

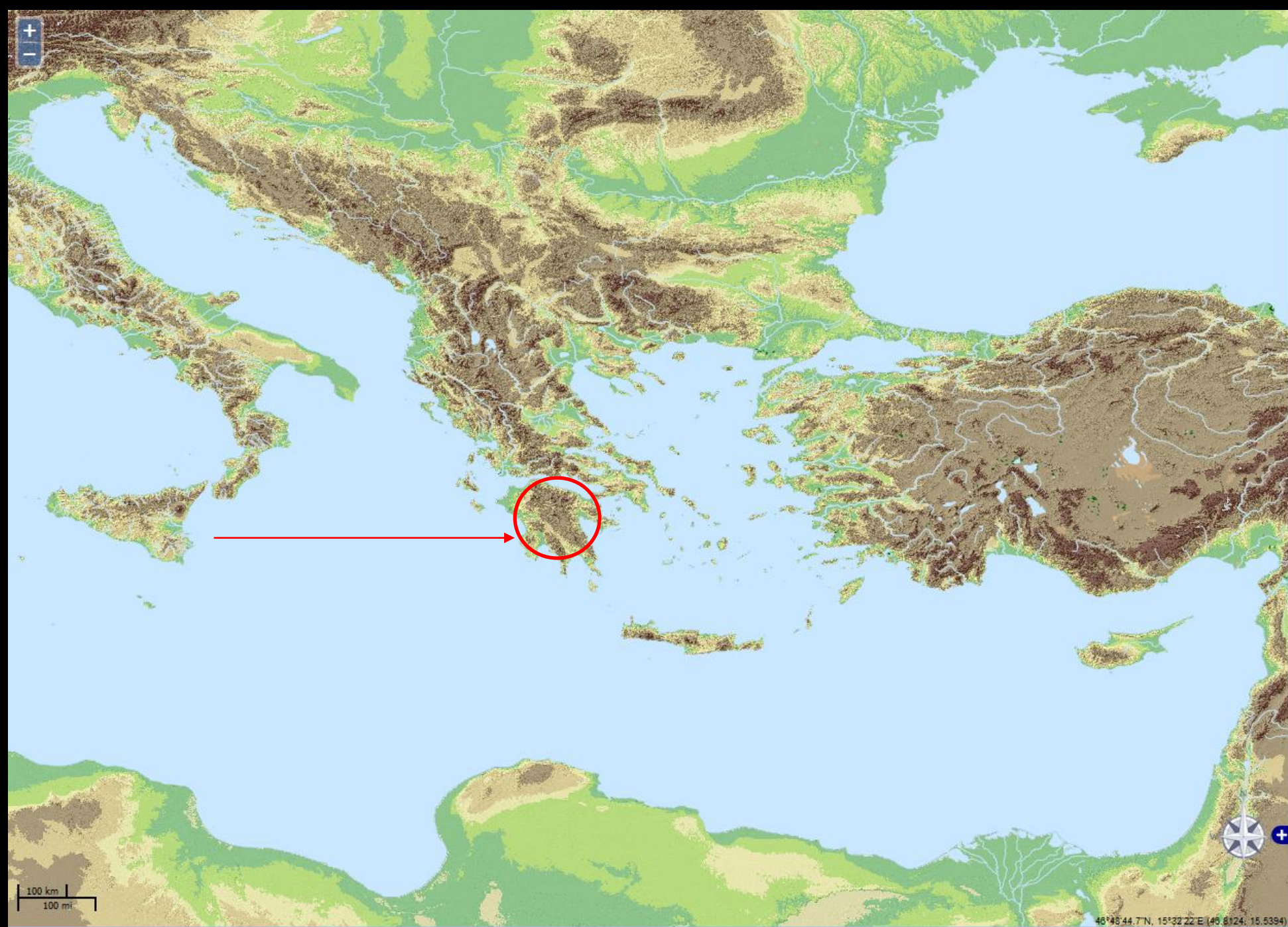
**CENTRAL EUROPE AND EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN
IN THE 4th AND 3rd CENTURIES BC**

**THE CELTS
IN THE BALCANS,
IN GREECE
AND
IN ASIA MINOR**



369 and 368 aC – Dionysius of Syracuse lends his mercenaries (including Iberians and Celts) to the Spartans for war against Thebes in the Peloponnese

Xenophon, *Hell.* VII, 1.20-23, a 1.28-31



335 aC

„[when Alexander reached Istros] There ambassadors came to him from Symrus, king of the Triballians, and from the other independent nations dwelling near the Ister. Some even arrived from the Celts who dwelt near the Ionian gulf. These people are of great stature, and of a haughty disposition. All the envoys said that they had come to seek Alexander's friendship. To all of them he gave pledges of amity, and received pledges from them in return.“

Arr. Anab. I, 4.6





324 aC – Celtic envoys meet Alexander in Babylon

Arian, Anab. VII, 15

113 (2) Apart from the tribes and cities as well as the local rulers of Asia, many of their counterparts in Europe and Libya put in an appearance; from Libya, Carthaginians and Libyphoenicians and all those who inhabit the coast as far as the Pillars of Heracles; from Europe, the Greek cities and the Macedonians also sent embassies, as well as the Illyrians and most of those who dwell about the Adriatic Sea, the Thracian peoples and even those of their neighbours the Gauls, whose people became known then first in the Greek world.

Diod. Sic. XVII, 113.2

298 aC – Cassander beats
the Celts in Thrace

281 aC – Lysimachos hires
Celtic mercenaries
fooling them of their
wages

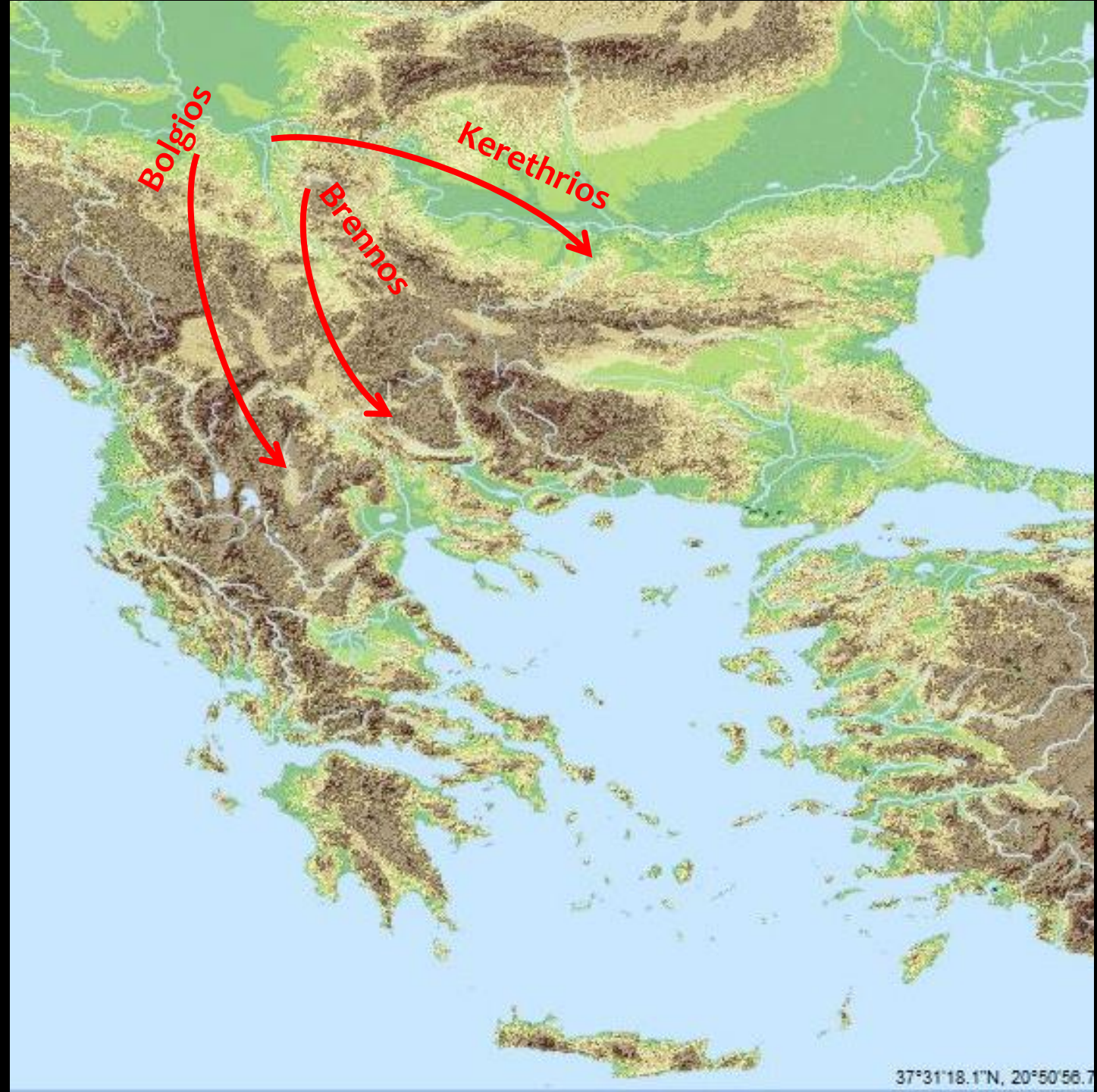


280 aC

-three incursions of Celts in Thrace, Paionia and Macedonia, and Illyria

→ Macedonian king Ptolemy Keraunos killed by Celts in Thrace

Paus. X, 19



279 aC

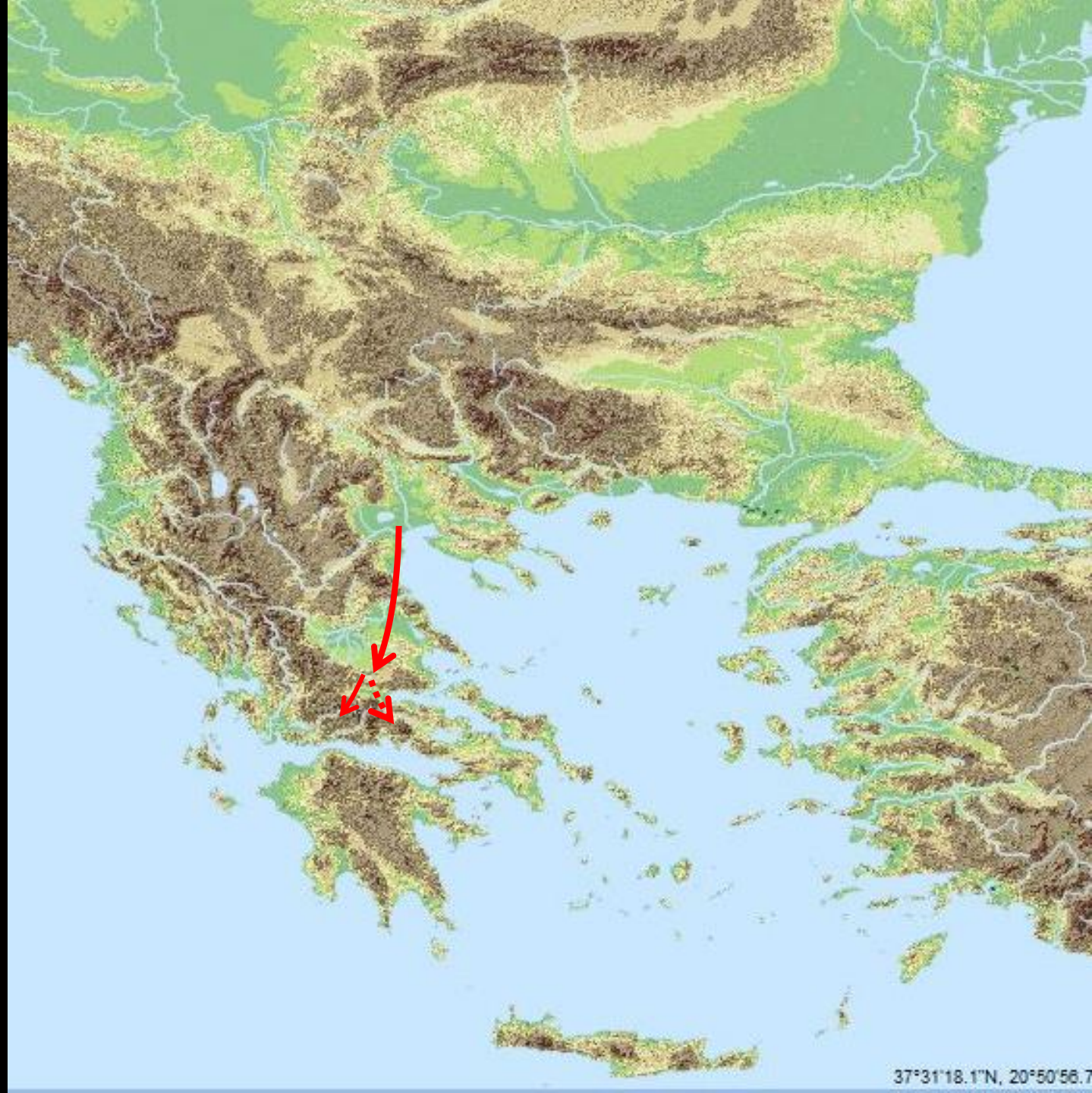
-new massive campaign lead by Brennos to Macedonia and Thessaly

-the Celts encounter Greeks at Thermopylae where they block the passage

→ a genocidal diversion to the Aitolian city of Kallion in order to make the Aitolians (the largest part of the Greek army facing the main Celtic forces) leave the ranks to defend their homeland

→ Brennos bypasses the Greeks and goes on to Delphi...

Paus. X, 20–23
Diod. Sic. XXII, 9



... but is stopped by earthquake, storm,
snowstorm, ghosts, Greeks, collective
hallucinations.....

