

# THE GREATNESS AND DECLINE OF THE CELTS

## III

### GALLIC MERCENARIES IN EGYPT. THE CIVILIZATION OF THE GALATIANS

Antigonos Gonatas, who had placed Gallic mercenaries at the disposal of Nicomedes of Bithynia, also lent a body of them to Ptolemy II Philadelphos in 277-6. [A. J. Reinach, in CVII, xviii, p. 37; id., in CXXXIV, 1910, p. 33.] Ptolemy was at war with his brother Magas. He defeated him, but the mutiny of a corps of four thousand Gauls prevented him from following up his victory. Pausanias speaks of a conspiracy to take possession of Egypt. [Paus., i, 7, 2.] What an adventure as a sequel to the sack of Delphi! But, however disorganized we may imagine the great kingdoms of the Successors to have been, they were too big for a small band of janizaries, and however mad the Gauls may have been, perhaps they did not go to such lengths as this. More mildly and credibly, the scholiast of Callimachos, who celebrated their defeat, [Callim., *Hymn to Delos*, 185 - 8.] speaks of an attempt to plunder the treasures of Ptolemy. The Egyptians shut up the Gauls on an island in the Sebennyitic arm of the Nile. There they all perished, either by starvation or by a kind of ritual suicide of which we shall see other instances. In memory of this affair Ptolemy had a Gallic shield on his coins. The victory was considered of sufficient importance to deserve a monument. A superb fragment of it survives, and possibly three. The first is the head of a Gaul, with an intense expression of anguish, now in the Cairo Museum. [A. J. Reinach, ii, pl. vii.] The others, which were found at Delos, [Ibid., pp. 99 - 101.] are a younger head, also expressing pain, and a wonderful headless body of a fallen warrior. [S. Reinach, CCCLXXVII, ii, p. 199; CXXXIX, 1909, p. 2, 465. For smaller monuments derived from these great works and small Alexandrian monuments representing Gauls of Egypt, see A. J. Reinach, in CVII, xviii, pp. 102 ff.] The whole monument must have represented the scene of the suicide and must have been a magnificent illustration of the epic of the Gallic mercenaries. [For collective suicide on the part of the Gauls, see Just., xxvi, 2.]

Ptolemy II at the end of his reign, and Ptolemy III after him, enrolled more mercenaries. Under Ptolemy IV, we find some settled in Egypt. Some of their graves, with painted tombstones, have been found in the cemetery of Hadra, [A. J. Reinach, loc. cit., pp. 41 ff.] south-east of Alexandria. From these men a body of four

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thousand was raised, which appeared at the battle of Raphia in the Coele-Syrian campaign with ten thousand Gauls from Thrace.

There were likewise Gauls in the army of the Seleucids. Some took part in the campaign against the Maccabees. There was no prince in the East who could do without his corps of Gauls. [Thierry, CCCLXXXVII, i, p. 219. There must have been Senones among these mercenaries, perhaps Senones of Italy. Cf. Steph. Byz., and also Domaszewski, p. 214.]

Gauls appeared in the army of the Lagids which besieged Abydos in 186-185 in the repression of the revolt in Upper Egypt. Here is an inscription (translated from the Greek) which they left on the walls of the temple of Seti I, in the small chapel of Horus [A. J. Reinach, in CXXXIV, 1910, pp. 55 ff.; Dittenberger, IV, 757.]:

Of the Galatians,  
we, Thoas, Callistratos,  
Acannon,  
Apollonios,  
came,  
and a fox  
caught we here.

It is a thrilling monument in its extreme simplicity, scribbled on the walls of the deserted, sanded-up old chapel one evening by men who had wandered there out of idle curiosity and had come on a jackal, which they took for a fox. It brings before one the glorious adventure of those simple-minded men, whose fathers had come from the banks of the Rhine to overthrow the order of sacred things in Greece, and who, since then, had been dragging their heavy hobnailed soles over every battlefield in the East.

But this inscription suggests yet other reflections. Those Galatians could write, and that by itself is interesting enough. But they did not think of writing in Gaulish; they wrote in Greek. Their Greek is very straightforward and shows no subtlety, but Greek it is, and the spelling is so correct as to shame our troops who record the simple distractions of a soldier's life on the walls of monuments in distant lands. Greek was the language of the Gallic troops. I do not know that they ever had Greek officers [On the other hand, there were Gallic leaders in command of troops of other races (Polyb., v, 79, 11; 82, 11). The Galatian Lysimachos commanded the Cardaces at the battle of Raphia.]; SO it is not a military question, but a question of civilization. Greek was likewise the official language of the Gauls of Asia Minor. They have not left a single inscription

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in Celtic. All their inscriptions are in Greek.

But we must add that they had not, at least in general, forgotten their own tongue. Strabo vouches for it. [Strabo, xii, 567.] In the second century after Christ, Lucian [Lucian, *Alexander*, 37.] tells us of a sorcerer from Paphlagonia who could give answers in Celtic to people who asked him for consultations. Still later, in the fourth century, St. Jerome, [St. Jerome, *Prol.*, ii, in *Ep. ad Galatas* (Migne, *Patrologie latine*, xxvi, 382.)] while saying that the Galatians used Greek, admits that they had kept a Celtic dialect. Moreover, the Galatians of Asia Minor have left a few Celtic words in Greek. [And all the words which passed directly into Greek - gaison, kartamera, drouggos, karnyx. A. J. Reinach, CXL, 1909, p. 65; Dottin, CCCXVII, p. 25.]

