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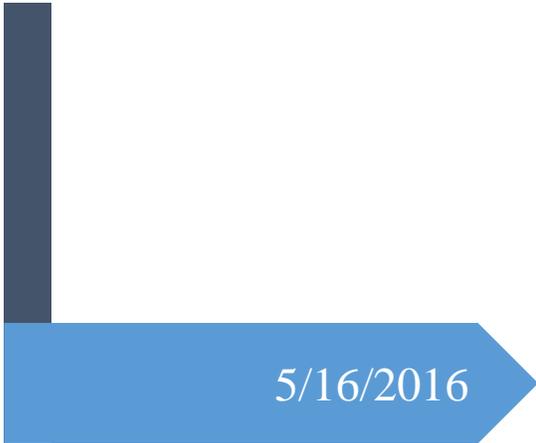
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The Ethnic Identity and Redefinition of the Galatians in the Hellenistic World

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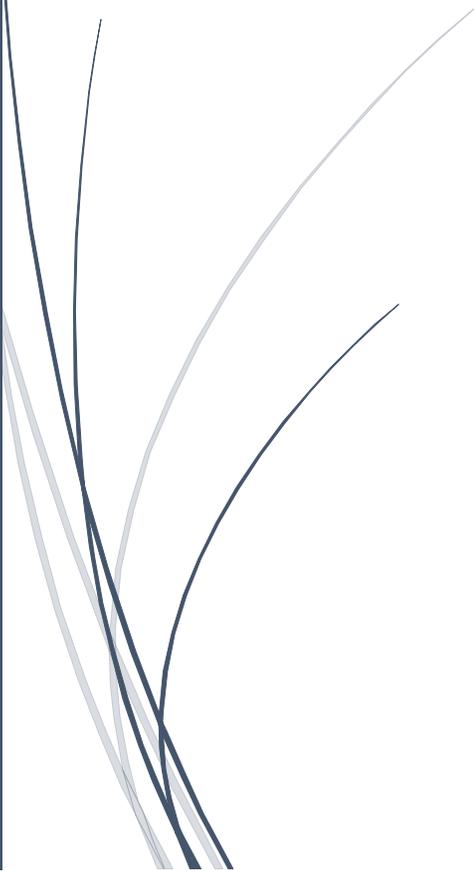
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Introduction

The Galatians, a Celtic group that moved from southern France to Asia Minor, were an important component in the geopolitics of Anatolia in the middle and late Hellenistic Period. Originally from Gaul, the Galatians were some of the main participants in the Great Celtic Migration in 279 BCE with other Gallic tribes. The migration not only relocated the Galatians from Europe to Asia, but it also fractured and reformed their tribal identities. In addition, unlike their Gallic fellows, the administrative system which the Galatians adopted after they moved to Anatolia effectively refined their political and military organizations and thus built Galatia as a powerful state in Asia Minor. Meanwhile, the Galatians still preserved their Celtic identity as a group of fierce and formidable warriors and earned their fame through battles and plundering raids against their new neighbors.

Along with their ferocity, the Galatians also preserved their language and religion after they settled in Anatolia. The introductions of their Druidism and Celtic tongue considerably enriched the ethnic variety and cultural diversity of Hellenistic Asia Minor. While they preserved their linguistic and religious identity, they also embraced Hellenic customs and local material cultures due to their constant interactions with Hellenistic states. For these reason, they were eventually known as the "Gallo-Greeks".

The history of Galatia as an independent state only lasted for two hundred years, but its influence was significant. The Galatians' migration and settlement in Asia Minor exemplified how a foreign group managed to survive its complicated geopolitical environment after an invasion by redefining their political and military structures while preserving their ethnic identity. This thesis intends to give a close look at these aspects of Galatian society in Gallic and

Hellenistic contexts and identify them as a group of "redefined Gauls" in the eastern Mediterranean world.

This paper will utilize both primary and secondary sources for its evidence basis. The most important primary source, which this paper will be using to set up the discussions of the Galatians, is Strabo's *Geography*. In addition to this, this paper will also use other ancient sources such as Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, and Livy's *History of Rome*. The authors of these historical sources lived in the period which was contemporary to the highpoint of the Galatian civilization. Thus, their descriptions provide direct and indirect insights into the lives and society of the Galatians. For this reason, this paper will be organized primarily according to the discussions of the Galatians primarily based on ancient sources.

Moreover, due to the fact that the history of the Galatians is not as well-studied by the majority of modern scholars as other contemporary ethnic groups like Greeks and Egyptians, it will often be necessary to make comparisons to these better-documented ethnicities. Fortunately, there are also some good articles, exemplified by Stephen Mitchell's "Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor," which informatively outlines the archaeological studies of the material culture of the Galatians during the Hellenistic period. Other than archaeological reports, this paper will also be exploring changes in Celtic culture that have been established in relevant studies by previous scholars. By incorporating the evidence from both primary and secondary sources, this paper attempts to argue that the Galatians retained their identity in various aspects.

Chapter I: Migration and political redefinition of the Γαλάται in the eastern Mediterranean

The Galatians were not original inhabitants of Asia Minor. Before the third century BCE, the Greek term "Γαλάται" only referred to the Celtic inhabitants in Gaul.[1] During the Celtic invasion of Greece in 279 BCE, the participation of the Tectosages started the change. Representing the Celtic people from southern Gaul, the Tectosages eventually managed to break into Asia Minor with their close kin, the Tolistobogii and Trocmi and settled in central Anatolia. This long-distance migration removed these Galatian tribes from their original geopolitical frame-work and thereby changed their political identity. In other words, it was a process of political redefinition which shaped a new Celtic identity in the eastern Mediterranean within the context of the Hellenistic World. This chapter focuses on examining this political redefinition of the Galatian tribes by breaking the discussion into three major comparisons.

All of the comparisons will be discussed within four geopolitical categories: Celtic West, Celtic East, Galatian West and Galatian East. The Celtic West and Celtic East refer to the Celtic communities settled in the western and eastern Mediterranean worlds. The Galatian East represents the Anatolian Galatians, whereas the Galatian West embodies the Gallic Celtic groups to which the Anatolian Galatians originally belonged. In the first set of comparisons, this chapter intends to explain how the geopolitical pattern of the Celtic West affected that of the Galatian West. The goal of this discussion is to provide clear insight into the traditional geopolitics among the Celtic tribes in the Gallic mainland and thereby lay the foundation for further discussions regarding the preservation and changes of the Galatians' Celtic image.

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[1] Polybius, *the Histories of Polybius*, Book IV. 46.

The next comparison attempts to examine the patterns of military leadership within the geopolitical framework of the Celtic West, Galatian West and Galatian East. At first, this section of the paper will discuss how the pre-settled Galatians adopted the leadership and military paradigm of the Celtic West as a part of their Celtic identity. After that, this section of the paper will also explain how the post-settled Galatians abandoned the western Celtic military paradigm by refining their military organization. The main purpose of this section is to uncover the relationship between the changes in the Galatians' military organization, the evolution of their political structure and the forging of a new Galatian identity that embodied Celtic unity.

The third set of comparisons will concentrate on the Celtic East and Galatian East. This section of the paper focuses on examining how the Galatians and Tylis Celts managed to enhance Celtic unity in geopolitical environments that were foreign and unfriendly to them. In addition, this section of the paper will also be explaining how the eastern Celts managed to survive as immigrant states through successful interactions with local regimes. Essentially, the main goal of this comparison is to present how the Galatians and other eastern Celts preserved and changed their original identity in their transitions from foreign invaders to native settlers.

The last group of comparisons will be exploring the similarities and differences between the Galatian West and Galatian East. The purpose of this group of comparison is to show how different geopolitical environments could shape totally different polities from the same ethnic group. Through these comparisons, this chapter attempts to argue that the Celtic migration in the early third century BCE essentially redefined the boundary of the Celtic world. The traditional Celts in the west and the Celtic immigrants in the east together formed a new Celtic community across the Mediterranean.

1.1 Power struggle and migration: from Celtic West to Galatian West

The occurrence of inner political struggles was the first common trait that was shared between the Gallic Galatians and other Celtic communities in Western Europe. Strabo mentions in his *Geography* that the Tectosages, which later became the main body of Anatolian Galatians, encountered a sedition in which they exiled a large number of their own people.[2] After his discussion of the land and fertility of this region of Gaul in which he mentions that the entire region is heavily populated,[3] he then goes on to discuss the Tectosages in detail. At this point, Strabo implies that the rebellion was the reason that motivated the outward migration of the Tectosages. In addition, Strabo states that those Tectosages exiles, along with the exiles from other tribes, eventually formed the later Anatolian Tectosages tribe.[4] In this case, Strabo clarifies two crucial points. First, the Anatolian Tectosages migrated from the main branch of Tectosages in Gaul. Second, the people who together founded the Anatolian Tectosages also contained some non-Tectosages Celtic immigrants. The exile of those non-Tectosages Celts evidently shows that similar type of migrations happened in other parts of Gaul as well. Hence, it is clear that forced migration, motivated by the outcomes of domestic political struggles, was one of the features which was widely shared by Gallic Celtic states in common.

This type of forced migration of Tectosages was profoundly connected with tribal power conflict. According to Strabo, the rebellion broke out among the Tectosages because the state was "so powerful and well-manned" (δυναστεῦσαί ποτε καὶ εὐανδρῆσαι τοσοῦτον).[5] Apparently, Strabo believes that the Tectosages were so prominent in terms of manpower to the point that

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[2] Strabo, *Geography*, IV. 1. 13.
[3] Strabo, IV. 1. 2.
[4] Strabo, IV. 1. 13.
[5] Strabo, IV. 1. 13.

they started to consume themselves through an internal power struggle. That is, the sedition was

a process of rebalance of the inner political resources motivated by a demographic impulse. As

the result, the losing party was forced to leave the tribe. Therefore, the political struggle that was

caused by the overgrowth of tribal population triggered the rebellion and expatriation of the

Tectosages. For this reason, the Tectosages' exile was connected to the demographic pressure,

internal power struggles and distribution of the tribal resources.

This cycle of internal political struggle and migration also happened to the Helvetians. As

Caesar mentions in *The Gallic Wars*, the Helvetians believed that the lands which they acquired

did not match their population and ferocity:[6]

> *Pro multitudine autem hominum et pro Gloria belli atque fortitudinis angustos se fines habere arbitrabantur.* (Caesar. Gal. 1.2.6)

Here, according to Caesar, the migration of the Helvetians was also motivated by demographic

pressure.[7] Moreover, Caesar further states that Orgetorix, the wealthiest Helvetian noble who

proposed a massive migration and invasion plan, was brought to a trial because he was accused

by his political rival.[8] The accusation which Orgetorix suffered effectively shows that the

Helvetians also shared the same pattern of power struggle with the Tectosages. More

importantly, their power struggle also occurred after their tribe encountered the pressure of

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[6] Julius Caesar, *the Gallic War*, I. 2.

[7] Caesar mentions at 1. 29 that the Helvetians left specific population records written in Greek letters in their camp which gives the total number of migrants as 368,000 people because Roman generals could earn triumphs based on the number of the enemies they killed during their campaigns, there may have been some reasons for Caesar to exaggerate this figure. However, because Strabo tells us that the entire region of Gaul was extremely highly populated, there is no reason to doubt the truth of the claim that overpopulation motivated the migration, even though the exact figure Caesar provides may not be entirely trustworthy.

[8] Caesar, I. 4.

overpopulation. In this case, the problems which the Helvetians suffered are closely paralleled by what the Tectosages had experienced.

The similar patterns of political struggle and migration that were shared between the Helvetians and Tectosages revealed the instability of their tribal governments. At this point, the conviction of Orgetorix was an excellent example. According to Caesar, Orgetorix was convicted and condemned, but the Helvetians still started the migration.[9] In other words, Orgetorix's plan was finally implemented. Therefore, the migration plan itself did not contradict the interests of Orgetorix's rivals. In this case, a question is raised. If Orgetorix's rivals wanted to completely defeat Orgetorix, for what reason was Orgetorix's migration proposal still employed? There might be a more complex set of factors that implicitly connected the condemnation of Orgetorix, his rivalry with other Helvetian nobles and the upcoming migration. Demographic pressure might be the first possibility, and it suffices the inquiry regarding the necessity of the Helvetians' migration. However, if the demographic pressure was an implicit factor, then there was no reason for Orgetorix to be accused and condemned because his appeal was aimed to solve this demographic pressure. As mentioned above, the Helvetian aristocrats did not object to the migration plan. Therefore, overpopulation was not the ultimate cause that underlay the disagreement between Orgetorix and his noble rivals.

