becoming clear that his wounds were more of a liability than his leadership was a benefit. The executions as punishment for the disastrous raid could presumably be expected to include Brennus, his immediate generals, and probably the generals of the Aenianes and Thessalians and their supporters. That Akichorios lasted so long was due to his inability to get to Delphi to support Brennus in the attack, and to the fact that he was probably the one who ordered the punishment executions.

## 7.6 Conclusions and the Unwinding of the Analogy

All modern commentators have recognised the numbers involved in Brennus' army as grossly inflated and dismiss them as such. It has been such an obvious exaggeration that commentators have declared it a waste of time to analyse the size and effects of this army. We must take care, however, as some commentators, whilst refusing to countenance such a size on the one hand, readily accept it in another context (see Mitchell 1993: 14–15 and n. 14). If the numbers are grossly exaggerated, then there are no longer the usual arguments over tactics and strategy. Moreover, if the actual events at Delphi can be clarified, then the consequences of the attack may be a good guide to the actual numbers involved.

Of the three primary source accounts, it is interesting to note that only Pausanias says anything about a military action at Thermopylae that is an analogy to the Persian attack. Justin and Diodorus give no information or comment upon any incident at Thermopylae, yet from all three sources we do have the story of the supernatural event at Delphi. If the Aetolians and Phokians used the events at Delphi to build their reputations, why were not the events at Thermopylae used in the same way? Although Thermopylae was a defeat, the heroics of the two peoples defending the pass would have been worth a major adjunct to the whole story. The supernatural events at Delphi have a commonality and consistency across all three major sources, and this is not because of an assessment of fact, but more to do with the usage of a common source.

Any analogy of events based upon the constructed story of Xerxes' attack does nothing but confirm the fabrication of the detail of the attack by Brennus. Basing a history on a specious story does nothing but make the story itself specious. The consequence of using an enhanced story of Xerxes' attack and the defeat effectively limits the useful extraction of detail from the recorded history. The analogy between the recounting of the story of the attack of Xerxes and that of Brennus is, on one level, transparent and wrong. Yet on another level its validity resides in its construction for political gain. In this sense, and only in this sense, are they to be considered analogous. Therefore, we might say that historically they are more or less meaningless whilst politically they have relevance and a relationship. In the

political sense, the Xerxes story produced an excuse for, or camouflage of, the involvement of Delphi in its pro-Persian support and allowed Delphi to give a final explanation that re-established the sanctuary in the lives and culture of the Greeks. In the historical sense, Xerxes attack is an event that is questionable. The Brennus story was a similar political and religious construct, not for the direct benefit of Delphi but initially for the Aetolians and Phokians. As Tarn recounts, there were two beneficiaries to the attack, the Aetolians and the Phokians (Tarn 1913: 156) although I would add that Delphi contrived to take much credit as well. That Apollo had manifested himself is known to have been current within six months of the invasion but it was 30 years before the legend was extended to include the deities of Artemis and Athena. Flaceliere (1937: 594) believes that this extension of the story was due to the influence of the Aetolians who wanted the glory of saving Delphi and having the help of their own special divinities, Artemis and Athena. Each of the beneficiaries certainly did well from the incident and, as with Delphi and Xerxes, it was in their interest to exaggerate their role and the outcome.

Phokis had borne the major defensive fighting at Delphi and as a result, it received the reward it coveted, readmission to the Amphiktyonic League (Paus. 10.8.2). Of the other main protagonist, the Aetolians had undertaken the holding back the 'half-army' detachment of Akichorios that followed Brennus, and harrying the retreating forces of the Galatae after their defeat at Delphi. Of these two the Aetolians gained most from the Delphi incident. Immediately after the attack, they steadily increased their influence, legitimised their control of Delphi, and took control of the Amphiktyonic Assembly. Justifying their seized position, they set up many memorials to the 'great invasion'.<sup>137</sup> The role of the Aetolians in modifying the story is also evident from the study of the epigraphical records of the event. Realising that the situation was exploitable even further, the Aetolians instituted at Delphi first the annual Amphictionic thanksgiving festival in memory of the Deliverance of Greece, then into the establishment of the penteteric Soteria. Eventually the Greek states elevated its contests to be of equal importance with Nemea and Pythia, and invitations were sent out all over the Greek world to be immortalised in games and festivals. The change from the annual festival to the

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<sup>137</sup> Apart from those discussed here, IGii<sup>2</sup> 677, IGii<sup>2</sup> 680, Austin<sup>2</sup>60, and those in Appendix II (whose origin is Delphi) all give valuable indications to the political use made of the attack by the Galatae.

penteteric festival occurred in 246/5 (Champion 1995: 213) and the five extant decrees associated with the Aetolian establishment of the penteteric Soteria (Elwyn, 1990: 177) present some epigraphic evidence that demonstrates the Aetolian diplomacy at this time. Elwyn shows that the one of the decrees (*FD III.1 483*) has unique elements that echo the established diplomatic tradition of divine intervention in Greek victory. Champion points out that the earlier decrees:

... reflects the Aetolian letter seeking recognition of the expanded festival and they suggest an Aetolian version of events of 279 BC, which run counter to the main tradition. The Aetolians take the prominent role in the repulse of the Gauls before Delphi and the divine elements are completely absent.

(Champion 1995: 214)

Champion indicates that epigraphic evidence suggests that the divine elements of the story derive from a traditional base and quotes the Coan decree (*SIG.<sup>3</sup>, 398.1-4*) where Apollo is responsible for the defeat of the Galatae and the men who defended the temple take a secondary position. This is the decree set up in between March and July 278 BC and is contemporary with the events. In contrast, the four decrees establishing the Soteria have Apollo's contribution removed, they imply one attack of the Galatae (instead of a series as suggested by the Coan decree), and the divine elements are de-emphasised. It would seem that the Aetolians in their letter of invitation to the penteteric festival of the Soteria emphasised their own role in the defence of Delphi and would share the credit with no one else (Champion 1995: 216). This evidence allows the understanding that the Aetolian insistence on its role in the defence may not be only for political advantage but also an attempt to not have the history of the event obscured by a compulsory traditional Delphic story of divine intervention.

Delphi was also a beneficiary, although not in a direct way, for it had reinforced its power and its position as the centre for Hellenic devotion and as the common possession of all Hellas. There was also the indirect advantage with the story of its spiritual alibi for its Xerxes involvement although by this time few doubts would have remained. The analogy added to Delphi's status, and further insured it against any concerns that might undermine its position.

We should discard a great deal of the primary source material in respect of the attack of the Galatae in Hellas' history. Much is a transparent construction, a false

analogy, an over-emphasis of minor matters, or an exaggeration. Tarn recognised this intuitively and, whilst not providing details of these false claims and elements of the story, commented:

The defence of Delphi, as formally narrated by later Greek writers, becomes a poetical duplication of the similar story in Herodotos; the stars in their courses fight against the impious invader, the crags of Parnassos fall on him and crush him, gods and heroes take the shape and the arms of men and hurl him back from the sanctuary.

(Tarn 1913: 155)

After these comments the story appears to be thus: Brennus was a chieftain of the Galatae who, upon returning from the three-detachment raid, recognised the weakness in Macedonia and convinced his council at home that another raid into Macedonia would be profitable. The confused and weakened Macedonia, following the death of Keraunos and the inability to appoint another king, was vulnerable to attack. Brennus rode into Macedonia and Thessaly, pillaged, and ravaged the countryside from the spring to the summer of 279 meeting only limited resistance from Sosthenese. In the summer, emboldened by his success, he decided to ride to Greece and attack the biggest prize of all, the sanctuary at Delphi. He rode south with his army, leaving half to guard the spoils of his raids (as he did not want to repeat the mistake of Bolgios) at the border of Thessaly. With his remaining forces, he attacked the entrance to the Isthmus Corridor route at Dhema in the Malian Gulf and secured the passage. With a lightly armed detachment he marched to Delphi leaving Akichorios to bring up to rear with the rest of his troops. With his guides and confederates, the Aenians and Thessalians, he attacked Delphi but underestimated the terrain and the defences of Delphi. The defenders had the benefit of high ground and knowledge of the surrounding countryside, something that gave them an enormous advantage in defence. Brennus and his small detachment were defeated and routed, and retreated along the Isthmus Corridor route where they meet the harassed forces of Akichorios. The Aetolians, who had undertaken a guerrilla approach when attacking the invaders, hounded these forces in a similar manner to the attack of the Aetolians on the Galatae who attacked Kallion (Paus. 10.22.3–4). The Aetolians inflicted heavy casualties on the retreating Galatae and maintained the rout. Brennus, under the tribal or battle code that the wounded must die, took his own life. The remnants of his army met with the rearguard at the border of Thessaly and withdrew to their homeland.

Army sizes were commensurate with this scenario, one in which there was undeniable bravery and professional soldiery but no massive forces, no Thermopylae, no gods, no spiritual effects, and no recurrence of the Thermopylae and Delphi attack by Xerxes. Sadly, stripped of its analogy and romance it is a simple, tawdry tale of a temple raid that failed.

Of the remaining traditional story of the incursion of the Galatae there are but two main issues left. The first is to answer the series of questions following the defeat at Delphi. We need to know what were the manner of the retreat and the implication of the casualties incurred. Where did the Galatae go on their retreat, and what was the sequence of events that caused many of them to seemingly roam the Macedonian and Thracian countryside as bandits? The second issue is to address the traditional view that as a nation they effected a mass migration from the Balkans to Anatolia to set in motion the formation of the nation of Galatia. The next chapter addresses these two remaining questions.

## Chapter 8 – The Retreat from Delphi and the Question of the Founding of Galatia

8.1 The Retreat from Delphi and the Aftermath

8.2 The Founding of Galatia

8.3 Conclusion

## Chapter 8 – The Retreat from Delphi and the Question of the Founding of Galatia

### 8.1 The Retreat from Delphi and the Aftermath

After Delphi, the story of the invading Galatae becomes very fragmented. Without a continuous script from the primary sources, it has many interpretations by modern historians as they attempt to weave together the various fragments into a coherent narrative. The nature of the contents of the sources, the inconclusive dates, and the eagerness of modern historians to form a sensible continuation of the story has resulted in conclusions which, whilst matching the known scraps of facts, are numerous and variable. In order to attempt to understand what happened it is necessary not only to go back to the primary sources, but also to include any new evidence to eliminate some of the many suggestions. It is only after this that an attempt can be made to present a narrative that best fits the old and new information.

As we have seen in chapter 7, the remaining army's size following the attack on Delphi *varies* according to the ancient historian's accounts. Pausanias tells us that when the Galatae were reunited with their rearguard, they formed a combined army of about 115,000 men. But he also tells us that, as they retreated from Herakleia to the borders of their own land, the attacks of the Aetolians and Boeotians destroyed them, most of them falling as they reached the river Spercheios<sup>138</sup> (Paus. 10.23.8–9). The distance from Herakleia to the river Spercheios is only 7km, and this may be seen to be a remarkably small space in which to fight what may have been the largest battle in ancient times (or even modern, as casualties were more than the first day on the Somme – Holmes, 1996: 140).

Diodorus' account differs from that of Pausanias in that his figures are smaller - they retreated with less than 25,000 men (Diod. 22.9.3) - and the attacks upon this

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<sup>138</sup> Tarn (1913: 157) suggests that the Aenianes and the Thessalians (Justin 24.7.2) turned on the Galatae at the Spercheios (Paus. 10.23.13–14). However, these people did not represent the whole of Thessaly, only local fiefdoms (see Tarn 1913:148 n. 41). An alliance between such Thessalians and the Malians was unlikely because of the support they gave Brennus in his destruction of their country.

surviving army are much further north, in the country of the Dardanii. He does agree that not a single man returned home.

Justin tells us that the army in retreat was annihilated (Justin 24.8.16), yet goes on to discuss later the fate of the survivors. This inconsistency is explained by assuming that Justin's annihilation refers to the men who had attacked Delphi, and his description of the fate of the survivors refers to the rearguard. This is corroborated by Pausanias who, although reporting the annihilation of the army (10.23.8–9), also declares that a greater number of the Gauls crossed over to Asia (1.4.5). He, like Justin, may have seen the army as being in two divisions, although unlike Justin he makes no mention of the larger portion acting as a rearguard.

Therefore, on the subject of the retreat, we have some agreement that the returning Delphi attackers were destroyed, and we need only to discuss Justin's (and perhaps Pausanias') remnant. For this remnant, several outcomes are given by the primary sources. The first is that Justin tells us that after this unsuccessful attack the Galatae were outcasts; they took flight to Asia and Thrace, and from there retraced their steps to their original homeland. One group settled at the confluence of the Danube and the Save (or Drave and Save – Posidonios, *frag.* 240a) and called themselves the Scordisci, whilst another group (Tectosagi) reached their old homeland of Tolosa (Toulouse) and, following an unsettled period there, returned to Pannonia (Justin 32.3.6–12).<sup>139</sup> The second outcome is that this retreating remnant took ship to Asia Minor and stayed there (Paus. 1.4.5), passing out of the historical record.<sup>140</sup> Polybios, when discussing the Tarentine appeal, says it occurred in the year preceding the crossing into Asia of the 'Gauls' defeated at Delphi (Polyb. 1.6.5).

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<sup>139</sup> This story must be dismissed for several reasons. The first is distance, as Delphi to Toulouse is 3,090 km using modern road distances. Would it be reasonable to expect the Brigantes in NW England, upon hearing of the first Punic War in Sicily, to travel there in the hope of plunder? The second is the dismissal of the myths surrounding the Delphic gold hidden in the lake and found by the Roman Caepio (Justin 32.3.9). The third is that there is no satisfactory answer to the question: why migrate so far? There is a fourth, which cannot be validated, that says there is a coincidence of names with the tribe called Tectosagi in the region of Toulouse.

<sup>140</sup> Tarn (1913: 157 n. 69) believes that these Galatae moved to Asia and quotes Livy (38.16.1–2) as evidence, but Livy's reference is to a breakaway group from Brennus' original command, not to survivors of the Delphi attack.

Livy tells us that, as Brennus moved southwards towards Delphi through the country of the Dardanii, a disagreement broke out between him and two of his commanders (Lonorius<sup>141</sup> and Lutarius).<sup>142</sup> As a result, the two chiefs with 20,000 men seceded from Brennus group, turned aside, and travelled towards Thrace (Livy 38.16.1–2). The subsequent actions of this group were to penetrate Thrace as far as Byzantium and to extort protection money from those in the countryside. Livy tells us that they continued this extortion for a ‘considerable time’ along the coast of the Propontis holding as tributaries the cities of the district (Livy 38.16.3).<sup>143</sup> Following a considerable period of extortion, they desired to cross into Asia as it appeared richer and thus more profitable to them (Livy 38.16.4). They had taken Lysimacheia, occupied the whole of the Chersonese, and were in the process of negotiating a crossing of the Hellespont when they disagreed and split into two groups, the larger of which, led by Lonorius, went back to Byzantium to continue its extortion. The other group, led by Lutarius, acquired five small boats, took themselves across the Hellespont (Livy 38.16.5–6), and settled in Asia. Later Nikomedes of Bithynia recruited Lonorius, who rejoined forces with Lutarius in Asia, and with these allies (NB allies not mercenaries; see Mitchell 1993: 16), Nikomedes gained sovereignty of his country.

