

THE GREATNESS AND DECLINE OF THE CELTS

CHAPTER II

THE CELTS IN THE EAST

I

THE GAULS IN THE BALKAN PENINSULAR

WE have come to the neighbourhood of the year 300 B.C. At this date, the development of the civilization of La Tène takes a turn which has long been noted by archæologists, who have marked it by a new period, La Tène II. We shall again see, all round the fringes of the Celtic world, movements similar to those which in the sixth century took the Celts to the British Isles, Spain, and Italy, and at the end of the fifth took them to Provence, Italy, the Danube valley, and again to Britain. We shall see them spreading and wandering about in the East, establishing themselves strongly in the valley of the Danube; new bands descending on Italy and Spain, and others reaching Britain and Ireland. A new group of Celtic tribes takes part in those expeditions or directs them.

When the power of the Antariatae was destroyed, the conquerors camped in their place, probably in the valley of the Morava, whence they threatened Thrace, Macedon, and Greece at once, for they did not settle down at first; they remained on the move and no doubt received new contingents, perhaps summoning them. [For Brennus's propaganda for the expedition of 279, see Paus., x, 19; Polyæn., *Strat.*, vii, 35; Thierry, CCCLXXXVIII, i, p. 226.] These great movements of tribes never stop all at once. Besides, if the Gauls were looking for a settled abode, they could do better than in the present Serbia.

In 298 a body of them advanced as far as Bulgaria. They came up against the Macedonians, and were defeated by Cassander on the slopes of Haemos. [Jouguet, DXLIV, English, p. 176.] A little later a second body, led by one Cambaules, seems to have reached Thrace. [Paus., x, 19.] In 281, the death of Lysimachos and Seleucos and the ensuing prolongation of the dynastic war and the disorganization of the Macedonian

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kingdom weakened the obstacle which still held the Gauls in check. They saw this, and seized their opportunity.

We are told that they resumed their advance in 260, in three armies. [Jouguet, DXLIV, English, p. 178. Thierry, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 221 ff.; Stähelin, DLIV, p. 2; Jullian, CCCXLVII, i, p. 300; Dottin, CCCXXII, p. 316; Justin, xxiv, 5 - 8; Paus., i, 4; x, 19; Diod., xxii, 9. These writers' accounts are derived from common sources, among which we must reckon the history of Hieronymos of Cardia, who lived at the time of the events; cf. d'Arbois, CCXLVIII, xii, pp. 81 ff.; Jullian, *op. cit.*, i, p. 301, n. 5. Was there a Gallic tradition in this? See *ibid.*, and F. P. Garofalo, in CXXXV, xiii, p. 456.] The eastern army, commanded by Cerethrios, attacked the Triballi on the Bulgarian side. The western army, crossing Illyria, must have entered Macedonia somewhere near Monastir; it was preceded by envoys. [Just., xxiv, 5, 1.] Ptolemy Ceraunos, who, after betraying and killing Seleucos, was at the time King of Macedon, refused to listen to them. He was utterly defeated and slain. This army was led by a chieftain called Bolgios, whose name we must bear in mind. Historical tradition, which dates from the time of the actual events, records that he crowned his victory by sacrificing prisoners. [Diod., xxxi, 13.] The Macedonian army was scattered and the state, lacking its head, appeared to be destroyed. The Gauls ranged over the country, looting. Little by little, the Macedonians rallied [Under Sosthenes; Just., xxiv, 5, 12 - 13.] and by well-conducted warfare on a small scale compelled them to retire behind the mountains.