Paus. X, 20–23
Diod. Sic. XXII, 9

A. Cornet: La prise du temple de Delphes



-throughout the III–II centuries Celts (re)appear regularly in Greek written sources – as mercenaries or allies of various belligerents

-the mentions are so frequent and so casual that it seems that Celts must have been commonly present in the Hellenistic world

279 aC – Celts among the bodyguards of Apollodoros, tyrant of Kassandreia (Diod. XXII, fr. 8)

277 and 274 aC – Antigonos Gonatas hiring thousands of Celts to fight Antipater and Pyrrhus (Polyainos IV, 16.17, Just. XXV, 3.7)

274 aC – Pyrrhus with his Celtic allies (!) beats Antigon and dedicates to the sanctuary of Athena Itonia the shields of Celts in Antigon's army (Plut. *Pyrrhos* XXVI, 3–10)

- Pyrrhus' Celts pillage the Macedonian royal tombs in Aigai (Plut. *Pyrrhos* XXII, 11–13; Diod. XXII, fr. 24)

272 aC – the Celts in ranks of Pyrrhus at Sparta and Argos (Plut. *Pyrrhos* XXXII, 1)

266 aC – a Celtic contingent (complete families) revolt against Antigon in Megara to be eradicated (Chremonidean war, 268–261 aC)

224 aC – Celtic and Illyrian mercenaries in Akrokorinth (Plut. *Aratos* XXXVIII, 6)

222 aC – 1000 Celtic allies in the ranks of Antigon Dósón in battle of Selasia (Polyb. II, 65.2)

218 aC – Celtic cavalry in the ranks of Philip V (Polyb. V, 3.1–2, 17.4)

197 aC – Celtic ,auxiliaries' in the army of Rhodes (Liv. XXXIII, 18.3)

171, 169 aC – 2000 Celts in the army of Perseus (Liv. XLII, 51.7, XLIV, 12.6)

168 aC – Celts fighting in the Persus army at Pydna
(unlike the Bastarni who were not paid the requested price)

Whatever you would like to know about Celtic mercenaries, read books by Luc Baray
<https://artehis-cnrs.academia.edu/LucBaray>

-for the II century BC, Livy even talks about stable Celtic population in Macedonia, describing them in terms very different from the stereotypical picture of Celtic warriors/mercenaries



„The third region [of Macedon] has the famous cities of Edessa, Beroea, and Pella, and the warlike race of the Vettii, as well as a large population of Gauls and Illyrians, who are industrious farmers.“

Liv. XLV, 30

La Tène archaeology in Greece

= four objects (in fact, three – the anklets from Isthmia are a matching pair found together)

-all finds from sanctuaries => votives?

-Dódona sword – IV–III century type

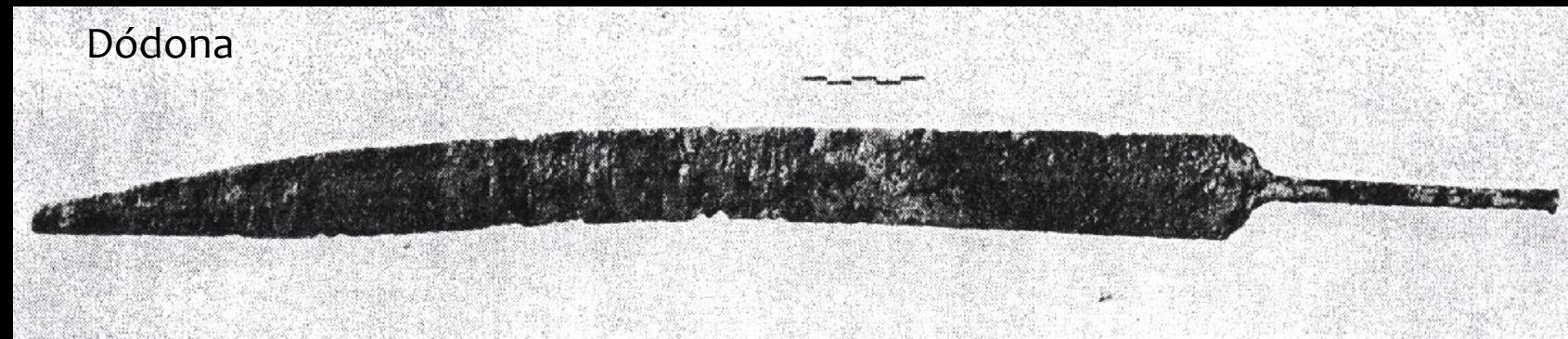
-19th century find, no clear find context

-Délos brooch – 2nd half of the III century, type common in the Carpathian basin

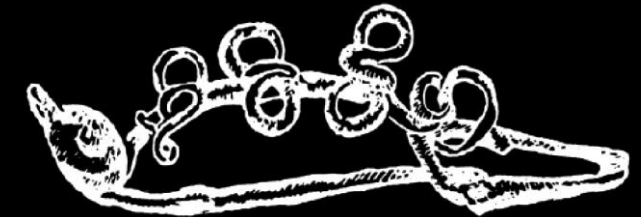
-probably a settlement context but unclear
-Isthmia anklets – LT B2, middle Danube area (Bavaria, Bohemia, Moravia...)

-found in a well in the sanctuary together with IV/III century pottery (some claim it to be later but it is not => the find context is possibly earlier than the invasion of 279 BC)

=> The Celtic presence in Greece is manifested by three objects and none of them help us understand anything....



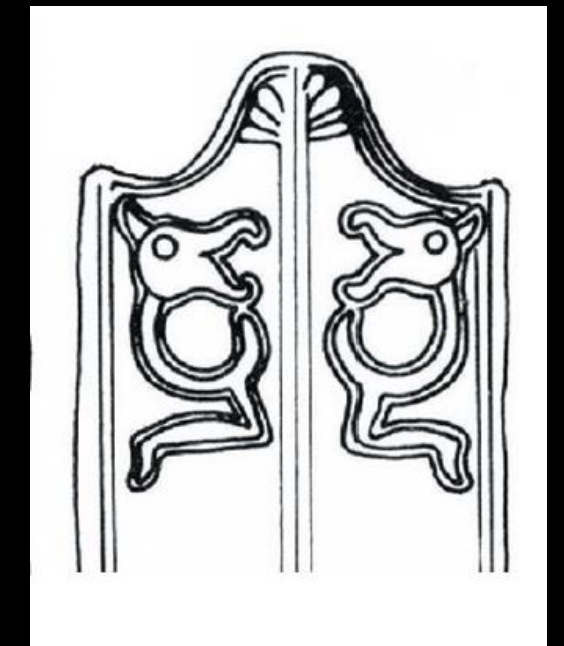
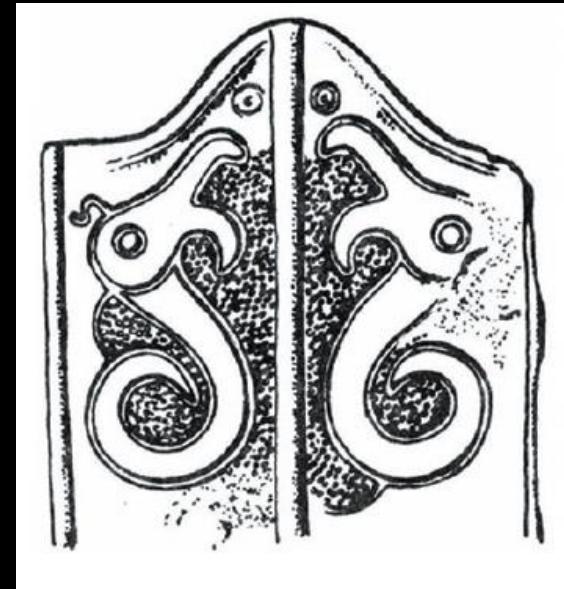
Délos

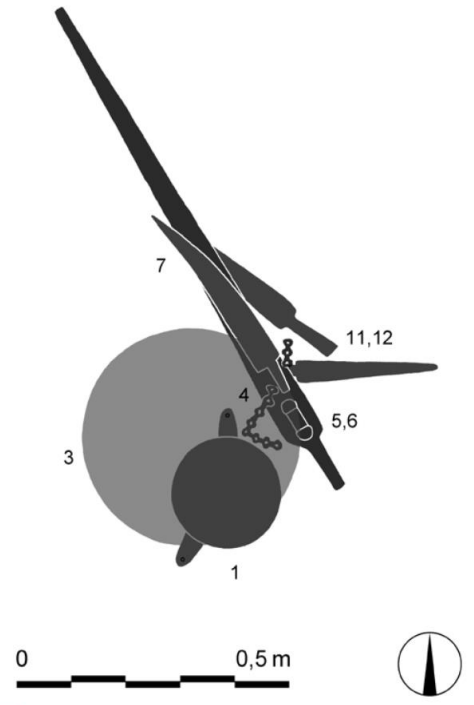




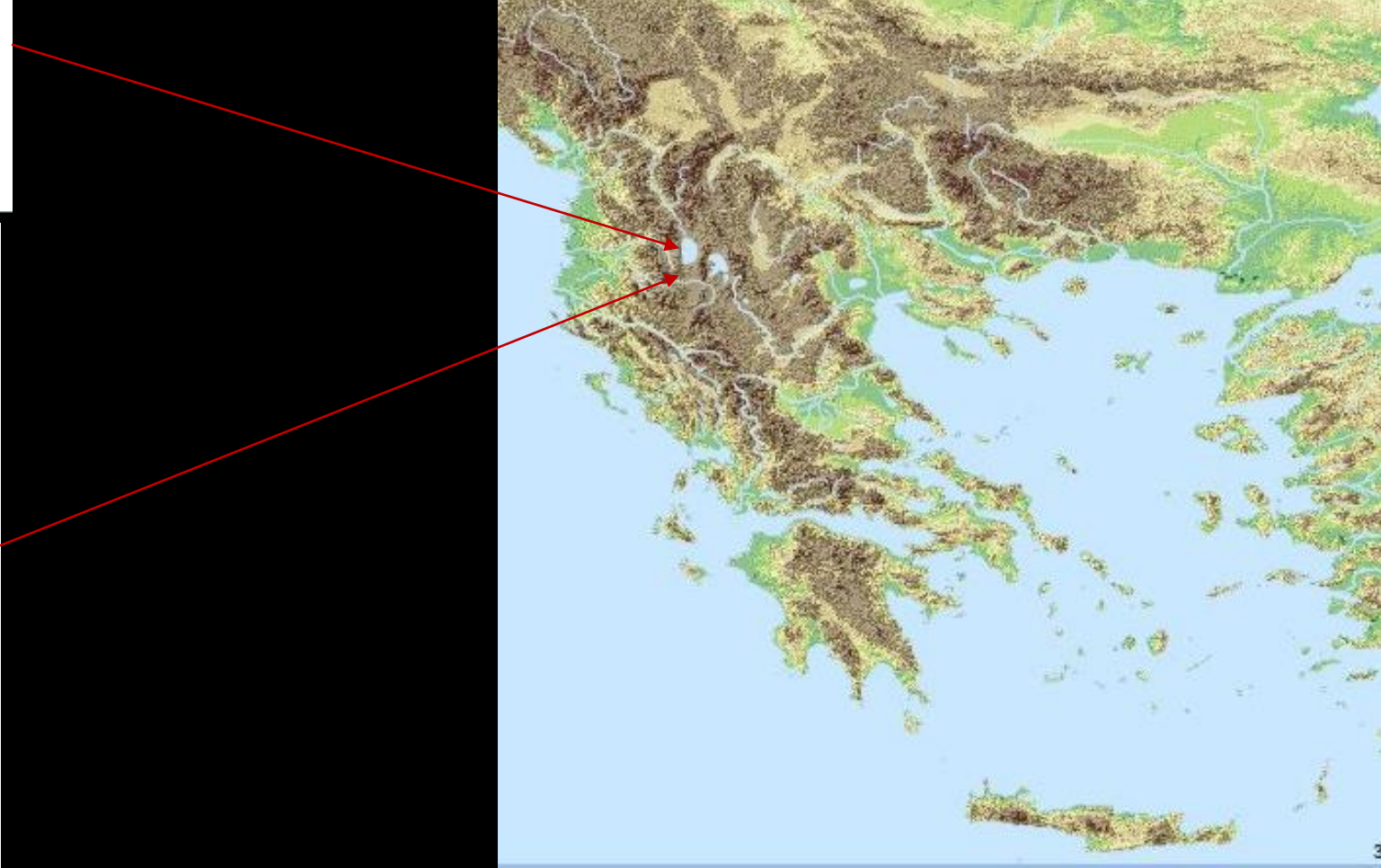
... and then there is another sword in Nemea (also a sanctuary)

https://www.academia.edu/43683420/Keltik%C3%A9_makhaira_On_a_La_T%C3%A8ne_Type_Sword_from_the_Sanctuary_of_Nemea





Ochrid





Pausanias, nevertheless, nursed his wrath implacably, and yearned to avenge himself, not only on [king Philip...] [3] He posted horses at the gates of the city and came to the entrance of the theatre carrying a **Celtic dagger under his cloak**. When Philip directed his attending friends to precede him into the theatre, while the guards kept their distance, he saw that the king was left alone, rushed at him, pierced him through his ribs, and stretched him out dead