The answer was, more likely, the political instability inside Helvetia. As Caesar states, Orgetorix assured the Helvetians that he would claim the sovereignty of the entirety of Gaul with his own army.[10] Here, Caesar's description strongly implies that the Helvetian nobles were allowed to raise private forces for their own purposes. In this case, whoever could provide the

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[9] Caesar, I. 5.
[10] Caesar, I. 3.

Helvetian warriors with the most lucrative prospect was more likely to be the strongest aristocrat. In other words, the possession of manpower was also a standard that measured the strength and status of a Helvetian noble. Therefore, for the Helvetians, the authority did not belong to any permanent power base but to those individuals who were politically capable and financially competitive. That is, the possession of power was not institutionalized. This may have been the fundamental cause of the political instability within Helvetia.

This unstable political situation eventually led to the outbreaks of political struggle and political rebalance. As Orgetorix had promised in his speech, he would lead the Helvetians to conquer all of Gaul.[11] In this case, if the promise was fulfilled, the power and fame that Orgetorix might get as the overlord of Gaul could easily overwhelm his enemies. The establishment of a permanent power base was thus possible. This outcome was definitely not welcomed by other Helvetian nobles. Hence, it was necessary for them to repress Orgetorix's potential dictatorship and redistribute his political resources among the Helvetian aristocracy. As a result, although the migration plan was approved and executed, the influence of its original proposer was eliminated. In other words, Orgetorix's Helvetian rivals did not reject his migration plan but his ambition only. In this case, this political rebalancing of the Helvetian nobles kept their maximized gains from the upcoming migratory raids within a stable aristocratic framework. At this point, the Helvetians' migration, like that of the Tectosages, was related to demographic pressure, internal power struggle and political rebalancing.

Thus, it is clear that the Tectosages shared many similarities with the Helvetians in terms of power struggle and migration patterns, especially in the rebalancing of domestic resources and

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[11] Caesar, I. 2.

its impact on demographic reallocation. Essentially, the increasing demographic pressure caused internal power struggles. Correspondingly, the Tectosages' overgrown manpower and Helvetians' overpopulation both reflected the first stage. Then, due to the absence of a permanent power center in these states, figures like Orgetorix, who possessed a significant amount of tribal resources, would be challenged by other aristocrats. As a result, the challenges led to open conflicts. The rebellion of the Tectosages and Orgetorix's condemnation are the evidence in this case. Eventually, the aftermath of these political struggles contributed to removals of tribal population. At this point, the expulsion of the Tectosages and the Helvetians' adoption of Orgetorix's plan responded to this part of the process. When demographic pressure, a common problem that plagued many ancient societies, combined with the unstable political structure of the western Celts, a political paradigm was engendered in the Celtic West.

This paradigm was not only adopted by the Tectosages and Helvetians. On the contrary, it was applicable to all of the Gallic tribes. According to Strabo's enquiry, such phenomena also happened to many other Celtic tribes in Gaul.[12] In other words, this political paradigm was widespread in the Celtic West. Through the same patterns of power struggles, unstable political situation and forced migration, all of the western Gauls were connected. Hence, this Pan-Celtic political paradigm essentially embodied a part of Celtic identity in terms of its political structure. In this case, the Tectosages, as a part of the broad geopolitical category of the Celtic West, were similar to other Gallic Celts in this respect, namely that both of them experienced the effects of the same political paradigm.

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[12] Strabo, IV. 1. 13.

1.2 Change of leadership and military organization: from Celtic West to Galatian East

Leadership patterns are also another important factor that shows the connection between the Galatians and other Gallic groups in the Celtic West. Strabo notes that when the Celtic armies, which those exiled Tectosages had joined during the invasion of Greece in 278 BCE, decided to march southward, they elected Brennus as their leader.[13] At this point, Strabo clearly expresses that as a part of the Celtic invasion alliance, the Tectosages temporarily abandoned their tribal identity and accepted the leadership of an individual from another tribe because they shared a mutual interest with other tribes in raiding Greece. That is to say, for the Tectosages, their tribal identity would be considered less important when there was an opportunity for them to benefit from a broader, shared Celtic identity during wars and brigandage.

However, for Celtic armies, this type of inter-tribal coalition and military leadership broke down when the tide of war went against them. The tragic ending of Brennus's force is an excellent example. According to Pausanias, when the Celtic invasion army fought with the Athenians in the battle of Thermopylae, a large number of Celtic soldiers started to fall back under their minor chieftains' orders because the Athenians' missile firing was too intensive.[14] Clearly, as Pausanias points out, the contemporary Celtic armies lacked discipline and advanced military organization. In other words, there was no compulsive element that could restrain those lesser officers from disobeying central commands. Thus, Brennus's authority in this army was not absolute but superficial. In this case, Brennus's personal leadership might be capable of proposing a strategy like invading Greece or plundering Delphi, but it did not embody the permanent military command that would allow him to operate his army more effectively.

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[13] Strabo, IV. 1. 13.
[14] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, X. 21. 4.

The problem of this type of leadership ultimately led to the destruction of the Celtic invasion force. According to Pausanias, after Brennus's army was terribly struck by a lightning storm[15] and suffered a freezing night,[16] the Celtic army was utterly broken by the Greeks although Brennus organized a tough resistance with his bodyguard force.[17] Here, Pausanias's description clearly shows that Brennus's personal leadership failed to rally the entire Celtic army and triumph over the Greeks because of the calamity inflicted by severe weather conditions. In other words, the morale of this multi-tribal army would become unreliable when it was exposed to tough external forces. At this point, neither the lust of plunder nor Brennus's leadership could help solve this problem because the Celtic troops were fundamentally undisciplined. Although their battle enthusiasm and hunger for raids might have inspired them at the beginning, the lack of discipline, proper organization, and a truly unified identity demonstrated the fragile nature of their alliance in the face of harsh strikes. For this reason, Brennus's role in this army was more like a respectable elder rather than a highly authoritative commander.

Similar features of Celtic tribal army and military leadership can also be observed from the battle of Alesia in a later period. Caesar relates that in order to oppose the aggression from Rome, the Aedui held a pan-Gallic assembly at Bibracte and asked King Vercingetorix of the Arverni to be the military commander of this tribal confederation.[18] Caesar's statement expresses two vital points. At first, Caesar points out that the Gallic Celts came to Bibracte to discuss the alliance issue because they had sensed substantial threats from Caesar's Gallic campaign. Again, for the sake of mutual benefits, particularly the preservation of autonomy and security, the Gallic

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[15] Pausanias, X, 23. 1.
[16] Pausanias., X. 23. 4.
[17] Pausanias, X. 23. 6.
[18] Caesar, VII. 63.

Celts intended to temporarily ignore their tribal identity and join a greater Celtic community which they believed was capable of repelling the challenge from Caesar. Secondly, this new Gallic alliance also elected a prestigious war leader to be the command-in-chief. Like Brennus, Vercingetorix was also authorized with a similar type of command. Hence, in terms of the geopolitical concern and leadership of multi-tribal warfare, the Galatians shared similarities with the rest of the Celtic West before they completed the process of migration and settled in Anatolia. Although they privileged their tribal identity during normal circumstances, they were able to unite and acknowledge their broader, shared Celtic identity when they were faced with an external, non-Celtic enemy.

Furthermore, a similar absence of discipline and effective military organization also caused the incapability of Vercingetorix in controlling such a large Celtic army in disadvantageous circumstances. The defeat of the Gallic army in the battle of Alesia was a perfect example. Caesar describes that as his force engaged the Celtic army at the rear while it was confronting Labienus's cavalry, the Celts lost their will to fight although they were superior in numbers.[19] At this point, Caesar's statement clearly reveals that the indiscipline and lack of significant unity of the Celtic army provided him with an opportunity to implement his tactics. That is, by attacking the rear of the besieging Celtic army, Caesar inflicted enough panic on his enemy to significantly demoralize them. In addition, due to the lack of proper military organization, the retreats of those Celts became a disastrous flight.[20] Thus, as Caesar has suggested, indiscipline, poor military organization, and lack of a truly unified identity beyond

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[19] Caesar, VII. 88.
[20] Caesar, VII. 88.

that provided by a shared external threat, eventually undermined Vercingetorix's leadership and led to a crushing defeat.

Through this comparison, it is clear that the military leadership and organization of the Celtic armies in the Celtic West followed the same general pattern: their military cohesion beyond the tribal level was essentially based on the expectation of lucrative outcomes. In this case, central military powers were weak because those Celtic tribes in the allied force only set aside their tribal divisions for benefits instead of a permanent military authority. When in battles, they were more likely to be motivated by the thirst of plundering instead of discipline. The failures of Brennus and Vercingetorix both demonstrated this principle. Hence, as a part of Brennus's army which invaded Greece in 279 BCE, the Tectosages exiles inherited the military organization and "tribal autonomy" of the western Celts that continued to prevail in the Celtic West even during the first century BCE. Before the Tectosages adopted a new political paradigm after they entered Asia Minor, their identity was also characterized by the strong tribal divisions and lust of raids in terms of large military operations. This example clearly shows the Galatians' adoption of the military paradigm that prevailed in the Celtic West.

After the Galatians settled down in central Anatolia, they were no longer following their original paradigm of military organization underlain by a strong sense of tribal divisions. Instead, the military leadership in the Galatian army was centralized due to the evolution of their new political system. The most significant change was the foundation of a cross-tribal council called *Drynemetum*. According to Strabo, the *Drynemetum* equally assigned each of the three Galatian tribes with four delegates to whom Strabo refers as tetrarchs.[21] The institution which Strabo

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[21] Strabo, XII. 5. 1.

introduces clarifies that the *Drynemetum* was the highest authority of the Galatian polity. Clearly, the creation of this relatively complicated aristocratic council shows explicit intention of rejecting fragile individual rulership like that of Brennus. On the contrary, they founded a permanent power base which empowered their political body with strong regulative authority. In this case, the individual Galatians tribes could no longer act on their own. Minor tribal divisions thereby compromised the Celtic unity of the Galatian regime.

The *Drynemetum* had a powerful influence upon the Galatians' military system. Strabo mentions that each Galatian tetrarch was authorized to have a judge and military commander (στρατοφύλακης) at his disposal, and each military commander had two lieutenants (ὑποστρατοφύλακας).[22] Apparently, according to Strabo's statement, the Galatians also utilized this tetrarch system to refine their old military organization which embodied their Celtic identity. By inserting positions like commander and lieutenants into their military system, the Galatians established permanent military command to prevent the disorganization caused by unsolidified central leadership. At this point, the flexibility of those minor tribal leaders was weakened. The Galatian army started to be operated as an entirety instead of a loose confederation of different tribes. In this case, the identity of individual Celtic tribes was set aside, but a cross-tribal Galatian identity was formed through this military reformation. Therefore, by improving their military system, the Galatians not only overcame the military disorganization of their army but also strengthened the unity of their new country. Henceforth, the Galatians no longer fought as a group of tumultuous Celts but as an organized Celtic unity. Essentially, by abandoning the

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[22] Strabo, XII. 5. 1.

military paradigm that prevailed in the contemporary Celtic West, the Galatians molded their

own identity in the aspect of military organization.