Polybios tells a similar story. A band of Galatae under the command of Komontoris escaped from the disaster of Delphi by abandoning Brennus. This band travelled eastwards through Thrace, arriving at the Hellespont with the intention of crossing into Asia. However, they liked the look of the country around Byzantium, so they conquered the Thracians in the region and started to extort protection money from Byzantium (4.46.1–4). This extortion was undertaken from the polis of Tylis – a city they had established when they first moved into the region. It should be noted that this story is identical to Livy’s if we replace ‘Komontoris’ for ‘Lonorius and Lutarius’.

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<sup>141</sup> There are many spellings of these names – I have taken that from Sage’s translation of Livy (1949)

<sup>142</sup> The only time when Brennus was passing through the country of the Dardanii was on his way to Delphi in 279.

<sup>143</sup> Modern commentators have already endowed the people with characteristics, dates, and ‘facts’ that are not given by the primary sources at this point. Tarn gives this breakaway group a date of 278, says that only 50% were armed, Brennus was taking them northwards when they seceded (NB Brennus was dead at this point), and they did much damage in their trip into Thrace (Tarn 1913: 164).

There are two further pieces of history from the primary sources. The first is that some Galatae left behind by Brennus to defend their country's frontier when Brennus was marching into Greece (Justin 25.1.2). This was at a time when Antigonos was returning to Macedonia, having just made peace with Antiochus.<sup>144</sup> These Galatae (numbering 18,000) moved out of their homeland to attack and raid the Getae and Triballi. Whilst close to the border of Macedonia they tried to extort money from Antigonos by offering peace if the price was right (Justin 25.1.3). Walbank comments on the description of the resulting conflict as full of inconsistencies, quite disjointed, and illogical (see Justin 25.1–2.7; Walbank 1988: 257). The incident became known as the battle of Lysimacheia, and from that moment on it is said that the Galatae in Macedonia were controlled (Justin 25.2.7; Tarn 1913: 166). That the battle took place is confirmed by Diogenes Laertius (2.141–2), who records a congratulatory decree being moved by Menedemos for Antigonos on his victory over the barbarians at this time.

The second piece of information comes from Posidonios' short essay on gold and silver and associated human greed (Posidonios, *frag.* 240a: Kidd 1988; Edelstein and Kidd 1972; *FGrHist* 87: F48; Athenaeus 6.233D–234C). We are told in lines 29–40 that Bathanattos, a chieftain of the Galatae, takes over the leadership of the survivors of the attack on Delphi and leads them northwards to the Danube and to the junction of the Save and Drave, where they became the Scordisci. This would appear to be another telling of the same story in Justin (32.3.8) given above.<sup>145</sup>

Little more can be added from the primary sources about the events immediately following the Delphi attack.

We turn now to the modern historians who have taken the primary source material and tried in various ways to knit together a comprehensive and complete story of the aftermath of the Delphi attack. Their main aim has been to explain the movement of the Galatae in Macedonia and the transition of the Galatae from the

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<sup>144</sup> Tarn (1913: 163) gives the date as 277, whilst Yardley (1994: 191 n. 1) gives 276. Hammond and Walbank agree a date of 277 (1988: 256), whilst mentioning elsewhere that peace between Antiochus and Antigonos occurred when the arranged marriage between Phila and Antigonos was made in 278 (*ibid.*: 1988: 251).

<sup>145</sup> One interesting comment from Posidonius is that the road down which the Galatae retreated became known as 'Battanattia' (after their leader) and the descendants of these retreating people became known as the 'Bathanatti' (Posidonius *frag.* 240a.32-7) 'to this very day' (Athenaeus 6.234b).

Balkans to Anatolia. Much of the explanation is predicated on the discredited hypothesis that we are dealing with ‘Celts of traditional understanding’ and that they were a migrating nation (Mitchell 1993: 15), and that this led to the establishment of Galatia in Anatolia.

Of the modern historians, Walbank and Tarn each attempt the most sequential argument of the events after the defeat at Delphi (Walbank 1957: 498–99; Tarn 1913: 164–6). Their interpretations are almost identical with Walbank’s initial premise that those destroyed at Delphi and those that crossed into Asia were separate armies, Brennus having had a small force when he marched on Delphi. Their hypothesis is that two armies invaded Macedonia.<sup>146</sup> Bolgios’ army withdrew after destroying Keraunos; the other, under Brennus and Akichorios, continued south into Greece with Brennus taking a raiding party to attack Delphi. The survivors of Brennus’ army under Akichorios joined the third army (or detachment) under Kerethrios, who had invaded Thrace (Paus.10.19.7). They attacked the Getae and Triballi (Justin 25.1.2), and Antigonos Gonatas defeated this reinforced army at Lysimacheia in 277. The survivors of this battle, now under Komontoris, turned northwards to the coast of Thrace and founded the kingdom of Tylis (Polyb. 4.45.10–4.46.2). Komontoris’ men, for the most part, had never been a part of Brennus’ force, which attacked Delphi in the autumn of 279. This scheme is shown in schematic form in Fig. 8.1.

Tarn is also firmly of the opinion that all of the activities of the Galatae in Greece, Macedonia and Thrace stem from the ‘three-detachment’ incursion launched in 280. With Bolgios returning home following his defeat at the hands of Sosthenes in 280, and Brennus’ forces dissipating northwards after the disaster at Delphi in 279, Tarn declares ‘that two of the three bodies into which the Gallic invasion had divided itself had now ceased to be a menace to civilization in the Balkans’ (Tarn 1913: 97–8). This declaration means that all the remaining activities of the Galatae, including any migration, all resulted from the single body of men originally under the command of Kerethrios (who went to invade the Getae and Triballi) along with

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<sup>146</sup> This invasion was what I have called the ‘three-detachment’ incursion, except that Walbank has ignored the third detachment of Kerethrios. In Walbank’s view, only two armies attacked Macedonia, Bolgios’ and Brennus’ while Kerethrios’ army (the third detachment) did attack the Triballi and Getae later in the year.

the added reinforcements of the breakaway group under the command of Lutarius and Lonorius. Tarn's view is illustrated schematically in Fig. 8.2.



**Figure 8.1** The movement of the armies of the Galatae according to Walbank. The route of Bolgios is the same as that already described. Brennus and Akichorios also follow the same route except that at Stip they abandon their raid into Paeonia and decide to attack Delphi. Following the defeat the remnants of Brennus' army return, travels to Thrace and joins up with Kerethrios' detachment. Combined they then go on to take the Chersonese, fight and lose at Lysimacheia, and retreat to form the polis of Tylis. Walbank does not include the split and the forces of Lutarius and Lonorius. To meet the timescales, Kerethrios needs to have left the homeland of the Galatae much later than the other two armies.

(Routes derived from Walbank 1957: 498–9)



**Figure 8.2** Tarn's view of the movement of the armies of the Galatae is similar to Walbank's except that he includes the split at Stip of Lutarius and Lonorius and assumes that Brennus and his Delphi army were destroyed. In all other respects, the comments of Fig. 8.1 apply. (Routes derived from Tarn 1913: 164–5 and n. 98)

These views attempt to take all of the main elements of the primary sources and, with modification to change this disjointed narrative into a continuous one. The major objections are threefold. The first is the anachronistic and almost nomadic existence in the wanderings around Macedonia and Thrace. The second is that there is no evidence for the connections Walbank and Tarn have made between these diverse events in this region over this period, or for the modifications they need in order to make the narrative work. This is despite Tarn's arguments that attempt to justify his position (Tarn 1913: 165 n. 98). The third reason is that the social and domestic conditions of the Galatae are not explained, taken into consideration, or clarified.

Walbank, in his discussion of the history of Macedonia, adds little to the hypothesis described above (Walbank 1988: 254–8). He centres their history of this period on

the life and activities of Antigonos Gonatas, with only slight references to the role and activities of the Galatae. Mitchell (1993: 13 ff.) attempts a pictorial narrative from the events of the primary sources, by producing a map detailing with the Galatian invasion of Greece and Asia Minor. Although it relies on the evidence of the primary sources, it tends to mislead in the sense that it joins too few dots yet attempts to make a complex picture. (see Darbyshire *et al.* 2000: 76 map 1). In all other respects, Mitchell's account reflects the primary sources quite well. He also makes two very important points in his account. The first is that the detailed sequence of events in Greece between the 'three-detachment' incursion and the battle of Lysimacheia is extremely difficult to unravel and reassemble into a coherent whole (Mitchell 1993: 14). The second is that: 'Since our authorities for the crossing into Asia view the event from an Anatolian point of view, it is not simple to dovetail their accounts into the record of Celtic activity in Europe.' (Mitchell 1993: 15). His first point has been shown to be a consequence of the fragmentary and sometimes conflicting information from the primary sources and the conflict shows either that the authors used differing sources or that the passage of time had distorted the narrative.

Mitchell's second comment is the most interesting as it perhaps reflects the change of historical emphasis from the Balkans to Anatolia, following the assassination of Seleukos in 281 and the start of the rise of the Attalid dynasty. This point is important, as it shows the difficulty of linking changes in historical perspective. It may also say something about the links between Asia Minor and Macedonia and indicate that the arrival of the Galatae was not particularly notable i.e. there was no significant migration at this time. However, the lack of linkage between Anatolia and the Balkans, coupled with the doubtful hypothesis of migration, requires a better explanation than just a shift of historical emphasis.

Given that many of the mercenaries would have taken their families, it is unlikely that the bands of Lutarius and Lonorius started with these encumbrances, as they had seceded from Brennus' war party before the Delphi attack and mobility and speed was the key to the Galatian raids. Livy's comment that only half were armed (38.16.10) refers to a time when they crossed from Byzantium to Asia Minor at the

behest of Nikomedes of Bithynia, two or more years after their split with Brennus. The 10,000 unarmed Galatae are usually taken by historians to mean as wives and families, yet this is unlikely when the group had split from Brennus. Alternative options for this large unarmed contingent are easy to find:

- There may have been casualties amongst the 20,000 original armed men, and the survivors may have acquired families, captives, hostages and slaves in the two or more years to make the numbers up to 10,000 armed and 10,000 camp followers.<sup>147</sup>
- If Pausanias is correct about the horseback fighting technique (Paus. 10.19.9–10), then a force consisting of 5,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry would require 20,000 men of whom 10,000 would be unarmed (or unhorsed).

Livy informs us that with three ‘cruisers’ (*lembi* is better translated as ‘cutters’ or ‘pinnaces’) and two ‘decked ships’,<sup>148</sup> Lutarius managed to transport his entire force in a few days or nights. Although the crossing of the Hellespont is short, the currents make it dangerous and difficult (see comment by Polyb. 4.38–40; Walbank 1957: 486–91) and I estimate a round trip passage would be a minimum of six hours per ship. Therefore, assuming some rest and the periodic difficulty with strong currents, no more than 15 shiploads could be accomplished every twenty-four hours. Over a ‘few’ days, 30 shiploads or 1,000 men and 250 horses (or 2,000 men if no horses were taken) could be transported. No details of the ships are given, but they were stolen from Antigonos in his attempt to spy on the Galatae, and these would not have been large naval units. From these approximations, Lutarius’ forces were modest, and if dependants were also transported, the fighting force would be further reduced.

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<sup>147</sup> Camp followers were an impediment to most Hellenistic armies. Plutarch (*Cleom.* 12.4) rates it a virtue in Cleomenes army that he had no mimes, conjurers, dancing girls and musicians. (See Holleaux 1926: 355–66; Rostovtzeff 1941: i., 145–6 and iii., 1344 n. 17; and Launey 1949).

<sup>148</sup> “... *duas tectas naves et tres lembos adimit*” (Livy 38.16.6).

## 8.2 The Founding of Galatia

The final element in the orthodox story of the invasion of Macedonia and Greece by the Galatae is that the mass migration of an entire nation took it from Illyria to Macedonia and then to Anatolia, by way of a small diversion to Greece. The story continues by saying that these people subsequently formed the core of an *ethnos* that later becomes the 'nation' of Galatia during the Roman expansion into this area. This view is followed by Mitchell who describes this as 'a nation on the move' (Mitchell 1993: 15) and is also recognised by Cary (1951: 99), Darbyshire *et al.* (1993: 75–83), Powell (1958: fig 15), Duval (1977: fig 449), Megaw and Megaw (1989: fig 2), Cunliffe (1997: fig 55) and others. However, not all go as far as describing a complete transposition of a whole nation but a partial move of mercenaries imported to fight in the wars of the Anatolian rulers that led to a significant population of Galatae in Anatolia (e.g. Shipley 2000: 53, Walbank 1988: 255, and Tarn 1913: 157 n. 69).

When the primary sources are examined there is no or very little evidence for such an event happening. They say very little from which a mass migration might be theorised. The three elements most closely connected with a migration are Justin's comment concerning a 'sacred spring',<sup>149</sup> Polybios' talk of an influx of Galatae into Anatolia (although this is probably in 218),<sup>150</sup> and Livy's comments concerning Lonus, Lutarius, and Nikomedes of Bithynia. There is no record of migration, other than by a small band of brigands and mercenaries who do not meet the requirements of such a mass event described.

The only viable alternative to this mass migration is that the Galatae were already in Anatolia before the 280 watershed. The wholesale migration of a mythical nation needs to be questioned along with the short period in which it happened - a whole nation moving in 5–10 years, as in the current hypothesis, needs some serious reassessment.

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<sup>149</sup> The fission form of migration and settlement is discussed elsewhere (p60) and if a migration happened it perhaps represents the closest form that can be applied to the Galatae. However, such migrations are usually over short distances and cannot be applied to any pan-European movement.

<sup>150</sup> This influx may be related to the destruction of Tylis (see Walbank 1957: 603; Launey, 1949: i. 509 n. 1)

The probability that there were Galatae in Asia Minor prior to the 280 watershed is worthy of some consideration. References to Gauls, Galatians, and Gallo-Grecians from Asia Minor do occur in the primary sources, and it is of some interest that some of these pre-date (directly or indirectly) the 280 incursions in Macedonia. There are no direct references, and any evidence must be gained by inference, but it seems that a significant amount exists. If it can be shown, or at least admitted as possible, that the Galatae already inhabited Anatolia, then the small military migration to Asia in 278/7 can be put in context and the need to have a national migration can be eliminated altogether. This elimination simplifies the history and, more importantly, eliminates the dubious hypothesis that currently surrounds the whole episode.