Diodorus Siculus XVI.94

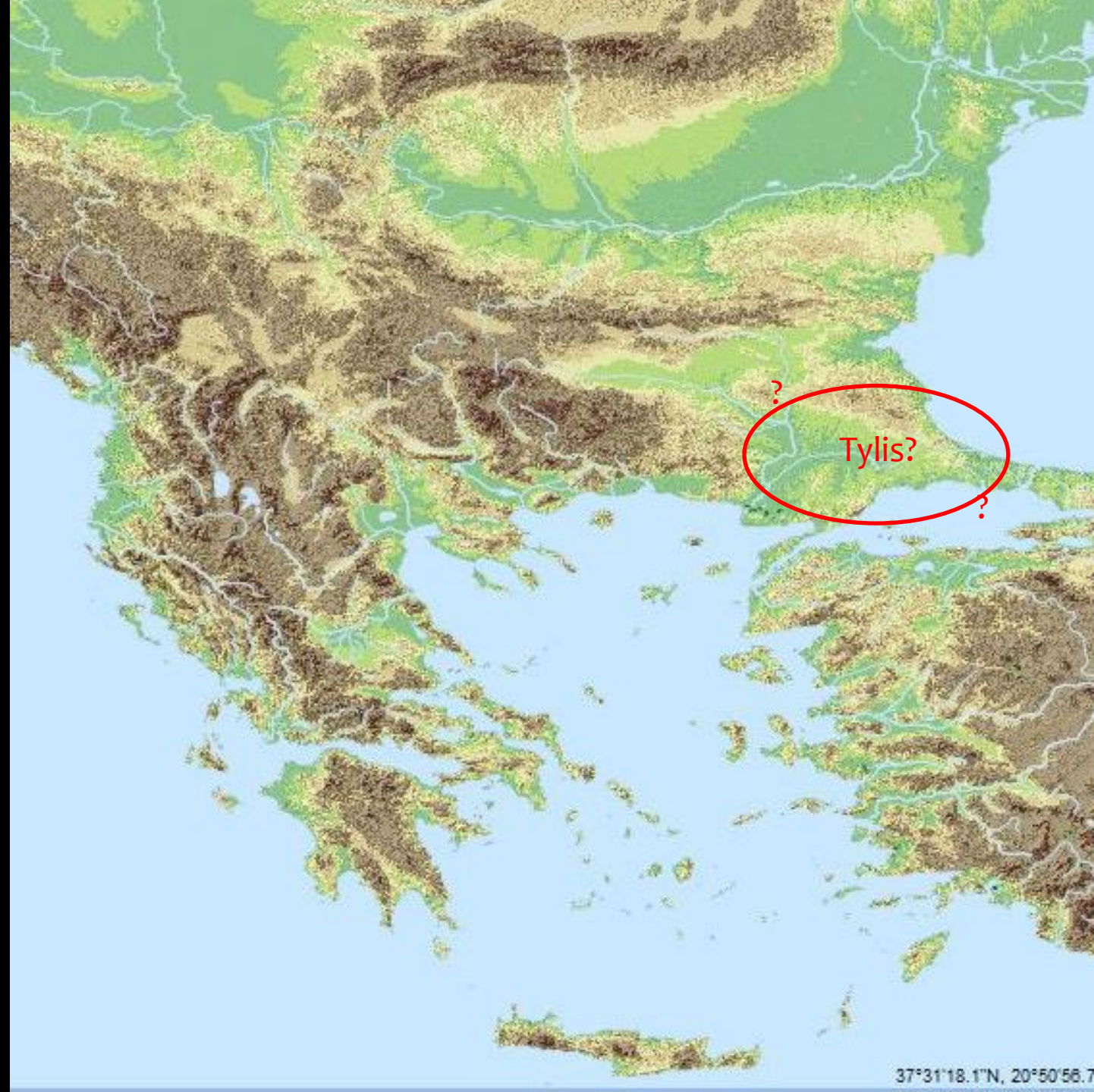
The Celts and La Tène archaeology in Thrace

the kingdom of Tylis

-279–212 aC

-dunno where...

-politics based on blackmailing and extortion of Byzantium and other Greek and Thracian neighbours



Pistiros

-a Greek trading town (emporion) near Vetren (according to the traditional interpretation of M. Domaradzki and J. Bouzek)

-destroyed by the Celts during the great invasion of 279 BC (according to the traditional interpretation of M. Domaradzki and J. Bouzek)

-in reality this theory is based on:

-a coin hoard dated to cca 280s (OK)

-one fragment of a chain belt (LT female artefact dated to LT B2 – ±OK...)

-one Duchcov type brooch (dated ca 350-300 BC – not OK)

-one „Celtic spear-head dated to „279/278 BC“ (1. spear-heads do not date anything; 2. it is not a LT typ – very much not OK)



Fig. 11. Fer de lance de Pistiros, vers 279/8 av. J.-C.

La Tène chariots in Thrace

-three purely LT two-wheel charitos dated to LT B2–C1 with exact parallels e.g. in Paris region

-found in tombs of local elite with purely Thracian burial rite and no other elements of LT culture



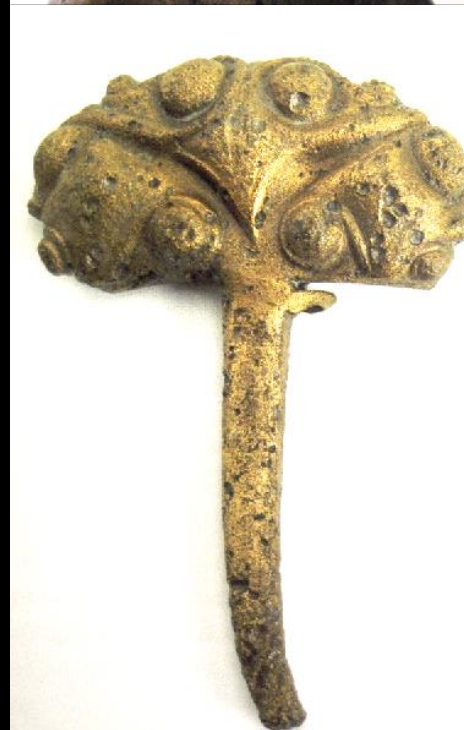
Sboryanovo



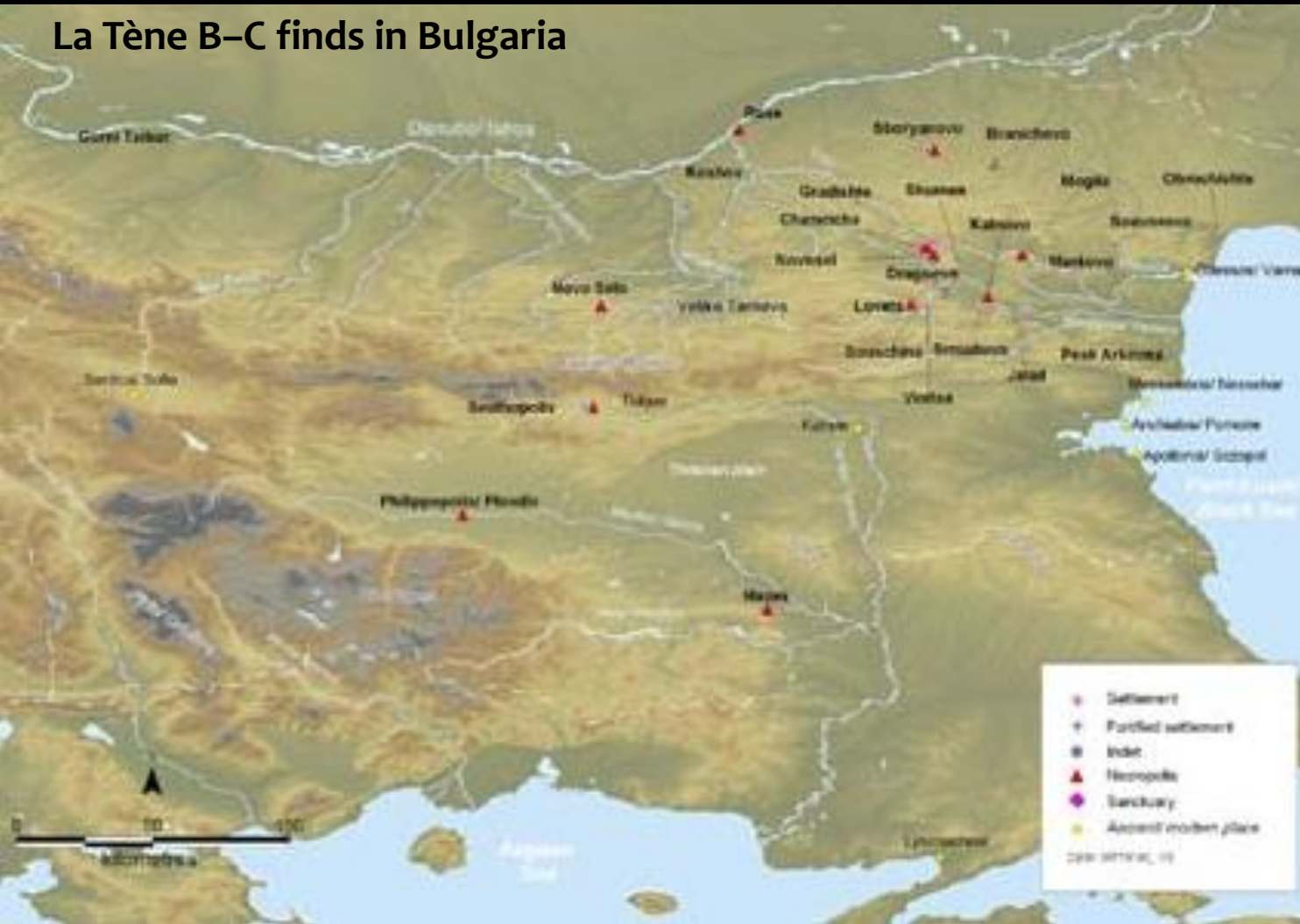
Mezek



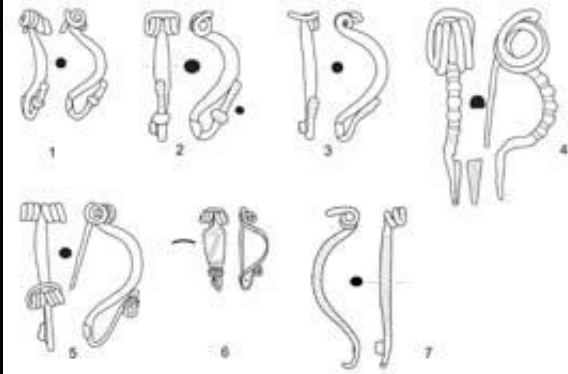
Troitsa Bobala



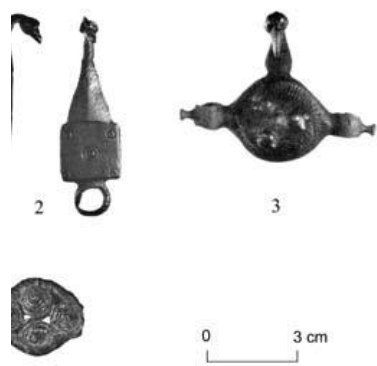
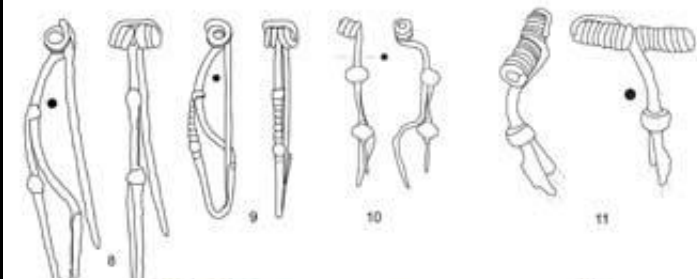
La Tène B-C finds in Bulgaria