The central army, commanded by Brennus and Acichorius, [Diodoros calls him Cichorios.] had advanced on Paeonia and had to fight throughout the year with the hillmen of Haemos. It did not descend on Macedon until the following year, after it had received large reinforcements, including Illyrian contingents. [Particularly the Antariatae; App., *Illyr.*, 4.] It was a large host, reckoned by the historians at 150,000 foot and 15,000 or 20,000 horse. Each horseman was accompanied by two mounted servants, the body of three being called a *trimarkisia*. We should note this appearance of cavalry in the Gallic forces. The army seems to have been fairly well organized and skilfully led. [Especially in the crossing of the Spercheios; Paus., *loc. cit.*] In the eighty years or so that the Gauls had been serving as mercenaries by the side of Greek troops, [Jullian, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 324 ff.] they had learned something and gained experience. Old trained mercenaries may have rallied to the army of Brennus. At all events, it left a name for resourcefulness and alarming ingenuity. [Polyaen., *Strat.*, iv, 8; vi, 35, 42.] Brennus crushed the reorganized Macedonian army, and then descended into Greece by way of Thessaly. At Thermopylae he was met by a force composed mainly of Athenians. [Paus., i, 3, 4; x, 19. For the shield of young Cydias, cf. d'Arbois, CCCI, ii, p. 398.] While one body, detached on Ætolia, sacked the town of Callion with appalling savagery, [The Oatrians came to the assistance of Callion, and were completely defeated; Paus., x, 22, 6;

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Cavaignac, CCCX, iii, p. 44.] the main force managed to turn the position and came by the gorges of Parnassos to Delphi. The Ætolians and Phocians came to the rescue of the god, and the Gauls had to retire to Thessaly.

The Phocians owed something to Apollo, for they had looted Delphi some seventy years before in the course of the second Sacred War, and had come away with considerable sums. They had not, therefore, left much for the Gauls to take, except the statues. Nevertheless, the gold of Delphi has passed into legend. [Just., xxxii, 3.] In the great Gallic army there was a body of Tectosages, and the report went about that this treasure had been taken to Toulouse, to other Tectosages, who had migrated there from the same original home. A dark story grew up about this act of pillage and the problematical and accursed gold. The legend-mongers seized upon the sacrilege and gave Brennus a lasting reputation for impiety [Diod., xxii, 10.] which placed him on a level with the other Brennus, him of Rome and the Capitol.

Art did its share. This campaign of Brennus was commemorated in monuments. The battle of Thermopylae was depicted on a wall-painting in the council-chamber of Athens. [Paus., i, 3, 4; A. J. Reinach, in CVII, 21, p. 192.] But there were also representations of the sack of Delphi, which were to be seen in various temples of Apollo in Greece and Italy, at Delos, and even in Rome, where, according to Propertius, [Prop., ii, 31, 3.] one of the ivory-plated doors of

the temple of the Palatine showed *dejectos Parnassi vertice Gallos*, “the Gauls thrown down from the height of Parnassos,” forming a pendant to the story of the Children of Niobe. The whole affair was one of the triumphs of Apollo. One or more of these commemorative monuments furnished motives to the minor arts of Greece or Alexandria. One portrayed a Gaul setting his foot on the cut-off head of the Pythia, [e.g. on a medallion from Capua; CXXXVIII, 1889, i, p. 198.] another showed Gauls gesticulating against a back-ground of colonnades. [On the bottom of a *poculum* from the factory of Cales; *ibid.*]

It is certain that the Greeks thought of the Gauls as beautiful. The figure of Brennus in particular has benefited by their æsthetic indulgence. The story ran that Brennus had received three wounds from Apollo’s own hand. He gave the order to retreat, and had the strength to lead his men through the gorges of Parnassos to join up with the rear-guard of Acichorius, who had remained at Heracleia. He might have recovered, but he felt that he was condemned and determined to die. He got drunk and killed himself. A marvellous little bronze in the Naples museum (a replica) apparently represents the suicide of Brennus. [A. J. Reinach, *op. cit.*, pl. xviii

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(= Bienkowski, CCCIX, fig. 117).]

Although the attack on Delphi did not last long, Central Greece was sufficiently disturbed for the celebration of the Panathenaea to be suspended in 278. [Ibid., p. 187.] The Gallic army retired more or less in good order. [According to Justin, xxiv, 8, nothing of it remained. But enough must have remained to take the gold of Delphi to Toulouse.] We find one section of it in Thrace, in the neighbourhood of Byzantion; it surprised Lysimacheia [Livy, xxxviii, 16; Just., xxv, 2; Stähelin, DLIV, 5. According to Livy, this was the force of Leonnorios and Lutarios; According to Justin, they were troops remaining to guard the country. Polyb., iv, 46.] at the root of the Gallipoli peninsula. Antigonos Gonatas drove the Gauls out of the place in a battle in which he surprised them while pillaging his camp, which he had abandoned to them. [A. J. Reinach, op. cit., p. 37; Just., xxv, 2; Livy, xxviii, 16. For a painted Galatomachia in Athens, see Reinach, op. cit., p. 187.] This affair took place in 277.