1.3 Settlement and ethnic redefinition: Celtic East and Galatian East

The foundation of the eastern Celtic states lay in the Grand Celtic migration in 279 BCE. As a group of exiles, those Celtic immigrants were displaced from their native homeland. Therefore, their settlement in the eastern Mediterranean world signified the creation of a new Celtic political identity. However, the Galatians were not the first group to construct this new political identity in the Celtic world. The Kingdom of Tylis was their precedent. According to Polybius, those Gauls, who were driven from their home with Brennus's leadership, conquered the Thracians and established the Kingdom of Tylis under the leadership of Comontorius.[23] Polybius's statement here clarifies two crucial facts. First, those Celtic immigrants were expelled from their homeland and thereby lost their original political identity. Based on this fact, Polybius points out that their political identity was reestablished thanks to the foundation of Tylis and the successful leadership of Comontorius. These two facts together suggest that the foundation of Tylis restored the Celtic identity of those homeless Celtic exiles by promoting a Pan-Celtic identity. That is, Tylis was established in the eastern Mediterranean world as a "Celtic state" which welcomed all the Celts regardless of their previous tribal identities.

Along with the establishment of a new national identity, Tylis was also known for its treaties with the Byzantines. Polybius introduces that during the reign of Comontorius, the Byzantines paid three thousand, five thousand and ten thousand gold coins to Tylis as tribute in order to protect their territories from raids.[24] At this point, Polybius clearly portrays Comontorius as a leader who understood the political situation and knew how to utilize it to his advantage. On one hand, instead of using violence directly, he menaced the Byzantines by the fame of warlike

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[23] Polybius, IV. 46.
[24] Polybius, IV. 46.

Celts and thus acquired a continuous financial source for Tylis. On the other hand, he knew that the Thracians were hostile toward the Tylis Celts as well as the Byzantines. On this matter, Tylis and Byzantium were oriented by their mutual political need: fighting against the Thracians. As a result, the Byzantines provided money while Tylis supported with manpower. Therefore, as Polybius points out, the Byzantines and Tylis eventually reached a long-term treaty in which the Byzantines would pay eighty talents annually to Tylis for protection.[25] These pieces of evidence show that the Tylis Gauls were not simply a group of barbarians in the traditional sense. On the contrary, they were governed by a deliberate monarch who not only helped create a new Celtic identity for the Tylis Gauls but also utilized the renown of Celtic ferocity to the advantage of Tylis to participate in the geopolitics of the northern Balkans during the third century BCE.

The foundation of the Galatian state marked the end of the Celtic migration in 278 BCE. Similar to the Tylis Gauls, the Galatians also took advantage of the fierce reputation of the Celtic nation and significantly influenced the politics in Asia Minor. According to Livy, the Celtic immigrants, who were commanded by Leonnorius and Lutarius, penetrated into the country of the Byzantines. They demanded tributes and ships from them so that they could cross the Bosporus Strait.[26] From Livy's depiction, it is clear that the predecessors of the later so-called "Galatians" also realized the military weakness of Byzantium. Therefore, they seized it as their opportunity to break into Asia Minor.

After these Celts entered Asia Minor, their bravery and ferocity gained them great opportunity. Livy mentions that King Nicomedes I of Bithynia highly endorsed the intrepidity of these Celts and hired them for his own purposes. After receiving aid from these Celts,

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[25] Polybius, IV. 46.
[26] Livy, *History of Rome*, Book XXXVIII. 16.

Nicomedes defeated his brother and controlled all of Bithynia. The Celts were rewarded with lands to settle.[27] Livy's description highlights the fierce characteristics of these Celts. Like the Tylis Celts, the Galatians also preserved their identity as fearless warriors. This identity was highly valued by the Hellenistic states like Byzantium and Bithynia. The successful migration of the Tylis Celts and Galatians into the Hellenistic world enriched the mercenary warfare and political complexity in Anatolia. On one hand, the Hellenistic states in the eastern Mediterranean could now use money to hire those fearsome Celtic soldiers to achieve their military goals. On the other hand, those states might need to be cautious because those settled Celts could also be their worst enemies. In other words, due to the presence of the Galatians in Anatolia, the previous political balance of Asia Minor was dramatically altered.

The foundation of the Pan-Celtic identity of the Galatians slightly differed from that of the Tylis Celts. The three groups which eventually became the Galatian nation had different backgrounds. According to Strabo, the origin of the Tectosages could be directly traced back to their home tribe in southern Gaul, whereas the Tolistobogii and Trocmi were named after their leaders.[28] Strabo's statement here clarifies that the foundations of the Tolistobogii and Trocmi followed the Tylis mode which allowed them to form new tribal identities solely based on the ethnicity of their members. In other words, their previous identities did not matter to them anymore since they were led by their new leaders and founded new tribes on the basis of a new grouping of individuals who were united by a sense of a broader shared Celtic identity. However, the foundation of the Galatian Tectosages was not modeled in this way. Their previous tribal identity was not yet abandoned by the time they arrived in Anatolia because they still used their

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[27] Livy, XXXVIII, 16.
[28] Strabo, XII. 5. 1.

old tribal name to symbolize their new identity. Therefore, the Tylis mode was not universally

adopted by all of the eastern Celts in reforming their tribal identities.

Although the identities of three Galatian tribes were reformed depending on the specifics

of their individual situation, their Galatian identity as a whole was modeled from the Tylis mode.

In other words, a Pan-Celtic identity was promoted within the state of Galatia. Strabo notes that

the Tectosages, Tolistobogii and Trocmi together ruled their country (τὴν χωράν) as Galatians (οἱ

Γαλάται).[29] That is to say, in a broad sense, the state of Galatia itself symbolized a Pan-Celtic

identity which contained the people who still defined themselves as the descendants of their old

tribes (Tectosages) and those who had already considered themselves as the members of new

clans (Tolistobogii and Trocmi). Hence, the ethnic identity of the Galatians was established on

the Pan-Celtic identity among those Celtic immigrants although this identity still had variations

among their individual tribes.

The forms of new Celtic identities in Tylis and Galatia were also profoundly related to

their constant warfare with the armies of the Successor Kingdoms. According to Pausanias,

during the Celtic invasion of Delphi, Antigonus Gonatas sent his troops to assist the Athenians

and successfully defended Greece.[30] By showing Antigonus's intervention in the repulsion of the

Celts, Pausanias clearly illustrates that the support from Antigonus's Successor army played a

pivotal role in repelling the Celtic invasion in 279 BCE.

After the Celtic force marched north, they were soon defeated by Antigonus's army a

second time. In *The Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, Diogenes Laertius notes that Antigonus led

his army and vanquished the Celtic invaders near the town of Lysimachia in Thrace. After this,

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[29] Strabo, XII. 5. 1.
[30] Pausanias, I, 7, 3.

he returned to Macedonia as a king.[31] Diogenes's statement clarifies that Antigonus's triumph

after the battle of Lysimachia qualified him as a capable defender of Greece and helped him

claim the throne of Macedon. The remnants of the defeated Celts, however, were forced to move

further into Thrace and eventually became the founders of the eastern Celtic states.[32] With all

these pieces together, it is clear that Antigonus's successful campaigns were a crucial factor that

helped end the Celtic invasion of Greece in 279 BCE. By repelling the Celtic invasion force

twice in Greece, Antigonus proved himself a force to be reckoned with in the Balkan Peninsula.

In other words, his military successes forced the Celts to think of a way to remain in the eastern

Mediterranean world without provoking Macedon.

Therefore, the foundation of Tylis was a consequence of this consideration. As Polybius

describes, the Tylis Celts were allied with Byzantium and fought against the Thracians.[33] That is,

although the Tylis Celts still preserved their expansionist nature, they already defined themselves

as a regional power in Thrace after they had settled in the Balkans. In other words, the crushing

defeats which Antigonus had inflicted upon the Tylis Celts continued to be influential for them

throughout their history. Hence, they would rather choose to fight against their fierce Thracian

neighbors than confront Antigonus's Macedonian army again. That is to say, although the Tylis

Celts did not lose their Celtic identity as warriors, Antigonus's military prowess still forced them

to adapt to Thracian geopolitics. For these reasons, the political identity of the Tylis Celts

appears to be a "Celtic-Thracian state".

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[31] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 17, 141-142.
[32] Livy, XXXVIII, 16.
[33] Polybius, IV. 46.

The growth of Anatolian Galatia was also not a peaceful process. The aggressive nature of Gallic warriors frequently clashed with Hellenistic powers in Asia Minor. Appian writes in *Syrian Wars* that Antiochus I successfully defeated the invasion of Gauls/Galatians (Γαλάται) and thus gained the surname *Soter*.[34] Here, Appian points out that the Galatians, as a group of warlike Celts, still preserved their ferocity and aggressiveness by fighting against the Seleucid Empire. Like their Celtic fellows in Tylis, the Galatians also perceived their neighbors as non-Celts. Therefore, hostile actions toward these people were justified. At this point, the same shared feature of Celticness could be clearly observed between the Tylis Celts and Galatians. Nevertheless, unlike Antigonus Gonatas, Antiochus I failed to overpower the Galatians by demonstrating the prowess of his Hellenistic army. According to Aelian, Antiochus I died in another battle fighting against the Galatians in 261 BCE.[35] Therefore, compared to the Tylis Celts, the Galatians were not compelled to adapt to a new environment. They successfully defended themselves from the wars against the Seleucid Empire and thereby survived as a major geopolitical power in Asia Minor. That is, their political identity in Anatolia emerged from their victory against a Successor power. By killing Antiochus I and defeating his army, the Galatians secured their position in Hellenistic Asia Minor and eventually became a "Hellenic-Celtic" state. Based on this evidence, it is clear that the ethnic identity of the eastern Celtic states remained intact after their immigrations. However, their political identities changed over time due to their conflicts with Successor states. For this reason, the political identities of the eastern Celts were substantially related to the geopolitics of the areas in which they had settled.

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[34] Appian, *Syrian Wars*, XI, 65.
[35] Aelian, *De natura animalium*, VI, 44.

1.4 Change of geopolitical context: From Galatian West to Galatian East

According to the evidence presented above, it is clear that there were three important changes that helped shape the redefinition of the Galatians' identity. First, their administration system, which was certainly different from the rest of Celtic world, was developed after their settlement in Anatolia. Secondly, they also refined their military organizations along with their political system. Thirdly, their tribal identity was reorganized because their tribesmen had lost their previous tribal identities during the migration. These changes distinguished the identity of the Galatians from those Celtic tribes which exiled them in the first place. At this point, it is observable that these changes were all closely related to their migration from Gaul to Anatolia. That is, the changes of their political and military structures were initially inspired by the change of geography. In other words, the change of geopolitical context underlay the redefinitions of the Galatians and distinguished the post-migration Galatians from the pre-migration Galatians.

The change of geopolitical context was the major factor that differentiates the political structure between the Galatian East and Galatian West. Before the migration, the Tectosages, just like other Gallic tribes, suffered from political instability which led to violent power struggles and exiles of their own people.[36] As a part of the Celtic West, their Celtic identity was revealed by following a Pan-Gallic power struggle pattern. However, after they had moved to Asia Minor, the Tectosages became a part of the tetrarchy system in which their tribe was assigned with an equal amount of delegates in the council (βουλὴ).[37] Apparently, the distribution of political resources was relatively fair within Galatia because each of the three tribes was assigned an equal amount of delegates. In other words, this political invention of the Galatians aimed to solve

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[36] Strabo, IV. 1. 13.
[37] Strabo, XII. 5. 1.

the Celtic power struggle pattern by preventing unbalanced distribution of political resources within Galatia.

This idea of council (Strabo describes it as a βουλὴ) delegation was clearly not a product of Celtic society. In the fifth century BCE, Athenians were most famed for using the βουλὴ as a major part of their political system. According to Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution*, Cleisthenes re-divided the election body of the Boule into ten tribes so that more people might take part in the government.[38] Apparently, the Boule which Aristotle discusses refers to a central political council that represented all of the tribes that made up the state. The Galatians' *Drynemetum* lacked the democratic feature which the Athenian Boule had, but it still functioned as a counseling mechanism for the state. The delegates of the Galatian *Drynemetum* were chosen from each tetrarchy to discuss civil and military affairs in the council.[39] That is to say, the Galatians more or less borrowed delegation politics from Hellenic states and implemented it in their country. At this point, their geographical location provided them with an excellent geopolitical context to model their institutions on those of Greek states.