Early La Tène fibulae

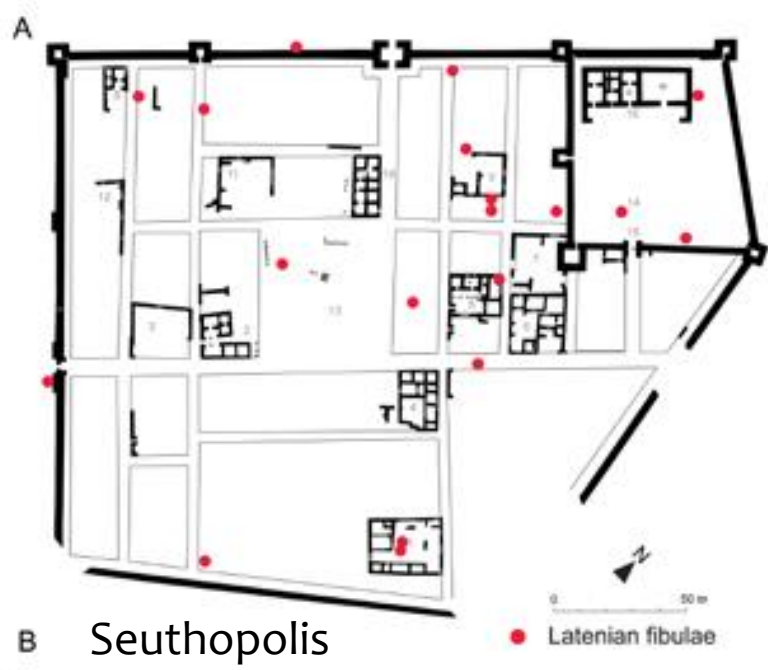


Middle La Tène fibulae

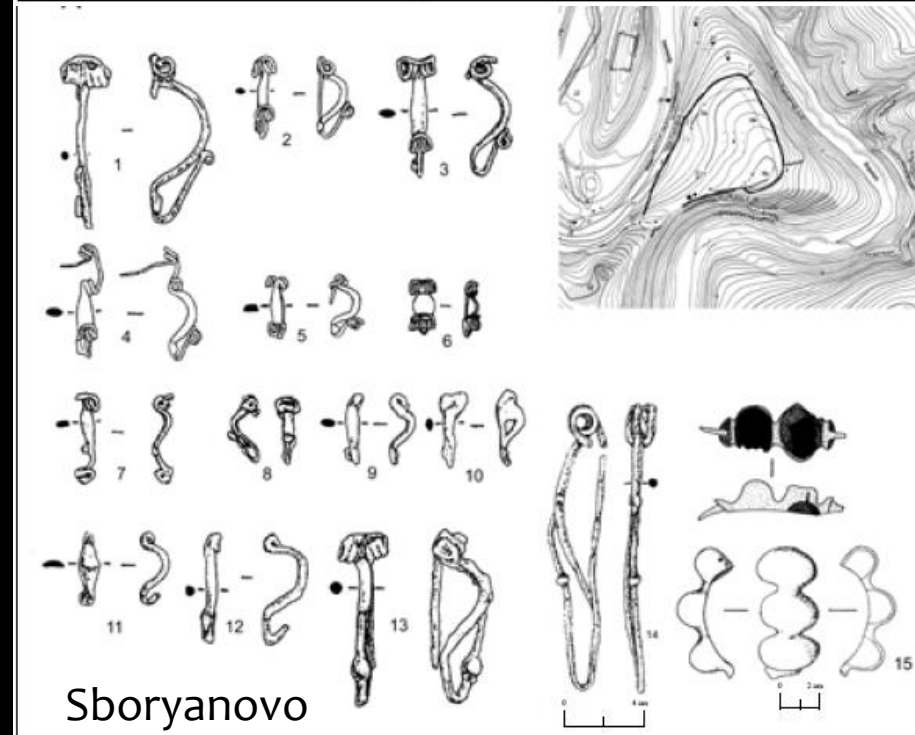
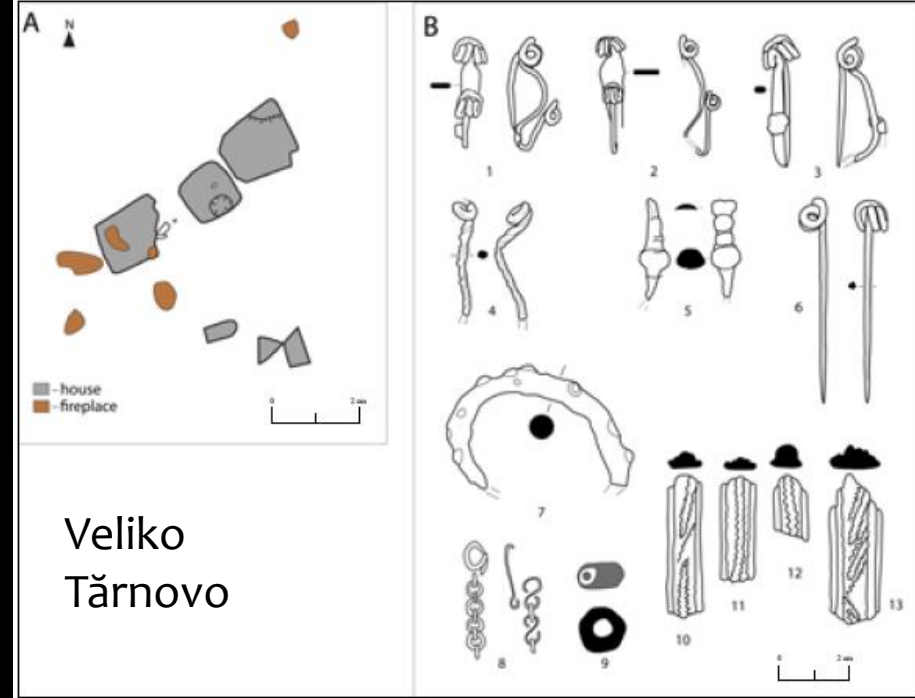
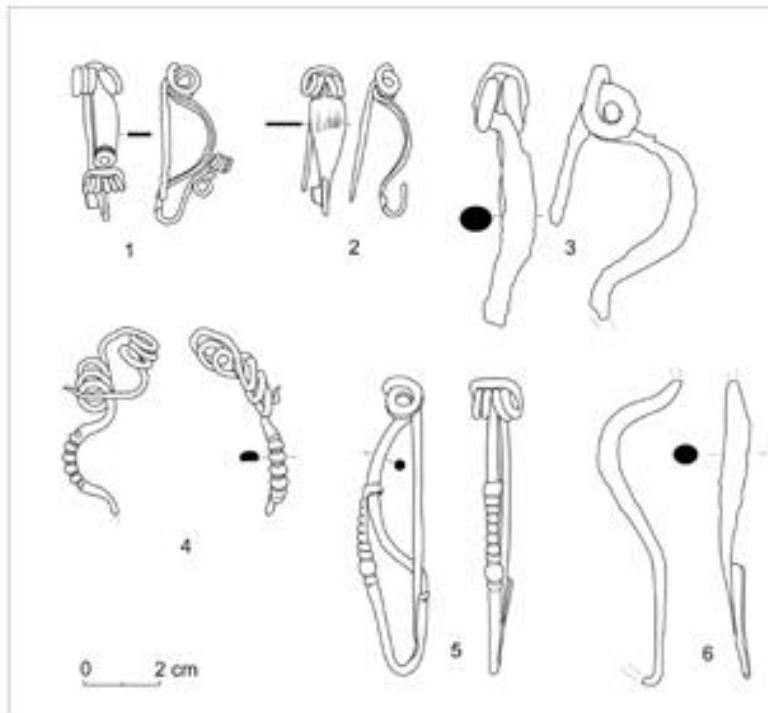


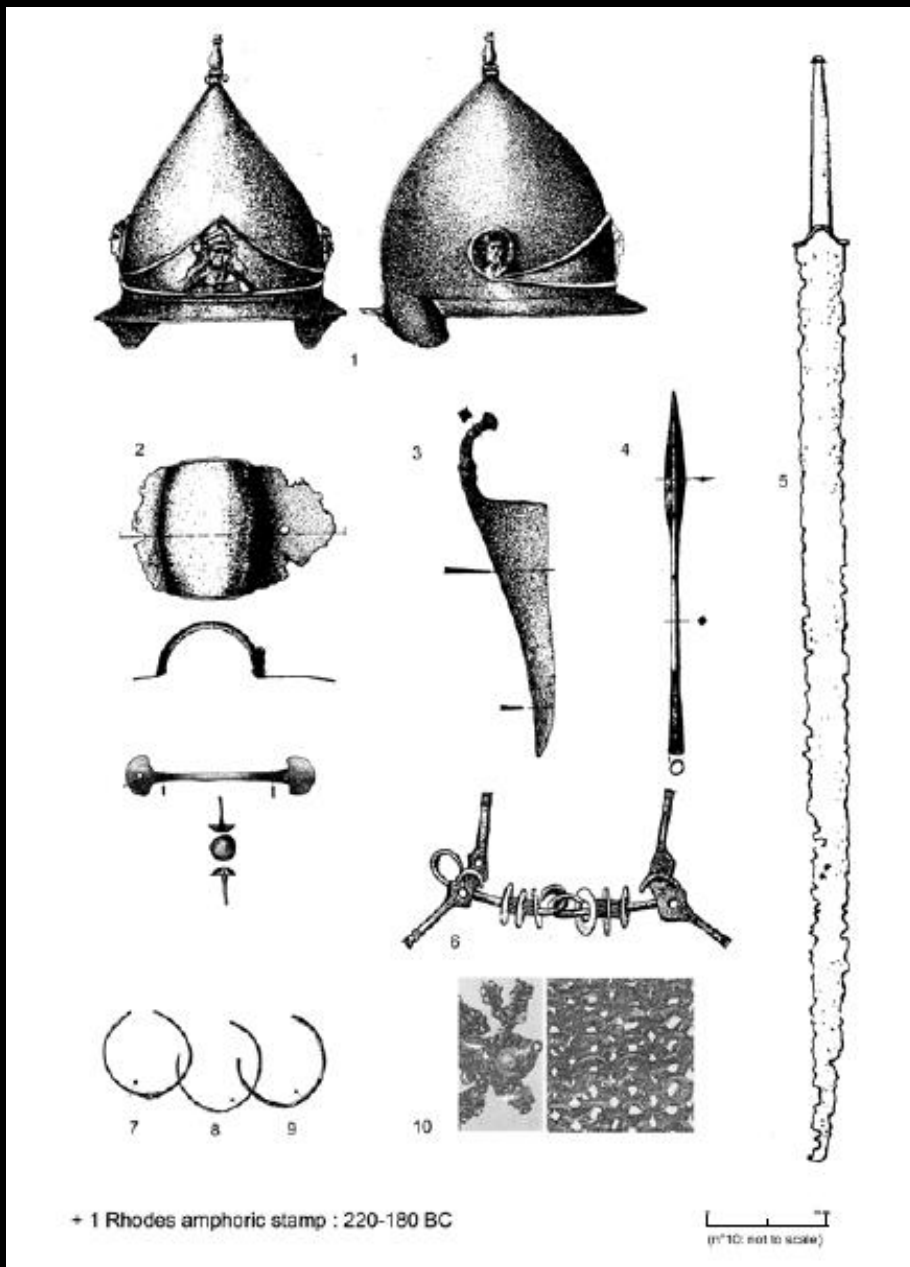
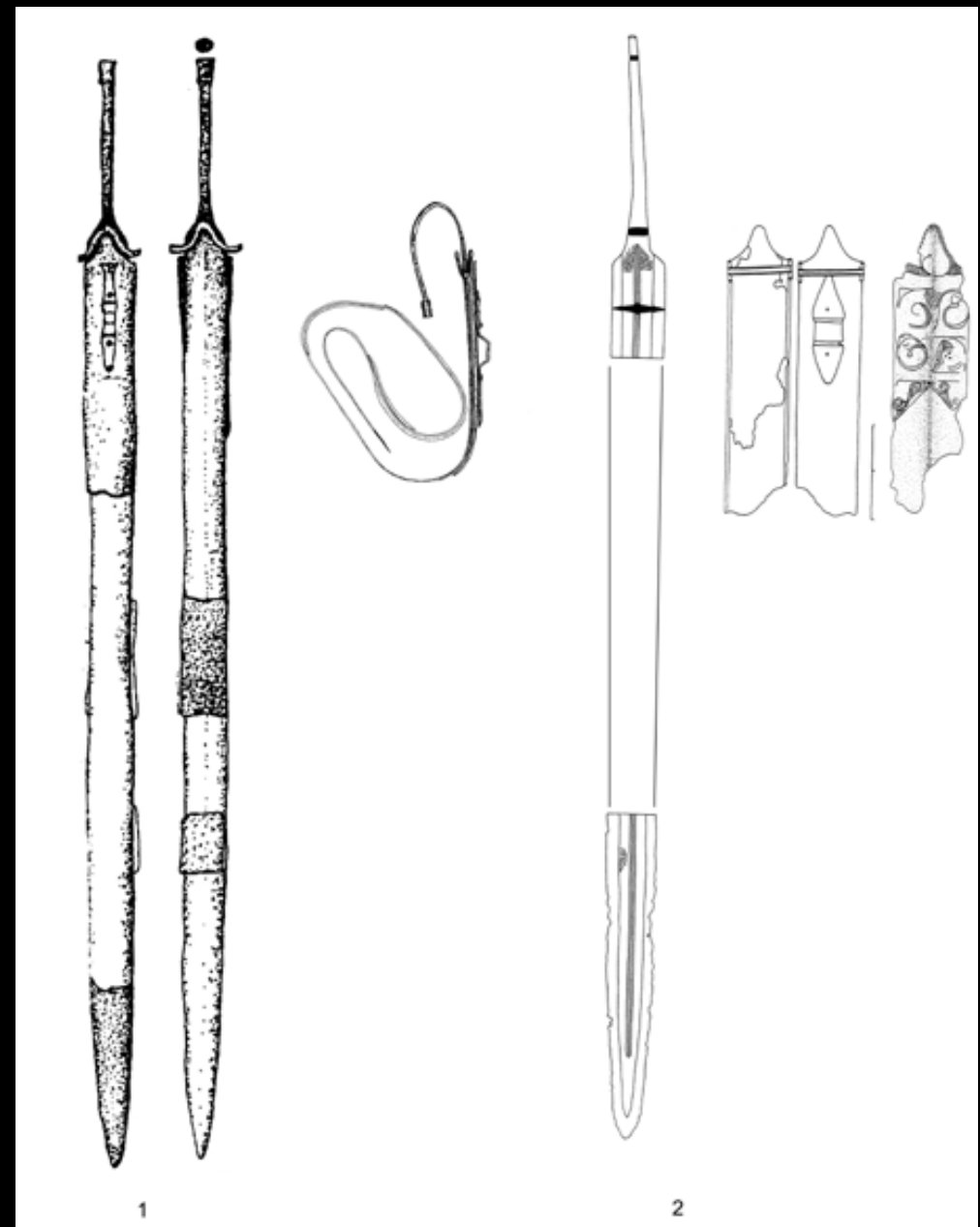
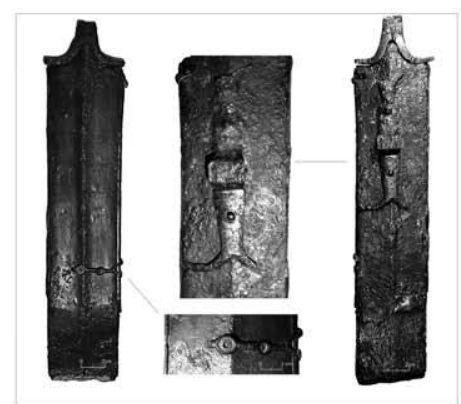
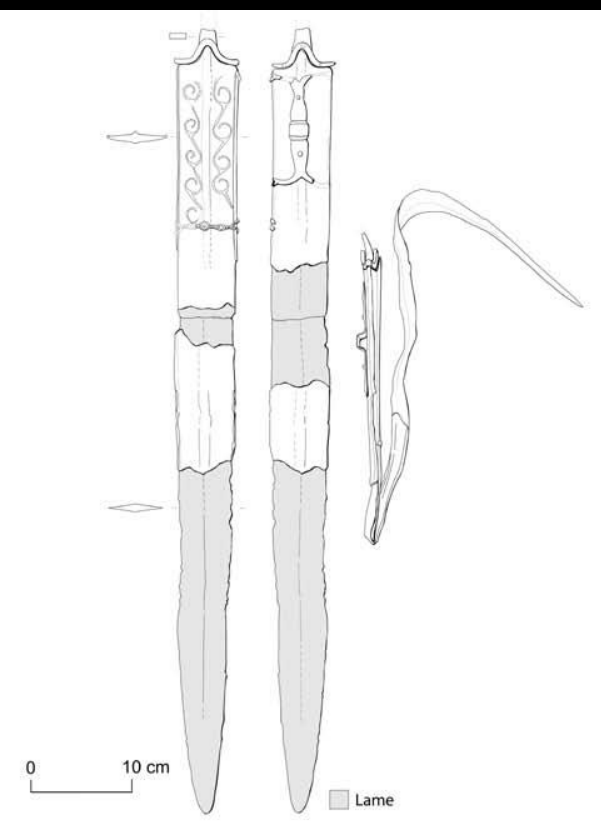
https://www.academia.edu/16158005/A_Companion_to_Ancient_Thrace_Celts

https://www.academia.edu/22982540/The_Celtic_presence_in_Thrace_during_the_3rd_century_BC_in_the_light_of_new_archaeological_data_In_M._Gu%C5%A1tin_M._Jevti%C4%87_Eds_The_Eastern_Celts_The_Communities_between_the_Alps_and_the_Black_Sea_Koper-Beograd_Univerza_na_Primorskem_Zalozba_Annales_2011_227-239



Numerous LT objects but no meaningful contexts – either they are museum finds without provenance information or finds from Thracian settlements and burials.