After this victory, Antigonos seems to have taken into his service the force of Ciderios, and perhaps the remnants of the vanquished, who helped him to take possession of Macedonia. He still had some of them in 274 when he was defeated by Pyrrhos, who gloried in the fact that he had triumphed over them. [Plut., *In Pyrrhum*, 26; Paus., i, 13; Just., xxv, 3.] In 265 a body of Gauls, being ill-paid, mutinied at Megara, and he put them all to the sword. [Trog. Pomp., *Prol.*, xxvi.] But Pyrrhos likewise employed Gauls, whom he allowed to violate the tombs of the ancient kings of Macedon at Ægae [Plut., loc. cit.; Diod., xxii, 12.]; he had them in the attack on Sparta; he had them again at Argos when he was killed. Down to the very end of these Macedonian wars of succession, bands of Gauls left their dead scattered about Greece [Just., xxvi, 2.] in the cause of every party. No tomb of them has survived. We shall return later to the amazing story of the mercenaries.

A large part of Brennus's army returned to its starting-point, under the lead of a chief whose name has come down to us under the distorted form of Bathanattos, [Ath., vi, 234 *b*. The name Bathanattos is supposed to have become a family-name.] and settled permanently north of Macedonia between the Shar-Dagh (Mons Scordus) and the Danube. [Just., xxxii, pp. 3, 7. It cannot have been that the Tectosages of Toulouse returned to their own country.] It doubtless consisted of bodies of mixed origin. They took a name for themselves from the country, and became the Scordisci. On the banks of the Danube they founded or took over a capital, Singidunum, which is now Belgrade. [Ptol., iii, pp. 9, 3.]

Among the Illyrian peoples of the coast of Epeiros, opposite Corcyra, the ancient geographers mention the Hylli, who are described in the *Etymologicum Magnum* as a Celtic people. [*Etym. Magn.*, 776, 39; Scylax, 23; Scymnos of Chios, 404.] They may, at least, have been Celticized by their neighbours the Scordisci. The eastern part of

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the new domain of the Scordisci was taken from the Triballi who were driven out, at least to some extent. [App., *Illyr.*, 3; Niese, CCCLXVIII, p. 618; Jullian, op. cit., p. 303.]

Excavation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has revealed traces, still too rare, of the passage of the Celts and of Celtic settlements in these new provinces of the Jugo-Slav kingdom. [Patsch, in CV, ix, 1904, p. 241.] We know nothing of Serbia itself.

Another body, which had likewise belonged to Brennus's army, retired on to the slopes of Haemos under a leader named Comantorios. [Polyb., iv, 46; Trog. Pomp., *Prol.*, 25; d'Arbois, CCXCIX, p. 5; Jullian, op. cit., p. 303, n. 2; Just., xxxii, 3, 6.] Little by little it gained the upper hand over the Thracian tribes of the vicinity and founded a Celtic kingdom in Thrace, which lasted until 193 B.C. Its capital was Tyle or Tylis, the site of which is difficult to establish. This people expanded south of Haemos to the basin of Adrianople and north of it, no doubt, to the Danube.

At first the proximity of the Gauls of Haemos perturbed the Byzantines. [A heavy tribute was laid on them by Comantorios, and it continued, in a reduced form, into the time of Cauaros; Pol., loc. cit.] But they showed themselves such good neighbours that they soon dispelled their alarm. They became Hellenized, and struck coins - very fine ones, with the type of Alexander. Some of these coins bear the name of one of their kings, Cauaros. [Blanchet, CCCVI, p. 466; Forrer, DXLIII; Polyb., iv, 52 (219), for Cauaros.] In short, they lived after the manner of the Hellenistic states of the time, and became so civilized that they finally succumbed to the attacks of the Thracians in 193. [Ibid., viii, 24.] Of their Celtic civilization, nothing has survived.