Another point to note is that none of the Gauls at Abydos has a Celtic name, and many of those buried in the cemetery of Hadra have Greek names. This would be easy to explain if the corps of Galatians were recruited as the auxiliary corps of the Roman army were afterwards recruited, being originally formed of men of one race, the name of which was given to the unit, but being filled up by men of all nationalities. But we have no reason to suppose that this was so. The Gauls in Greek lands assumed or gave to their children additional names, Greek names, as a result of intermarriage, or simply because they liked them. [But even in Egypt the Gallic mercenaries had with them Gallic women with Gallic names (Boudoris).] In Galatia itself, such names as Apaturios and Lysimachos appear as early as the events of 223-218. [Polyb., v, 79. But Celtic names survived - Gaulotus, Cambolomarus, Epossognatus, Toredorix, Adiatorix, Bogodiatarus, Deijotarus. See the list in Stähelin, DLIV, p. 109; Bitorix, CXXXIV, 1912, 2, 290.]

The Gauls of Asia and the mercenaries kept their own weapons, [P. Couissin, in CXXXIX, 1927, i, p. 138.] at least the chief of them, certain peculiarities of armament, and certain military traditions. These were the marks of their units. They had the great sword with a central rib (this is what they kept most faithfully), the helmet, with or without horns, copied from the Italic helmet and derived by them from Cisalpine Gaul, the sword, worn on the right, the long sword of La Tène II, [Statuette found at Caere (in Berlin Museum), see *ibid.*, pp. 148-157; statuette from Panticapaeon (in British Museum), see A. J. Reinach, in CVII, xviii, p. 97; Diod., xvi, 94, 9 (the Gallic sword used by the murderer of Philip).] besides Greek or Asiatic swords, and, finally, various types of javelin. Although they had body-armor, which is represented on the trophies, the historians describe them as fighting naked for choice. Some of the horsemen painted on the tombstones in the cemetery of Hadra are accompanied by their squires, so the system of the *trimarkisia* survived in the mercenary cavalry. The troops were always followed by women and children, who went with the baggage, [Just., xxvi, 2; Polyb., v, 78.] as with the Senegalese troops of France.

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We have seen that those Gauls who formed political units adhered in a curious way to their national organization. If we are to believe the ancient anecdote-mongers, they remained true to their racial character and even to their manner of living. Plutarch depicts them in the bath with their children, emptying pots of porridge. [Plut., *Symp.*, viii; *Quæst.*, 9.] The one year's feast given to the Galatians by a noble called Ariamnes [Ath., iv, 34.] (here is a man with a non-Gaulish name already) reminds one of the feasts of Luernius, King of the Arverni, or, in Celtic literature, of that prepared by Briccriu for the chief men of Ulster. It was a *potlatch*, as it would have been called in the north-west of America; it was not a banquet of satraps. Among the settled populations of Asia with their urban civilization, the Gauls seem on the whole to have been not very strongly attached to one spot; their chief wealth is pastoral. [Strabo, xii, 6, 1 (the three hundred flocks of Amyntas in Lycaonia).] But excavation in Galatia has yielded nothing more than the hope of finding a few portable objects of Gaulish origin - a blue glass bracelet in a tumulus, a little pottery at Gordion, and that is all. [A. J. Reinach, in CXL, 1909, p. 66; R. Zahn, in XXX, 1907, p. 87; XX, 1907, p. 500; Stähelin, "Galatia," in CCCLXVIII, p. 534; Ebert, CCCXXIV, iv, p. 284.] In crafts and gear, as in language and the habits of daily life, the Gauls borrowed largely from the people among whom they lived, and indeed became merged with them astonishingly quickly. They adopted their religion. Plutarch twice tells us a story of a beautiful Gallic woman named Camma who was priestess of Phrygian Artemis. [Plut., *Amat.*, 22, p. 768; *De Mul. Virtut.*, 20, p. 257; Polyæn., *Strat.*, viii, 39.] The priest-kings of Pessinus were Celts; the first of them is mentioned in inscriptions of 153 and 139. [Dittenberger, IV, No. 315 (i, p. 484).]