278 aC – invited by Nikomedes of Bithynia as mercenaries, the Celts cross the Hélespont

=> keep terrorizing western Asia Minor for several decades

241 aC – beaten by Attalus I of Pergamon in the battle of Kaikos

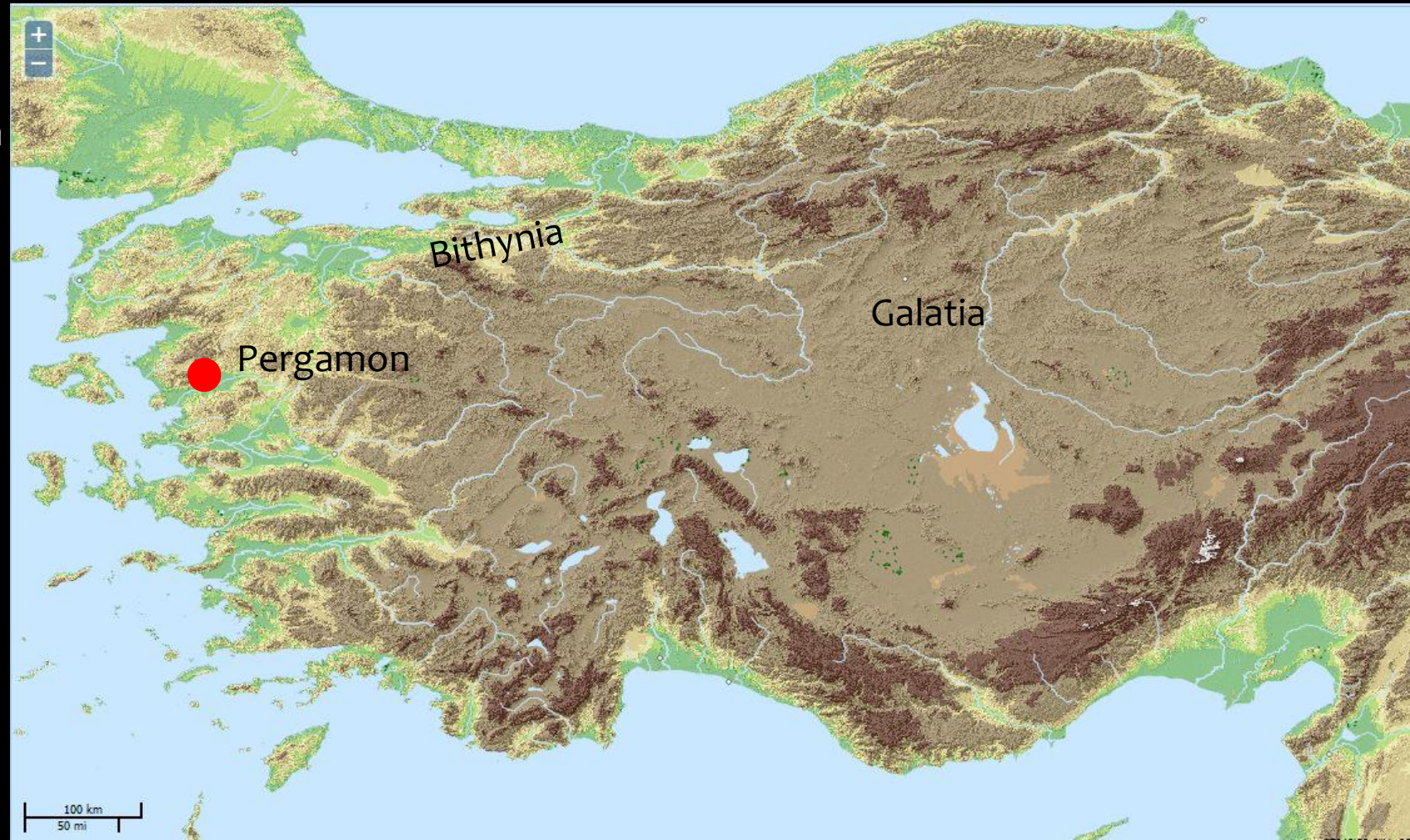
→ Attalus ‚Sóter‘ (‚Saviour‘)

=> settled in Central Anatolia (Galatia)

189-187 aC – defeated by Manlius Vulso = entering the Roman interest sphere

⇒ When defeated by Eumenes II of Pergamum in 166 aC, Romans annulate the pregamene gains in favour of the Galatians

=> alliance with Rome and autonomy down to the times of Claudius



-the social organisation of the peoples is described in detail by Strabo XII, 5

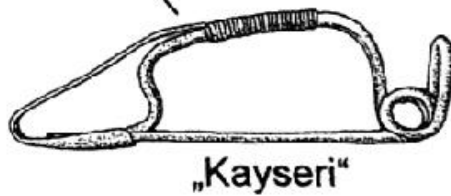
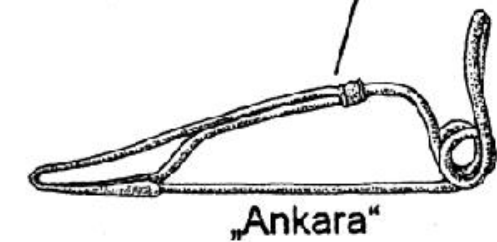
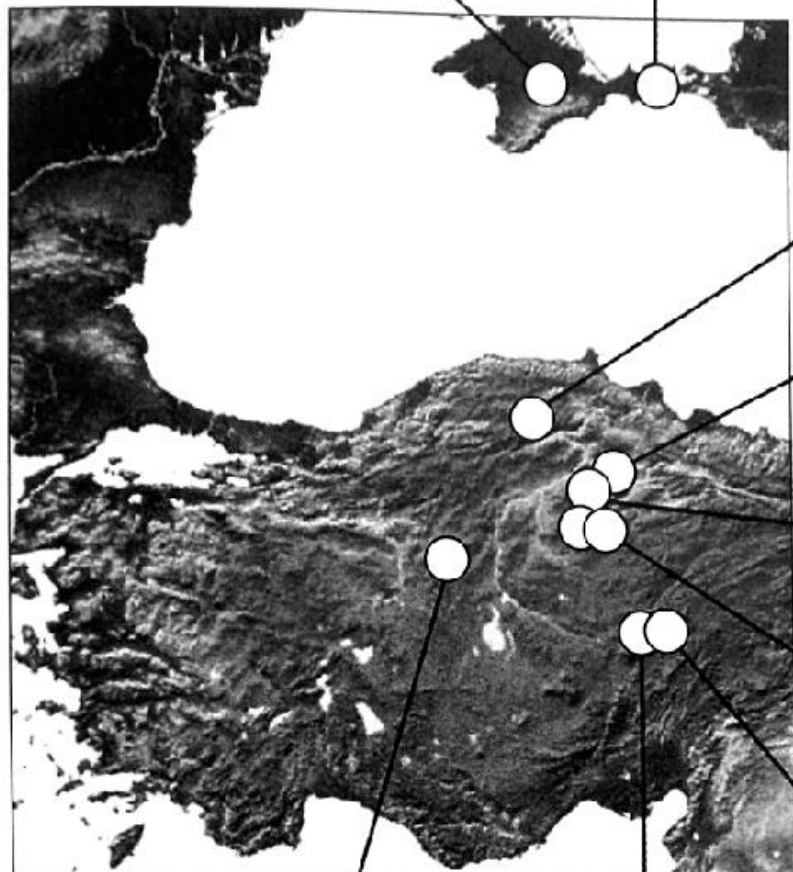
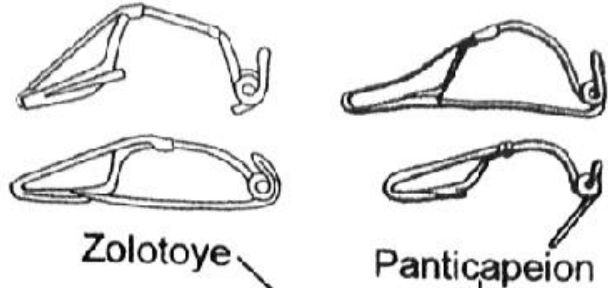
The Galatians, then, are to the south of the Paphlagonians. And of these there are three tribes; two of them, the Trocmi and the Tolistobogii, are named after their leaders, whereas the third, the Tectosages, is named after the tribe in Celtica.¹ This country was occupied by the Galatae after they had wandered about for a long time, and after they had overrun the country that was subject to the Attalic and the Bithynian kings, until by voluntary cession they received the present Galatia, or Gallo-Graecia, as it is called. Leonorius is generally reputed to have been the chief leader of their expedition across to Asia. The three tribes spoke the same language and differed from each other in no respect; and each was divided into four portions which were called tetrarchies, each tetrarchy having its own tetrarch, and also one judge and one military commander, both subject to the tetrarch, and two subordinate commanders. The Council of the twelve tetrarchs consisted of three hundred men, who assembled at Drynemetum, as it was called. Now the Council passed judgment upon murder cases, but the tetrarchs and the judges upon all others. Such, then, was the organization of Galatia long ago, but in my time the power has passed to three rulers, then to two; and then to one, Deïotarus, and then to Amyntas, who succeeded him.

=> Some scholars believe this social structure to be a general feature of all Celtic communities... I am somewhat sceptical about it

LA TÈNE ARCHAEOLOGY IN ASIA MINOR

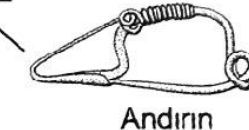
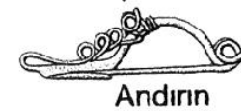
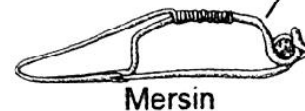
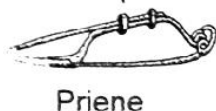
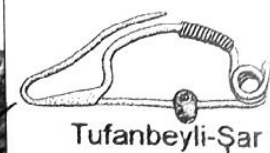
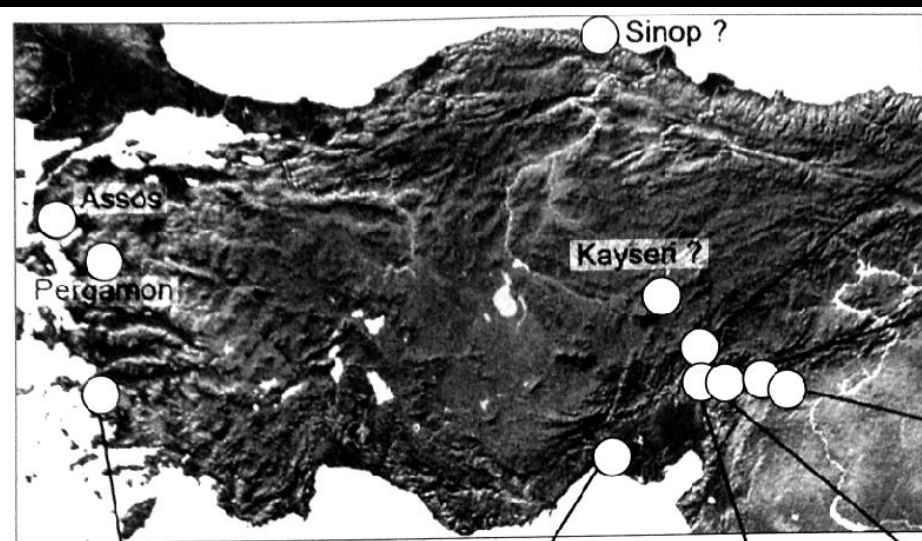
-a single bracelet (without context) from
Finike (which is not Galatia)





Middle LT type brooches in Asia Minor

- numerous and problematic
 - by far not limited to Galatia
 - all of a specific type characteristic of Greece, Asia minor and Crimea (high chord and/or wound foot clamp)
 - dated to II-I century BC
- => As in Italy, LT brooches were probably the brooches of the period with no cultural or ethnic connotations