So the invaders of the Balkans who had found no room in the over-populated lands of Greece Proper, covered with cities, had carved themselves kingdoms in the north of the peninsula, among people who were less attached to the soil and did not occupy it so completely, in the wider plains of the Morava, Maritza, and Danube. At intervals along the Danube below the Iron Gates were towns with Gallic names - Bononia (Vidin), Ratiaria (Artcher), Durostorum (Silistria), and Noviodunum (? Isakcha) in the Dobrudja - which were outposts of the state of the Scordisci or of the Celtic kingdom of Thrace.

The forces which had formed the nucleus of these tribes had been very much reduced. We may suppose that they received additions, which cannot have increased the Celtic element in them very much, but there remained all round them Illyrians and Thracians, and even Illyrian and Thracian states, [For a Celtic name among those of the Thracian kings, see Forrer, DXLIII, p. 203.] and the states which they formed were composed of Celto-Illyrians and Celto-Thracians. [Jullian, op. cit., p. 249, n. 3; Strabo, vii, 1, 1. The Ister forms the northern boundary of the Illyrian and Thracian population, with a certain number of foreign tribes, some of them Celtic.] I cannot picture the Scordisci very clearly. But I imagine the State of

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Haemos as something like the first Turkish states which were carved out of the Arabian Empire round a small band of janizaries. Those states were as good as their chiefs; they depended on the prestige of the chief. The kingdom of Thrace, at least, seems to have had an admirable head - the King Cauaros mentioned above.

But there is a region of Celtic names and sites, still more thinly sown, running northwards along the Black Sea. North of the Danube, in the angle formed by that river and the Sereth, Ptolemy [Ptol., 3, 10, 7.] mentions the Britolagae, whose name looks Celtic. So does that of the town of Aliobrix. Further north, on the Dniester (Tyras), there was a Camodunum (Zaleszczyki in Galicia). Pausanias [i, 35, 5.] speaks of a Gallic people, the Cabari, remarkable for its great stature, which lived in the far north on the edge of the frozen desert. If his information is worth considering, it is hereabouts that we must place them.

Evidence of the activity of the Celts of this region is given by an inscription from Olbia on the Bug [Dittemberger, IV, 226, 103 ff.] dating from the third century, when the city was purely Hellenic, in honour of a citizen named Protogenes, who had distinguished himself when the place was threatened by the Galatians. These latter had come and attacked it in midwinter, with the assistance of the Sciri, a Germanic people which lived on the Lower Vistula in the first century of the Roman Empire.

In addition, Gallic objects of La Tène have been found in Southern Russia, for example in the cemetery of Jarubinetz on the Dnieper (Government of Kiev). [Déchelette, ii, 3, p. 1082.] These are, it is true, quite recent and they may have been brought in by Germans who had Gallic objects with them. All these facts are evidence of the advance either of the Celtic kingdom of Thrace and the groups which had gone about its territory in search of settlements, or else of the Boii of Bohemia, of whose roving spirit we have already seen something. Whichever it was, the Celts went as far as the Sea of Azov (Maeotis). Here the ancient geographers fix the furthest limit of the Celtic world. [Plut., *Mar.*, xi.]

II

THE GALATIANS IN ASIA MINOR

In 278 Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, probably through the agency of Antigonos Gonatas, summoned into Asia Minor a body of Celts which may have included some of the men defeated at Lysimacheia. [Stähelin, "Galatia," in CCCLXVIII; Thierry,

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CCCLXXXVII, i, pp. 255 ff., 379 ff.; Jouguet, DXLIV, p. 182; Jullian, op. cit., i, p. 303; d'Arbois, CCXCIX, p. 195.] This body was commanded by a chief named Leonnorios. It usually operated with another body, led by one Lutarios. Both seem to have been detached from the army of Brennus before its descent into Greece, to repeat in Thrace the pillaging of Acichorius. Lutarios seized vessels and joined his comrade on the other side of the Hellespont. [Livy, xxxviii, 16. Cf. Just., xxv, 2.] A treaty was struck, [Memnon, 20 ff.] and for some time the Galatians, for thus we must henceforward call them, did good service, duly appreciated, to Nicomedes, or to the Greek cities allied to him, from which they drove off Antiochos the Seleucid who was threatening them from a distance. [Ibid., 11. Cf. Thierry, op. cit., i, p. 260.]