The first piece of evidence is from a comment by Pausanias. He tells us that in the year following the Delphi attack the 'Celts crossed **back again** to Asia (Paus. 10.23.14 - my emphasis). This seems not to have been noticed by scholars, and has the direct implication that the Galatae were already in Anatolia and had joined Brennus in his attack on Delphi. The original Greek is οἱ δὲ αὖθις ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβαίνουσιν οἱ Κελτοί and there can be no doubt that Pausanias was indicating that the Galatae attacking Delphi received help from the Galatae in Anatolia.

If there was a nation on the move the numbers seem to be too small, and Mitchell draws attention to this difficulty: 'if the Gauls were indeed imported as a whole nation we would expect '... the figure for non-combatant men, women, and children to be higher than it is' (Mitchell, 1993: 19). He continues by saying that the numbers seem small and despite the reputation of the Galatae for fecundity, there is not enough time for the population to grow to make a significant difference to the original population size. Although the high fecundity of the Galatae is commented upon (Justin 24.4.1 and 25.2.8), no nation can have its population grow faster than that allowed for by human physiology.

Another aspect concerning the population of the Galatae comes from the debate concerning the dating of the ‘Battle of the Elephants’<sup>151</sup> (Lucian, 1959, *Zeuxis* 8–11). It is agreed by most historians that the likely dates seem to be between 276 and 269, with a good case for 276 being presented by Welles (1970: 481).<sup>152</sup> If Welles and others are correct, then one has to agree with Mitchell and ask: where did the Galatae come from who fought at this battle? The evidence indicates that the numbers who migrated in 279–277 were just not big enough, nor was there time for them to grow their population to attain the size necessary.

A suggestion from Strobel (1993) attempts to explain the presence of apparently settled Galatians at an early date. He suggests that a ‘Keltisierung’ of the native population of central Anatolia was responsible for increased Galatian numbers. Although this can be believed for females, it is not so clear-cut in the case of the recruitment of men and warriors. Further, the acquisition of a culturally different population would induce a significant acculturation process, which would be counter-productive for increasing numbers of a specific culture. However, if Strobel’s idea was modified slightly and it was suggested that Galatae already present supplemented the incoming forces, then a ready solution presents itself.

A late Bronze Age or early Iron Age reference to Balkan Iron Age tribes in Anatolia tells of at least two Balkan tribes living in both the Balkans and Anatolia. The evidence is derived from Homer and is a complex issue relying on a slightly obscure argument involving literary interpretation of a mythical episode. It is impossible to treat such interpretations as historical evidence, but there is some value in looking at what it says about dual location.

The reference is in the *Iliad* (13. 3–5) and the literary interpretation argument lies in determining to which group of Mysians Homer is referring. In the Posidonios fragment (lines 9–15 = Strabo 7.3.2) it is conjectured that Homer referred to the ‘Thracian’ Mysians in this passage, while others say its quite clear that Zeus’

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<sup>151</sup> Sometime between 276–269 B.C., King Antiochus I turned his attention to the troublesome Galatae in Asia Minor and with an army (including elephants) defeated the Galatae at the so-called ‘Battle of the Elephants’. This traditionally ended the direct Gallic threat to his kingdom and was a highpoint for Antiochus. He gained the cult name “Soter” (Saviour), and was praised for restoring peace.

<sup>152</sup> Allen on the other hand believes that the battle was a great deal later and gives 236 as his estimate. However there is little support for this view (Allen, 1983: 31 n. 9).

direction implies that he was referring to the Asian Mysians. Kidd (1988: 941–2) quotes Porphyry as resolving the issue when he shows that Zeus is looking at the ‘Asian’ Mysians.<sup>153</sup> The complexity of the debate as to whether Homer meant the ‘Asian’ or ‘Thracian’ Mysians is irrelevant for our argument; what is important is the fact that we have information that two tribes of the same name and genesis existed in two separate locations. Janko, in another argument, showed the orientation of Zeus’ gaze, and identifies the Mysians as a branch of a tribe who stayed in Bulgaria when others migrated to Anatolia. The Assyrians knew them as the Muški (Janko, 1992: 142)<sup>154</sup> and they were later called the Moesi or Mysoi. In the Homeric Catalogue (*Iliad*: 2.858) the Moesi settled south of the Propontis<sup>155</sup>, whilst Herodotos has the Mysoi moving from Asia Minor to Thrace (Hdt. 7.20), but Janko believes that Herodotos reversed the direction of the Mysian movement and dates it before the Trojan War to explain their presence in both locations. The Mysoi appears not to be the only tribe to have made the crossing from Europe to Asian Minor, and Janko gives the tribe ‘Phruges’ (Janko 1992: 142) as another people who made the crossing in the early Iron Age.

The movement of these tribes from Thrace to Anatolia is not restricted to heroic literature. There appears to be archaeological evidence, especially after 1100, that these events took place. This connection has been recognised for some time with Thallon writing about ceramic connections quite early in the twentieth century (Thallon 1919: 185–201). At Troy, Blegen found ‘knobbed ware’ (LH IIIC), and although some of it has been identified as coming from Hungary, most came from no further north than Thrace, which is sufficient for this argument. In addition, at Troy, pottery from the Vardar valley and from Niš has been identified (Sandars 1978: 192–5), and Sandars comments that the Thracian tribesmen played a significant part in the rise of the Phrygians and helped control and exploit the metal ore deposits of the Rhodope. H. and E. Catling (1981), in an advance note on

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<sup>153</sup> Kidd quotes Porphyry as saying, ‘They say it is impossible: for if he turned from Ilium to Mysia with respect to the Asian tribes, it is impossible that he was looking at Thrace, which lies in Europe. It is solved from the form of words (ἐκ τῆς λέξεως), for he does not say that he was looking at Thrace, but at the land of the Thracians, from which they were emigrants, but living in Asia, Bithynians and Thynians, Thracian emigrants’ (cited as Porphyry 1.183.1).

<sup>154</sup> Janko give a reference to MacQueen (1975: 154) but this is an unreliable reference.

<sup>155</sup> Kirk comments that the Mysoi are firmly located south-east of the Troad (see Strabo 12.4.4–6). He also believes that they linked to the Thracians (*Iliad* 13.4–6) as he describes them a ‘different branch’ (Kirk 1985: 259).

the pottery found at the Menelaion, draw attention to the similarity with pottery found in the Troad, central Balkans, Epirus and Italy. Others have identified particular similarity between the 'barbarian ware' and 'coarse ware' of Troy VIIB (Catling and Catling 1981: 82). From an early date there was interest in Anatolia on the part of the Thracians (and people further north), as well as an actual settlement in Asia Minor. Accordingly, we have two Iron Age tribes existing in two geographical locations, and from pottery remains there was communication and trade between the two regions. By implication other tribes could have also enjoyed a dual location in both Thrace and Anatolia or at least tribal associations.

Other references to Galatians before the watershed include some comments on Alexander's passage through Anatolia. We know that he took with him into Asia a significant number of mercenaries and peoples from outside Macedonia. Amongst these were 7,000 Odrysians, Triballians and Illyrians as well as 5,000 mercenaries (Diod. 17.17.3-4 and Austin 1981: 12). It is likely that the Galatae were amongst them as Strabo reminds us that some of these tribes (and including others such as Scordisci) were collectively known as the Galatae. He refers (7.2.2), to the 'Scordiscan Galatae' (Σκορδίσκους Γαλάτας), and then later (7.5.2) 'the Scordisci who are called Galatae', and then (7.5.6) he says '... among the Galatae, the Boii, and the Scordistae and among the Illyrians the Autariatae, Ardiaei, and Dardanii...' As these tribes were amongst an embassy received by Alexander before his departure (in which they gave oaths of allegiance and he granted their requests, Arrian 1.4.6), we can confidently assume that Galatae were a part of his mercenary army.

Arrian tells us that on arriving at Ephesus in Asia Minor, Alexander brought back the exiles that had been expelled from the city for taking his side. He overthrew the oligarchy, set up a democracy, and then demanded that the tribute that had previously paid to the barbarians should be contributed to the goddess Artemis (Arrian 1.17.10 and Austin 1981: 13). The comment concerning the payment to the barbarians is remarkably like the ‘protection money’ or ‘peace demands’ of the Galatae. It would appear that such a practice was either undertaken regularly with local barbarians or was a tradition of, or a requirement by, those Galatae already in the region.

Perhaps the most important piece of information concerning the settlement of the Galatae in Anatolia comes from an idiosyncratic survey undertaken by Anderson (1898: 49–78; 1899: 52–143 and 312–316 (part 2); Crowfoot 1899: 34–51<sup>156</sup>) at the turn of the last century, when they travelled extensively in Galatia collecting inscriptions and as much material culture as they could manage. Their survey was not the structured, organised, and statistically sampled survey that is known today, but more of a rambling, unstructured walk through the region guided by interesting features, classical texts, and local myth and knowledge. Their companions were specialised in pottery, epigraphy, language, and the classics,<sup>157</sup> and between them they traversed a large tract of land, which seems naturally to encompass all of the major settlements in the region. The paper is remarkable for what it says about the material culture found that relates to the migration of the Galatae. It is quoted here with my comments so as not to change the words of a man convinced of the veracity of all aspects of the classical texts.

The findings and opinions of Anderson still represent modern historians’ thinking on early trade and pottery remains linking the region of western Galatia with Mycenaean, Balkan, and central European artefacts, as a review of the work since Anderson has shown a dearth of publication with the volume remaining very small.<sup>158</sup> However, Anderson states:

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<sup>156</sup> Crowfoot was a companion of Anderson and the pottery expert. He published his findings separately. Crowfoot’s paper is disappointing in respect of our present study.

<sup>157</sup> The language skills were restricted to modern dialects in Anatolia. For the ‘Celtic’ words, Prof. Rhys at Cardiff University provided guidance as a specialist in the ‘Celtic’ language. He ‘identified’ names as ‘Celtic’ by reference to words used in the Isle of Man, South Wales, and Durham.

<sup>158</sup> The published material on the material culture of the region is disappointingly thin. Of the ‘titles’ of 440 papers published in 56 years in the *Journal Anatolian Studies*, only 4 have any direct link with

About the centuries between the Phrygian conquest and the appearance of the Gauls we know nothing. Existing monuments belong mostly to the period 80 AD onwards. With regard to their character it is entirely Phrygian. On the tombstones (there is little else) there are representations of tools, toilet articles etc., or Phrygian devices (eagles, lions and ancient Phrygian motifs). The names are distinctly Graeco-Phrygian and the language Phrygian. The evidence of the prevailing religion is purely Phrygian with no trace of Celtic cults.

(Anderson, 1899: 312–13)

Anderson in his list leaves out pottery, a subject covered in an associated paper (Crowfoot 1899: 34–51). This paper shows no change of pottery type, decoration or design that distinguishes these artefacts across the period when the Galatae supposedly took over the region. For a long time either side of the ‘watershed’ the pottery remains Phrygian. The only change seen is in the increasing use of red-faced Cypriot ware, both wheel thrown and hand made (Crowfoot 1899: 37).

Anderson then continues with a remarkable admission and an equally remarkable explanation:

Perhaps the reader will ask in astonishment, ‘But what of the Celtic conquest and Celtic civilization?’ Others share his surprise when they see the tenacity with which Phrygian ideas maintain themselves in spite of ‘Celtisation’ and ‘Hellenisation’. However, our astonishment vanishes when the facts of the case are seen. In reality the native civilization was entirely unaffected by the Celtic conquest. The real question is – how far did Celtic manners and customs retain their purity? Did not the Gauls not gradually become Phrygianized – assimilated into Phrygian culture and then overlaid with a veneer of Hellenism?

(Anderson 1899: 313)

The admission that there is no material culture indicating a Celtic presence shows Anderson respecting the evidence of his survey, and his and his colleague’s surprise is worthy of note, for at first glance it flies in the face of accepted understanding presented by the primary sources and extended by his contemporary commentators. The second part of the above quote shows Anderson attempting to reconcile the evidence with the known historical facts, but unfortunately, although it may have sounded plausible in 1899, it is clearly implausible given modern knowledge of socio-dynamics.

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the invasion of the ‘Gauls’, ‘Celts’, or ‘Galatae’. The four are Ormerod 1909, Childe 1956, Diamont and Rutter 1969, and Mitchell 1974.

Acculturation<sup>159</sup> is an accepted socio-dynamic, defined as ‘those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original pattern of either or both groups’ (Liebkind 2001: 386). In recent years it has been applied to a variety of ancient social interactions and is generally known and understood. Examples of its application include that between Greeks and Persians (Balcer 1983: 257–67) and the interaction between Romans and Iron Age peoples (Webster 2001: 209–25 and Woolf 1994: 116–43). The modern literature is quite extensive and much similar work can be found. The conclusion to all these studies is that both sides are invariably affected by each other and a small influx of belligerent and dominant people into a large number of ‘defeated’ people would invariably leave a significant change in culture, traditions, language, and religion. Anderson’s explanation of complete assimilation with no effect on material culture is not a plausible argument and the only way that assimilation could take place without a change would be if the migrants and the indigenous occupants were the same people with the same culture, i.e. Galatae joining Galatae.

The date of Anderson’s work may excuse his ignorance of socio-dynamic aspects of communities but his survey of material culture can only be overturned by surveys that find significant material culture change. Unfortunately, there appears to be little work in this area, and what has been done has not changed Anderson’s conclusion. Mitchell (1993), in his review of the history of the region, draws very similar conclusions to Anderson by implication. He reports that the Phrygian kingdom existed until the end of the seventh century BC and then, until the eleventh century AD, no permanent and autonomous political power established itself apart from 80 years of Galatian independence recognised by Rome. He continues with the comment that in terms of material culture the region shows no archaeological discoveries from the end of the seventh century BC to the time of Alexander (Mitchell 1993: 1). Anderson’s and Mitchell’s observations on the dearth of material culture seems to have been upheld over the years as during this present work the author has been unable to find any reports of evidence of La Tène

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<sup>159</sup> Although acculturation is an accepted form of cultural interaction its basis is complex and dependant upon the dynamics of social group interaction, which in turn depends upon culture type and social organisation. Further complications arise from the relative sizes of the cultural groups and the duration of interaction.

artefacts from this area or any indication of a change in the region's material cultural over this period. Although from the early third century BC the area starts to acquire more historical substance, it is mostly based upon written history. Archaeological evidence only starts to contribute during the Roman period. Mitchell's implication is that archaeology of the period of the migration of the Galatae is either too thin to comment upon or non-existent. It is noticeable that in his description of the coming of the 'Celts', all the references are to primary sources and no material culture evidence or archaeology is presented (Mitchell 1993: 13–26). Mitchell's reliance on primary sources and Anderson's failure to find any material culture that represents an acculturation or 'creolization' raises some doubt as to the veracity of the established narrative.

### 8.3 Conclusion

We have seen that the primary sources are fragmented on the events after the retreat from Delphi. The obvious conclusion is that, after the 'glorious defeat' and 'divine intervention' at Delphi, there remained no further interest for ancient writers. The resulting disjointed accounts of the fortunes of the Galatae afterwards show a much lower interest in these people, and they are reduced to a foil to the growing strength of Antigonos and the machinations of Pyrrhos.