In addition to the arts and crafts of material life, Greece or the Hellenistic world had something to teach its guests which was new to them, and that was, if not its moral culture, at least its culture of the soul. For nearly three centuries all Greece had been educated by the school of the rhetors or the philosophers, who taught them to use their reason and to use it about themselves, to analyse the motives of human actions and to interpret the rules which govern them. They were not more moral or more just than other men - far from it - but there were in Greece men with more lively and enlightened consciences than elsewhere. Greek culture, grafted on the good instincts and solid morality of the Gauls, produced excellent fruit. Plutarch tells us of noble ladies who were not only beautiful but models of virtue. Among the men, in the long list of chiefs of whom we do not know much, two figures stand out - those of Cauaros, King of Thrace, and Ortiagon, one of the four kings of the Tolistoagii who came into contact with the Romans a few years after the date at

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which I stopped. Unfortunately, we only see them in the summaries of the lost books of Polybios. But the summaries tell us enough. Polybios had known Ortiagon. He had conversed at Sardis with his wife Chiomara, who had had, in the course of the war, an adventure which had certainly lost nothing of its tragic character through her; she was a heroine by birth and by education. [Plut., *De Mul. Virtut.*, 22, p. 258; Polyb., xxi, 38; Livy, xxxviii, 24.] Ortiagon doubtless inspired Polybios with equal enthusiasm. He aspired, the summary tells us, to the kingship of all Galatia. "He was well prepared for it by nature and by upbringing, for he was liberal and magnificent, full of charm in his personal dealings, and highly intelligent. Moreover, what the Galatians always hold in esteem, he was brave, and, in war, efficient." So, then, he was a fine man, able and well educated, with distinguished manners and lively intelligence. He shows these qualities in history. As for Cauaros, Polybios depicts him acting successfully as arbiter between Byzantion and the king of Bithynia. He was, then, both a diplomatist and a just man. The summary tells us that he had a kingly nature, greatness of soul. [Polyb., iv, 52; viii, 24.] He had displayed his phil-Hellenism in assisting the Greek traders of the Black Sea. It follows from this that he had an economic policy and that he kept good order in his dominions, which extended to the Black Sea.

The Hellenization of the Galatians does not seem to have greatly benefited the Celtic world as a whole, not so much because they were cut off from it by the states of Western Asia Minor as because they looked in another direction. We have a conclusive proof of this.

One result of the Hellenization of the Gauls was that they entered into a world which had long made use of coinage. It is true that the Celts of the West might have -known (though not for long) of coinage through Marseilles and its colonies. But these cities were on the fringe of the Celtic world and the coins of Marseilles do not seem to have spread there in the form of imitations so very quickly. The Gauls of Italy had likewise seen coins. The Roman *as* has been found in Celtic surroundings. But Italy was ill-provided with coins at that date. The Gauls in the East suddenly found themselves with fairly large masses of coin in their hands - the tribute of the cities and the payment of their services. Byzantion, for example, paid a tribute of eighty talents a year, for which it obtained a loan of four thousand gold pieces from Heracleia. The Gallic tribes taken on by Antigonos Gonatas received a gold piece per man. [Cf. Polytaenos, iv, 6,] So the Gauls had coins, and they made coins themselves, copying those which came their way. These were Macedonian coinages and those of certain cities such as Thasos [Forrer, DXLIII, pp. 226 ff.] and Larissa.

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Now, the coins of the Galatians are not Macedonian; they are imitated from the coins of Tarsos. [Ibid., pp. 238-9.] The coins of Tarcnos of Tarsos, bearing a woman's head on the obverse and a helmeted warrior on the reverse, were copied in Galatia. Other Galatian coins are imitated from those of Euthydemus of Bactriana, with a portrait on the obverse and a seated Heracles on the reverse. The diffusion of the former is perhaps explained by the commercial relations of Galatia. The choice of the models may have been imposed by the mercenaries.

It seems to me that, while the colonization of Northern Italy had a great and beneficial influence on Celtic culture as a whole, the colonization of Asia Minor had no effect on it whatever. That colony was lost to the Celtic world. It was not so on the Danube.