The change of geopolitical context also influenced the Galatians' military reforms. The lieutenants (ὑποστρατοφύλακας), which the Galatians established in their military system, were commonly used in Hellenistic armies. According to Polybius, when Antiochus III attempted to assault the city of Seleucia Pamphylia, he managed to bribe the lieutenants (τινας κατὰ τῶν μέρος ἡγεμόνων) of the garrison army and took the city thereby.[40] The similar placement of lieutenants in Galatian and Successor armies effectively suggests that the Galatians might have

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[38] Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 21, 2.
[39] Strabo, XII. 5. 1.
[40] Polybius, V, 60.

adopted advanced military organization from the Successor states in Asia Minor. Compared to

their primitive military organization during the invasion of Greece in 279 BCE,[41] the Galatians

considerably refined their military operation system from their interactions with Hellenistic

powers after they settled in Asia Minor. In this case, the change of geopolitical environment

from Western Europe to Asia Minor provided the Galatians access to the advanced military

organization of the Hellenistic states. Therefore, the change of geopolitical context inspired the

Galatians' military refinement which later significantly contributed to the form of the Galatians'

unity.

Furthermore, the Galatians' redefinition of their tribal identity was also inseparable from

the change of geopolitical context. The identity of the Galatians as eastern Celts was established

after their settlement in Anatolia. According to Strabo, the Tectosages originally came from

southern France, whereas the Tolistobogii and Trocmi were named after the leaders who brought

them to Anatolia from Europe.[42] Strabo's statement here clarifies that Galatians were all from the

Celtic tribes in Western Europe before the migration. In other words, they were still identified as

western Celts during the process of migration.

However, after their migration was completed, their identity started to change. In this

case, Polybius and Strabo's uses of the terms for Gauls and Galatians are worth noting. When

Polybius describes those Celtic immigrants who eventually founded Tylis, he uses the term οὗτοι

Γαλατῶν.[43] Here, Polybius still calls those Celts "Gauls (Γαλάται)". Therefore, it is clear that

from Polybius's view, the Tylis Celts were still deeply related with their Gallic fellows in the

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[41] Pausanias, X. 21. 2.
[42] Strabo, XII. 5. 1.
[43] Polybius, IV. 46.

Celtic West. However, Strabo also depicts the Galatians by using the word Γαλάται[44]. Here, the

Γαλάται which Strabo refers to might be different from Polybius intends to describe because the

Tylis Celts and Galatians belonged to different Celtic states. In other words, Polybius and Strabo

adopt the same word to describe two groups of Celtic people who were quite similar but not

exactly the same. Hence, in the context of the Celtic East, the meaning of the Γαλάται varies

between different Celtic groups. Nonetheless, Polybius and Strabo's statements commendably

point out that these eastern Celtic groups were still profoundly related to those western Gallic

tribes when they tried to settle down. That is, from the Greeks' view, the eastern Celts were still

"Gauls" regardless of their own tribal identities.

However, this recognition was changed during the first century BCE. Due to the absence

of relevant sources, how Tylis Celts integrated Thracian elements into their society remains

unknown. However, plenty of evidence that recorded the change of the Galatians still remains.

Diodorus Siculus proposes that the Galatians were called "Hellenic Gauls" (Ἑλληνογαλάται)

because of their connection with the Greeks.[45] Here, Diodorus makes it clear that the Galatians

were substantially Hellenized after two centuries of habitation in Asia Minor. As a result, their

Celtic identity was changed again because of the geopolitical influence from surrounding

Hellenistic states. Furthermore, Livy makes an even bolder claim by asserting that the Galatians

in the first century BCE were almost a different race compared to their antecedents. Livy relates

that when Marcus Manlius campaigned in Asia Minor, the Galatians whom he fought against

were considerably degenerated from their forefathers. They were softened because they settled in

the country of the Phrygians and thereby became the *Gallo-Graeci* (Gallic Greeks).[46] At this

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[44] Strabo, XII. 5. 1.
[45] Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, V. 32. 5
[46] Livy, XXXVIII, 16.

point, Livy's description shows that the identity of the Galatians was changed because of geography. In other words, Livy believes that the territory which the Galatians occupied was exceedingly civilized and prosperous so that they lost the bravery and ferocity which their ancestors were famed for.

The arguments that were presented by Diodorus and Livy both suggest that the identity of the Galatians as a Celtic nation was changed due to its location and interactions with surrounding Hellenic powers. In other words, their ethnic identity was redefined again during the first century BCE. Hence, it is obvious that at this point of history, the Galatians now differed quite a bit from their Celtic kin in Western Europe after these two changes to their ethnic identity. The Galatian East had formed its own identity and distinguished itself from the Celtic West. Therefore, the change of geopolitical context significantly contributed to the change of Galatians' ethnic identity.

Clearly, the phrases like "Ἑλληνογαλάται" from Diodorus or "*Gallo-Graeci*" from Livy mutually reflect that the change of geopolitical context reshaped the identity of the Galatians in terms of political structure and military organization. However, there were still other changes that took place in the contemporary Galatia could not be fully revealed from the political images told by the records of political history. Therefore, in the next chapter, this paper attempts to explore the cultural, religious and economic aspects of the Galatians' society and present the changes and preservations within Galatia during the Hellenistic period from another view.

Chapter II: Cultural identity and economic status of the Galatians

The power of Hellenization was profound in the eastern Mediterranean world. Numerous nations and tribes were Hellenized by embracing Greek cultural elements. The Greek language was widely spoken across much of western Asia. Due to their location in Asia Minor, the Galatians were also influenced by Hellenic ideas. However, the Hellenic influence did not deprive the Galatians of their cultural identity as Celts although the migration itself had already separated them from the western Celtic community. As the result, the Galatians preserved their Celtic and language and religious cult throughout the Hellenistic period. The Galatians' successful preservation of their cultural identity reveals that their interaction with Hellenic culture might differ from other Anatolia states. Therefore, the first goal of this chapter is to examine the reasons that underlay the Galatians' successful defense of their own cultural identity.

Along with cultural factors, the economic situation of the Galatians also helped form the Galatians' isolated identity. Unlike the rest of Hellenistic Asia Minor where urban settlements grew dynamically, the major settlements of Galatia were considerably smaller in scale because they were predominantly designed for political and military rather than for economic purposes. Moreover, the absence of coinage in major Galatian settlements also suggests that the economic infrastructure was not well developed. These features suggest that the Galatians might not have had strong control over their regional economy. However, their ethnic identity as ferocious Celts still inspired their mercenary business which became a major income source and social element of Galatian community. This chapter also attempts to explore the economic perspective of Galatian society and thus reveal the interconnection between the Galatians' ethnic identity and their economic circumstances in Asia Minor.

2.1 The Galatians' preservation of their Celtic Tongue

Although warfare was a major part of the Galatians' society, their uniqueness as a Celtic group in Asia Minor was also marked by the usage and preservation of their native language. As the only ethnicity that spoke the Celtic tongue in Asia Minor, the preservation of their language thus became very important because it was a core part of their ethnic identity. Historically, the Galatians successfully accomplished this goal during the Hellenistic and early Roman Imperial periods. After several hundred years of their settlement in Asia Minor, many aspects of the Galatian society were changed. However, as long as their Celtic tongue was still spoken among their society, their connection with their original homeland – Gaul was still maintained. In other words, the Galatians' continuous usage of their language preserved their Gallic identity and distinguished themselves from the rest of Asia Minor.

The Celtic language prevailed in the region of Galatia for a long time after the settlement of the Galatians. According to Jerome, the residents of Galatia still used the same Celtic tongue that was spoken in Trier near the Rhine area.[47] Jerome's statement here clarifies two crucial facts. First, the language of the Galatians was evidently related with the Celtic language in Western Europe. Second, the Galatians continued to use their Celtic tongue throughout the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods. Jerome lived in the late fourth and early fifth century. That is, the Galatians managed to preserve their language until that period. Clearly, the Galatians' continuous usage of their Celtic tongue suggests that they actively embraced and preserved their ethnic identity as being tightly connected with their Celtic ancestry from Gaul. In

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[47] Jerome, *Commentaries on the Letter to Galatians*, II, 3.

other words, although the state of Galatia had been annexed by the Roman Empire, the Galatians still maintained their identity as eastern Celts.

Compared to the Galatians who successfully preserved their Celtic language and identity throughout the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial period, many Celtic tribes in Gaul had already become Romanized during the Late Republican period. The Romanization of western Celts can be clearly observed from southern Gaul. As Charles Ebel points out, Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul were the two regions where the local Celts highly embraced Roman civilizations during the early first century BCE, and that the Romanization in the Celtic West was effective and successful during the late Roman Republic period.[48] In particular, Ebel mentions that the Romans' economic position in southern Gaul was especially advantageous in the trade of wine.[49] At this point, Ebel's observation implies that Roman merchants, as Latin speakers, could benefit from their dealings with Gauls due to their advantageous position in the wine trade. In other words, the ability of using Latin as a mean of communication was crucial in Gallo-Roman wine trade. In this case, the increasing volume of Gallo-Roman trades decreased the prevalent usage of the Celtic tongue in southern Gaul.

Moreover, Ebel states that the establishment of Latin colonies in southern Gaul was also a crucial factor that contributed to the Romanization of that region.[50] Here, Ebel points out that the Latin settlements in southern Gaul provided a civilized model for the local Celts. Under the influence of this civilized model, the Celtic residents from those areas gradually adopted Roman lifestyles from increasingly frequent economic interactions. The Celtic identity of these Celts

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[48] Charles Ebel. "Southern Gaul in the Triumviral Period: A Critical Stage of Romanization."
    The American Journal of Philology 109: 573-590, 1998, p. 3.
[49] Ebel, p. 4.
[50] Ebel, p. 19.

was thereby diminished over time. As Ebel suggests at the end of his article, southern Gaul during the Roman Imperial period was a true Italy rather than a Roman province.[51] In other words, by that time, the Cisalpine and Transalpine Gauls were more like Romans than Celts. Those Celts failed to preserve their Celtic identity and customs in southern Gaul due to the Roman influence nearby.

The situation which the Cisalpine and Transalpine Celts encountered in Western Europe was experienced by many other ethnic groups during the Hellenistic period, such as the Jews. In *Jewish People in Classical Antiquity*, John Hayes and Sara Mandell demonstrate that the adoption of Greek culture and lifestyle infiltrated many aspects of life in contemporary Judah and Jerusalem, where Hellenistic bureaucrats, soldiers and traders were in direct contact with all levels of Yahwistic society.[52] Here, the Yahwists' adoption of Hellenic culture was similar to the process of Romanization which the Cisalpine and Transalpine Gauls experienced.

On the other hand, although the power of Hellenization significantly influenced Jewish society during the Hellenistic period, the cultural resistance from Jewish people was equally strong. According to Hayes and Mandell, when the High Priest Jason was enforcing his Hellenistic Reform within the city of Jerusalem, the religious conservatives were very likely to be excluded from it because of the persistence of Mosaic culture.[53] At this point, Hayes and Mandell clearly express that there were conflicts between the advocates of Hellenization and conservatives of the old Jewish tradition in contemporary Jerusalem. The high priests, represented by Jason, were more affiliated to the Hellenic culture. However, their favor towards

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[51] Ebel, p. 20.
[52] John H. Hayes and Sara R. Mandell. *The Jewish People in Classical Antiquity*. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998, p. 38.
[53] Hayes and Mandell, p. 53

Hellenization was not welcomed by the religious conservatives inside Jerusalem which reveals that Hellenization did not apply to every single Jew in Hellenistic Judea. There were still conservative groups, especially in Jerusalem, which attempted to promote the preservation of Jewish identity. In the later context, those conservatives were mainly embodied by a specific group called Pharisees.[54] The struggles of these Jewish conservatives effectively suggest that the Hellenization did not turn Judea into a complete Hellenistic state.

Similar to the struggles of those Jews, the Galatians also encountered strong influence of Hellenization but eventually managed to preserve their Celtic language and identity. As this paper has discussed, the Hellenization significantly reformed the Galatians' political and military organization. However, according to Jerome's description, neither Latinization nor Hellenization changed their ethnic identity by assimilating them into the Latin or Greek speakers like the Cisalpine Gauls or Hellenized Jews in the first century BCE. In other words, Hellenization did not fundamentally change the identity of the Galatians Celts. For this reason, the Galatians successfully defended their ethnic identity by preserving their Celtic language.