The two bodies amounted together to about 20,000 persons, 10,000 of whom were men under arms. They were a difficult host for a petty king of Asia to keep under control. They left Nicomedes and started working on their own account, threatening, ravaging, and negotiating to raise tribute from the terror-stricken cities. [See also Ps.-Plut., *Parall. Min.*, 15, 3096 (following the *Galatika* of Cleitophon); Strabo, xii, 5, 1; xiii, 1, 27; Durrbach, V, 31.] We find them at Troy, [Callim., *Hymn to Artemis*, v, 257.] at Ephesos, at Miletos. In St. Jerome's day people still told of the Milesian Virgins, who had killed themselves to escape outrage and mourned their lot in one of the most beautiful epigrams in the Palatine Anthology. [*Pal. Anthol.*, vii, 492; Paus., x, 22, 4; St. Jerome, *Agst. Jovinian*, i, 41.] Here again the gods had manifested themselves; the River Marsyas had defended Celaenae with his waters, [Paus., x, 30, 9.] and Heracles, Hermes, and Apollo had shown the people of Themisonion a cavern where they could take refuge. [Paus., x, 32, 4-5.]

There as elsewhere the Gauls looked for a place in which to settle down. When and how they succeeded it is very hard to say. Livy says that they divided Asia between them. [Livy, loc. cit.; cf. Just., loc. cit.] One tribe took the Hellespont; another, Æolis and Ionia; a third, the south of Asia Minor to the Taurus; finally, they had established themselves on the River Halys in the centre of the peninsula, to threaten Syria and exact tribute from it. In writing this part of the history of Asia, Livy and the rest of them lacked objectivity, sense of proportion, and, above all, a good map of Asia Minor. Their judgment was led astray by the terror of those who had lived through the invasions and naturally exaggerated the number and power of the destroyers. However prolific they may have been, [Just., loc. cit.: *tantæ fecunditatis inventus fuit.*] the 20,000 Gauls, male and female, of Leonnorios and Lutarios were still, a few years after the invasion, only a very small army, which could not hold a country of that size and was lost when it spread itself.

Antiochos Soter defeated them badly about 270. [Celebrated in verse by Simonides of

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Magnesia (Suidas, s.v.). There is a paraphrase in Lucian, *Zeuxis or Antiochos*, 9-12.] The Gallic cavalry is said to have been crushed by the elephants of the Syrian army. This battle of the elephants was suitably glorified in after years. The memorial was a painting, [A. J. Reinach, in CVII, xxi, p. 195. Small terra-cotta figures of war elephants are probably derived from this monument.] which must have been exhibited at Pergamon beside the other "Galatomachies".

It was probably Antiochos Soter who established the Galatians astride of the Halys and on the Phrygian plateau, for he was the lawful ruler of those regions. This was the most sparsely populated part of Asia Minor, the poorest and least desirable, and it is more likely that the Galatians made the best of what they got than that they chose it for themselves. Their settlement on the plateau of Asia Minor has been compared, with some justice, with their settlement on the plateau of Spain.

It was some time before they gave up their wild ways, and the Greek cities had to pay the tax known as *Galatika* (Gaul-Geld) for many years. Moreover, their real military value caused their services to be greatly sought after by one and another of their neighbours. They played a part in the game of Asiatic politics. Their history becomes intermingled with that of the Hellenistic states, and ceases to belong to the general history of the Celts. They took sides in the question of the Bithynian succession; they warred against the Kings of Pontus and the people of Heracleia; they fought for the pretender Antiochos Hierax against Seleucos II Callinicos. This last war brought them up against the enemy who worsted them, the little kingdom of Pergamon. Having defeated Seleucos at Ancyra, they were beaten in 241 near the sources of the Caicos by Attalos of Pergamon, who was backing Seleucos. This victory finally established the power of Attalos, who gained the title of King by it. Between 240 and 230, he again defeated one of the Gallic tribes - the westernmost, the Tolistoagii - four times. These defeats were decisive. The Gauls of Asia were confined to their own country, and hardly came out of it again; even there they were not always independent, but they remained there.