In respect of the modern commentators, it would seem that we are constrained in the reconstruction of any details of the retreat from Delphi, with all but Walbank and Tarn recognising that with such fragmentary evidence any narrative would be pure speculation. Walbank does touch on the Galatae in Macedonia, saying that their presence was not migratory but organised for plunder, and that the movement should be seen in that manner. Both writers comment that these bands were war parties and their women and children were left at home (Walbank 1988: 252). This approach may explain why they refuse to comment on the constructed narrative of wholesale migration and emigration to Asia Minor. If the Galatae were just a raiding war party and left their families at home, the defeated survivors would have been expected to return to their homes and not take up a nomadic, plundering existence. The concept of mass migration to establish dominance in another country becomes weaker by these views.

There is a considerable amount of admittedly circumstantial evidence that the Galatae were already in Anatolia. None of it carries the same weight as a series of direct quotes from established primary authors; however, the survival of these small pieces form support for the hypothesis that the Galatae were present in some form in Anatolia before the 279 migration. This is enough to suggest that the situation in the first half of the third century BC is not a simple one of a nation migrating. That the Galatae were a known people before the incursion of 280 and that they occupied a dual location in Asia and the Balkans can be accepted on the balance of probabilities. Apart this dual location in Anatolia and the Balkans, it is expected that there would have been a 'trickle' migration of the Galatae that had been going on for many generations prior to the 280 watershed. This sort of

migration could and probably did go on, as it did in many parts of the Greek world and its periphery, but the explosive appearance on the scene and the massive migration of the Galatae into Asia did not happen. The situation, as in most of ancient history, was much more complex.

The story of the Galatae of course does not end with the rejection of the mass migration issue but carries on in another form in Anatolia. However, for the purposes of this research it is here that this story stops as the complex history and subsequent story of the Galatae in Anatolia, their interaction with Hellenic rulers, and the coming of the Romans lies outside the scope of this research question. However the arguments in this research are applicable to this subsequent history of the Galatae in Anatolia. The rejection of 'Celtic' origins, the evidence that they have been in Anatolia for many generation, and the decoupling with their Balkan cousin's adventures do allow a fresh view to be made of these people within a quasi-independent context. Subsequently they can be treated in their own right without any European 'baggage' influencing their actions, motives and history.

## Chapter 9 – The Conclusion

### 9.1 The Main Points from the Study

9.1.1 Culture and Ethnicity

9.1.2 Celts and a Pan-European Culture

9.1.3 The Synonymy of Celts and Gauls

9.1.4 The Use of Military Logistics to Evaluate the Narrative

9.1.5 The Gauls and the Persians – the Analogy De-convolved

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### 9.2 Further Work

9.2.1 Use Of Numismatics

9.2.2 Migration Theory

9.2.3 Military Logistics

9.2.4 Group Interaction Theory

## Chapter 9 – The Conclusion

### 9.1 The Main Points from the Study

At the beginning of this thesis, the research problem gave rise to a sequence of research questions, and this study has attempted to address each of them. In this conclusion I can state that all have been addressed, many have had an answer proposed, whilst others, although examined, are admitted to be unanswerable within the present state of our knowledge. Rather than reiterate the sequence of research questions and repeat the arguments already rehearsed, this conclusion presents the main points that arise from this research.

#### 9.1.1 Culture and Ethnicity

Much of the argument and justification of positions in this area depends upon an appreciation of the theoretical basis for modern archaeological thinking. However, many of the positions in the debate arose from an outdated view of sociological theory that had been discredited in the mid-twentieth century. There was a general misunderstanding of the use of the terms ‘culture’ and ‘ethnicity’, and there were many views that were too simplistic about the use of these shorthand terms in quantifying the way societies (ancient or modern) interact. It is necessary, therefore, in a work that deals with societies, to examine concepts such as culture and ethnicity for their relevance and to remove extraneous debate. The current discussions on ethnicity have been shown to be as inappropriate to the arguments on society as the term ‘culture’. The argument is similarly is a normative one with the same inadequacies.

The relatively new socio-psychological theory of group interaction, designed to advance understanding of the way societies and people interact, has been described. It circumvents the issues of ‘culture’ and ethnicity’ and could provide a significant new approach to the societies of the ancient world as its ability to solve some of the paradoxes of cultural identity has been demonstrated. It has been

shown to be effective and useful in relating directly to Greek 'otherness', as well as clarifying the concept of who is Greek.

### 9.1.2 Celts and a Pan-European Culture

Many archaeologists in the last fifty years have started to realign and restructure the social and cultural conditions of the Iron Age in Europe, based upon more extensive and detailed archaeology. The conclusion they have reached is that the Celts of traditional understanding did not exist and that the past view of these people was based upon a nineteenth-century construct. The linguistic arguments have shown that the assumption of links between language groups, culture and ethnicity are unsustainable and that this evidence, rather than supporting a pan-European cultural entity, argues against it. With such a conclusion now openly argued, questions immediately arise concerning other events that have been associated with these 'Celts' in the early Hellenistic period that need an immediate examination and reframing.

If these Celts no longer exist, then it follows that there was no Celtic diaspora. This leads to the rejection of the traditionally understood migration from Europe into the Balkans. The adoption of this premise provided a basis for this study, which sought to re-establish the sequence of the events and the history of this period and region without the concept of migrating 'Celts'.

The adoption of this premise obviously alters the basis of the narrative and, more importantly, the consequences that have been extrapolated. Ignoring the point that if the Celts did not exist then there were no Celts to migrate, a migration can also be eliminated by an examination of new theories relating to the movement of people. The migratory model for the movement eastwards has always involved the sacking of Rome as a precursor for the movement into the Balkans, and the work of Williams, Cornell, and others has cast doubt on the Gauls' sack of Rome in the traditional sense, seeing any attack on Rome as coming from indigenous 'Italian' people or mercenary action and not from a migrating nation (Williams 2001: 137, Cornell 1995: 314–17). Once this link is removed and the archaeology of the Balkans is applied, then the migration theory dissolves without any new hypothesis of migration to be invoked. Therefore, with this information coupled with modern

migration theory, and the probability that the 'Celts' of traditional understanding did not exist, there is enough evidence to refute any such idea as a migrating nation.

### 9.1.3 The Synonymy of Celts and Gauls

When the primary sources are looked at in respect of 'Celts' and 'Gauls', there is a synonymous and confusing use of these terms by ancient authors, which appears from the rise of Roman control of the Mediterranean onward (from the second century B.C.). As modern historians (and archaeologists) are largely dependent on these sources for the history of the region, a clear understanding of the use of these terms by the ancient authors is essential. As stated earlier, it was not the intention to understand what the Greeks meant by these terms or to examine their attitude towards these particular kinds of barbarians. This approach cannot be undertaken because of the arguments contained in Chapter 2, in which it is more than adequately shown that attitudes are a context dependant phenomenon. The purpose was merely to understand how the use of the words changed over the centuries and to whom the terms were addressed. From the analysis of the way the words were used, a strong Roman influence was found that caused the confusion between 'Celt' and 'Gaul'. Its legacy from ancient times is further confusion by modern historians, who have attempted to force these terms (errors and all) into a nineteenth-century-based construct of 'Celticity'.

There is some evidence that points to the name of 'Celt' and 'Gaul' being imposed appellations, which may give some hope of determining an origin and an etymology in the future. The ideas of Hammond with respect to the Illyrii, and the common practice of naming remote tribes outside the Greek world with names that are epithets based upon a characteristic or their way of life, indicate that Keltoi could refer to such an epithet in a remote part of the ancient world. There is no evidence that the term 'Galatae' should be equated with 'Gaul'. This translation is an artefact of modern usage and has no visible origin in the primary sources.

There is no literature that shows that the people of the Balkans were named Galatae until Kallimachos, and they were never referred to as Γάλλοι (Gauls). Similarly they were never called Celts until Diodorus (90–21 BC), and then only in one occurrence

(Diod. 30.21.3). It was earlier and in other geographical areas that the confusion originated, and this can be identified in the writing of Polybios and the first major contact between Greeks and Romans. The confusion of names or terms for these Iron Age people was thus 'imported' from other geographical areas and at a late date.

The confusion of later writers is compounded by modern historians and classicists who have been very free with their translations of these terms. Their choice of translations relates to attempts to form the narrative into the traditionally accepted view of 'Celtic' culture and distribution, and this compounds the error and simultaneously reinforces the mistakes of the ancient writers.

Tracing the use of these terms through the history of the ancient world has shown how the error has developed. An examination of the use of these terms by modern historians has shown how the error has been extended and formed into a narrative that presents a distorted view of the history of these times.

#### **9.1.4 The Use of Military Logistics to Evaluate the Narrative**

The account of the Gallic or Celtic invasions into Macedonia and Greece in 280/79 is poorly recorded in the primary sources. The narrative is suffused with myth, exaggeration, guesswork, and analogy, which confuses dates, and sequences. Modern historians have devised narratives that fit some of the descriptions, but readily admit to the confusion. Such has been the lack of clarity that there is no single agreed sequence of events.

In order to provide some clarity, the problem has been looked at from a different perspective, with the application of some military logistics to these ancient armies. This allows the identification of those elements that are anachronistic or fictitious, and from this a better sequence of the incursions may be made. By taking a view of the narrative from all directions and accounts, coupled with some elements of archaeology, a more realistic history can be attained. Such an approach allows us to give more support for the date of the death of Ptolemy Keraunos and to identify the story of the aftermath and subsequent movement of the Galatae.

It is clear that a large army cannot march in the mountains in the winter for the length of time needed to traverse the distance from their probable homeland of the Galatae to northern Macedonia, nor is it likely that they would extend their expedition beyond a fighting season. The consequence of a logistics approach is to restrict the timescale of these incursions and to allow the identification of dates and seasons for the events of the narrative. On this basis, the study shows that Keraunos died in May 280, and there were three separate incursions with Delphi being attacked in the final invasion in late summer 279.

#### 9.1.5 The Gauls and the Persians – the Analogy De-convolved

The analogy between the invasion of the Galatae and that of the Persians 200 years earlier has been a strong attribute of the narrative and has been commented upon often. This analogy has always been an obstacle in determining the actual sequence of events of the invasion of the Galatae, and has grown to be recognised as Hellenes' second great repulse of a foreign invader and the second most heroic feature of their ancient history.

The study has examined the stories of the invasion in an attempt to separate the analogies. The key to this examination was the work of Szemler *et al.* on the Isthmus Corridor Route from Trachis (Herakleia) on the Malian Gulf to the Gulf of Krisa (and hence Delphi). The use of this route requires the attack on Thermopylae and the subsequent movement of Xerxes to be examined in conjunction with that of the Galatae. The attack on Delphi by both invading armies has also been re-examined and it has become quite clear that the movements and actions of the two armies were very different. Continued consideration of the events has allowed a de-convolution of the analogies and has demonstrated that the attack of the Galatae was a raiding party, not a full-scale military attack that was poorly judged and executed. The Hellenes used the aftermath of the attack for their own political and social ends, and they were guilty of exaggerating a temple raiding war-party to the point of equating it to the Persian invasion two hundred years earlier.

#### 9.1.6 The Galatae in Asia Before the Delphi Attack

Throughout the study, there has always been an indication that the Galatae were not just from the Balkans and that there was already a presence in Asia Minor. The

traditional story that the survivors from the Delphi attack were the source of the nascent nation that became Galatia does not bear examination.

When primary sources, modern scholarship, population statistics, and archaeology are looked at in detail, there are several indications that support the hypothesis that the Galatae were already an established presence in Asia Minor before the 280 watershed. From both a Balkan and Asia Minor perspective, a degree of evidence can be provided that demonstrates the validity of this proposal. Such a view adds a significant dimension to the history of this region, and explains many of the difficulties and omissions that have been seen in the traditional view of the area's evolution.

The activities of the Galatae in Anatolia following the 280 watershed also need some research since, with the de-coupling of the contiguous link with the Balkan Galatae, their role and activities can be seen in a new light. Further, there is some confusion over the sequence of events following 280 that could usefully be researched to understand the movement of the Galatae within Anatolia, the sequence of the aggregation of their society and its rise to prominence in Anatolia.

## 9.2 Further Work

The re-interpretation of the events associated with this invasion of Macedonia and Greece cannot be completed in such a short study. Too many unanswered questions and unexplored avenues are present which need investigating, and to do so might strengthen the arguments, clarify some of the issues, or even demolish the hypotheses presented. Further, stopping the research at the time of the rise to eminence of the Anatolian Galatae is difficult, as it is an area that could provide further insights into their genesis and evolution. This Anatolian perspective with a detailed presentation of the Balkan history of events does require further study. However, because of the imposed limit of the research question and the limitations of space, the remaining pages of this work will only indicate where the next steps in the investigation need to be taken.

### 9.2.1 Use Of Numismatics

The first area that may provide further evidence for this period and region is research into the Thracian kings as determined by numismatics. It has been known for some time that regional Thracian chiefs and mercenary leaders would overstamp Greek and Macedonian coinage with their own names. Coin hoard evidence provides valuable information of the dynasties, structures, and organisations of these kings, warlords and Iron Age chieftains (K. Sheedy 2007, pers. comm.). This evidence, especially at and just after the time of Lysimachos (see Fischer-Bossert 2005 and Dimitrov 1984), is now becoming available for study, and the author has been encouraged to look at this to see what information can be extracted that relates to the presented hypothesis.

Some work in the analysis of coin hoards has already been started with a view into understanding the political and economic history of the Scordisci. Ujes has only sampled the hoards from central Balkans (the territory of the Scordisci) and has not included any overstriking. However his work is extremely valuable and demonstrates the importance of this area (Ujes 2006).

### 9.2.2 Migration Theory

Modern ideas on migration theory have shown that the migration of the 'Celts' was an inexplicable (or unlikely) event. This theory has helped in understanding and rationalising many of the so-called migrations of the ancient world. Although the work here is specifically related to the 'Celtic' diaspora, the more prominent migrations in the ancient world must be those historically recorded following the fall of the Western Roman Empire. A great deal of post-Roman European history is dependent upon these movements of people, and under the current migration descriptions they seem to be counter to the basic tenets of the theory. For completeness, it would be necessary to examine these migrations to see how they fitted in or modified the basic theory proposed in this study.

### 9.2.3 Military Logistics

In this study, military logistics has been used to illuminate some of the acts and performance of ancient armies. Their marching speed and logistic support have thrown light on the complex administration of these organisations. A lack of understanding of the movement, supply, and organisation of Iron Age armies has held back our understanding of their role and the effectiveness of their engagements in the ancient world. It would seem that further work on the study of ancient armies might allow more light to be thrown on some of the apparently intractable problems of military action in ancient times.