Dion, Macedonia



275/274 aC – Ptolemy II hires 4000 Celts (Delphi survivors?)
=> mutiny => starved to death (Paus. I, 7.2)

246–222 aC? –Celtic *kleruhoi* (= citizens with hereditary right for agricultural land) were buried in Alexandria during Ptolemy III? period

241–230 aC – the Celts (Galatians from Asia Minor) allied with Antiochos Hierax against Seleukos II and Attalos of Pergamum

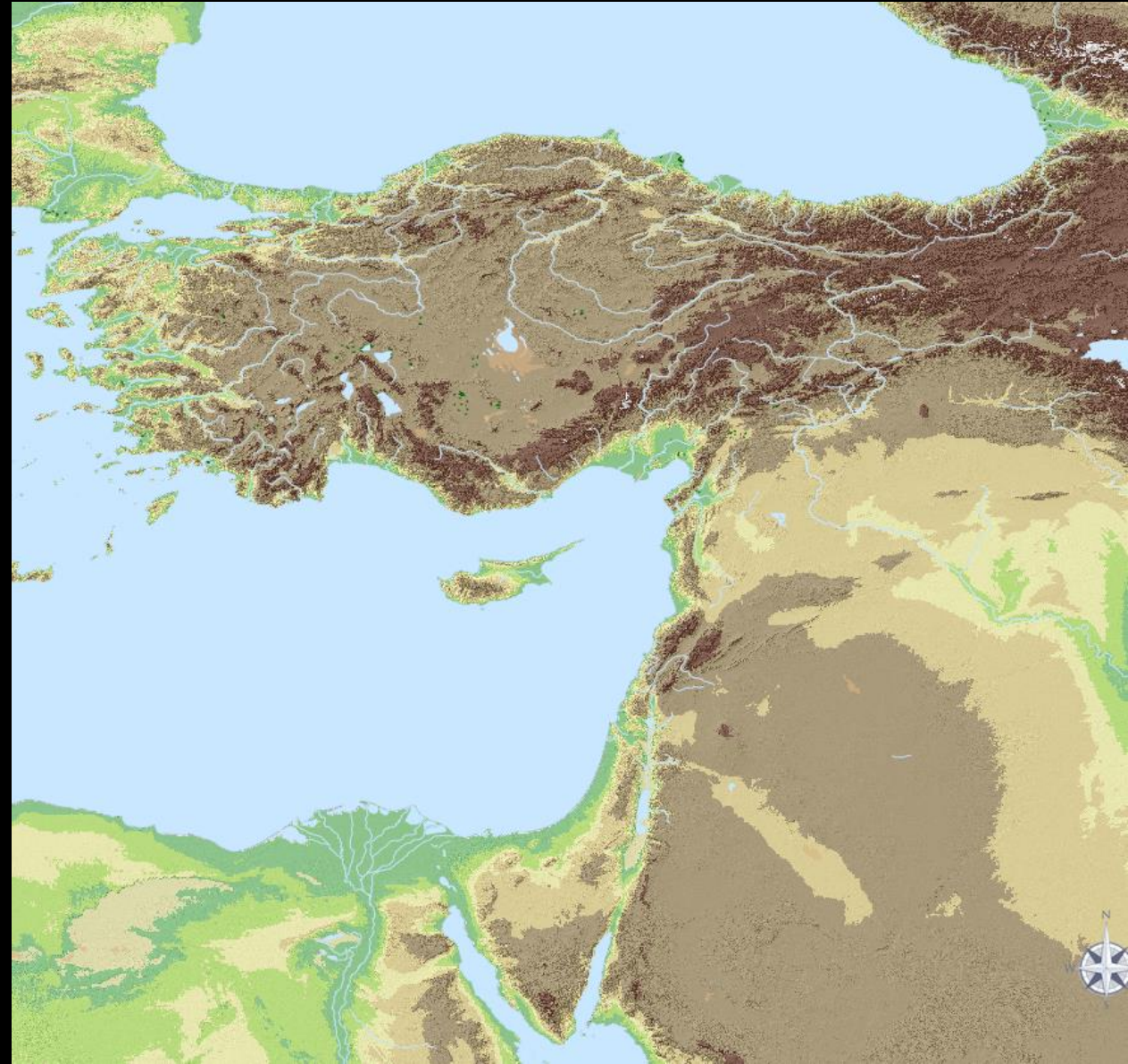
218 aC – 4th Syrian war: Celtic mercenaries and Celtic settlers (*katoikoi / epigonoï*) from the Fayum region in the army of Ptolemy IV

199/198 aC – four Celts in service of Ptolemy V carved their (Greek!) names on a Sethi I temple wall in Abydos

165 aC – 5000 Galatians show up in the Antiochus IV parade in Daphne

⇒ Like in Greece, Celts were a common sight in Ptolemaic and Seleucid realms, at least some were fully integrated in local legal and social structures

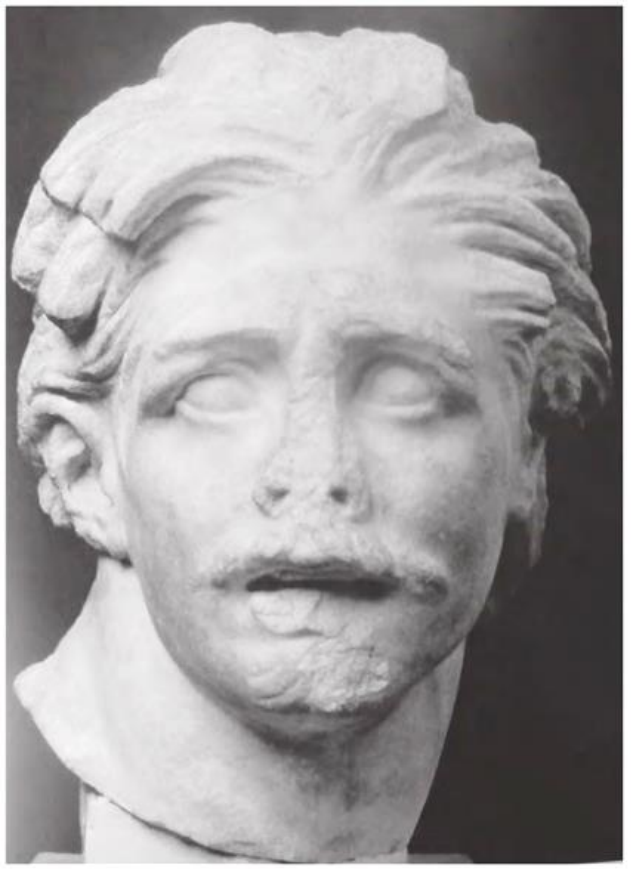
⇒ It is unclear whether they maintained their language and culture (spiritual or material) or whether they were fully hellenised in a few generations



-Material evidence of the Celts in orient is limited to iconography and some epigraphy

„Fileista, his wife erected this stele for Sisonónos, son of Anaximas, a Galatian“

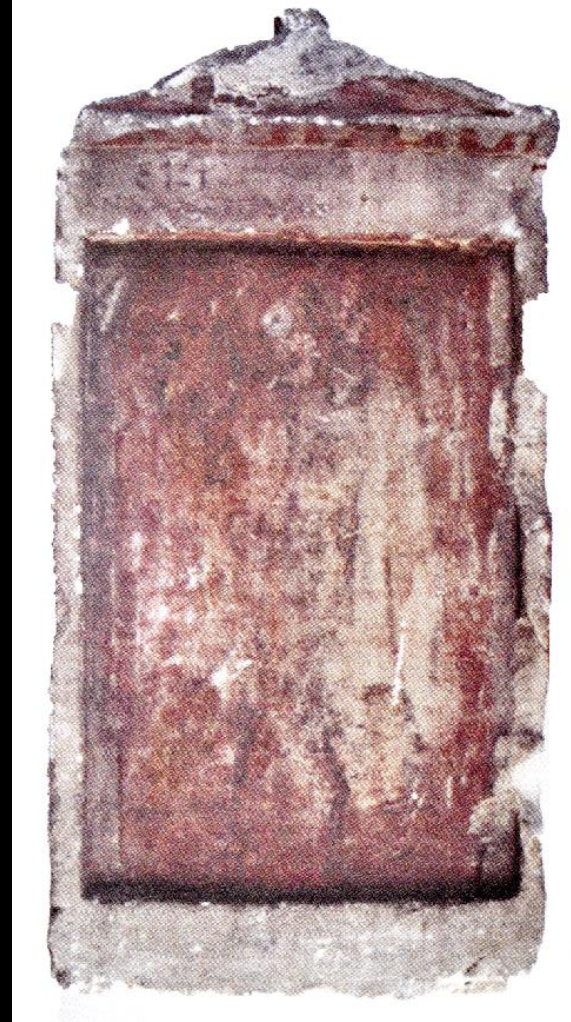
„Aidearatos, son of Aido[sotis?] Galatian“



A marble head from Gizeh interpreted as a Celt



Ptolemaic terracottas depicting figures with celtic attributes



-self-declared Celts with Celtic attributes (=high shield) but also...



Sidon stelae and Alexandria loculi slabs

... Celts (because declaring themselves Galatians or due to their Celtic names) without any clear attributes...

... and Celtic attributes in the hands of declared non-Celts



Aristodemos,
son of Kallistos



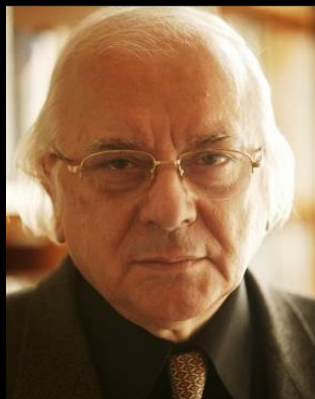
Dioskúrides,
son Exabos,
Pisidian from
Balbura



- ⇒ One problem about studying Celts in the east is that the relatively rich written sources find almost no archaeological reflexion
- ⇒ Local archaeologists in Greece, Turkey, Egypt don't care the tiniest bit about the Celts (already studying hellenism is often quite an esoteric niche interest here) so there might be much evidence which is excavated but unpublished and unrecognized for what it actually is
- ⇒ Still there obviously was considerable interaction between the European and Mediterranean communities in the hellenistic world, some of it having serious repercussions in Central Europe
- ⇒ In order to study them we may (must) turn to the intermediary area – the Carpathian Basin

traditional historical Celtic archaeology in the Carpathian Basin

- the Celts arrived in LT B1/B2 in order to plunder Greece
- all evidence pre-279 = preparation for the invasion
- Greek objects found in Carpathian Basin = spoils of the Delphi campaign



M. Szabó

non-necessarily historical Celtic archaeology in the Carpathian Basin

- the Celts arrived in LT B1/B2
- there was the Delphi campaign and the Greek objects were probably brought during that period because why not, we don't really care



D. Repka
... somewhere in
between



A. Rusotiu
(„I am interested
in social models,
not in history“)



J. Bujna
(„I am just happy
classify bronze
artefacts...“)

New (historical) Celtic archaeology in the Carpathian Basin

- it was all a little more complicated



B. Kavur



I. Drnić

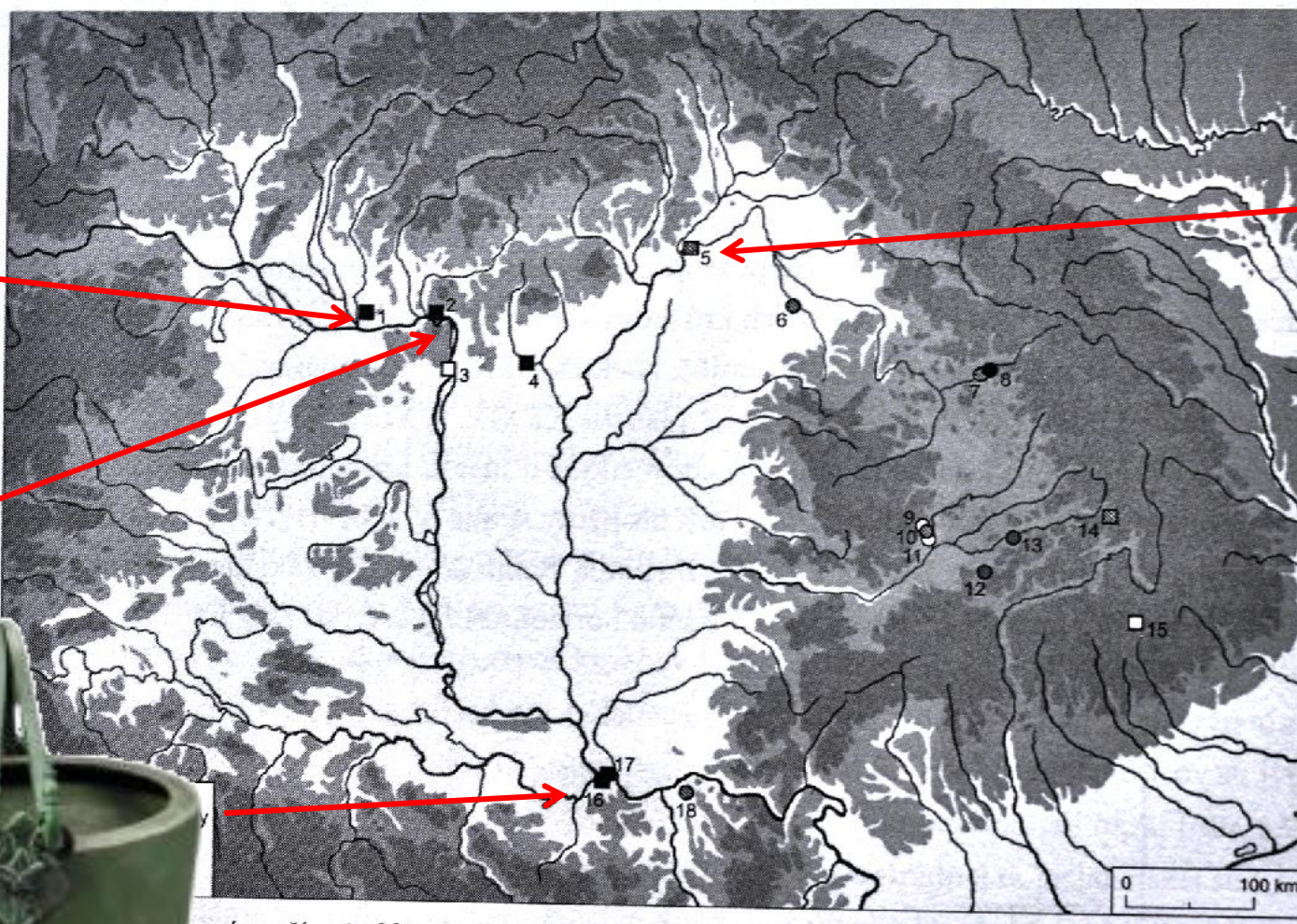
Hurbanovo (SK)