These victories were gloriously commemorated. In any case, the acropolis of the new capital had to be adorned. Attalos and his successor Eumenes set up monuments which must have formed a single scheme. [S. Reinach, CCCLXXV, pp. 6 ff.; A. J. Reinach, loc. cit.; Pliny, 34, 84. The Thusnelda at Florence has sometimes been regarded as coming from the former monument. Cf. Kossinna, CCCXLV, 217, pl. xlv, 1. A statue since discovered in Asia Minor, in the walls of Halicarnassos, seems to be an independent work; it represents a squatting figure, dressed in thick wool, with tight trousers, a belt, apparently of metal, and a cap (G. Karo, in CII, 1920, 160, pl. iv).] In the excavation of Pergamon bronze statue-bases have been found on which the name of the sculptor Epigonos appears several times. Pliny mentions three other artists - Phyromachos, Stratonikos, and Antigonos. These men did a piece of work, the remnants of which

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are magnificent. They treated the Gauls admirably, idealizing them just enough. Of these Pergamene statues there are two certain copies in marble - the Dying Gaul of the Capitol and the Ludovisi group of a Gaul stabbing himself with his own sword after having killed his female companion. These are Gauls sure enough, recognizable by some detail of costume, their ornament, their weapons, and their type, with the prominent eyebrows, deep-set base of the nose, and stiff, rebellious hair. But they are also very noble works of art. These sculptures did not lack emotion or sympathy; the masterpiece of Epigonos, according to Pliny, was a dead mother caressed by her child. The monuments of the victor certainly contributed to the glory of the vanquished.

On the Acropolis of Athens, Attalos I dedicated another monument composed of groups representing four subjects - a battle of Giants, a battle of Amazons, the battle of Marathon, and the defeat of the Gauls in Mysia. Six statues of half life-size from the battle of Giants are known, dispersed between the Louvre and the Venice and Naples museums. [The Vigna Ammendola sarcophagus gives an idea of what this monument may have been like. S. Reinach, CCCLXXIII, i, p. 36 (= Bienkowsky, CCCV, pl. iv).] There were also paintings in Pergamon, [Cf. CXXXV, 1913, p. 392; S. Reinach, CCCLXXVI, p. 149, n. 4. Attalos and Nike before a trophy of Gallic arms, on a fresco at Naples.] and some of the small objects representing Gauls are derived from those famous works of art.

What we know of the Galatian state gives us our first example of the organization of a Celtic state.

When they started on their migration, there were two main bodies and seventeen leaders of bands. [Memnon, 19; Livy, xxxviii, 16.] Very soon we find ourselves in the presence of three peoples formed into twelve groups, four groups to a people - the Tectosages, the Tolistoagii (or Tolistobogii or Tolistoboi), [Stähelin, DLIV, p. 42, n. 3.] and the Trocmi or Trogmi. The Tectosages are probably Volcae; it is very doubtful that the Tolistoagii or Tolistoboi are Boii; the Trocmi are not found elsewhere and their name cannot be explained. The twelve subdivisions are sub-tribes, similar to the *pagi* which we shall find in Gaul. The names of a few of them are known - the Teutobodiaci among the Tectosages and the Voturi, Ambituti, and Tosiopes among the Tolistoboi. [Pliny, v, 146.] Historians have been misled by the title of Tetrarch, borne by chiefs of tribes or sub-tribes. Each of the three peoples, with its four subdivisions, formed a tetrarchy with proto-tetrarchs. [Stähelin, op. cit., p. 43; id., "Galatia," in CCCLXVIII, p. 527.] It is an organization, a typical example of which is furnished by Ireland. Each sub-tribe was the quarter of a tetrarchy. At its head was a king (*regulus*), assisted by a council of nobles, who were sometimes also called *reguli*.