### 9.2.4 Group Interaction Theory

The debate on the meaning of culture, the use of ethnicity, and the extension of the concept of 'otherness' discussed in this work resulted in the application of the socio-psychological theory of group interaction. This has provided a fresh way of looking at the characteristics of a society that avoids the culture-historical views related to the shorthand term 'culture'. The use of group interaction theory explains many of the apparent paradoxes of current thought, and has been developed in a modern context into a science that guides major governments in negotiations and interactions with other socially different nations. The basic descriptors of the societies have been applied to the ancient world and the results, although inconclusive, have shown that an appreciation of the type of society can be extracted without recourse to any definition of 'culture' or 'ethnicity'. It is

believed that a structured application will allow our understanding of the ancient world to be enhanced and better understood.

## Appendix I

Routes of the Galatae on the three-detachment incursion

## Appendix I - Routes of the Galatae on the three-detachment incursion

The routes of the Galatae on their three-detachment incursions was initially determined by Hammond (1976: 70–1) who identified that the terrain had the effect of guiding or forcing the invaders in specific directions, and that these armies were predisposed to travel particular routes defined by mountain passes. In this study his routes were examined in detail and were augmented by complementary studies of the landscape and ancient settlements, to add more detail. Alternative route options were found that did not significantly change Hammond’s proposals and these routes are given below accompanied with the distances travelled. The naming of the routes is taken directly from Fig. 5.2 and should be read in conjunction with that map and the associated text of chapter 5.

### Route A – Option 1 for the detachment of Kerethrios

<b>Route A</b>	<b>Distance (Km)</b>	<b>Comments</b>
Dimovo to Mihajlovgrad	69	The current road traverses the northern slope of the Stara Planina. The area to the north (between the mountains and the Danube) would have been easier travelling although it is not known what there was to plunder.
Mihajlovgrad to Vraca	41	The current road traverses the northern slope of the Stara Planina. The alluvial plain becomes much wider at this point.
Vraca to Mezdra	16 + (110)	The road from Vraca to Mezdra is the quickest way into the valley of the Iskâr but the slope into the valley is quite steep. It is suggested that an army might detour from Mihajlovgrad northeast towards Kneza to avoid any precipitous drop and to skirt around the spur of mountains on the western edge of the valley. It would also provide more scope for plundering. To this end the distance here is increased by 110 Km.
<b>Total</b>	<b>236</b>	
Total return Journey	472	In Hammond’s description (1976: 70), and by implication, this army returned the same way it had come.

**Figure A1.1** The table shows the details of route A with distances and comments.

## Route B – Option 2 for the detachment of Kerethrios

<b>Route B</b>	<b>Distance (Km)</b>	<b>Comments</b>
Dimovo to Mihajlovgrad	69	The current road traverses the northern slope of the Stara Planina. The area to the north (between the mountains and the Danube) would have been easier travelling although it is not known what there was to plunder.
Mihajlovgrad to Vraca	41	The current road traverses the northern slope of the Stara Planina. The alluvial plain becomes much wider at this point.
Vraca to Mezdra	16 + (110)	The road from Vraca to Mezdra is the quickest way into the valley of the Iskâr but the slope into the valley is quite steep. It is suggested that an army might detour from Mihajlovgrad northeast towards Kneza to avoid any precipitous drop and to skirt around the spur of mountains on the western edge of the valley. It would also provide more scope for plundering. To this end the distance here is increased by 110 Km.
Mezdra to Sofia	100	The river valley of the Iskâr is narrow and has steep sides. Modern roads do not use this as a main route but prefer to detour out eastwards before turning to Sofia. The valley is a very narrow defile, but the shortest distance. The mountains to the west rise to a height of about 2,000 m and modern maps show only one pass and that is at a height of 1,440 m.
Sofia to Pirot	84	After Sofia, the mountains remain but the broad valley of the Nišava provides a better route than the Iskâr. The land about maintains a height of 1,400 m showing that travel was still not easy.
Pirot to Niš	73	At Niš the mountains are still dominating with peaks at about 1,500–1,88 m.
<b>Total</b>	<b>493</b>	No return-journey distance is given as the army is travelling in the direction of 'home'.

**Figure A1.2.** The table shows the details of route B with distances and comments.

## Route C – option 1 for the detachment of Brennus

<b>Route C</b>	<b>Distance (Km)</b>	<b>Comments</b>
Dimovo to Mihajlovgrad	69	The current road traverses the northern slope of the Stara Planina. The area to the north (between the mountains and the Danube) would have been easier travelling although it is not known what there was to plunder.
Mihajlovgrad to Vraca	41	The current road traverses the northern slope of the Stara Planina. The alluvial plain becomes much wider at this point.
Vraca to Mezdra	16 + (110)	The road from Vraca to Mezdra is the quickest way into the valley of the Iskâr but the slope from the mountains into the valley is quite steep. It is suggested that an army might detour from Mihajlovgrad northeast towards Kneza to avoid any precipitous drop and to skirt around the spur of mountains on the western edge of the valley. To this end the distance here is increased by 110 Km.
Mezdra to Sofia	100	The river valley of the Iskâr is narrow and has steep sides. Modern roads do not use this as a main route but prefer to detour out eastwards before turning to Sofia. The valley is a very narrow defile, but the shortest distance. The mountains to the west rise to a height of about 2,000 m and modern maps show only one pass and that is at a height of 1,440 m.
Sofia to Radomir	31	Mountainous country with the peak Černi Vrâh on the left at a height of 2,300 m and only 12 Km away from route.
Radomir to Kjustendil	58	Radomir to Kjustendil would follow the Struma valley a narrow and twisting route. The hills are still significant attaining heights of 1,500 m.
Kjustendil to Gradsko	143	The first part of this journey requires a crossing of the Osogovske Planine range, which rises to a height of 2,100 m. Once the river Bregalnica is reached and the river valley followed, the sharp peaks are left behind for a while although the country becomes hilly just before Gradsko.
Gradsko to Demir Kapa (Kapija) pass	33	The Vardar valley provides a better terrain on one side of the river until just before the Damir Kapa pass. This is a very narrow cut through the mountains with high cliffs on either side. The mountains in this region rise to a height of 1,200 m.
Demir Kapa (Kapija) pass to Gevgelija	54	Mountainous until 20 Km beyond Demir Kapija then the river broadens, and the route to Gevgelija becomes better.
<b>Total</b>	<b>655</b>	
Total return journey	983 (Niš) or 1,073 (Kraljevo)	The most direct route would be to return to Niš although a return as far as Gradsko then return along Route E to Kraljevo – see table A1. 5.

**Figure A1.3.** The table shows the details of route C with distances and comments

## Route D – option 2 for the detachment of Brennus

<b>Route D</b>	<b>Distance (Km)</b>	<b>Comments</b>
Niš to Leskovac	37	Hilly terrain but the valley of the river Južna Morava relatively broad.
Leskovac to Preševo pass	106	Terrain becomes steeper and more rugged and the river valley becomes narrower, peaks up to 1,500 m rise on either side in the mountain range. The pass of Preševo is at a height of 1,500 m and is on the eastern edge of the Sar Planina range of mountains.
Preševo pass to Kumanova	19	The route from the pass descends rapidly into the broad valley of the Vardar and Pčinja towards Skopje.
Kumanova to Gradsko	79	Steep hills interspersed with rolling hills at first, then the mountains make an appearance and the Vardar valley becomes narrower,
Gradsko to Demir Kapa (Kapija) pass	33	The Vardar valley provides a better terrain on one side of the river until just before the Damir Kapa pass. This is a very narrow cut through the mountains with high cliffs on either side. The mountains in this region rise to a height of 1,200 m.
Demir Kapa (Kapija) pass to Gevgelija	54	Mountainous until 20 Km beyond Demir Kapija then the river broadens, and the route to Gevgelija becomes better.
<b>Total</b>	<b>328</b>	
Total return journey	656 (Niš) or 688 (Kraljevo)	The most direct route for a return would be to trace the journey back to Niš or return as far as Gradsko then return along Route E to Kraljevo – see Table A1.5.

**Figure A1.4.** The table shows the details of route D with distances and comments.

## Route E – for the detachment of Bolgios

<b>Route E</b>	<b>Distance (Km)</b>	<b>Comments</b>
Kraljevo to Titova Mitrovica	150	Narrow river valley. Hills and mountains on either side rising to 1,700m. Broader as Titova M. is approached.
Titova Mitrovica to Priština	36	Terrain becomes steeper and more rugged away from river valley. High mountain pass to get to Priština (1,900 m).
Priština to Kačanik pass	50	For two-thirds of the way river valley is wide, but as the route nears Kačanik, the valley narrows and gets higher. The pass crosses the Sar Planina at about 1,700 m.
Kačanik pass to Skopje	37	From the pass the valley stays very narrow for 20 Km before dropping steeply into the valley of the Vardar and hence to Skopje.
Skopje to Titov Veles	58	The Vardar valley provides a better terrain on one side of the river with the other running along the flank of another mountain range. Hammond has the battle with Keraunos hereabouts (Hammond 1989: 299).
<b>Total</b>	<b>331</b>	
Total including return journey	662	If, as Justin (Justin 24. 5) says, that Bolgios did not move until Sosthenes defeated him after the battle with Keranos then we could expect a return along the same route.

**Figure A1.5.** The table shows the details of route E with distances and comments.

## Appendix II

List of all of the inscriptions containing the Word Κελτοι, Γαλαται,  
and Γαλλοι

## Appendix II – List of all of the inscriptions containing the Word Κελτοι, Γαλαται, and Γαλλοι

An examination of the PHI (Packard Humanities Institute 2008) inscription database gave the following inscriptions containing the words whose stems are ‘Κελτ-’, ‘Γαλατ-’, and ‘Γαλλο-’. The list is expanded to include equivalents, place where found and an estimate of the date. The inscription equivalents were found using the Claros Concordance Database (Claros 2006).

**N.B.** Abbreviations for this appendix are included at the end of these tables and not with abbreviations for the main body of the thesis.

### A2 –1 Inscriptions containing ‘Κελτ-’

<b>Primary Inscription</b>	<b>Equivalents</b>	<b>Place found</b>	<b>Date of inscription</b>
SEG 19:129	IG II(2) 1438B	Attica	352 BC
Bernard, Mus. Du Louvre 43	SB 3.07231	Alexandria	250 BC
MDAI(A) 20 (1895) 228,2		Rhodes	100 BC
IG IX, 2 1297		Thassly	0
IMT (Kaikos) 829	MousBiblSmur II, 1,1875-76,17 Nr.104	Mysia	250 AD
IG ii2 1438		Attica	350
RIChrM 273		Macedonia	379-395 AD
IG XIV 298		Sicily	?
IG XIV 1003		Sicily	?
IG XII,1 501		Rhodes	?
Heberdey-Kalinka, Bericht + DAW 45,1 (1897) 41, 60	AEMO 20.1897.77	Lycia	?

**Figure A2.1** Table of all the inscriptions from the PHI database (with equivalents) that contain the word ‘Κελτ-’.  
(Packard Humanities Institute 2008 and Claros 2006)

A2 –2 Inscriptions containing ‘Γαλατ–’

Primary Inscription	Equivalents	Place found	Date of inscription
IGII <sup>2</sup> 10987		Athens	?
IGII <sup>2</sup> 8139		Athens	1 <sup>st</sup> C BC – 1 <sup>st</sup> C AD
IGII <sup>2</sup> 5330		Athens	Aet Imp.
MDAI(A) 67:221,21		Athens	2 <sup>nd</sup> BC
IGII <sup>2</sup> 1604	BE 1932.p.207; SEG 28.138; SEG 32.164; SEG 39.171; BE 1993.226; SEG 40.152-153; SEG 42.132; SEG 46.204	Athens	377/6 BC
IGII <sup>2</sup> 8860		Athens	2 <sup>nd</sup> C AD
IGII <sup>2</sup> 1606	Maier, GMBI 5; SEG 19.140	Athens	374/3 BC
IGII <sup>2</sup> 7207	SEG 13.126	Athens	4 <sup>th</sup> AD
IGII <sup>2</sup> 1609	BE 1940.42; BE 1954.42; SEG 16.132; BE 1961.276; SEG 25.184; Fun.Mon.1020; SEG 31.127; Harding 47; SEG 32.65; SEG 34.157; BE 1988.87; BE 1991.232; SEG 38.150; SEG 39.172; SEG 41.101; SEG 42.133; SEG 44.70; SEG 46.32; SEG 50.45	Athens	Up to 370/69 BC
IGII <sup>2</sup> 10988	Osborne, Attic Epitaphs 210; SEG 35.193	Athens	Aet Imp
SEG 35:193	IGII <sup>2</sup> 10988 (1940); IG III 3694(1884)	Athens	Aet Imp
IGII <sup>2</sup> 8450a	Fun.Mon.442	Athens	Aet Imp
IGII <sup>2</sup> 8451		Athens	2 <sup>nd</sup> AD
IGII <sup>2</sup> 8452		Athens	1 <sup>st</sup> C – 2 <sup>nd</sup> C AD
IGII <sup>2</sup> 8455		Athens	1 <sup>st</sup> C BC – 1 <sup>st</sup> C AD
IGII <sup>2</sup> 8456		Athens	3 <sup>rd</sup> C – 2 <sup>nd</sup> C BC
Agora 17 442		Athens	Aet Imp
IGII <sup>2</sup> 10249	Fun.Mon.660	Athens	2 <sup>nd</sup> C – 1 <sup>st</sup> C BC
Agora 17 660		Athens	2 <sup>nd</sup> C – 1 <sup>st</sup> C BC
SEG 31:226		Athens	?
SEG 40:225	AD 40,B.1985.32	Athens	Aet Imp
IGII <sup>2</sup> 8450	IPrusias T27	Athens	Post 317/6 BC
IGII <sup>2</sup> 10989		Athens	Aet Imp
IGII <sup>2</sup> 8457/8		Athens	3 <sup>rd</sup> C – 2 <sup>nd</sup> C BC
IGII <sup>2</sup> 3429	OGI 347; Kotsidu, Ehrungen 49	Athens	Post AD 63/4
SEG 15:254	ISE 60; SEG 22.349; Guarducci, EG II 157; SEG 25.466; Sherk, Rome 11; SEG 41.1781; Rizakis, Achaïe I 597; SEG 45.2303; SEG 45.409; SEG 49.482	Elis	120 BC
IG IV <sup>2</sup> , 1 28		Epidauria	146 BC
CID 3.1	Käppel, Paian 45; Chapot-Laurot, Prières G85; Le Guen, Technites 8; Pöhlmann - West, DAGM 20; FD 3:2.137	Delphi	128/7 BC
BCH 1978:571/580	SEG 28.496; BE 1979.222	Delphi	c.279 BC
SGDI II 1854		Delphi	170-157/156 BC
SEG 23:451	IG 9(2). 1135; SEG 11.307: Klio 42 (1964) 319-327	Thessaly	1st c. AD (ca. 36 AD?)
SEG 12:307	IG IX, 2 1135; RFIC 81 (1953) 132-142 (Corbato); SEG 14.473; BE 1966.231	Thessaly	ca. 72/71 BC
FD III 3:209		Delphi	161/0 BC
SGDI II 2094		Delphi	c.150-140 BC
FD III 3:208		Delphi	163/2 BC?
SGDI II 1878		Delphi	170-157/156