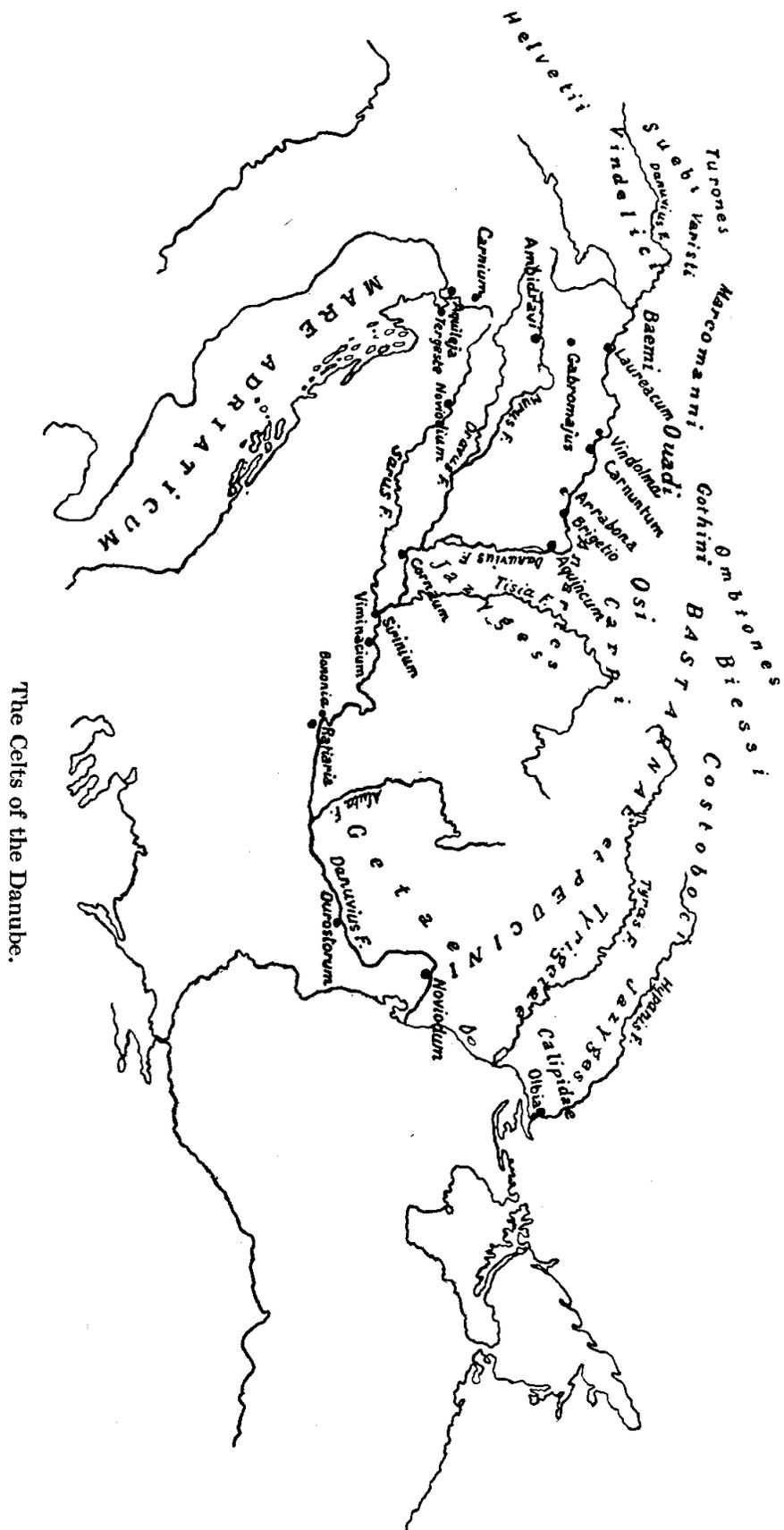
### IV

#### THE CELTS ON THE DANUBE

To the ancient historians, the Celtic Danube was still an unknown world at the time at which we have taken our stand in order to view it. A few proper names, a few archaeological data, scanty but valuable, may help us to picture that ancient world, not without having resort to conjecture.

Behind the armies and the roving bands whose expansion we have followed, the middle valley of the Danube was becoming peopled and organized as a Celtic country. North-west of the Scordisci, two main groups had formed. The Taurisci [D'Arbois, CCXCIX, 129.] had carved a domain out of the territories of the Veneti in Upper Austria, Carinthia, and Styria. They had taken their name, as the Scordisci had done, from the mountain on whose slopes they had settled, the Taurus, now the Tauern. Later the country was called Noricum, from its capital Noreia. This group comprised the Ambidravi, [Ibid.] who lived in Styria and Carinthia on both sides of the Upper Drave, and the Ambisontes, [Pliny, iii, 137; cf. I, v, 7877; Ptol., ii, 13, 2.] who were settled north of the Tauern, astride of the Isonta (Saltzach).

The other group was that of the Pannonians, who had settled in the northern domain of the Antariatae in Lower Austria, Western Hungary, and Croatia. Attached to this group were the Osi [Or Onsi, Ptol., ii, 2, 10; Ritterling, in LXVII, 191V, p. 132.] on the left bank of the Danube and the Aravisci [Ptol., xi, 15, 2; Tac., *Germ.*, 28; Pliny, iii, 148 (Eravisci). Cf.



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Tomaschek, in CCCXXIV, ii, p. 200.] on the other side, extending from the station of Carpi, [Kauffmann, CCCXLVIII, p. 221.] at the point where the river turns south, to the border of the Scordisci, whose country lay between Mount Scordus and the Danube.