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Ireland presents just the same arrangement of royalties of different ranks. For each sub-tribe there was, in addition, a judge and a military leader with two lieutenants. The Celtic constitutions will give us instances of the same distinction between the judicial, royal, and military functions.

How was the tribe, the *gens*, *populus*, or *civitas* governed? We do not know, but the absence of information seems to indicate that its rulers were only temporary and chosen by common agreement among the sub-divisions. But the three peoples formed a federation, which was exactly translated under the Roman Empire by the expression the Commonwealth of the Galatians. It was governed by a senate composed of the twelve tetrarchs and by an assembly of three hundred representatives, that is twenty-five representatives to a sub-tribe, who met at the common shrine of the Galatians, in a place called Drynemeton. [D'Arbois, CCXCIX, 203; Stähelin, DLIV, p. 43, n. 8.] The powers of this assembly seem to have been chiefly judicial. The general policy of the confederate peoples apparently remained independent. We always see them developing separately.

There is something artificial in the regularity of this structure and its numerical symmetry, and indeed it is probable that the Gauls who were collected together from the remnants of military bands, sorely tried by the adventure of Brennus and a succession of wars, bore no resemblance to organized nations when they arrived in Asia Minor. They must then have rearranged themselves, like the Scordisci, on the ideal plan of the Gallic tribe, and we have the good fortune to know how they did it. The plan was not modified for the simple reason that the Galatians remained a closed community. We have proof of this. Another band of Gauls, the Ægosages, were summoned from Thrace in 218 by Attalos of Pergamon, who afterwards tried to get rid of them. They revolted and settled on the Hellespont, where Prusias I of Bithynia defeated them in 217. They did not attempt to unite with the Galatians of Phrygia. [Polyb., v, 111. Cf. Rhigosages, who served in the army of Antiochos III in 220 B.C. against Molon, Satrap of Media (ibid., v, 53, 3).]

The three peoples lay one behind the other, from west to east. In the west, the Tolistoboi occupied the upper valley of the Sangarios; Pessinus was their capital and Gordion was probably in their territory. Next came the Tectosages, with Tavium as capital. The Trocmi stood astride of the Halys, reaching westward as far as Ancyra; they had the largest and least populous district.

The Galatians apparently settled down side by side with the Phrygian population without driving it out, by some process of endosmosis which we cannot follow. [It has been supposed that they were in cantonments, like Ariovistus among the Sequani (Ramsay, in LVII,

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xxii, p. 341).]' The association of the new population and the old was probably peaceful. There was nothing to show that it was not, and certain facts suggest that it was, [Thierry, CCCLXXXVII, p. 983; Stähelin, DLIV, p. 47.] although they do not justify us in supposing that relations were always cordial and that the domination of the Gauls was always endured with patience. They were a foreign minority encamped in the midst of a dense population of Greeks and Phrygians, who kept their own independence. [Pliny, v, 22; 175 settlements in all. For intermarriage, see Livy, xxxviii, 17, 9; O.G.I.S., 545.] The great centres were not touched, and few new ones were created. Only three or four towns have names which are certainly new and at least partly Gaulish - Tolistothora in the south of the country of the Tolistoboi, Pitobriga in the north of the country of the Tectosages, and Eccobriga among the Trocmi. [We should probably add Trocnades (= Tricomia; cf. I, iii, suppl. 1, 6997), which was probably taken from the Galatians, Peion (cf. Welsh *pau*, "inhabited country"), Blucion (Welsh *blwgh* "box", Strabo, xii, 567), and perhaps also Tavium (Welsh *taw* "rest").] What were these towns? Were they like the camps of refuge in which, according to the historians, the Gauls shut up their women and children? Where did the Galatians live? [The mass of the Galatian population lived in villages (Livy, xxxviii, 18), and the chiefs in some of the old cities (Stähelin, DLIV, 46).] Being semi-mobilized and often at war, they remained an army for a very long time. The position of the Galatians in Galatia must have been like that of the Franks in Gaul and the Mongols in China.