The preservation of their Celtic tongue was a substantial factor that distinguished the Galatians as eastern Celts. It was clear that Greek was already a prevalent language before the arrival of the Galatians in Asia Minor, whereas the Celtic language was entirely strange to the native Anatolians. In other words, the Greek language was probably used by the Galatians if they needed to interact with other nations in Asia Minor. Nonetheless, their Celtic language was harder for other Anatolian nations to master because it was not as popular as Greek in the eastern Mediterranean world. In this case, the Galatians' insistence on using Celtic as their main

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[54] Hayes and Mandell, p. 86.

language demonstrates that they intended to set up a limit for their further interactions with other Anatolian states. Therefore, the Galatians' preservation of their Celtic tongue generated a certain degree of isolation for their settlement in the Hellenistic Asia Minor.

Historically, after Tylis was destroyed by the Thracians in 212 BCE,[55] Galatia became the only eastern Celtic state that survived from the Grand Celtic Migration in 279 BCE. Hence, the preservation of their Celtic language also symbolized the continuous existence of Galatia as the only Celtic state in the east. In this case, the maintenance of their Celtic language carried another mission which was to conserve their ethnic identity and tie with their Gallic ancestry and prevent Celtic Galatia from being diminished in a Hellenized world. Thus, the continuous usage of the Celtic language also helped to highlight the Galatians' Celtic heritage.

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[55] Polybius, IV. 46.

2.2 The Galatians' preservations of Celtic religion

Druidism and oak worship were the spiritual core of all of the Celtic societies, and the Galatians were no exception. The Galatians' successful migration from Europe to Asia had resulted in a significant change of their surrounding political environment. While they interacted with local Anatolian communities, they did not abandon their Celtic religion. Their worship of oak was not only well preserved as an essential part of their spiritual cult, but it also had a strong influence in shaping the Pan-Celtic identity in Asia Minor. By symbolizing the Celtic unity in central Anatolia, Druidism played a pivotal role as an ethnic modifier of the Celtic community in the eastern Mediterranean world. In this case, the Galatians' preservation of Druidism within Galatia effectively contributed to maintain their ethnic identity as a Celtic group.

Druidism was evidently an important component of a Celtic society. Pliny the Elder describes how the Celts were known for their oak rituals which were supervised by Druids:[56]

> *Nihil habent druidae - ita suos appellant magos - visco et arbore, in qua gignatur, si modo sit robur, sacratius.* (Pliny, XVI, 95)

Pliny's investigation clarifies two points. First, oak worship was a common practice in Celtic societies. Secondly, the Druids were the leaders for this oak worship tradition in all of the Celtic communities. In other words, leading oak rituals was a pivotal part of a Druid's career. For this reason, oak worship was an essential part of Druidism in Celtic world. Furthermore, Norman J. Dewitt suggests in his article *The Druids and Romanization* that the Druids not only served as spiritual leaders of Celtic communities but also teachers of natural science.[57] Clearly, according

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[56] Pliny the Elder, Natural History, XVI, 95, provides a lengthy discussion of the importance of oak trees in Celtic religion.
[57] Norman J. DeWitt. "The Druids and Romanization." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 69: 319-332, 1938, p. 4.

to Dewitt, the druids played significant roles within their Celtic communities in both religious and secular spheres. That is to say, they were a major component of their Celtic societies. Here, with these two pieces of evidence together, it is therefore clear that Druidism and oak worship were significant icons of Celtic identity.

The Galatians effectively preserved their Celtic identity by keeping their oak worship and Druidism in Asia Minor, as seen in the establishment of the *Drynemetum*, an excellent example that reflects the continuous usage of Celtic language and religious practice. The word *Drynemetum* was obviously a Celtic compound. According to Pliny the Elder, the Greek word for oak (δρύς) was derived from its Celtic equivalent.[58] That is, the *Dry-* suffix implies an oak-related idea. The other part of the work: *nemetum*, which was derived from the Proto-Celtic word *nemeto*, means a sacred place.[59] Hence, with these two parts together, the word *Drynemetum* means a "Sacred Oak Grove". In this case, the name *Drynemetum* contained evident Celtic elements. Therefore, the establishment of the *Drynemetum* itself was a clear sign of continuous usage of the Celtic tongue among the Galatians. In addition, the oak grove reference which the name *Drynemetum* conveyed strongly suggests that Druidism was also practiced by the Galatians after they settled in central Anatolia.

The Galatians' continuous worship of Druidism considerably contributed to their cross-tribal unity and ethnic identity. According to Dewitt, Druidism had a long history serving as a symbol of Celtic unity in Gaul. From Caesar's description, the druids from different Gallic tribes met annually in the territories of the Carnutes and elected an arch-Druid through competitions.[60]

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[58] Pliny the Elder, XVI, 95.
[59] English - Proto-Celtic Lexicon, p.104.
[60] Caesar, VI, 13.

At this point, Caesar makes it clear that this annual Druid conference was a Pan-Gallic event. By sending out their own druids and participating in these events, those Gallic tribes demonstrated their identity as Celtic groups. Hence, the prevalence of Druidism in Gaul promoted the idea of Celtic unity. For the Galatians, although they no longer belonged to the Celtic West in a geopolitical sense, their identity as Celts did not diminish because they still preserved the Druidism which continuously reminded them of their Celtic identity. In this case, through the common worship of Druidism, the Galatians were still connected to the Gallic West spiritually.

However, compared to their linguistic preservation, the Celtic deities which the Galatians worshipped through Druidism did not isolate them as much. Caesar makes it very clear that most of the Celtic deities had their Greco-Roman equivalents.[61] From Caesar's description, it is clear that the Celts shared similar mythological figures as the Greeks and Romans. In other words, except in the way of worshiping and relevant cultural connotations, there was no major barrier between the religious beliefs of the Celts and Greco-Roman populaces. In this case, the worship of Druidism did not generate difficulty for the Galatians to interact with other Hellenized Anatolian races in religious matters.

Nonetheless, this does not mean that the Galatians failed to preserve their Celtic identity because of the religious affinity which they shared with the Greeks and Romans. Druidism and its unique oak worship contained strong Celtic cultural elements which other Anatolian nations did not understand or practice. Thus, there were still cultural and ethnic differences between the Galatians and other Anatolian states. The similar deities that were worshiped between the Galatians and other Greco-Roman states did not affect the Galatians' Celtic identity in the first

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[61] Caesar, VI, 17.

place. Therefore, Druidism helped the Galatians maintain their Celtic identity without provoking potential problems caused by religious differences.

The practice of Druidism was retained by the Galatians through a long period of time, and may have even persisted into the later Roman imperial period. In the Late Hellenistic period, the apostle Paul mentions in *Letters to Galatians* that there was a certain group of Galatians who adopted Christianity by following the tradition of circumcision.[62] At this point, those Galatians' adaptation of Christianity revealed that a certain part of Galatian society chose to further integrate into the cultural and religious environments of contemporary Anatolia and abandoned their practice of Druidism.

However, their adoption of Christianity did not reflect the choice of all Galatians. From Julian's *Letters to Arsacius*, it is clear that "pagan practices" still existed in Galatia during the fourth century CE.[63] It is not clear, however, if the pagan practices Julian was referring to in the letter were Celtic rituals or Greco-Roman although he implies the latter when he says "The Hellenic religion does not yet prosper as I desire, and it is the fault of those who profess it."[64] This indicates that some individual in Galatia had adopted Greco-Roman paganism by the mid-forth century CE, or had at least incorporated Greco-Roman practices, such as imperial cult, into their Celtic religious framework. Therefore, neither were the Galatians entirely Christianized by the time of Julian, nor had they been able to entirely resist religious syncretism with Greco-Roman paganism.

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[62] Paul the Apostle, *Letters to Galatians*, I, 1.
[63] Julian the Apostle, *Letters to Arsacius*, paragraph 2.
[64] Julian, 2.

2.3 The Galatians' economic disconnection and ethnic isolation

As a group of Celtic tribes that moved from rural Western Europe, the Galatians were not familiar with the urban civilization that was central to most Hellenistic states in the Greek East. Lacking the knowledge in urban organization brought substantial disadvantages to the Galatians in trading activities and forced them to find more stable financial sources. In this case, suburban agriculture and animal husbandry were substantial to their domestic economy. In addition, the mercenary business, inspired by the military prowess of the Galatians, also provided them with another source of income. Together, these features shaped the Galatians' economy. Essentially, the Galatians' Celtic-style economy was a crucial factor that contributed to the preservation of their Celtic community in Hellenistic Anatolia.

Large-scale urbanization was one of the most important phenomena that characterizes Hellenistic World. In Ptolemaic Egypt, the monarchs of Ptolemaic dynasty abandoned Thebes and Memphis, which were the ancient capitals of Egypt, and chose the city of Alexandria as the new capital.[65] As one of the cities that was built by Alexander the Great during his eastern campaign, Alexandria was not as old as Thebes and Memphis in the history of Egypt. However, its location provided Ptolemaic Egypt with great political, military and economic advantages. Due to the fact that Alexandria had already become a famous urban center during the Hellenistic period, merchants from Syria, Judea, Phoenicia and other regions all went to Alexandria for the ease of transaction.[66] In this case, the economic advantage of Alexandria also nourished a vibrant cosmopolitan urbanized community that fostered an unprecedented amount of daily cultural

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[65] Heather A. Philips. "The Great Library at Alexandria." *Library Philosophy and Practice*. 2010, p. 1.
[66] Philips, p. 1.

interaction between different ethnicities. For this reason, Alexandria later became one of the most important Mediterranean cities that was known for its strategic, economic and cultural flourishment. The success of Alexandria as a Hellenic urban center was essentially promoted by its excellent location.

Another successful Hellenistic urban example was the city of Seleucia in Mesopotamia. Unlike Alexandria which was located at the coast of Mediterranean, Seleucia was an inland city that was built near the Tigris River. According to G. G. Aperghis, the city grew into an urban center during the Hellenistic period and sustained more than half a million people[67] including both Greek and non-Greek residents.[68] In other words, like Alexandria, Seleucia served as a large and multinational urban center in Hellenistic Mesopotamia. Moreover, according to Aperghis, the expansion of Seleucia in Mesopotamia increased the demand for food supplies and thereby stimulated the agricultural economy in this area.[69] Here, Aperghis's statement clarifies that Seleucia was not only a demographic center but also an economic center in Hellenistic Mesopotamia because it influenced the local agricultural economy. At this point, Seleucia was comparable to Alexandria regarding the central roles which they both played in their respective regional economies. In this case, Seleucia and Alexandria, as two political and economic centers named directly after Hellenistic rulers, clearly demonstrate the inter-relationship between urbanization, economic prosperity and ethnic interactions in the Hellenistic World.

However, the settlements of the Galatians did not follow this Hellenistic urban pattern, and it may have been the preservation of their Celtic tribal elements that essentially prevented

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[67] G. G. Aperghis. *The Seleucid Royal Economy. The Finances and Financial Administration of the Seleucid Empire.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2004, p. 37-38.
[68] Aperghis, p. 94.
[69] Aperghis, p. 72.

the adoption of their urbanized settlement pattern of the Greco-Roman world. According to

William Ramsay, the urbanization of Ancyra, the capital of Tectosages, was very slow.

Throughout the Hellenistic period, Ancyra remained a tribal community center.[70] Here,

Ramsay's statement confirms that the prevalence of Celtic elements in Ancyra decelerated its

urbanization. Compared to other Hellenistic states, especially the Successor Kingdoms, the

Galatians were left behind in the progress of urbanization because of their Celtic tribal influence.

That is to say, the Galatians' tribal identity contributed to isolate them from the outside world.