			BC
SGDI II 1860		Delphi	170-157/156 BC
SGDI II 1881		Delphi	170-157/156 BC
SGDI II 1971		Delphi	150-140 BC
SGDI II 1886		Delphi	170-157/6 BC
FD III 6:118		Delphi	121-108 BC
SGDI II 1809		Delphi	169 BC
IG IX, 2 1135	BE 1954.152; SEG 12.307; BE 1966.231; SEG 23.451; Mellor, Thea Rome 46; SEG 41.516; SEG 14:473; SEG 23:451	Thessaly	1st c. BC
IG VII 686	Schwyzler 463.2; SEG 17.211; Roesch, EB 132-133 n.14; Jaccotet, Dionysos 8	Boiotia	Not before 2nd C. BC
FD III 1:526		Delphi	150-100 BC
SGDI II 2092		Delphi	c.140-100 BC
IG IX, 1 <sup>2</sup> 1:161		Aitolia	?
FD III 1:138	FD III 6:63	Delphi	c.AD 35
SGDI II 2154		Delphi	140-100 BC
IG IX, 2 73	SGDI II 1450	Thessaly	?
IG IX, 2 546	SEG 24.399; SEG 47.666	Thessaly	131/132 AD
IG XIV 1297	IGR 1.175; Tab.il.18; SEG 33.802; Canali, Ambascerie 633; CIG 6855d	Sicily, Italy, and the West	15/16 AD
IGUR I 249	SEG 14.613	Sicily, Italy, and the West	ca. 60 AD
SEG 41:570	Hellenika 5 (1932) 5-16; BCH 115 (1991) 178-179; SEG 45.2303	Macedonia	ca. 110 BC
IGUR I 68	IG XIV 1078	Sicily, Italy, and the West	204 AD
IG X, 2 1 564	BCH 97 (1973) 593,564; Maia 25 (1973) 201,564	Macedonia	Shortly after 212 AD
IG XIV 2379	SEG 48.1304	Sicily, Italy, and the West	?
Dodone 18 35	BP 1 (1942) 326, 19; Historia tes poleos Serron (1967) 92, 18; SEG 30.590	Macedonia	ca. 215-238 AD?
Mt. Athos 108, 152		Macedonia	Early Christian
SEG 48:699	IG X, 2 1 896, l. 1; BE (1999) 354 (M.B. Hatzopoulos); AnnEp (1999) 1437; BE 1976.446; SEG 26.733-770; Lagogianni 96; See also IG X, 2 1 896	Macedonia	ca. 2 <sup>nd</sup> C AD
IK Estremo oriente 261	Am. Journ. Sem. Lang. 57.1940.330-429; Merk.-Staub., Jenseits Euphrat 803; SEG 14.819, 20.324, 33.1219, 36.1273, 46.1760, 48.1841, 49.1974; BE 1960.418, 1963.294	Persis	260-262 AD
IGLSyr 3,1 751		Syria and Phoenicia	?
Mt. Athos 80,127	Syll. <sup>3</sup> 700	Macedonia	118 BC
Breccia, Alexandria Mus. 237	IGLA 237; SB 1.4992	Egypt and Nubia	4th-3rd BC
SEG 42:642	Kabile 2 (1991) 11,2	Thrace	3 <sup>rd</sup> C BC
Graffites d'Abydos 201		Egypt and Nubia	3 <sup>rd</sup> BC
I. Aeg. Thrace 475	SEG 44.608	Thrace	501 AD
Bernand, Mus. du Louvre 42	SB 3.07230	Egypt and Nubia	3rd BC
I. Aeg. Thrace 215	AD 20 B (1965) 483, 1; SEG 24.637; SEG 38.731	Thrace	Early 2nd c. BC — AD 20

Breccia, Alexandria Mus. 238a	IGLA 268a; SB 1.667	Egypt and Nubia	3rd BC
IosPE I <sup>2</sup> 32	IosPE I 16	North Shore of the Black Sea (Olbia)	3rd c. BC
Breccia, Alexandria Mus. 195	IGLA 195; SB 1.668	Egypt and Nubia	3rd-2nd BC
NSER 216		Rhodes	?
IMS VI 187		Moesia Superior	?
Graffites d'Abydos 174	Bernand, Confins libyques 919; OGI 757	Egypt and Nubia	Ptol.
SEG 27:478	Rhodian Funerary Monuments (1977) 19, with n. 80	Rhodes	?
SB 1:1107		Egypt and Nubia	2nd-1st BC
ASAtene 22 (1939/40) 156,18	BE 1934.p.239; SEG 50.1687; BE 1946-47.155; ISelge T53; SEG 46.2317; SEG 3.674	Rhodes	2 <sup>nd</sup> c. BC
SB 3:7229		Egypt and Nubia	Late Ptol.
IG XI, 4 1105	Durrbach, Choix 31; Marcadé II 79; SEG 38.776; SEG 39.713; SEG 40.1726; Muller-Dufeu 2057	Delos	3 <sup>rd</sup> BC
SB 3:7232		Egypt and Nubia	Late Ptol.
IG XII,1 482		Rhodes	?
SB 3:7233		Egypt and Nubia	Late Ptol.
NSER 213		Rhodes	?
SB 3:7235		Egypt and Nubia	Late Ptol.
NSER 214		Rhodes	?
SB 3:7237		Egypt and Nubia	Late Ptol.
IG XII,1 881		Rhodes	?
SB 3:7238		Egypt and Nubia	Late Ptol.
IG XII,1 548	ISelge T58	Rhodes	?
SB 3:7236		Egypt and Nubia	Late Ptol.
IG XI, 4 1110	Marcadé II 141; Bringmann, Schenkungen 174	Delos	3 <sup>rd</sup> BC
Milne, Cairo Mus. 25,9296		Egypt and Nubia	80-69 BC
IG XII, 1 751		Rhodes	?
Breccia, Alexandria Mus. 65	SB 1.3998	Egypt and Nubia	117 AD
IG XII,1 481	Pfuhl-Möbius 811; SEG 47.1242	Rhodes	?
SEG 24:1216	Breccia 166,322; SEG 8.375	Egypt and Nubia	2nd AD
AD 18 A (1962) 20,32		Rhodes	2nd/1st c. BC
SEG 9:861		Africa Proconsularis	1st/2nd c. AD?
NSER 215		Rhodes	?
Bernand, Inscr. Métr. 24	SEG 8.375	Egypt and Nubia	2nd-3rd AD

AAA 8 (1975) 38,3		Rhodes	?
Breccia, Alexandria Mus. 341	SB 1.3449	Egypt and Nubia	2nd-3rd AD
SEG 41:662	ASAtene 22 (1939/40) 153,11; ASAtene 22 (1942) 153, 11; ASAtene 64/65 (1986/1987) 284, 19	Rhodes	1st c. BC
Graffites d'Abydos 152	SB 1045	Egypt and Nubia	?
NSER 305		Rhodes	?
Syringes 2042 and 2044		Egypt and Nubia	?
SEG 34:808	AD 32 B (1977) 366	Rhodes	?
SB 1:2116		Egypt and Nubia	?
Clara Rhodos 2 (1932) 235,142	IIsol.Mil.13	Rhodes	?
Graffites d'Abydos 205		Egypt and Nubia	?
McCabe Samos 704	IG 12(6). 1082; MDAI(A) 1960, 172-73, No.83	Samos	?
Syringes 11		Egypt and Nubia	?
Priene 74	OGI 765; IPr17;	Ionia	2nd C BC
OGI 751	Schroeter, De regum Hell. Epist. 49; Welles, RC 54; Denkmäler 74; Austin 205; SEG 49.2455	Ionia	2nd C BC
Strubbe, Cat. Pessinus 19 (Ipeinous 19)	CIG 4081; Fouilles à Pessinonte I A 221 n.19; IGR 3.231; Perrot, Exploration 214; Sitz.Berl. 1860, 193 n.1	Galatia	150-200 AD or later
IvP 1 247 (IP 247)	Leg.Sacr.1.17	Mysia	Before 133 BC
IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ 1485		Mysia	280/79-276/75 BC
IK Iasos 275	SEG 18, 450; IK Iasos 408	Caria	c. 150 BC
TAM V,2 881		Lydia	276/5 BC
IvP I 29 (IP 29)	CIG 3535; OGI 280	Mysia	ca. 229-197 BC
Didyma 78	McCabe, Didyma 160;	Ionia	c. 100 BC
IvP I 23 (IP 23)	CIG 3536; OGI 275; Muller-Dufeu 2036; OGI 275	Mysia	ca. 229-197 BC
IvP I 57 (IP 57)		Mysia	Mid. 3rd-mid. 2nd BC
IK Kyme 15		Aeolis	Before 58 BC
IMT NoerdlTroas 6		Troas	196/195 BC
Clara Rhodos 2: 172, 3	RFIC 60.1932.446,I	Lycia	184/3 BC
IvP 1 24 (IP 24)	OGI 276; Muller-Dufeu 2035	Mysia	ca. 229-197 BC
IvP 1 20 (IP 20)	OGI 269; Muller-Dufeu 2033; SEG 49.1774	Mysia	ca. 236-197 BC
IvP 1 65 (IP 65)	OGI 298; LW 1720a; Mous.Smyrn. 2(1), 1875- 76, 6 n.78	Mysia	ca. 183 BC
IvP 1 165 (IP 165)		Mysia	167-159 BC
IvP 1 39 (IP 39)	CIG 3541; OGI 285	Mysia	241-197 BC
Petersen- Luschan, Reisen II 167,202		Lycaonia	?
CIG 4000	SEG 28.1249; SEG 34.1319; Strubbe, ARAI 349; SGOst.14.7.6; RECAM 4. K31; Kaibel EG 406	Lycaonia	?
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 115, 100	Jahresh. 30, 1937, Beibl. 28 n.32; Jahresh. 30, 1937, Beibl. 10-11 n.2	Galatia	c.102 AD

(Bosch, Quellen 115, 100)			
Sterrett, WE 398,580	Sterrett, WE 398,580	Phrygia	?
IMT NoerdlTroas 90		Troas	2 <sup>ND</sup> AD
TAM 5.936	Dittmann-Schoene 3.1.14; SEG 49.1669 (ap.crit.); IGRR 4.1259	Lydia	?
IMT Kyz PropKueste 1958		Mysia	?
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 94, 98 (Bosch, Quellen 94, 98)	CIL 3.14184.57; AEM 9, 1885, 119 n.81; IGR 3.162; JHS 44, 1924, 28-30 n.16; JRS 12, 1922, 165; Mordtmann, Marmora 10; Perrot, Exploration 231-234 n.123; SEG 6.52	Galatia	102 AD
TAM 5.532	SEG 33.1008; BE 1989.624; IManisa 88; De Hoz, Kulte 55.2; Wien.Anz. 98, 1961, 126 n.16	Lydia	250/1 AD
TAM 2. 251	Proodos 6-11-1907	Lycia	Aet. Rom.
MAMA 4 143		Phrygia	14-19 AD
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 35,51 (Bosch, Quellen 35, 51)	IG 2[2].7927; CIG 4039; CIG III p.1109; IGR 3.157; OGI 533; Perrot, Exploration 261; Schede, Ankara 52	Galatia	10-33 AD
RECAM II 313		Galatia	After 212 AD
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 53,56 (Bosch, Quellen 53, 56)	IG 2[2]. 7904a; AAL 4, 1912, 36 n.1	Galatia	Mid-1st AD
McCabe. Aphrodisias 866	<i>Chiron</i> (Buchner) 1, 1971, 457-482; <i>Annals of Science</i> (Field & Wright) 42, 1985, 87-138.	Caria	?
SEG 31:1116	SEG 39.669; SEG 40.1217; IPessinus T 81	Phrygia	Beginning 4 <sup>th</sup> C AD
SEG 36:1263	SEG 37.1370; SEG 38.1541; SEG 39.1533; SEG 41.1525; SEG 41.1826	Cyprus	ca. 325-350 AD
TAM 5.1143	AnnÉpigr 1939.132; MEFRA 55, 1938, 56; SEG 18.554; IManisa 278; AE 1939.132	Lydia	?
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 155,128 (Bosch, Quellen 128)	AEM 9, 1885, 130 n.98; CR 40, 1926, 18; IGR 3.209; JHS 44, 1924, 158; JHS 44, 1924, 162; JHS 44, 1924, 33-36 n.41; JRS 16, 1926, 245; MUB 13, 1928, 240 n.15; SEG 6.59; IGR 3.209	Galatia	128-129 AD
CIG 8795	LBW 1804	Galatia	856-866 AD
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 178,139 (Bosch, Quellen 178, 139)	CIL 3.242; LW 1480; CIG 4031; IGR 3.195; Mordtmann, Marmora 24 nota	Galatia	117/138-150 AD
Roueché, PPApr 91	LBW 1620ab; MAMA 8.421	Caria	161-169 AD
Herakleia Salbake 15	SEG 30:1264	Caria	AD 129/130
McCabe, Aphrodisias 228	AIC Roma 19, 1847, 109 n.8; BE 1965.364; CIG 2810b; Fellows, Lycia 311-315 n.22; Liermann, <i>Analecta</i> 88-99 n.16; LW 1620b; TRSLit Lond. 1843, 238 + 296 n.13.A-B; Franz, <i>Ann. D. Inst.</i> 19, 1847, 109, no. 8	Caria	Aet Imp.
IvP III 21		Mysia	118 AD
Kaibel, EG 400	Kaibel 400 — GVI 469	Galatia	2nd-3rd AD
IvP III 21[1]	GRBS 32.1991.402-403 note 21; SEG 41.1088	Mysia	117 AD
Strubbe, Cat. Pessinus 17 (IPessinus 17)	OGI 540; IGR 3.230; Ath.Mitt. 22, 1897, 38 n.23	Galatia	End 1st or 2nd half 2nd AD?
IK Sinope 105	RA (5) 3.1916.354,10; SEG 13.540; SEG 14.776	Pontus and	1st-2nd AD