Apart from the Aravisci, about whose origin there is doubt, [Their coins are all Roman coins of the first century; this suggests that they came later (Forrer, DXLIII, p. 120).] and who may have come with the Boii when the latter invaded Noricum, these are certainly Celtic peoples, or at least bands in which the Celtic element predominated. Thirty years before Cæsar wrote his *Gallic War*, a Latin historian, Sempronius Asellio, observed that Noreia was in Gaul. [Schol. on Virg., *Georg.*, iii, 47. Cf. d'Arbois, CCXCIX, p. 140.] Indeed, a great Danubian Celtic domain had come into being between the Celts of Germany and those of Italy. The map is dotted with a great number of Celtic names of towns and villages, some old, some formed later, even in the time of the Roman Empire, according to habits of name-making which outlive languages. [See d'Arbois, op. cit., pp. 121 ff.; Kauffmann, op. cit., p. 219.] Noreia is a Celtic name, formed on a stem *noro* which appears in the proper names Noromertus (in Britain) and Norus (the name of a potter). In Carinthia [D'Arbois, op. cit., p. 131; von Grimberger, in LXXXI, xl, pp. 135-9.] Matucaium (Treibach) is also Celtic (*math* "pig", *caion* "enclosure"), and so are Gabromagus, "the plain of goats" (Windisch-Garstein) and Lauriacum (Lorsch) in Upper Austria, Graviacae (*villa* understood) (Tamsweg) in the province of Salzburg, Cucullae, "the city of cowls" (Kuchl), and Masciacum, east of Innsbruck. In Pannonia [Von Duhn, in Ebert, CCCXXIV, vi, p. 289.] we have Vindobona (Vienna), Carnuntum (Petronell), Brigetio (Ószöny), Cornacum (Šotin); among the Scordisci there are Singidunum (Belgrade), Capedunum (?Banostor), and Viminacium (Kostolatz). The Latin inscriptions of the country, especially in Pannonia, [Scholer, in CLI, x, 1923, p. 10.] present a great number of Celtic proper names - Enigenus "son of the Inn"; Broccus "badger" (Irish *brocc*, Welsh *broch*) in Carniola; Assedomarus, Excingomarus, Nertomarus, Ategnatus, and Devognata in Styria; Iantumara in the province of Salzburg; Ritumara and Ateboduus in Carinthia; Atepomarus and Drogimarus in Austria; Retimarus in Hungary. The inscriptions also speak of Teutates at Seckau in Styria and a Belinus at Klagenfurt in Carinthia.

We may reasonably imagine this great Celtic population of the Danube as a kind of hotch-potch in which the Celtic element predominated. What Strabo tells us of the country of the Iapodes [Strabo, vii, 5, 4.] is very significant in this respect. They lived south of Pannonia, near the Adriatic; the names of their towns, Metulum, Avendone, Monetium, are perhaps Celtic; their weapons were those of the Celts and they tattooed themselves in the fashion of the other Illyrians and the Thracians. It is

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a mixed civilization and a mixed people. We may say the same of the Taurisci and the Pannonians, among whom the Venetian and Illyrian elements survived. The actual name of the Pannonians is an Illyrian racial name and, if we are to believe Tacitus, [*Germ.*, 43.] the mixed people which they formed spoke a language which was not Celtic.

Given what we already know of the habits of the Celts at this time, we may suppose that the greater part of the country newly conquered by them was not of a kind to tempt them. They probably occupied the valley-bottoms and the lower slopes, which could be tilled; they made for the bank of the Danube, where they had many settlements down to Pest. But these settlements were towns, crossing-points, between which the banks, being too low, were no doubt left unoccupied. Let us look at the map: Austria and what were until recently its southern provinces, with their mountains and their many valleys, offered the Gauls a very broken-up domain; Hungary, too, was unsuitable, for other reasons, which are revealed in the fact that the river along its whole length in that country was occupied by the Aravisci, who may not have been Celts. Between the places held by the Celts the aborigines remained.

Everything, to the very names borne by these Gallic populations, shows that they were formed on the spot out of unrelated elements. We must imagine, with the ancient historians, a reflux of the great expeditions into Greece and a steady influx from early times of immigrants from Bavaria or Bohemia; in short, a series of complicated happenings, very different from a systematic conquest made by one organized people. Even more clearly, the Gallic peoples scattered about from the Adriatic to the Black Sea and from the Ægean to the Sea of Azov were unconnected groups in the midst of the Illyrians, the Thracians, and the Scythians.

Archæological finds add something to this picture. A certain number of cemeteries of the second La Tène period have been found in what was once the Austrian Empire. [For La Tène civilization in Austria, see R. Pittioni, *La Tène in Nieder-österreich*, fasc. v of *Materialien zur Urgeschichte Öesterreichs*, Vienna, 1930.] The civilization of the same period is very well represented in the Budapest Museum by objects discovered in the western part of Hungary. But this culture extended a long way beyond the Danube. A cemetery of La Tène II has been excavated at Apahida in the old county of Kolozs. [K. Itsvan, in *CLV*, ii, 1911, pp. 35 ff.] In the Kluj Museum (Koložsvár) there is a chariot-burial with brooches of La Tène II, found at Balsa, near Szabolcs. [Déchelette, ii, 8, p. 1082.] Celtic remains have been discovered between the Danube and Theiss. [L. Rödiger, in *XXI*, 1904, p. 351 (tomb at Hodsagh). For the archæology of La Tène in Hungary, see F. de Pulszky, in *CXXXIX*, 1879, pp. 158-

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172, 211-222, 265-275; Reinecke, in LXXXIV, ii, 1907, p. 45.] Were these left by isolated Gauls who had strayed far from their own territory, or by the Dacians imitating Celtic culture? The tombs at Apahida are indistinguishable from other Celtic tombs. It is quite conceivable that there was here a small body of Celts, lost in the midst of the Dacians and forgotten by history.

One thing is certain, and that is that the culture of the Danubian Celts came to be accepted by the Dacians, as it was by the Illyrians and Raetians. It would be extraordinary if the relics of the Celts alone had survived and those of their neighbours had disappeared, or the survival of native habits were represented only by objects of early date; indeed it is quite impossible. In any case, the Dacians, who had been under the influence of the Scythian civilization before the Celts descended the valley of the Danube, came under that of the Celtic civilization when it reached them. This is what one gathers from the series of archaeological finds made in Dacia. [For the Celts in the Danube valley and their civilization, cf. Parvan, DXLVIII, pp. 459 ff.; DXLVII, *passim*.]