Szob (HU)



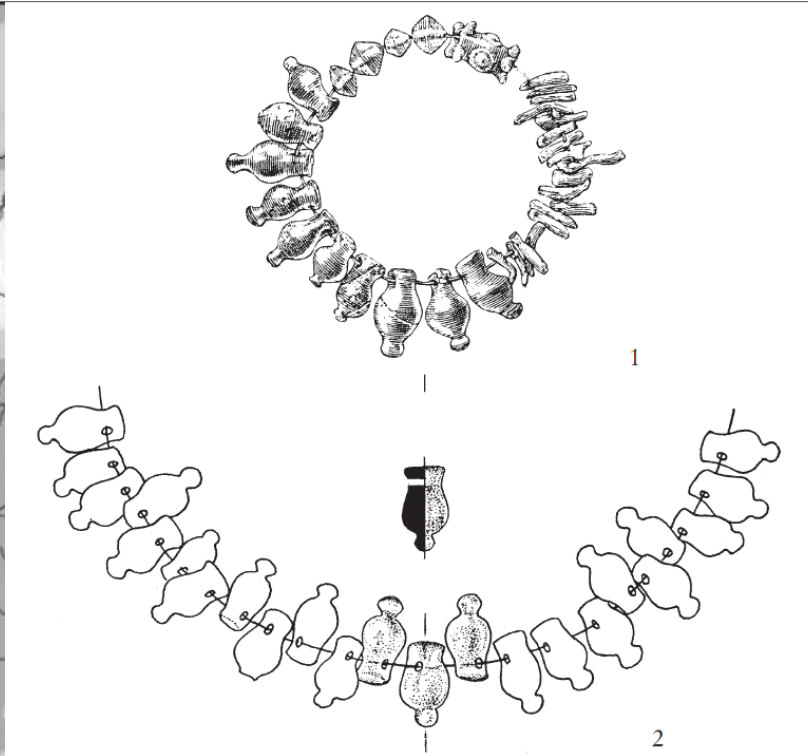
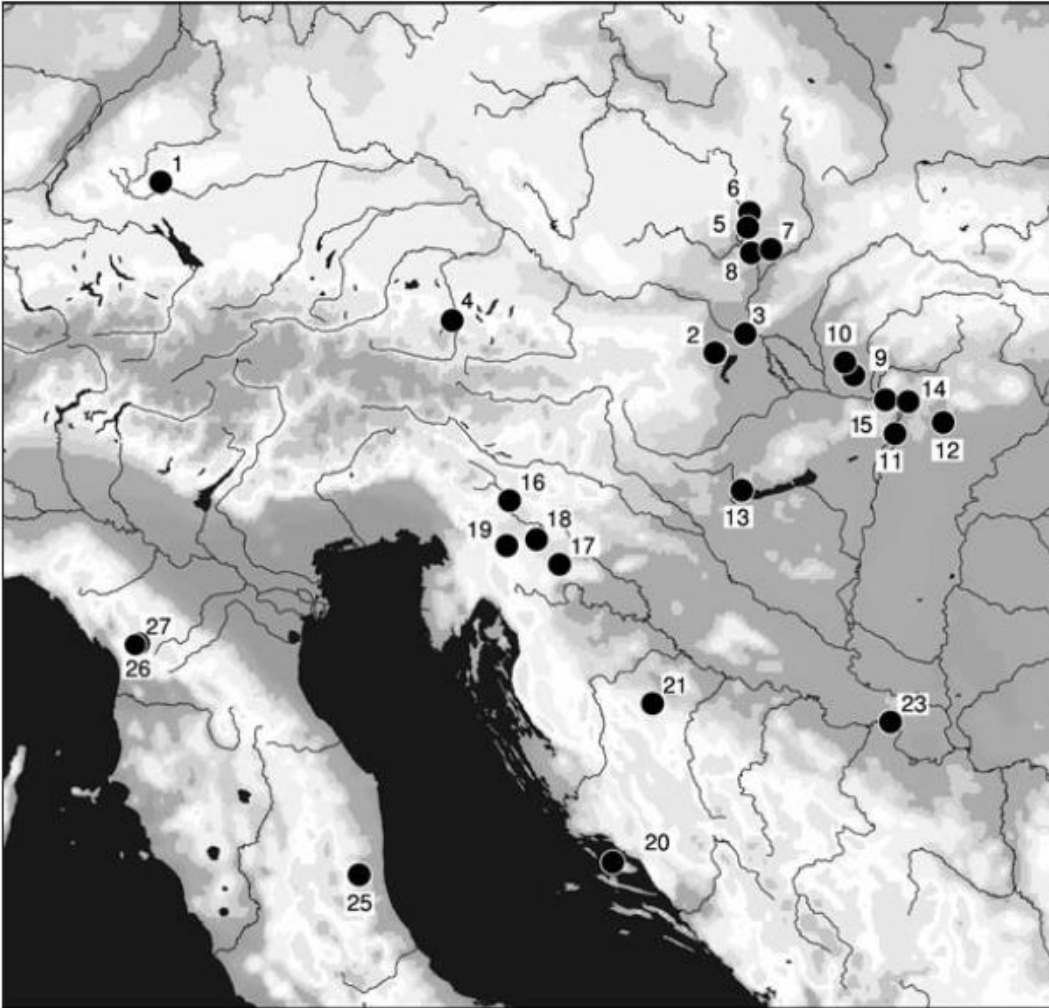
Beograd-Karaburma (RS)



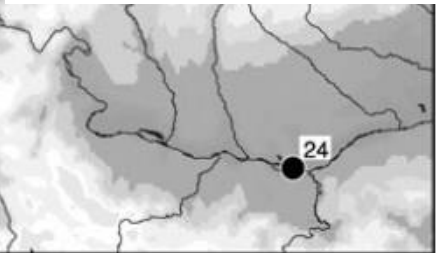
Szabolcz (HU)

Greek objects in Carpathian basin – bronze vessels

- usually presented as booty from Delphi... (and therefore, the graves in which they were found are used as anchors of absolute chronology with 279 BC as terminus post quem)
- but in Greece they all date to late IV/very early III century BC...



Amphora-shaped glass beads
-an identical story:
often presented as Celtic
bringback goods but they are
widespread already far earlier
-out of the four
articles below, I believe the first
two (you don't really have to
read them all...)



https://www.academia.edu/35913973/M._Ble%C4%8Di%C4%87_Kavur_B._Kavur_2017_-_Many_shades_of_translucent_amphoriskos-shaped_glass_beads_from_Vi%C4%8Dja_luka

https://www.academia.edu/30477006/N%C4%9Bm%C4%8Dice_and_Pistiros_glass_beads_as_historical_markers_in_the_third_century_BC_Studia_Hercynia_XIX_2015_143-148

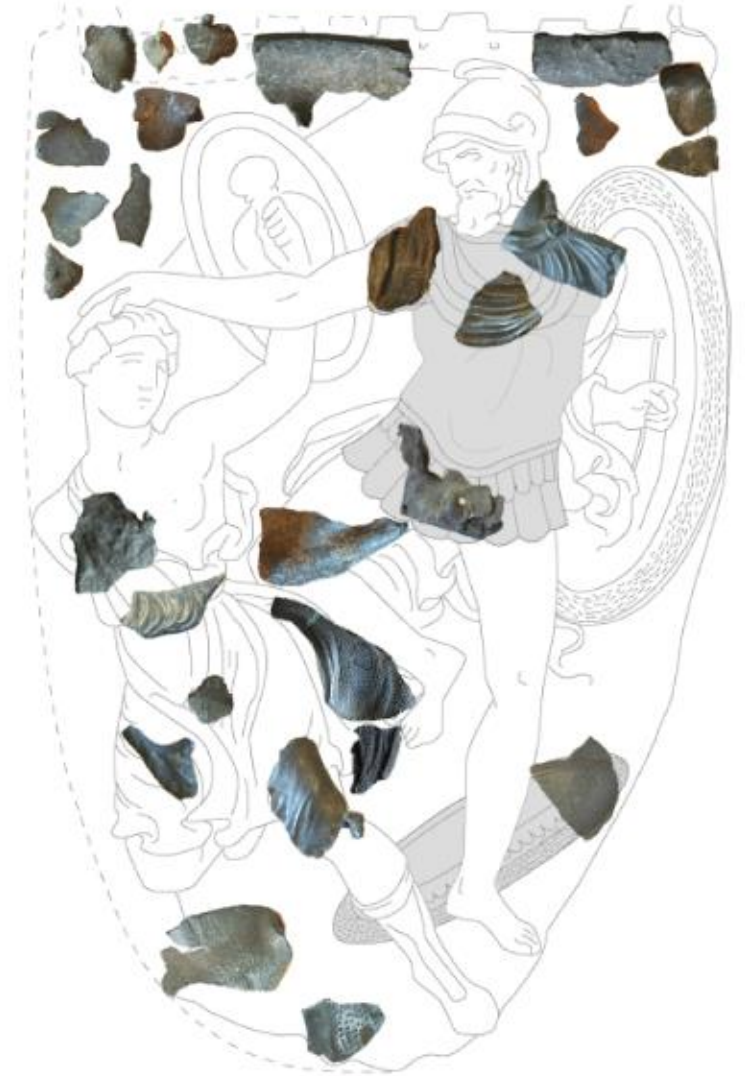
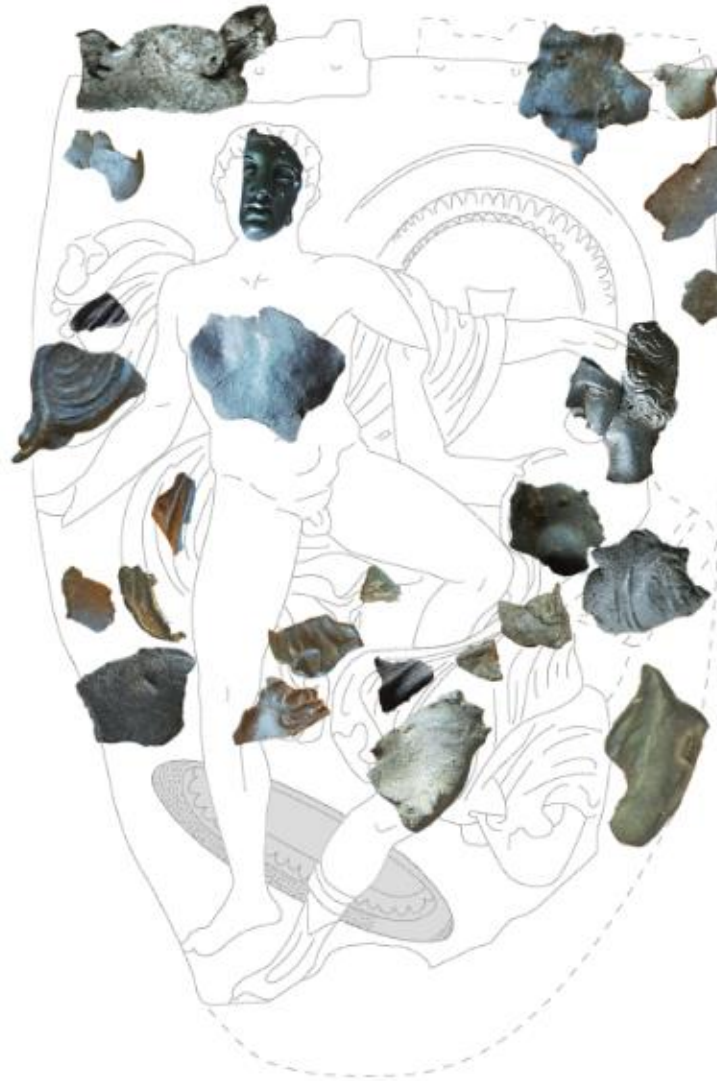
https://www.academia.edu/18945260/Aurel_Rustoiu_Amphora-shaped_glass_and_coral_beads._Distant_cultural_connections_in_the_Carpathian_Basin_at_the_beginning_of_the_Late_Iron_Age._Arch._Korr._45_3_2015_365-377

https://www.academia.edu/2181109/Zur%C3%BCck_aus_Griechenland_Spuren_keltischer_S%C3%B6ldner_in_Mitteleuropa

Slatina nad Bebravou, SK

-a helmet or cuirass of Greek production sacrificed in a rural sanctuary in III/II BC

-the author, R. Thomas argues that it was made in Tarent in late IV/early III BC but must have been robbed by the Celts in Delphi in 279...