		Paphlagonia	
RA 1916,1:354,10		Pontus and Paphlagonia	2nd AD
Strubbe, Cat. Pessinus 18 (IPessinous 18)	AnnÉpigr 1901.160; Ath.Mitt. 25, 1900, 437-439 n.63; CCCA 1.60; Fouilles à Pessinonte I A 221 n.18; Hepding, Attis 79 n.8; IGR 3.225; OGI 541	Galatia	2nd AD
RECAM II 403		Galatia	253-268 AD
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 343,280 (Bosch, Quellen 343, 280)	CIG 4064; AEM 9, 1885, 122 n.82; IGR 3.205; Mordtmann, Marmora 15 n.4	Galatia	253-260/268 AD
IK Apameia (Bith.) & Pylai 131		Bithynia	?
McCabe Ephesos 4*5 (Alpers-Halfman, Ephesos (SE) 4.05)	ZPE 81, 1990, 97-100; ZPE 85, 1991, 40; ZPE 86, 1991, 183; ZPE 86, 1991, 184-186; ZPE 86, 1991, 185-186; AnnÉpigr 1989.681; BCH 115, 1991, 465-480; BCH 115, 1991, 469; BCH 115, 1991, 471; BE 1991.480; CRAI 1990, 675-689; EpigrAnat 14, 1989, 10-31; EpigrAnat 14, 1989, 112-113; EpigrAnat 15, 1990, 139-145; EpigrAnat 17, 1991, 10; EpigrAnat 17, 1991, 14; EpigrAnat 17, 1991, 14 nota 44; EpigrAnat 17, 1991, 9-11, 14, 17; EpigrAnat 8, 1986, 19-32; SEG 36.1027; SEG 39.1180; Wien.Anz. 114, 1977, 211; Wien.Anz. 116, 1979, 133; SEG 36, 1027	Ionia	75 BC, with later additions, inscribed AD 62
SEG 2:710	Sokolowski 1.79; SEG 15.823	Pisidia	1st BC
SE 4*5	SEG 39, 1180; AnnÉpig 1989, 681; ZPE 85, 1991, 40; ZPE 86, 1991, 184-186; ZPE 86, 1991, 183; BE 1991, 480; BCH 115, 1991, 469 (Z. 73); BCH 115, 1991, 471 (Z. 74); ZPE 86, 1991, 185/6 (Z. 103).	Ionia	?
RECAM II 188		Galatia	43-40 BC
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 261, 199 (Bosch, Quellen 261, 199)	CIG 4044; MUB 13, 1928, 232-233 n.5; Perrot, Exploration 237 n.127; SEG 6.64; IGR 3.181; Mordtmann, Marmora 14 n.1; IGR 3.181	Galatia	2nd AD
Aphrodisias 261 (McCabe, Aphrodisias 261)	BCH 9, 1885, 68-71 n.1; BE 1972.414; Hell.11-12.360; IAgon.80; Liermann, Analecta 146-148 n.28; MAMA 8.521; SEG 14.733; SEG 14, 733	Galatia	?
Roueché, PPApr 70	MAMA 8.521	Caria	2nd-3rd AD
RECAM II 414	CIG 4104 — SEG 39.1517	Galatia	244-249 AD
Anat.St. 1977:66,4	IGR 3.181%7; SEG 27.846	Galatia	ca. 244-260 AD
Kaunos 30	PIR <sup>2</sup> II 121, no. 519;	Caria	AD 98/117
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 348,287		Galatia	mid-3rd AD
McCabe, Ephesos 1188	AnnÉpigr 1924.82; FE 3.48; IEphesos 3048	Ionia	AD 123/148
IK Prusias ad Hypium 56		Bithynia	81-96 or 98-117 AD
Smyrna 990	Smyrna: CIG 3188; ISmyrna I p. x, note 13.	Ionia	?
McCabe, Ephesos 1092	IEphesos 1123; Jahresh. 52, 1980, 35 n.39	Ionia	3 <sup>rd</sup> C BC
Roueché, PPApr 92		Caria	?

Sterrett, WE 367,532	OGI 2.535, IGR 3.316	Phrygia	?
MAMA 6 255		Phrygia	?
Sardis 7,1 45	IGRR 4.1509	Lydia	ca. 80 AD
TAM III 246		Pisidia	?
McCabe, Ephesos 1224	AnnÉpigr 1905.120; BAB 1905, 198; Corbier, Aerarium 372 n.1; FE 5(1). 2; IEphesos 5102; Jahresh. 10, 1907, 299-300 n.1; RA S4 6, 1905, II, 474-475 n.120	Ionia	AD 106/107
SEG 19:840	SGOst.18.5.1	Pisidia	?
IK Prusias ad Hypium 45		Bithynia	210 AD
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 288,225 (Bosch, Quellen 288, 225)	AEM 9, 1885, 123 nota; BCH 7, 1883, 16 n.3; IGR 3.179; OGI 2.548	Galatia	193-211 AD
MAMA 4 140	SEG 27.899; SEG 30.1473; SEG 40.1236 app.crit; SEG 44.1030; SGOst.16.62.1	Phrygia	222 AD
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 240,181 (Bosch, Quellen 240, 181)		Galatia	175 AD
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 311,251 (Bosch, Quellen 311, 251)	CIG 4016; IGR 3.204; Mordtmann, Marmora 2 I	Galatia	217-c.250 AD
Strubbe, Cat. Pessinus 14 (IPessinus 14)	Fouilles à Pessinonte I A 220 n.14; IGR 3.232; Perrot, Exploration 214; Sitz.Berl. 1860, 193 n.2	Galatia	Aet. Imp.
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 312, 253 (Bosch, Quellen 253)	Mordtmann, Marmora 3 II	Galatia	217-c.250 AD
SEG 41:1104		Bithynia	?
Ephesos 2314 (McCabe, Ephesos 2314)	IEphesos 2519; Jahresh. 53, 1981-82, 100 n.37	Ionia	Aet. Imp.
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 312, 252 (Bosch, Quellen 312, 252)	Mordtmann, Marmora 5 IV	Galatia	217-c.250 AD
Marek, Kat. Amastris 40	CIG 3.4152; CIL 3.320; IGR 3.86	Pontus and Paphlagonia	
McCabe, Ephesos 1099	FE 3.33; IEphesos 3033	Ionia	AD 109/110
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 310,249 (Bosch, Quellen 310, 249)	CIL 3.14184.46; JHS 19, 1899, 101; Jahresh. 30, 1937, Beibl. 24 n.23	Galatia	217-c.250 AD
Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics 271,96	IGR 4.882; CIG 3953; Sterrett, EJ 33	Phrygia	
Ephesos 1209 (McCabe, Ephesos 1209)	BAB 1905, 204; Dessau 8819a; FE 3.34; IEphesos 3034; RA S4 6, 1905, II, 476 n.122; ILS 8819a; FiE III no. 34	Ionia	AD 109/110
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 310,250 (Bosch, Quellen 310, 250)	CIL 3.14184.46; JHS 19, 1899, 101; CIG 4017; Mordtmann, Marmora 4 111; OGI 547	Galatia	217-c.250 AD
Ephesos 1097	AnnÉpigr 1982.873; IEphesos 614; Jahresh. 52,	Ionia	AD 102/110

(McCabe, Ephesos 1097)	1980, 28 n.21a		
Didyma 213	McCabe Didyma 151.	Ionia	AD 102
IvP II 451 (IP 451)	IGR 4.390;	Mysia	113-117 AD
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 185,145 (Bosch, Quellen 185, 145)		Galatia	2nd AD
IK Stratonikeia 109		Caria	?
IK Stratonikeia 50		Caria	Aet. Imperial
McCabe, Erythrai 11	IEryth.30; ZPE 4, 1969, 151-156; SEG 37,923	Ionia	ca. 270/260 BC
McCabe, Erythrai 37	Habicht, Gottmenschentum 95-99; IEryth.31; OGI 223; Sitz.Berl. 1875, 554-558; Welles, RC 15; SEG 37, 924	Ionia	ca. 270/260 BC
McCabe, Ephesos 1563	BMus.Inscr.558; IEphesos 1558; OGI 534; Oliver, Sacred Gerusia 101 n.15	Ionia	3 <sup>rd</sup> C BC
CIG 3991	IGR 3.263; RECAM 4.K8; CIG 3991W/ P.1108	Lycaonia	Imp. – Nero
IK Laodikeia am Lykos 1	Chiron 5.1975.59-87	Phrygia	267 BC
Strubbe, Cat. Pessinus 12 (IPessinus 12)	AnnÉpigr 1996.1486; EpigrAnat 26, 1996, 53-55 n.1; Fouilles à Pessinonte I A 220 n.12; Macpherson, <i>New Evidence</i> 84-85 n.1; SEG 46.1627	Galatia	End 1st AD
Swoboda, Denkmäler 74/5	Denkm.Lyk. 33,74/5; OGIS 751	Lycaonia	ca. 160 BC
IK Kyme 42		Aeolis	2nd AD
JRS 1912:253,8	MAMA 1.386; JRS 2.1912.253,8	Phrygia	
Marek, Kat. Pompeiopolis 1	BE 1939.437	Pontus and Paphlagonia	97-102 AD
MAMA 4 197		Phrygia	3rd C AD
Magnesia 214	IMagn 186	Caria	AD 139/161
Anat.St. 1977:75,7	SEG 27.844	Galatia	Early 3rd AD
IvP I 166		Mysia	End 3rd-mid. 2nd BC
IGUR II 452	IG XIV 1660	Sicily, Italy, and the West	?
IG XIV 467	CIG 5701; IMus.Catania 90; IG 9(1).61	Sicily, Italy, and the West	?
IG XIV 2358	CIG 9879; IGChOcc.31; IAquileiae 3172	Sicily, Italy, and the West	?
IGUR II 797		Sicily, Italy, and the West	?
IG XIV 2364		Sicily, Italy, and the West	?

**Figure A2.2** Table of all the inscriptions from the PHI database (with equivalents) that contain the word  $\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau\text{-}\acute{\iota}$ .  
(Packard Humanities Institute 2008 and Claros 2006)

A2 – 3 Inscriptions containing 'Γαλλο–'

Primary Inscription	Equivalentents	Place found	Date of inscription
Ephesos 374	CIL III 6979,7118; GIBM 522; ILS 97; Conze, Beschr. Skulpt. Berlin 1177; Ieph 1522	Ionia	
Ephesos 375	CIL III 6070, 7118; Conze, Beschr. Skulpt. Berlin 1177; Ieph V p.52 (to 1522)	Ionia	
Ephesos 306	GIBM 524; Ieph 440.2; Ieph 1524; SEG 36, 1015	Ionia	
Ephesos 305	GIBM 524; GIBM 523; Ieph 1523; Ieph 440.1 1524; SEG 36, 1015	Ionia	
IvP II 485		Mysia	Beginning. 1st AD
Ephesos 1900	GIBM 499; ILS 8822; Ieph 1499.	Ionia	AD 99/100
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 94,98	IGR 3.162	Pontus and Paphlagonia	102 AD
Marek, Kat. Amastris 113	BCH 26.1902.287-8; IGR 3.1434	Pontus and Paphlagonia	109 AD
SEG 37:964	EA 9.1987.63,8; SEG 37.964	Ionia	138/9 AD
SEG 37:1197		Pisidia	2nd-3rd AD
Bosch, Quellen Ankara 225,174		Galatia	166 AD
Lane, CMRDM 1:215	JHS 32.1912.135,37;	Pisidia	Aet. Imperial
Körte, I.Buresch. 33,60	IGR 4.626	Phrygia	251/2 AD
MAMA 5 Lists Note: 188,4[2/1]	MDAI (A) 25.1900.435,59	Phrygia	251-253 AD
Ephesos 1187	JÖAI 47,1964-1965 Beibl. 22-23, no. 11 (PH); AnnEpig 1968, 485; Ieph 800.	Ionia	
Phokaia 13	CIG 3413; IGR IV 1322; Clerc, Massalia II 262 (PH); Graf, Kulte, Phokaia 4.Ion.; Graf, Kulte, Phokaia 4	Ionia	
SE 3345*2	JÖAI 62, 1993 (Hauptbl.), 135, Nr. 35.Ion.; JÖAI 62,1993,135, Nr. 35	Ionia	
Marek, Kat. Pompeiopolis 14	BCH 27.1903.327,33	Pontus and Paphlagonia	
Marek, Kat. Amastris 111/112	CIL 3.14197(4-5); IGR 3.1433, ILS 4081 (111)	Pontus and Paphlagonia	
CIL III 7051	CIL 3.7051 — IGR 4.757	Phrygia	
IGLSyr 13,1 9063		Arabia	?
Ephesos 731	JÖAI 23, 1926 Beibl. 299; AnnEpig 1928, 98; SEG 4, 530; Ieph 260; SEG 32, 1136.	Ionia	AD 59/60
IScM I 193	SEG 1.330	Scythia Minor	138 AD
Heberdey-Wilhelm, Reisen in Kilik. = DAW 44,6 (1896) 90,169		Olba (Ura)	198 AD
IGBulg II 623		Thrace and Moesia Inferior	202-205 AD
Marek, Kat. Abonuteichos 3	SbBerlin 1888.886,39; JÖAI 28.1933,Beibl.55, 1; IGR 3.91	Pontus and Paphlagonia	204 AD
IGBulg II 620		Thrace and Moesia Inferior	202-205 AD

IGBulg II 621		Thrace and Moesia Inferior	202-205 AD
IGBulg II 622		Thrace and Moesia Inferior	202-205 AD
AJA 75 (1971) 401,4		Makedonia	232/233 AD
NEPKh II 123	IosPE I <sup>2</sup> 590	North Shore of the Black Sea	251-253 AD
FD III 4:44		Delphi	c.91 BC
IG II <sup>2</sup> 4185		Attica	Middle 1 <sup>st</sup> C. AD
IG IV <sup>2</sup> ,1 631		Epidauria	1st C. BC
Roesch, IThesp 399	BCH 50.1926.438,74	Megaris, Oropia, and Boiotia	51-44 BC
SIA VI 4	CIL 3.551%7Add. [ILS 928]; IG II (2). 4126	Attica	14 BC-14 AD
IG II <sup>2</sup> 4117		Attica	Middle 1 <sup>st</sup> C. BC
IG II <sup>2</sup> 4126		Attica	Non ante 14 AD
IG V, 1 1462		Lakonia and Messenia	1st c. AD
IvO 619		Elis	147-150 AD
FD III 3:67		Delphi	2nd AD
Corinth 8,3 116		Corinthia	251-253 AD
Peek, Neue Inschriften 79		Epidauria	251-253 AD
FD III 3:72		Delphi	?
IC IV 292		Crete	67/68 AD
IG XII, 5 757		Cyclades, excl. Delos	65 AD
IG XII, 5 938		Cyclades	251-253 AD
IGUR III 1179	IG XIV 1514a; GVI 1886; CIL 6.35361	Italy, incl. Magna Graecia	?
IG XIV 2406,63		Italy, incl. Magna Graecia	
IG XIV 2406,63		Italia (Umbria)	
Tempel von Dakke III 38	SB 1.4413	Egypt and Nubia	30-26 BC?
Philae 128		Egypt and Nubia	AD 29
OGIS 654	Philae 2.128; IGRR 1.1293; SB 5.8894; SEG 26.1804	Egypt and Nubia	AD 29
Audollent, Defix. Tab. 236		Africa Proconsularis	2nd/3rd C. AD
Thèbes à Syène 12		Egypt and Nubia	After 130 AD
Colosse de Memnon 36		Egypt and Nubia	130 AD

**Figure A2.3** Table of all the inscriptions from the PHI database (with equivalents) that contain the word ‘Γαλλο-’.  
(Packard Humanities Institute 2008 and Claros 2006)

## A2 – 4 Abbreviations

AAA	<i>Archaïologika Analekta ex Athenon</i> , Athens.
AAL	<i>Annals of Archeology and Anthropology</i> , Liverpool.
AD	Konstantinopoulos G, 1963. <i>Epigraphai ek Rodou</i> (Inscriptions de Rhodes). In, <i>Archaïologikon Deltion</i> <b>18</b> : 1-32.
AEMO	<i>Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn</i> , Viena.
Agora 17	Bradeen D. W. 1974. <i>Inscriptions. The Funerary Monuments</i> (The Athenian Agora), vol. 17. Princeton.
AIC Roma	<i>Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica</i> , Roma.
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> , New York, Princeton, and Boston.
<i>Annals of Science</i>	<i>Annals of Science. A History of Science Journal</i> , Londres.
Anat.St.	<i>Anatolian Studies</i> (London).
AnnÉp. = AnnÉpigr.	
AnnÉpigr.	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> , Paris.
ArchMiss	<i>Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires</i> . Choix de rapports et instructions publié sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Cultes, Paris.
ASAtene	<i>Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente</i> , Bergamo, Rome.
Ath.Mitt.	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts (Athenische Abteilung)</i> , Atenas.
Audollent, <i>Defix. Tab.</i>	Audollent A. M. H. 1903. <i>Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt, tam in Graecis Orientis quam in totius Occidentis partibus praeter Atticas in Corpore Inscriptionum Atticarum editas</i> . Paris.
Austin	Austin M. M. 1981. <i>The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
BAB	<i>Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Accadémie Royale de Belgique</i> , Bruselas.
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> , Paris.
BE	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> (en Revue des Études grecques).
Bernand, <i>Confins libyques</i>	Bernand A. 1970. <i>Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs. 1. Les confins libyques</i> , El Cairo. Bernand, André. <i>Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecques, I: Les Confins libyques</i> . 3 vols. (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Mémoires publiés par les members), 101. Cairo.
Bernand, <i>Inscr. Métr.</i>	Bernand É. 1969. <i>Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte</i> . (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon), 98. Paris.