The little that we know of these settlements points to a sedentary people, which, at least for a time, had given up adventurous undertakings. But we still have to record a few expeditions on the part of the Danubian Celts. At the end of the second century, they seem to have invaded Macedon and Thessaly again [Forrer, DXLI-II, p. 142.]; in 110 the Scordisci and Thracians menaced Delphi. The Balkan campaigns of the Roman Republic evidently woke up all the unsettled and unruly elements among them. But these were accidental episodes, and it would be wrong to regard these peoples, among which brigands were certainly to be found, [Oros., v, 23, 17-18.] as a collection of freebooters. A passage in Livy [Livy, xlv, 30, 5; *Permultos Gallos et Illyrios, impigros cultores*.] enables us to pass a fairer judgment on them. In the neighbourhood of Pella in Macedonia, the historian mentions Celts and Illyrians as being “indefatigable tillers of the soil”. These few words (which show, incidentally, that there were Gallic settlers outside the Gallic political formations) pick out of all the characteristics of the Celt one which distinguished him and won him the esteem of the Greeks and Latins; he was a hard-working and efficient farmer. As we have already found him, so we find him here, more particularly in his own country - in Noricum, for example. It was a rich and peaceful country, anxious to have good relations with its neighbours, given up to its agriculture and its trade, [Strabo, iv, 6, 10, 12; vi, 2, 2.; 5, 2; 9, 21; Pliny, xxxix, 5, 1-4 xlili, 5, 2-9.] and, what is more, a mining country which produced an iron ore of some reputation. [Mines at Noreia, near Hallstatt. Rice Holmes, CCCCXXXIII, p. 231.]

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The Scordisci had the name of being rougher folk, more attached to the old ways of the Celts, [Human sacrifices. *Amm.*, xxvii, 4. D'Arbois, CCXCIX, p. 166.] and readier to take up arms. What has been related of their partiality for silver seems to indicate that they worked the mines of the Drena. [Reinecke, CCCCVI, p. 18 (silver treasures); Parvan, DXLVIII, 559 (list of finds of silver ware).] Here they extracted the metal, which was beginning to spread among the Celts [Drexel, in LXXII, 1915, p. 24.] and is still found in the region in the form of various objects. Political history shows them sometimes allied to Mithradates, sometimes combining with the Dacians, [Ibid., p. 23.] in the capacity in which they must have constantly appeared, that of middlemen of civilization.

The archæological evidence of these exchanges is scanty - three small plaques of repoussé silver. One, which is said to have been discovered at Roermond in Dutch Limburg, [Ibid.; S. Reinach, CCCLXXVII, ii, p. 433.] represents a human figure strangling a lion, crudely modelled in the style of the Gundestrup cauldron. All round are galloping animals, and above the man are two lions attacking a lamb, above which again are two confronted dogs with a bull's head between.

The two other plaques, which come from Asia Minor, [A. Odobesco, DXLVI, i, p. 513; in S. Reinach, *op. cit.*, v, p. 239.] have the same arrangement: in the centre a wolf or a lion attacks a kid; above it, the same beast is attacked by two winged monsters; below is an ox's head flanked by two griffins; the field is adorned with spirals and dotted lines representing foliage. They bear an inscription which was doubtless the same on both but is completely preserved on only one (in Greek): "Temple of Artemis, from the gifts of King Mithradates." We may suppose that this Artemis is she of Comana, and it is quite possible that the king is Mithradates Eupator, the ally of the Scordisci. [App., *Mithr.*, iii, p. 107.] In any case, these two plaques are in quite a different style from that of Roermond; they are more skilful, better drawn, and in higher relief. But the Dutch specimen was copied from a similar model. It is an imitation which might have been produced among a silver-producing people which had dealings with Pontus where its warriors took service, and exchanged gifts with the kings of Pontus or traded with the Scythians, but was capable of getting models from them. [Relations with Scythia, Parvan, DXCVII, pp. 606-629. Græco-Iranian influences, *ibid.*, pp. 550-561.] This description applies to the Scordisci.

The art of the Pontic medal-maker, [Rostovtsev, in CLXXXVII, i, p. 257.] which recalls the very ancient art of the Hittites, is more truly like that of the Scythians. The kingdom of Pontus and Southern Russia were closely bound in civilization as in politics. Pontus was one of the stages through which the Scythian style would pass on its way to Celtic lands. At any rate, the Celts of the Danube must have passed it

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on. Déchelette [CCCXVIII, ii, 3, p. 1310.] thought that the practice of wearing the torque as a sign of chieftainship had come to the Gauls from Scythia. But, while the torques of Southern France may be derived from the same region, [The torques discovered at Lasgraïsses (Tarn) and Aurillac (Cantal) (*ibid.*, pp. 1342-4) are to be compared (O. Costa de Beauregard, Autun, in LX, 1907, p. 824) with similar objects found in Hungary, Bohemia, and the neighbouring regions (e.g. at Herczeg-Marok, in the county of Baranya). Messrs. Read and Smith likewise ascribe an Eastern origin to a bronze torque adorned with animals' heads found at Vieille-Toulouse, CCCLXXXIV, p. 55).] it is not at all likely that the Gauls waited until they were settled in the valley of the Danube, in contact with the Scythians, before they started wearing trousers. [This costume was common to the Northern peoples, who had had it since the Bronze Age. But one cannot help comparing it to that of the Scythian archers at Athens (cf. the soldier of Rhesos on a Lower Italian vase in the Naples Museum) and that of the warriors on the Hallstatt scabbard (Déchelette, ii, 2, p. 770).]