The Galatians' economic isolation can also be observed from their coinage. Ancyra could

not even mint its own coin as a Roman provincial capital during the first century CE, although

Ancyra was elevated from a tribal center to a provincial capital in a political sense, it was still

not the economic center of Galatia.[71] Therefore, it is apparent that Ancyra served only as a

political center of the Galatian community during the Hellenistic period because its economic

function was substantially underdeveloped. The absence of coin-minting in Ancyra shows that

the Tectosages still operated a not fully monetized economy, which would have reflected the

reality of life in their native homeland.

Compared to the Galatians who essentially ignored the role of coinage in commodity

economy, other Anatolian states became much more prosperous because they were able to issue

their own currency. Ramsay points out that many Hellenized cities in the Taurus and Pisidia

regions were at advantage in trading with the Galatians because they were using their own state-

minted coins.[72] Here, by showing the prominent role which other Anatolian city-states were

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[70] William Mitchell Ramsay. "Studies in Roman Province Galatia." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 12: 147-186. 1992, p. 12.

[71] Ramsay, p. 12.

[72] Ramsay, p. 12.

playing when they traded with Galatians, Ramsay effectively illustrates that they integrated their economy with that of their neighbors. In other words, although the Galatians acquired and ruled their country by their military success, they did not mint their own coins. Their urban centers mainly served as a political gathering point for their tribal communities and may not have contributed significantly to their regional economy.

The economic decisions of the Galatians perhaps contributed to a selective economic isolation which helped to preserve their Celtic identity. As this paper has previous examined, economic interactions were important for the multicultural urban centers across the Hellenistic world for which Alexandria and Seleucia Mesopotamia are two excellent examples. As two major urban cities in the Greek East, they considerably benefited from the commercial interactions among different nations which also brought them cultural prosperity. However, the Galatian urban centers like Ancyra overemphasized their political function while ignoring their potential economic value. In other words, the underdeveloped economic infrastructure of those Galatian settlements did not encourage international economic activities. This economic isolation essentially discouraged cultural interactions between the Galatians and other nations through economic activities. In this way, the ethnic and cultural identity of the Galatians were effectively maintained throughout the Hellenistic period due to their inactivity in international trade.

The Galatians' inactivity in commercial behaviors crippled their trading economy. However, they could still sustain themselves through agriculture and animal husbandry. The Celts also had a history of agriculture in Europe. According to Caesar, the Germans, whose lands were less fertile than those of the Gauls, still attempted to utilize all of the agricultural resources

that were available to them.[73] Hence, it could be inferred that similar utilization of agriculture

resources was applied by the European Celts. Furthermore, according to Stephen Mitchell, the

fertility of the place where the Galatians settled was high. That is, the Galatians possessed both

arable lands and the skill required for farming.[74] Hence, agriculture must have also been one of

the major economic bases of their society. Moreover, Mitchell also argues that husbandry might

be another major economic source of the Galatians because the environment of Anatolia was

amenable to this industry.[75] Mitchell's point is supported by Strabo's statement that King

Amyntas owned three hundred flocks as his personal possession.[76] For this reason, Mitchell

commendably suggests that stock-raising was a suitable economic pursuit for the Galatians. With

these two pieces together, it is clear that agriculture and animal husbandry were two available

resources that Galatians might have adopted as a part of their economy.

The Galatians were also qualified soldiers who had already proven their military prowess

from their incursions from Europe to Asia Minor. Thus, developing mercenary business became

a good option for their economy. Their mercenary services under the contracts with Seleucid

kings marked an important part of Hellenistic history. The most famous example was their

service under King Antiochus III in the battle of Magnesia in 190 BCE. From Livy's description,

Antiochus III deployed 1500 Galatian infantrymen and 3000 armored cavalry at the right wing of

his army.[77] Livy's depiction shows that under King Antiochus III's leadership, the Galatians

joined the Seleucid army in the battle of Magnesia. This battle, as Livy relates, ended with

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[73] Caesar, VI, 23.
[74] Stephen Mitchell. "The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor." *Anatolian Studies* 50: 75-97,
  2000, p. 21.
[75] Mitchell, p. 21.
[76] Strabo, XII, 6, 1.
[77] Livy, *From the Founding of the City*, XXXVII, 40.

significant loss of the Seleucid army and thus accelerated the decline of Seleucid power in Asia Minor.[78] In this case, those Galatian mercenaries, by fighting with Antiochus's Seleucid army, also participated in this battle which essentially reshaped the geopolitics of Asia Minor. Although the actual performance of those Galatians in the battlefield was unrecorded, their participation in the battle still proved that they remained active as mercenary soldiers in the warfare of contemporary Asia Minor.

Antiochus was not the only Seleucid ruler that recognized the Galatians as an excellent source of mercenaries. According to Plutarch, in order to seize the kingdom from his brother Seleucus II Callinicos, Antiochus Hierax marched against Seleucus and defeated him with the support of Galatian mercenaries.[79] Here, by clarifying the role which the Galatian mercenaries played in the Seleucid civil war, Plutarch confirms that the Galatians were active participants of Anatolian geopolitics as mercenary soldiers. Their contracts with Antiochus III and Antiochus Hierax suggest that the Seleucid kings highly recognized the value of Galatian mercenaries. Hence, they continuously sought military support from the Galatians. This long-term employment relationship effectively provided a sustainable economic resource for the Galatians.

The Galatians' interests in mercenary business is closely related to their Celtic identity. They were not the only Gallic group that served in other nations' battles. For instance, during the Second Punic War, the Cisalpine Celts joined Hannibal's army and fought against the Romans.[80] At this point, it is obvious that both Cisalpine Celts and Galatians undertook mercenary services in the wars of other nations. In other words, mercenary careers prevailed in many Celtic tribes at

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[78] Livy, *FFC*, XXXVII, 45.
[79] Plutarch, *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*, 184.
[80] Polybius, II, 14.

that time. For this reason, mercenary service was also another element of a Pan-Celtic identity that was shared among the Celtic tribes across the Mediterranean. By taking part in mercenary warfare, these Celts demonstrated their bravery and their identity as a Celtic race. In this case, the Galatians preserved their Celtic identity by following this tradition.

These elements together formed the characteristics of the Galatian economy. Although their lack of a well-organized urban system and coinage mechanism impaired their economic initiative, their mercenary business still provided them with an applicable income source. In this case, the Galatians' underdeveloped economic function substantially discouraged the cultural interactions between them and other indigenous groups. Furthermore, their adoption of mercenary business symbolized the preservation of their Celtic identity. That is, by demonstrating their intrepidity through mercenary warfare, they proved that they were not different from the rest of the Celtic communities in the Mediterranean world. Hence, the Galatians' Celtic-style economy contributed to the isolation and preservation of their Celtic community in Hellenistic Asia Minor.

2.4 Deiotarus: A crossroad icon of the Galatian identity in Late Hellenistic period

Deiotarus, the King of Galatia who lived from 105 BCE to 42 BCE, serves as an icon that effectively demonstrates both the Galatians' preservation of their heritage and the changes they had made to their identity. He was an ambitious political leader who officially established monarchy in Galatia by emphasizing his Celtic heritage. Meanwhile, in order to better participate in the geopolitics in Late Hellenistic Anatolia, he also embraced Greek and Roman culture. His rule in Galatia symbolized a period in which the Galatians struggled between their old Celtic pride and their new role in a Greco-Roman Mediterranean. This section of the thesis attempts to reveal the connection between the characteristics of King Deiotarus and the change of the Galatians' identity.

The Galatians' efforts in their cultural preservation can be observed from the coinage of King Deiotarus. The coins in **Fig 1** were issued by Deiotarus during his reign. The face portrait on the obverse side of the coin reveals strong Celtic features. The figure portrayed on the coin, presumably King Deiotarus himself, has a very identifiable barbarian-style hair knot. At this point, Deiotarus's use of a Celtic-style hair style on his coinage is an excellent example that demonstrates the Galatians' preservation of their own identity. That is, by revealing his Celtic image through coinage, Deiotarus effectively emphasized his Celtic identity as the king of Galatia. At this point, Deiotarus's attitude towards Celtic identity was positive. In other words, he was proud of his Celtic heritage and would like to express his appreciation of Celtic elements to other members of his kingdom. Hence, the example of Deiotarus's coinage effectively shows that the Galatians still attempted to preserve their own customs and identity through their personal appearance. At this point, Deiotarus's expression of his Celtic heritage through coinage not only exemplified this resilient cultural preservation but also attempted to encourage it.

The reverse side of the coin also strongly embodies Deiotarus's celebration of his Celtic identity. Apparently, the image of the right side was a shield that was made in the shape of a long hexagon. Studies of Celtic shield culture indicate that this image was a typical oak shield that was pervasively used by Gallic warriors in ancient warfare.[81] In other words, by depicting this image on his coins, Deiotarus intended to prove that the Galatians still maintained their tie to the Gallic mainland because of the usage of the same shields. At this point, this hexagonal oak shield represented a Celtic image through a military expression. Therefore, Deiotarus's main purpose of using this Celtic image was still to emphasize his Celtic identity and thereby justify himself as a legitimate ruler of the Galatians. However, the military connotation, which this shield image conveys, can also not be ignored. When Deiotarus chose to use a hexagon shield on his coinage, he tried to establish a connection between a militaristic idea and the authority which his coinage represented. That is to say, military power was also an essential part of his rulership. In this case, by adopting this hexagonal shield on his coinage, Deiotarus effectively built up the relation between his political authority, military power and Celtic identity.

Along with his coinage, the name Deiotarus itself also highlighted the preservation of Celtic identity among the Galatians. In his book, Bernhard Maier suggests that the word Deiotarus was a Gaulish compound derived from the words *devos* (god) and *tarvos* (bull).[82] Therefore, the name Deiotarus in Gaulish literally means a "divine bull". The name contains a very strong Celtic cultural connotation. For this reason, the name "Deiotarus" indicated the Celtic identity which Deiotarus possessed as a king. That is to say, Deiotarus, as the owner of

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[81] John T. Koch. *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2006, p. 1608.

[82] Bernhard Maier. *The Celts*. A History from Earliest Times to the Present. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003, p. 93.

this Celtic name, further demonstrated his Celtic identity as a Galatian monarch. Hence, it is clear that the name Deiotarus has strong connection with the Galatians' persistent cultural conservatism during the Hellenistic period.

Nevertheless, the name Deiotarus was often understood as a Latin compound composed by *Deus* and *Taurus* due to the similarity between the Latin and Gaulish languages. That is, the name means exactly the same thing in both Latin and Gaulish. Maier's discussion of Deiotarus's Gaulish etymology proves that the name has a clear Gaulish root,[83] but it does not disprove the connection between the Gaulish name "Deiotarus" and its Latin equivalent. In other words, the cultural connotation of the name "Deiotarus" makes sense in both Latin and Gaulish contexts. This allowed King Deiotarus to possess a "Roman identity" while preserving his Celtic identity.

The overlapped meaning of the name "Deiotarus" in both Latin and Gaulish languages empowered Deiotarus with access to Roman culture. However, the close relationship between Galatia and Rome in the Late Hellenistic period was constructed by Deiotarus's pro-Roman attitude and military assistance. According to Appian's description, Deiotarus served well as a barrier opposing the incursion from Mithriadates IV of Pontus. As a result, Pompey continued awarding him with lands from Pontus.[84] At this point, Appian clarifies that Deiotarus maintained a close relationship with Pompey during the Third Mithridatic War in which they collaborated with each other in military operations. In addition, Pompey's "awards" toward Deiotarus also revealed that the political concerns of Deiotarus and Pompey were oriented by the same factor. By defeating the Pontic armies, Pompey gained exploits and fame while Deiotarus expanded his territories. In this way, Deiotarus's cooperation with Rome was successful at the first stage.

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[83] Maier, p. 93.
[84] Appian, *Mithridatic Wars*, XI, 75.

Deiotarus's intimacy with Rome was not only represented by his close relationship with Pompey. His value as an active and capable geopolitical participant in Asia Minor gained him more allies in Rome. After the defeat of Pompey during the Second Roman Civil War, Deiotarus was pardoned by Caesar for his collaboration with Pompey thanks to the advocacy of Cicero.[85] Apparently, Pompey was not the only person who realized the value of Deiotarus as a friend of Rome. The sympathies from Cicero and Pompey both suggest that Deiotarus's pro-Roman strategy was successful and rewarding. For this reason, Deiotarus's collaboration with Rome succeeded in the second stage.