Bernard, <i>Mus. Du Louvre</i>	Bernand, É. 1992. <i>Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie au Musée du Louvre</i> . Paris.
Bertrand, <i>IHG</i>	Bertrand J. - M. 1992. <i>Inscriptions historiques grecques</i> , Paris.
<i>BMus.Inscr.</i>	Hicks E. L., Newton C. T., Hirschfeld G. and Marshall F. H. <i>The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum</i> , I-IV, Oxford 1874-1916 [Milán 1977-79]. (I (1874): nos. 1-135; II (1883): nos. 136-398; III (1890): nos. 399-785; IV(1) (1893): nos. 786-934; IV(2) (1916): nos. 935-1155).
Bosch, <i>Quellen</i>	Bosch E. 1967. <i>Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum</i> , Ankara.
<i>BP</i>	<i>Bielomorski Pregled</i> (Sofia).
Breccia, <i>Alexandria Mus.</i>	Breccia E. 1911. <i>Iscrizioni greche e latine (Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie)</i> . Cairo.
Bringmann, <i>Schenkungen</i>	Bringmann K. 1995. <i>Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer. Teil I. Zeugnisse und Kommentare</i> , Berlin.
Canali, <i>Ambascerie</i>	Canali de Rossi F. 1997. <i>Le ambascerie dal mondo greco a Roma</i> , Roma.
<i>Centaurus</i>	<i>Centaurus. International magazine of the History of science and medicine</i> . Copenhagen.
Chapot-Laurot, <i>Prières</i>	Chapot F. and Laurot B. 2001. <i>Corpus de prières grecques et romaines</i> , Turnhout.
<i>Chiron</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> (München)
<i>CID 3</i>	Bélis A. 1992. <i>Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes. Tome III. Les hymnes à Apollon</i> , Paris.
<i>CIG</i>	Boeckh A. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , I-IV, Berlín 1828-77 [(O) 1977]. (I (1828): nos. 1-1792; II (1843): nos. 1793-3809; III (1853): nos. 3810-6816; IV (1877): nos. 6817-9926).
<i>CIL</i>	Mommsen Th. et al. 1873-1902. <i>Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae</i> , Berlín.
<i>Clara Rhodos</i>	<i>Studi e materiali pubbl. a cura dell'Istituto storico-archeologico di Rodi</i> , Rodas.
Clerc, <i>Massalia</i>	Clerc, <i>Massalia. Histoire de Marseille des origines à la fin de l'Antiquité</i> , Marsella 1927-29.
<i>Colosse de Memnon</i>	Bernand A. and Bernand E. 1960. <i>Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon</i> (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude), 31. Paris.
Conze, <i>Beschr. Skulpt.</i>	Conze A. 1891. <i>Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen</i> . Berlín
Corbier, <i>Aerarium</i>	Corbier M. 1974. <i>L'Aerarium Saturni et l'Aerarium militare. Administration et prosopographie sénatoriale</i> , Roma.

Corinth VIII.	Meritt B. D. (ed) 1931. <i>The Greek Inscriptions 1896-1927</i> , Cambridge, Mass.
CR	<i>Classical Review</i> , Oxford.
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> , Paris.
De Hoz, Kulte	de Hoz M. P. 1999. <i>Die lydischen Kulte im Lichte der griechischen Inschriften</i> , Asia Minor Studien 36, Bonn.
Delacoulonche	Delacoulonche A. 1859. "Mémoire sur le berceau de la puissance macédonienne des bords de l'Haliacmon et ceux de l'Axius." In <i>Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires</i> , <b>8</b> : 67-288.
Denkm.Lyk	Swoboda H., Keil J. and Knoll F. 1935. <i>Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien</i> . Brno-Praga-Leipzig-Viena.
Dessau	Dessau H. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , Berlin 1892-1916. (1892: nos. 1-2956; 1906: nos. 2957-8883; 1916: nos. 8884-9522).
Didyma	Rehm A. and Harder R. 1958. <i>Didyma, II, Die Inschriften</i> , Berlin.
Dimitsas, He Makedonia	Dimitsas M. G. 1980. <i>He Makedonia en lithois phthengomenois kai mnemeiois sozomenois, etoi pneumatike kai archaiologike parastasis tes Makedonias en syllogei 1409 hellenikon kai 189 latinikon epigraphon kai en apeikonisei ton spoudaioteron kallitechnikon mnemeion</i> . Athens 1896. Enlarged reprint, ed. Al. N. Oikonomides: <i>Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum et Latinarum Macedoniae</i> . 2 vols. Chicago: Ares.
Dittmann-Schoene	Dittmann-Schoene I. 2001. <i>Die Berufsvereine in den Städten des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasiens</i> , Regensburg.
Dodone 18	Samsaris D. C. 1989. La Vallée du Bas-Strymon à l'époque impériale. Contribution épigraphique à la topographie, l'onomastique, l'histoire et aux cultes de la province romaine de Macédoine. In: <i>Dodone [Ioannina]</i> <b>18</b> : 203-382.
Durrbach, Choix	Durrbach, <i>Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos</i> , avec traduction et commentaire, Paris 1921-22. (1921: nos. 1-75; 1922: nos. 76-184).
EA	Robert L. 1970. <i>Études Anatoliennes. Études Orientales publiées par l'Institut Français d'Archéologie de Stamboul</i> , V, Paris.
EpigrAnat	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i> , Bonn.
FD 1	Bourguet E. 1929. <i>Fouilles de Delphes. III. Épigraphie. 1. De l'entrée du sanctuaire au trésor des Athéniens</i> , Paris.
FE 3	Keil J. 1923. <i>Forschungen in Ephesos. 3. Die Agora</i> . Torbauten am Hafen. Der Aquädukt des C. Sextilius Pollio, Viena.
FE 5(1)	Keil J. 1953. <i>Forschungen in Ephesos</i> . Die Bibliothek, Viena pp. 61-80.
Fellows, Lycia	Fellows C. 1841. <i>An Account of Discoveries in Lycia, being a Journal kept during a Second Excursion in Asia Minor</i> , Londres.
Fouilles à Pessinonte I A	Devreker J. and Waelkens M. (eds.) 1984. <i>Pessinonte. Les fouilles de la Rijksuniversiteit te Gent à Pessinonte 1967-1973</i> . I A-B, Brujas.

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- I*aquileiae Brusin J. B. 1991–3. *Inscriptiones Aquileiae, Pubblicazioni della Deputazione di Storia Patria per il Friuli* 20, in 3 vols, Udine.
- I*C Guarducci M. (ed.) 1935–1950. *Inscriptiones Creticae*, in 4 vols. Rome Vol. 1, *Tituli Cretae mediae praeter Gortynios* (1935); vol. 2, *Tituli Cretae occidentalis* (1939); vol. 3, *Tituli Cretae orientalis* (1942); vol. 4, *Tituli Gortynii* (1950).
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- I*Ephesos Wankel H., Börker Ch., Merkelbach R., Engelmann H., Knibbe D., Meric R., Sahin, S., and Nollé, J. *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, IGSK 11-17, Bonn 1979-84. (I (1979): nos. 1-47; II (1979): nos. 101-599; III (1980): nos. 600-1000; IV (1980): nos. 1001-1445; V (1980): nos. 1446-2000; VI (1980): nos. 2001-2958; VII (1981): nos. 3001-3500).
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- I*G IX (2) Kern O. 1908. *Inscriptiones Thessaliae*, Berlín.
- I*G X(2).1 Edson C. 1972. *Inscriptiones Graecae Epiri, Macedoniae, Thraciae, Scythiae. Pars 2. Inscriptiones Macedoniae. Fasc. 1. Inscriptiones Thessalonicae et viciniae*, Berlín.
- I*G XI (4) Roussel P. 1914. *Inscriptiones Graecae. Inscriptiones Deli, fasc. 4*, Berlin.
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- I*G XIV Kaibel G. 1890. *Inscriptiones Siciliae et Italiae, additis Galliae, Hispaniae, Britanniae, Germaniae inscriptionibus*, Berlín.
- I*GBulg Mihailov G. (ed) 1958–1970. *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, in 5 vols. Sofia. Vol. I, 2nd edn., *Inscriptiones orae Ponti Euxini* (1970); vol. II, *Inscriptiones inter Danubium et Haemum repertae* (1958); vol. III/1, *Inscriptiones inter Haemum et Rhodopem repertae. Fasciculus prior: territorium Philippopolis* (1961); vol. III/2, *Inscriptiones inter Haemum et Rhodopem repertae. Fasciculus posterior: a territorio Philippopolitano usque ad oram Ponticam* (1964); vol. IV, *Inscriptiones in territorio Serdicensi et in vallibus Strymonis Nestique repertae* (1966).
- I*GChOcc. Wessel C. 1988. *Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae Veteres Occidentis*, Bari.
- I*GLA Kayser F., 1994. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d'Alexandrie impériale (Ier-IIe s, apr. J.-C.)*, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude 108. Paris.

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- IGR 1 Cagnat R. et al. 1911. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, I*, Paris.
- IGR 3 Cagnat R. et al. 1906. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, III*, Paris.
- IGR 4 Cagnat R. et al. 1927. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, IV*, Paris.
- IGUR Moretti L. 1968–1990. *Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae*. 4 vols. in 5 parts. Rome
- IK Apameia & Pylai Thomas Corsten. *Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai*. «Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien», 32. Bonn 1987.
- IK Estremo oriente Canali de Rossi F. 2004. *Iscrizioni dello estremo oriente greco. Un repertorio* (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien), 65. Bonn. Additional commentary: *Jenseits des Euphrat: griechische Inschriften. Ein epigraphisches Lesebuch*. Zusammengestellt, übersetzt und erklärt von Reinhold Merkelbach und Josef Stauber. München—Leipzig 2005.
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IMT Kyz PropKueste	Barth M. and Stauber J. (eds). 1993. <i>Inscriptiones Mysia &amp; Troas</i> [IMT], Leopold Wenger Institut. Universität München.
IMus.Catania	Korhonen K. 2004. <i>Le iscrizioni del Museo Civico di Catania. Storia delle collezioni - Cultura epigrafica - Edizione</i> , Commentationes humanarum litterarum 121, Helsinki.
IosPE I <sup>2</sup>	<i>IosPE I<sup>2</sup> -- Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae</i> , ed. Basilius [Vasilii] Latyshev. 3 vols. St. Petersburg 1885-1901. Second edn. of vol. I, <i>Inscriptiones Tyriae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae</i> . St. Petersburg 1916.
IP	Fraenkel M. 1890-95. <i>Altertümer von Pergamon. VIII 1-2. Die Inschriften von Pergamon</i> , Berlin. (VIII 1: nos. 1-250; VIII 2: nos. 251-613).
Ipeginous	Strubbe J. 2005. <i>The Inscriptions of Pessinous</i> , IGSK 66, Bonn.
IPr.	Hiller von Gaertringen F. 1906 [dG 1968]. <i>Die Inschriften von Priene</i> , Berlin.
Iprusias	Ameling W. 1985. <i>Die Inschriften von Prusias ad Hypium</i> , IGSK 27, Bonn.
ISE	Moretti L. 2002. <i>Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche</i> . I. Attica, Peloponneso, Beozia; II. Grecia centrale e settentrionale, Florenzia; Canali de Rossi, F., <i>Decreti per ambasciatori greci al senato</i> , Roma (I: nos. 1-70; II: nos. 71-132).
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Isinope	French D. A. 2004. <i>The Inscriptions of Sinope. Part I. Inscriptions</i> , IGSK 64, Bonn.
IScM I	Pippidi D. M. 1983. <i>Inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris antiquae. Series altera: Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae</i> . Vol. 1. <i>Inscriptiones Histriae et vicinia</i> . Bucharest.
IP=IvP	
I Selge	Nollé J. and Schindler F. 1991. <i>Die Inschriften von Selge</i> . (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien), 37. Bonn.
IvO	Dittenberger W. and Purgold K. 1896. <i>Die Inschriften von Olympia</i> . 5. Berlin.
IvP	Fränkel M. 1890-1895. <i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon</i> . 2 vols. Berlin. Vol. 1, nos. 1-250, <i>Bis zum Ende der Königszeit</i> ; vol. 2, nos. 251-1334, <i>Römische Zeit</i> .
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Jahresh.	<i>Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts</i> , Viena (Beibl. = Beiblatt).
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> , London.
JÖAI	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts</i> (Vienna)
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> , London.

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LW	Le Bas P. and Waddington W.H. 1870. <i>Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure. Vol. III. Cinquième partie. Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Asie Mineure</i> , Paris [(O) 1972] (nos. 1-1825); W.H. Waddington, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie recueillies et expliquées</i> , Paris [Roma 1968] (nos. 1826-2724).
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MEFRA	Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome. <i>Antiquité</i> , Paris.
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MUB	<i>Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph</i> , Beirut.

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NSER	Maiuri A. 1925. <i>Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos</i> . Firenze.
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Wien.Anz.	<i>Anzeiger der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (antes Akad.d.Wiss. in Wien)</i> , Vienna.
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