To a certain extent, the Gauls played the same part in the Danube valley as the Greeks round the Ægean Sea and in Asia Minor. Their racial origins were very mixed, and their cultures varied greatly in origin and in depth. The Greeks made one single world out of their motley world; the Celts did the same, except for the language, in the valley of the Danube. In the culture of these kingdoms there was a special element, which, however, only appears in a very few monuments. To their relations with Asia Minor and Scythia they owed certain new forms of art, and they handed on a certain number of these acquisitions to the rest of the Celts.

They owed to the Greeks, and they left for us, something more important - coins. [See Parvan, DXLVIII, pp. 598 ff.; Forrer, DLIII; Déchelette, ii, 3, p. 1569.] The gold and silver coins which they received are chiefly of Macedonian origin; they are dated by the reigns of the rulers who issued them, and so they constitute a new source of information for the history of the Danubian Celts.

The oldest coins are gold staters and tetradrachms of Philip II of Macedon (359-336), [Coins with a bearded, laureate Zeus on the obverse and a horseman on the reverse. Forrer, DXLIII, p. 143.] silver coins of Alexander (336-323), [Head of Heracles and Zeus with an eagle. *Ibid.*, p. 157.] Philip Anthidios, [*Ibid.*, p. 174.] and Lysimachos (d. 281), [*Ibid.*, pp. 200, 205.] and, lastly, coins of the kings of Paeonia, Patraos (340-335) [*Ibid.*, pp. 153 ff.] and Audoleon (315-306), [*Ibid.*, p. 163.] which were of the same type as the Macedonian pieces.

It is evident that the Danubian Celts got the coins of Philip at the very beginning of his reign, about 350, [*Ibid.*, p. 143.] and that they copied them before they had any very large supply of other current models; that is, in the reign of Alexander at the latest. They had, therefore, dealings with the Macedonians which brought a quantity of money into their hands long before they settled in the country of the Antariatae, either because the services which they rendered to Macedonian policy with regard to the Illyrians were not given for nothing, or because they exported

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goods into Macedonia. These models continued to be popular in the Danube region, perhaps in consequence of the release of depreciated coins, and the Celts remained faithful to them until the Roman province was erected.

All these coins are of silver. The gold staters of Philip and Alexander and those of Lysimachos were imported direct into the Danubian country, but they also travelled in other directions and seem to have gone to Raetia direct. [Ibid., p. 192] The reason was that in ancient Greek times gold coins were a kind of international coinage, and it was as such that they entered Celtic lands by other sides.

The Celts of the Danube faithfully maintained the types, alloys, and weights of the Macedonian coins. They had the same standard. Beyond Vienna, large coins are found at greater intervals, the size decreases as one goes westwards, [Ibid., p. 189; Blanchet in CXLII, 1902, pp. 160 ff.] the type, while remaining the same, degenerates, and the influence of another coinage and another standard makes itself felt. Noricum was definitely the boundary of the Danubian Celts, who were more closely attached to the Hellenistic world than their neighbours and acted as middle-men between that world and the other countries subject to them. The Illyrian groups [Forrer, op. cit., p. 237.] copied the local coinages of Damastium and Pelepia Illyriae, while those of the Lower Danube and Black Sea copied the money of Thasos exclusively. [Ibid., pp. 211, 226.] This special coinage corresponds to the commercial relations which the lower valley of the river and the shores of the Black Sea must have had normally with the region of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. It also shows that in these eastern regions the Celts of the Black Sea formed a distinct province, looking in other directions than their kinsmen of the Danube.

On the two sides of the Julian Alps, with the Celts of the Po and those living north of the Danube, the Gallic peoples were in political communication. [Livy, xxxix, 45, 6; 55, 1-3; xlv, 5; xlv, 1-2.] Coins of the Aravisci, which have been found in considerable quantities in the district of Mortara, point to a commercial intercourse which had doubtless been going on for some time. [Forrer, op. cit., p. 120.] On the Upper Danube, the Boii of Bohemia, who had furnished so many men for the Celtic expeditions, were still sufficiently powerful to extend their sway to the Theiss. [Strabo, vii, 313; cf. CLXVIII, xlii, 1898, pp. 153 ff.; Reinecke, CCCXCIX, v, ix, pl. 1, and p. 287; cf. XV, 1907, p. 397.] In their rage for conquest they disturbed the peace of the peoples of Noricum [Caesar (*Gall. War*, i, 5) relates that the Boii invaded Noricum and besieged Noreia. Cf. Jullian, CCCXLVII, i, p. 299; Blanchet, CCCVI, pp. 458-463.] and Pannonia, [Pliny, iv, 146.] a large part of which they occupied. This was, indeed, the only important event in the history of these peoples, which is brief, before the arrival of the Romans. The area over which their coins are discovered - concave pieces known as *Regenbogenschüsselchen*, or "rainbow

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saucers”, the most distant and barbarous derivatives of the stater of Alexander - is evidence of their roving disposition. [Forrer, DXLIII, pp. 214-17; Déchelette, ii, 3, p. 1569.]