Deiotarus's successful cooperation with Rome substantially promoted the Romanization of Galatia. At this point, the most demonstrative example was the establishment of Legio XXII Deiotariana. The legion was founded during the Second Civil War for the repulsion of Pharnaces II of Pontus. In this case, Deiotarus was ordered by Caesar to raise a legion from his own men. This new legion, which later became Legio XXII Deiotariana, was essentially a Celtic army equipped and trained in Roman fashion.[86] Here, Deiotarus's interactions with Roman power motivated the establishment of the Deiotariana Legion. The foundation of the Deiotariana offered a model of Roman military organization to Galatia. For this reason, it was significant for the further refinement of the Galatian military organization. Thus, Deiotarus's cooperation with Rome succeeded in the third stage because it effectively stimulated the military Romanization within his own kingdom. Now, the Galatians were also given both Celtic and Roman identities

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[85] Cicero, *Pro Rege Deiotaro ad G. Caesarem Oratio*, I.
[86] Stephen Dando-Collins. *Legions of Rome*. The Definitive History of Every Imperial Roman Legion. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2015, p. 186.

just like their king. The race was redefined through its new association with the Romans and

their adoption of, and incorporation into, the organization of the Roman army.

2.5 Adaptation and tolerance: local pottery culture in Çadır Höyük and Galatian identity

The Celts were not only fierce warriors but also excellent craftsmen. The La Tène art style, which was known for its skillfulness and elegance, represented the highest artistic achievement of the continental Celts.[87] The Galatians were originally a group of exiles from various continental Celtic tribes, but their material remains did not reflect the success of the La Tène culture in Europe. This section of the thesis attempts to discuss the cultural interactions between the Galatians and local Anatolian residents based on the relevant research of the Galatians' material culture that have already been done by some scholars and the result of pottery examinations which I myself have conducted in the site of Çadır Höyük in Yozgat, Turkey.

The site Çadır Höyük is located in central Anatolia around fifty miles from the site of Büyüknefes, which was Tavium, one of the three Galatian capitals, during the Hellenistic period. The site is an artificial mountain that was created through six thousand years of human activities from the Chalcolithic Age to the Byzantine Era. During the 2015 season, our excavation team opened a new trench below the level of a Byzantine fortification and identified it as remains of the Late Iron and Hellenistic periods. Therefore, the research of the physical remain of this trench might significantly broaden my understanding of the material culture of the Galatians who might be the occupants of the site during the Hellenistic period. Fortunately, the pottery sherds that we have unearthed from this trench are abundant. At the end of season, I selected seventy pottery samples from that trench and compared them to the pottery records from other archaeological sites at the American Research Institute in Ankara.

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[87] J. V. S. Megaw. "Style and Style Groupings in Continental Early La Tène Art." *World Archaeology* 3: 276-292, 1972, p. 2-3.

The result of this comparison shows that the pottery sherds that we excavated from this new trench of Çadır Höyük were entirely different from the traditional La Tène art style. Several well-levigated and slipped wares from our site were stylistically identical compared to the Phrygian pottery accessible in the Museum of Istanbul. Their use of zigzag and cross-hatching strips on the exterior surfaces were surprisingly analogous (**Fig.2-3**). This result shows that the pottery style of Çadır Höyük was significantly and continously influenced by Phrygian culture during the Late Iron and Hellenistic periods. Apparently, the presence of Phrygian pottery style in Çadır Höyük indicates that the La Tène culture was not the dominant artistic element in this site during the Hellenistic period.

In this case, the result from this pottery comparison suggests two possibilities regarding the Galatians' cultural interactions with their local Anatolian neighbors. First, it is possible that the inhabitants of Çadır Höyük were actually the descendants of Phrygians. The Kingdom of Phrygia was destroyed at the end of eighth century BCE after their capital was captured and devastated by the Cimmerians.[88] Nevertheless, there was no clear evidence suggesting that smaller Phrygian communities were also annihilated along with their political center. If Çadır Höyük was one of those Phrygian settlements which survived from the Cimmerian invasion and thereby remained there throughout the entire Iron Age, it would be possible to argue that they might also have survived the invasion of Galatians during the Hellenistic period. At this point, the Phrygian pottery remains in Hellenistic Çadır Höyük can effectively prove that the local Phrygian communities continued to exist in Çadır Höyük under the government of Galatians. If this was the case, the Celts were probably not the only race in Galatia. Other indigenous groups

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[88] Strabo, I, 3, 21.

who happened to live in this area could also claim themselves to be "the Galatians" because Galatia, in this case, refers to a country instead of a specifically defined race.

This notion is not impossible according to Livy's account. As Livy describes, when Marcus Manlius was campaigning in Asia, the Galatians whom he fought against were a mixed race.[89] From Livy's description, it is clear that the Celts might not be the only component of the contemporary Galatian army. That is to say, the Galatian army at that time might have recruited soldiers from the native Anatolian communities, like those "Phrygians" in Çadır Höyük, which settled within Galatia. Therefore, if the users of these Phrygian style potteries in Çadır Höyük were in fact the remnant of Phrygians, it would be possible to argue that the Galatian Celts might have tolerated both Phrygians and their material culture in Galatia. Phrygian minor settlements like Çadır Höyük probably continued to exist as the subordinates to the Galatian authority during the Hellenistic period.

Another possibility is that the settlers of the Hellenistic period could be Galatians who used Phrygian potteries. Those Phrygian fine slips were in fact a very small portion of all the pottery sherds that were excavated from the site. Therefore, it was very likely that these Phrygian wares were not manufactured locally but imported from some other settlements through commercial activities. If this was the case, it would be clear that the Galatians who settled in this place maintained their economic interactions with other neighboring states. Moreover, those Galatians' importation of well-levigated Phrygian pottery might suggest their appreciation and adoption of the better-made materials from local Anatolian civilizations.

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[89] Livy, XXXVIII, 17.

In this case, the Galatians who might have lived in Çadır Höyük during the Hellenistic did not apply the well-renowned La Tène art style which was prevailing in other contemporary Celtic communities in Gaul. Hence, if the local residents of Çadır Höyük were indeed Galatians, the absence of La Tène elements in their community would reveal that those local Galatians failed to preserve the traditions of making and using the La Tène pottery there. In other words, the pottery culture of this local Galatian group was somewhat orientalized through the cultural influence of native Anatolian communities. Of course, the appreciation of Phrygian pottery did not entirely remove the Celtic identity from the Galatians. However, the diaspora of those Celts in local Anatolian settlements might have motivated them to embrace their regional pottery culture. In this case, those Galatians might have established further connections with local Anatolian groups but lost a part of their identity in one minor aspect of their material culture.

These two possibilities both suggest that the internal cultural environment of Galatia was diverse. On one hand, if the Galatians tolerated the existence of minor Anatolian settlements and annexed them as part of their empire, Galatia would then be a multiethnic state in which both Celts and local Anatolian inhabitants co-existed. On the other hand, if the Galatians inhabited the settlement after conquest, the presence of Phrygian style fine pottery and absence of the pottery made in La Tène style would indicate a certain degree of integration between these Galatians and the local community at Çadır Höyük through Galatians' adoption of local pottery culture. Hence, according to result of the examination of the potteries excavated from Çadır Höyük, it is possible to assume that there might be a certain degree of cultural integration between the Galatians and local Anatolian groups. The society of the contemporary Galatians might have become culturally diverse.

2.6 Preservation of Celtic identity within Galatia

The example of Çadır Höyük might not reflect the reality within the entire kingdom. La Tène artifacts could still be found from other parts of Galatia. The archaeological results from other major Galatian settlements in Anatolia could still prove that those Galatians managed to preserve the Celtic elements in their local communities. By introducing the Celtic material remains in those Galatians settlements, this section of the paper attempts to show that La Tène culture still prevailed in larger Galatians communities.

At first, there is clear evidence that the Galatians continued their usage of Celtic weaponry. According to Stephen Mitchell, a large amount of Celtic-style weapons and shields were found in various monumental sites built by Pergamum in the memory of their successful campaigns against the Galatians.[90] Mitchell's statement directly shows that the Galatians, whom the state of Pergamum defeated during the Hellenistic period, were still using the weapons and shields manufactured in Celtic styles. That is to say, the Galatians still preserved the knowledge of forging the weapons that symbolized their Celtic identity and warrior code. Hence, based on this discovery, it can be inferred that Celtic-style weapons and shields were widely used by the contemporary Galatians in the battles against Pergamum.

Along with weaponry, the Galatians' preservation of their Celtic identity can also be observed from the presence of La Tène artifacts in western Asia Minor. Mitchell mentions that within the famous sculpture of the "Dying Gaul" in the Pergamum monuments, the torque which the "Dying Gaul" was wearing was later identified as a La Tène artifact.[91] At this point, Mitchell's statement shows that the Galatians furthered their preservation of their Celtic identity

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[90] Mitchell, p. 10.
[91] Mitchell, p. 10.

by keeping using not only Celtic weapons but also Celtic trinkets. This type of torque, as an essential part of Celtic society, was commonly adopted in the Celtic tribes in Western Europe. In the article "A Celtic Gold Torque and Armlets", Reginald Smith approves this point by showing an excellent comparison between two torques found in Galatia and Gaul.[92] In this case, the continuous usage of similar artifact shows the cultural tie between Gaul and Galatia. This cultural continuity between Galatia and Gaul, through the usage of same Celtic artifacts, effectively demonstrates that the Celtic identity of the Galatians was still well preserved in western Anatolia.

In addition, the Galatians' preservation of Celtic identity can also be observed from their ritual remains. Mitchell points out that the discoveries of various human remains including torsos, skulls and vertebrae in Gordion suggest that the Galatians introduced the Celtic sacrifice cult to Anatolia.[93] At this point, these sacrificial remains show that this type of Celtic ritual must have been performed by the local Galatians in central Anatolian during the Hellenistic period. In addition, the theory that the Celtic religious ritual was continuously practiced is also supported by Page Selinsky.[94] In other words, the Gordian Galatians demonstrated their Celtic identity by preserving their Celtic ritual code into the Later Hellenistic period. In this case, the continuous performance of their original sacrificial cult was another evidence that proves the cultural tie between the Galatians and their Gallic homeland.

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[92] Reginald A. Smith. "A Celtic Gold Torque and Armlets." *The British Museum Quarterly* 5: 16-17, 1930, p. 4.

[93] Mitchell, p. 10.

[94] Sage Selinsky. "A Preliminary Report on the Human Skeletal Material from Gordion's Lower Town Area." In *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians*, edited by Lisa Kealhofer: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005, p. 8.

Along with the evidence of ritual tools, the Celtic-style burials that appeared in Gordion also reflected the maintenance of La Tène culture in central Galatia. Mitchell describes his observation from a Galatian tomb in Gordion that although the tomb's architectural style shows no similarity to Celtic tombs in La Tène Europe, the burials including a golden buckle and torques strongly express the elements from a Celtic society.[95] Here, Mitchell's observation shows that the owner of this Galatian tomb adopted a non-Celtic architecture for his tombs. However, he still decided to bury himself with the objects that demonstrated a strong Celtic identity. That is, his acceptance of an Anatolian style burial architecture did not change his identity as a Celt because he chose to be accompanied by Celtic artefacts. The discoveries of the Celtic ritual remain and burial content mutually suggest that the La Tène culture was still recognized and practiced in central Galatia. Hence, the Celtic identity of the central Galatians was also sturdily preserved during the Hellenistic period.

Similar to the situation in Gordion, the archaeological results in Trocmi also proved that the La Tène element was also present in eastern Galatia. According to Mitchell's observation of a tomb excavated in Boğazköy, which was close to the historical Tavium, a number of La Tène ironworks and fibulae were discovered by their excavators.[96] The presence of these Celtic objects in the territory of Trocmi implies that the Celtic elements did not disappear from eastern Galatia. The Galatian residents there were still performing the traditional Celtic burial custom by placing the artefacts, which contained strong Celtic elements, in their death chambers. This persistent utilization of the Celtic-style burial by the eastern Galatians is convincing evidence of their effective preservation of their Celtic identity. Through these archaeological examinations, it is

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[95] Mitchell, p. 13.
[96] Mitchell, p. 14.

clear that the Galatians who dwelled in major settlements managed to maintain their identity as Celts throughout the Hellenistic period. Therefore, the Galatians, in general, were successful in preserving their identity as a Celtic group in their major settlements with a certain level of adoption of native Anatolian cultures.

Chapter III: The Galatians' migration and ethnic redefinition in a broader context

The migration of the Galatians from Europe to Asia Minor was not simply a historical accident but was part of a much larger Pan-Celtic diaspora in Europe. In other words, the Galatians were not the first Celtic group that migrated from one place to another and redefined their ethnicity. As a part of the La Tène cultural group, the migration of Galatians was evidently preceded by the Celtic diaspora in Iberia and northern Italy during the Classical period. However, they were definitely the last because there were no more major Celtic migrations in the ancient Mediterranean afterwards. The factor which underlies the Galatians' migration as the "last migration of the Celtic diaspora" might have a deep connection with the Mediterranean geopolitics before the Roman conquest. In order to further clarify the role of this Galatian migration in the ancient Mediterranean world, this chapter will be focusing on examining the Galatians' migration in the larger context of the Pan-Celtic diaspora in Europe.

The Celts had a long history of migrations in Europe. Although the whole Celtic race was rooted in Gaul,[97] their expansions into different parts of Western Europe eventually contributed to the form of a Celtic West. Their first major expansion was the Celtic invasion into Iberia from Gaul. As Strabo describes in *Geography*, when Carthaginians tried to expand their influence in Iberia during the Classical Age, several groups of Celts broke into Iberia. After they settled in the lands which they conquered, they mingled with local Iberians and became the Celtiberians.[98] The form of the Celtiberian race shows noticeable similarities in comparison with the Galatians' redefinition of their identity in Asia Minor. At first, both of them were the Celtic tribes originating from Gaul. Secondly, they reformed their ethnic identity through close interactions

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[97] Caesar, I, 1.
[98] Strabo, III, 4, 5.

with local communities. Like the way which the words Celt-Iberians and *Gallo-Graeci* were similarly compounded, the Celtiberians and Galatians followed a similar pattern of migration. In this case, the Celtiberians' successful migration established an excellent example of diaspora relations for future Celtic immigrants like the Galatians.

Along with the migration of Celtiberians, the Celtic expansion into northern Italy was also a successful implementation of the Celtic migration model. According to Livy's account, the Celts crossed the Alps and invaded northern Italy while Tarquinius Priscus was ruling Rome.[99] At this point, Livy's depiction helps clarify that the Celts who invaded northern Italy in this expedition were from the region outside the Alps which was Gaul. In other words, the northern part of Italy was considered by these Gauls as a target of expansion. The success of this invasion was attested by Bernhard Maier, who suggests that it was very likely that these Celts mixed up with the Ligurians and became the "Celtoligurians".[100] Maier's observation provides further evidence of the post-migration mixture between the Celtic immigrants and the indigenous communities which they conquered. Again, the successful migration of these Celts, who were later known as Cisalpine Gauls, was comparable to the immigration of the Galatians. In other words, the patterns of migration and ethnic redefinition which the Galatians applied had already been exercised by the Celtiberians and Cisalpine Gauls several centuries before.

The success of all these Celtic migrations was certainly not coincidence. The key to their success was substantially related to the absence of strong central powers in the areas they aimed to conquer and settle. Before the foundation of the Roman Empire, the geopolitics in the contemporary Mediterranean was mainly characterized by regional warfare. In Western Europe,

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[99] Livy, V, 34.
[100] Maier, p. 83.

this rule was mainly reflected by Celtic migrations. According to Caesar's description, Gaul remained politically fragmented before he started his expedition.[101] That is to say, before Caesar's conquest in Gaul, there was no dominant Celtic regime that collected and redistributed local resources within all of Gaul through central administration. Therefore, when their internal tribal resources became insufficient, they launched incursive migrations in order to obtain more living resources from other tribes. The Helvetian migration was a typical example of this principle because they believed that the land they possessed could not supply its large population.[102] Hence, these Celtic migrations essentially reflected that "armed migration" was a pattern of resource acquisition among Gallic tribes in Western Europe.

The Galatians, as this paper has previous suggested, had followed the political paradigm of the Celtic West before they completed their migration in Anatolia. Therefore, their migration was modeled on the same pattern as those of the Celtiberians and Cisalpine Gauls. In the first state of their migration, the Galatians launched an unsuccessful expedition to acquire resources from the Greece where the local polities were less unified.[103] Despite their failure, the Galatians still insisted on their "armed migration" pattern and changed their direction into Anatolia where the Seleucid Empire had lost control after the death of Seleucus I.[104] In other words, the reduction of Seleucid central power in Anatolia helped create a power vacuum in Anatolia and thereby provided the Galatians with an opportunity to establish their own regime there. In this case, by launching such a distant expedition, the Galatians managed to attain resources from Anatolia to sustain their population which the contemporary Celtic West failed to provide.

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[101] Caesar, I, 1.
[102] Caesar, I, 2.
[103] Pausanias, X, 19-23.
[104] Michel Austin. *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p, 159.

Therefore, the Galatians' migration was preceded by the previous Celtic immigrants like Celtiberians and Cisalpine Gauls because they all implemented the same resource redistribution pattern.

However, the migration of the Galatians marked the highpoint of this Celtic model of resource redistribution because it was the most distant and last major Celtic migration in the ancient Mediterranean. The foundation of Galatia broke the traditional image of Celts as the residents of Gaul and redefined the eastern boundary of Celtic influence. Moreover, the Galatians were also the last Celtic group that implemented this incursive pattern of resource redistribution. The establishment of the Roman Empire as the dominant authority in the Mediterranean world signified the start of a new model of resource redistribution. The imperial administration replaced the previous warfare and migration model and became the new pattern of resource redistribution. At this point, the edict issued by Augustus regulating the use of Judean treasure can serve as a good example of the enforcement of this new system of resource redistribution.[105] Here, the increase of central authority weakened the flexibility of local administration. Hence, the Celtic migration model could never be implemented again as long as this imperial government system continued to function. In this case, the Galatians' migration was significant because it marked the end of the age of Celtic diaspora in ancient world.

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[105] Solomon Zeitlin. "The Edict of Augustus Caesar in Relation to the Judeans of Asia." *The Jewish Quarterly Review, New Series* 55 (2): 160-163. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 1964, p. 1-2.

Conclusion

This thesis has discussed the original ethnic identity of the Galatians and its redefinition in the context of the Hellenistic world through political, military, economic and cultural perspectives. First, their migration from Western Europe to Asia Minor changed their geopolitical context. After their settlement in Anatolia, they abandoned the political and military paradigm which they had formerly implemented when they were still western Celts and refined their political structure and military organization. The evolution of their political and military structures exemplifies some of the changes they made to their original Celtic image. The foundation of their oak grove council and the adoption of the lieutenant system were the inventions which did not appear in any record of other Gallic tribes. For this reason, the Galatians were different from other Gauls who lived in the contemporary Celtic West.

Although their political and military organizations were changed, the Galatians were still able to maintain the connections to their Celtic homeland by preserving a number of Celtic cultures and customs. The establishment of the *Drynemetum* itself was a successful introduction of Druidism and preservation of their oak worship in Anatolia. In addition, the Celtic language was also continuously spoken by the Galatians even during the Late Roman Imperial period. Furthermore, the Galatians were somewhat disconnected from the economic system of Asia Minor due to their underdeveloped urban centers and coinage system. In terms of their material culture, the Galatians kept utilizing the objects that contained strong Celtic cultural references. Nevertheless, the material studies in some minor settlements like Hellenistic Çadır Höyük suggest that there might also be a certain degree of cultural integration in those areas. For these reasons, the Galatians succeeded in preserving a substantial amount of their Celtic culture and their identity as a Celtic group.

Throughout the Galatians' migration and settlement, two concepts were redefined. The first concept was the identity of the Galatians. As this thesis has discussed in the first chapter, the identity of the Galatians was changed from the "western Galatians" to the "eastern Galatians" because their geopolitical contexts had been changed from the Celtic West to the Celtic East. In this case, by refining their political and military structures from the knowledge they gained from their new environment, the Galatians' identity was dramatically altered. Culturally, they were still connected to their Celtic homeland, but their politics and military affairs were no longer handled in the way of the western Celts. Essentially, by implementing new political and military systems, the Galatians became a group of "redefined Gauls" and were perceived as such by contemporary Greek and Roman authors.

The second redefined idea was the boundary of the Celtic world. Before the migration of the Galatians, the Celts were perceived generally as a race that inhabited the western part of Europe. Neither the Greeks nor Romans developed a special name for the Gauls who might live in the eastern Mediterranean. This can be observed from the origin of the name "Galatians" (Γαλάται literally means "Gauls"). Therefore, the appearance of the idea of "Galatians" in the context of the eastern Mediterranean world indicates that the Galatians entered into Asia Minor as a western European race. In this case, the influence of La Tène culture was further spread into the eastern Mediterranean world. Hence, the Galatians' migration was not only a demographic relocation but a significant cultural expansion from the La Tène Europe. In this way, the boundary of the Celtic world was also redefined.

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Appendix:

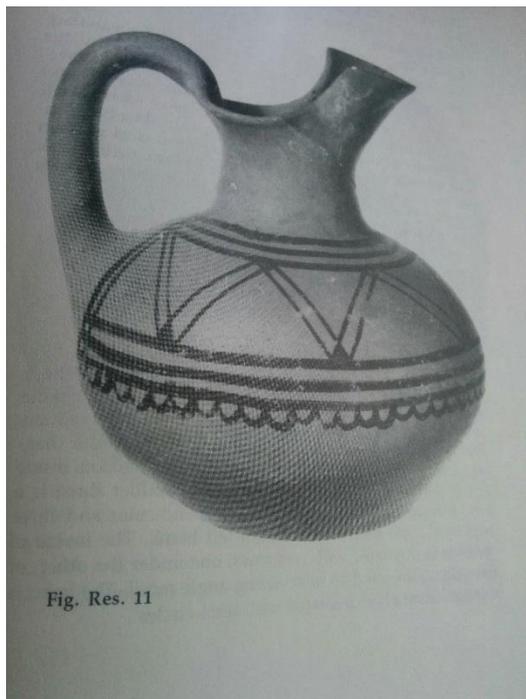Fig 1: Coinage of Deiotarus

Fig 2.1.: (Res 11)

Fig. Res. 11

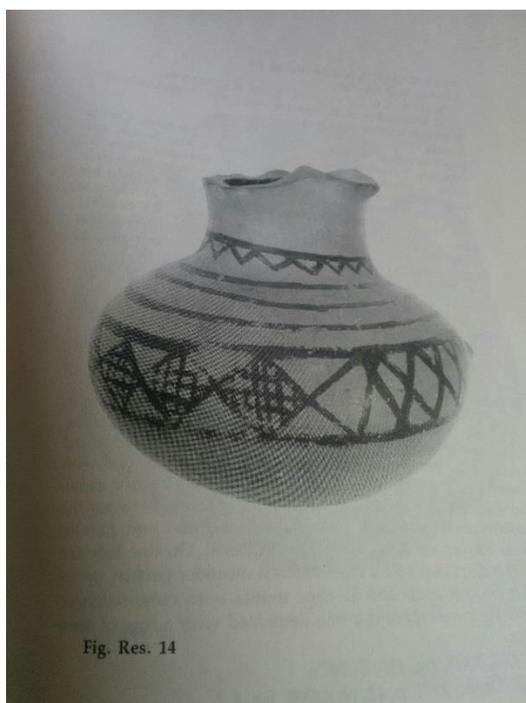Fig 2.2 (Res. 14)

Fig. Res. 14

Fig 3.1 (Çadır Höyük, SMT 4, 15060, Locus 22, Bag 121)

Fig 3.2 (Çadır Höyük, SMT 4, 15091, Locus 29, Bag 151)