### V

#### COMPOSITION OF THE CELTIC ARMIES

Unlike the great army which invaded Italy, the warriors who fell on Macedon and Greece were not, for the most part, grouped in tribes. They were a collection of bands, recruited no one knows how from groups which were politically unassociated. [We have a piece of evidence about the way in which these bodies were recruited in a little romance by Aristodemos of Nysa, preserved in a collection of love stories compiled by Parthenios of Nicæa (d'Arbois, CCXCIX, p. 199). It tells of the misadventures of a Milesian named Xanthos, whose wife had been carried off by a Gaul. The Gaul was named Cauara, and he came from the neighbourhood of Marseilles. Cauara was doubtless not a personal name, but a racial name - the men belonged to the country of the Cauari, who were settled later about Avignon and Orange.] It is possible that some of them came from a great distance. [Justin (xxxii, 3, 8-9) assigns a double origin to these Danubian and Gallic bands, but perhaps he confuses the Tectosages of Toulouse with those of Bavaria. The same information is found in Strabo, iv, 1, 13, following Timagenes. For peoples or tribes from the Danube, (Strabo, iv 1, 13) and Tolistoboi (Pliny, v, 141; Strabo, xii, 5, 1), cf. Jullian, CCCXLVII, i, p. 299, n. 1. These latter nations are unknown otherwise, and this information, even if it is correct, tells us nothing.] The Gallic bands contained more than one adventurer who was attracted by the prospect of loot and a mercenary's pay.

But you cannot make a great army out of rovers alone, and the great companies of Gallic mercenaries never numbered more than a few thousand men. To form the army of Brennus, recruiting of a more regular kind was needed, drawing largely on groups of neighbouring tribes. Men to train them were needed, and leading tribes to direct the others.

This time the lead was taken by the Belgæ. Historians who lay stress on the different names of Celt, Galatian, and Gaul have not failed to point out that the name of Galatian prevailed from this time onwards. [Paus., i, 3, 6; d'Arbois, CCCI, i, p. 14.] But this is merely a question of pronunciation; the word which was written down as Keltos in Spain and the neighbourhood of Marseilles sounded differently in the ears of the Greeks of the Balkan Peninsula, who wrote it down Galates. But it was the same name; the Gallic mercenaries buried in the cemetery of Hadra [A. J. Reinach, in CVII, xviii, pp. 41 ff.] were described on their tombstones as Keltos or Galates without distinction. “Galatian,” therefore, does not mean Belgic; but there are certain facts which indicate that there were Belgæ in the bands of Galatians and that they were

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at the head of them.

First, there is the name of the leader of the expedition of 281, Bolgios. [D'Arbois, CCXCIX, p. 200.] If Bolgios is a proper name, that in itself is significant; and it would be still more so if the Greek historians had called the leader after the body which he led. In Pannonia, Pliny mentions a town called Belgites. [Pliny, iii, 148. There was a Belgida, a Celtiberian place whose site is unknown, in Hispania Tarraconensis.] So the name of the Belgæ remained attached to these Danubian expeditions and to the settlements left by the invaders.

The archæological remains, too, preserve the memory of the descent of the Belgæ into the East. The statuette at Naples representing the suicide of Brennus, [A. J. Reinach, op. cit., xxi, pl. xviii.] the statue of a Gaul in the New York Museum, [Ibid., p. 182 and figs. 6-7.] and many other similar works show the Gauls of the Danubian armies dressed in wide, flapping trousers. Even the women wore them, and are depicted in that costume; there is a statuette in the British Museum of a Gallic woman lying down, wearing trousers and cloak. [Ibid., p. 85; Lang, in *Esterr. Jahr.*, 1919, pp. 207-280.]

Other representations of Gauls, of a semi-realistic character, namely the paintings on the tombstones at Hadra, show Gallic mercenaries wearing trousers which are not the wide *bracca*. [Ibid., p. 64.] It is clear that this latter garment was not, and never was, worn by all Celts. It was peculiar to the northern Gauls, and more particularly to the Belgæ, who, as has been said before, owed their name to it. [See *Rise*, p. 227.]

Lastly, St. Jerome states that in his time these Galatians still speak Gaulish, and he particularly compares their language to that of the Treviri, who were Belgæ. That, too, is perhaps of significance.

That there were Belgæ among the Gauls who invaded the Balkans and Asia Minor, and also among those who settled in the Danube Valley, is a fact beyond dispute, and we find them in the position of leaders. Their rank makes up for their lack of numbers.