⇒ Either the Celts robbed an antiques shop in Greece in 279 BC or there is something else going on

-remember also that the Isthmia anklets were found in a context apparently dating to turn of IV/III century i.e. it predate the invasion by several decades

⇒ 1) our chronology might be completely skewed

⇒ 2) there seems to have been intense contact between the Greek world and the Balkans prior to the invasion

⇒ 3) there are numerous Greek imports of the same period outside of the LT zone in the areas of non Celtic peoples, non LT cultures of the Adriatic



https://www.academia.edu/13332089/BLE%C4%8CI%C4%86_KAVUR_Martina_KAVUR_Boris_Grave_22_of_the_Belgrade_necropolis_in_Karaburma_Retrospective_and_perspective

https://www.academia.edu/38121820/B._Kavur_M._Ble%C4%8Di%C4%87_Kavur_2018_-_Celts_on_Their_Way_to_the_South_Once_Again_Discussing_Some_Finds_from_the_Balkans



- △ situla attachment
- bell shaped situla
- + stamnoid situla
- ▽ kalathos
- ☆ other

Etruscan
Macedonian
dunno

▲ Vače

● Rijeka

+ Novi Vindolski

Nesactium

+ Karin

▲ Vrankamen

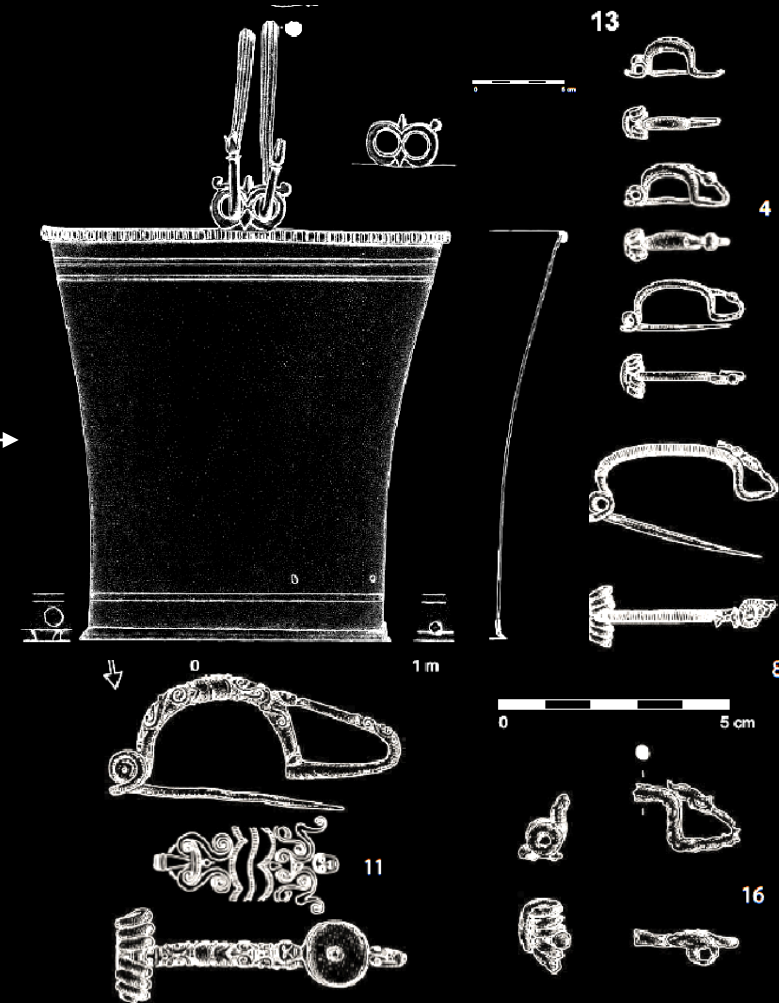
Ošanići

+ Budva

- Macedonian objects are widespread in the Adriatic and the Balkans already from the V century BC
 - in the V BC they were apparently diplomatic gifts towards the barbarian neighbours
 - in the case of those of the IV BC, the function could have been the same – remember that Alexander secured the Balkans before heading to the East... meeting with Celts
 - Etruscan and Macedonian objects are both present in the Adriatic – including Etruscan vessels on the East coast and Macedonian in Italy
- => there was some secondary circulation of these objects in the barbarian territories



in Mannesdorf in Austria, there is an Etruscan V BC situla in a grave which is three or four generations later



← In Waldalgesheim on the Rhine, a Macedonian situla was buried not more than a generation after it was made

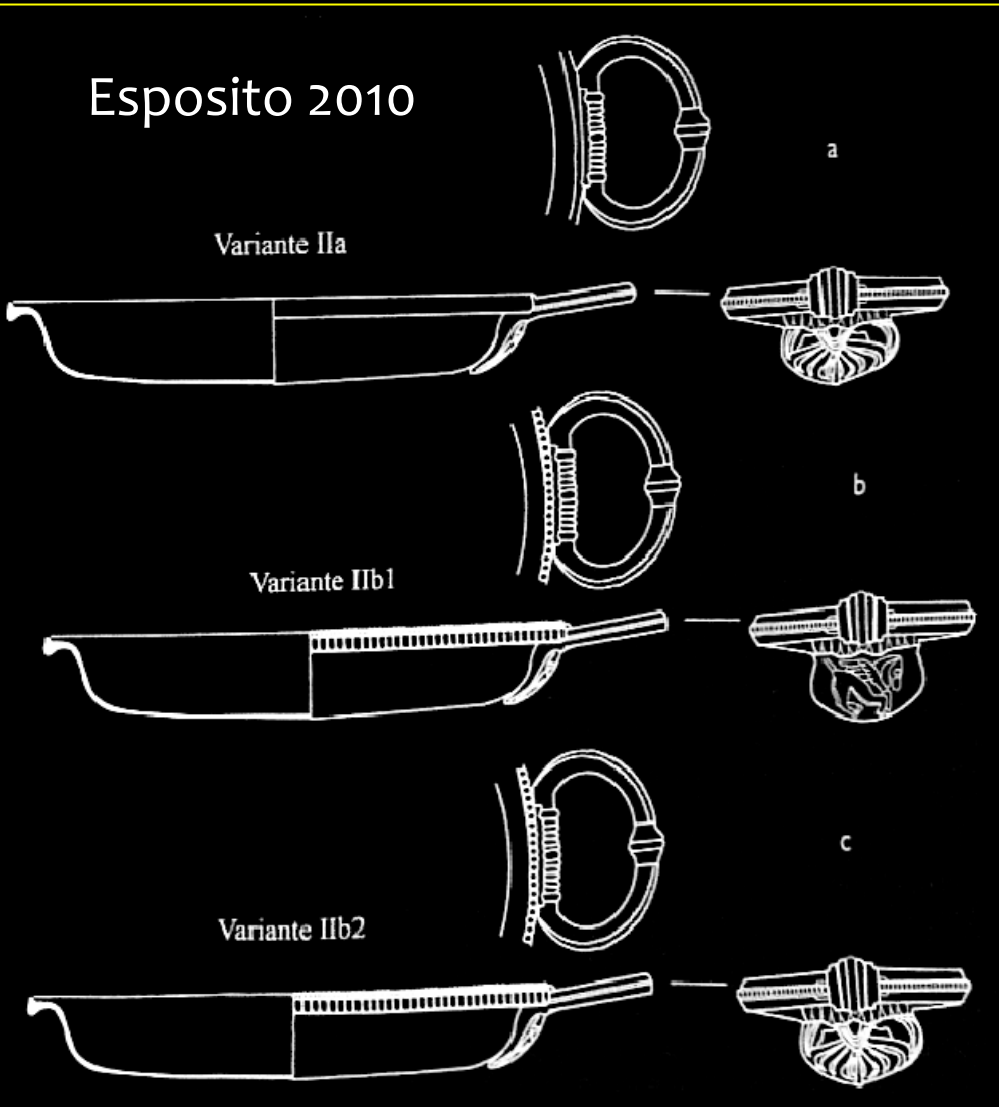
... therefore if there is one bronze vessel in Bohemia...

https://www.academia.edu/33429082/Stebno-Nouze_pozoruhodn%C3%BD_lat%C3%A9nsk%C3%BD_depot_z_Podbo%C5%99anska_Stebno-Nouze_a_remarkable_La_T%C3%A8ne_hoard_from_Western_Bohemia_



...of a well known type...

20 100- Vasques
sans anse



20 200- Vasques à anse fixe

20 220- anse à statuette

20 210- anse à anneau

20 211- lèvres droite

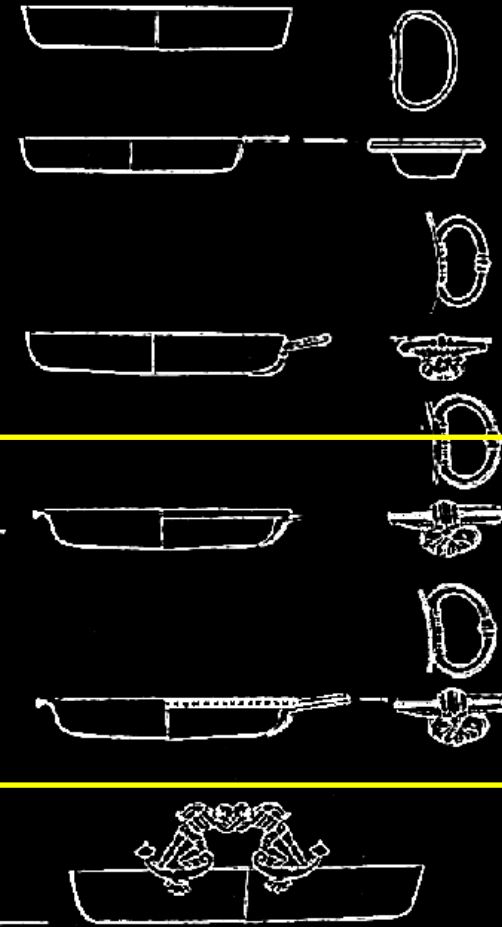
20 211a- attache de
l'anse non-décorée

20 211b- attache de
l'anse décorée

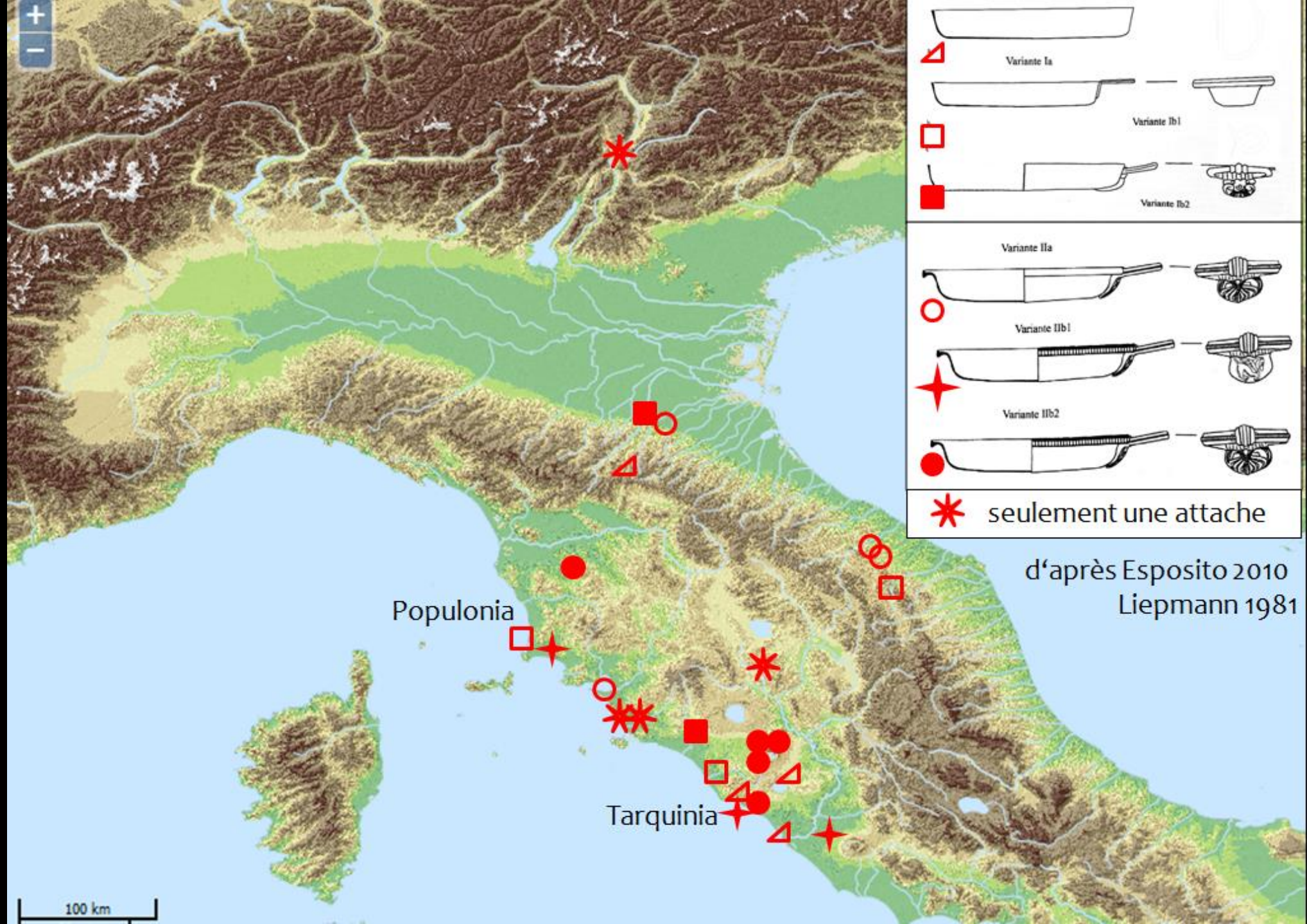
20 212- lèvres
retournée-verticale

20 212 a-lèvre
non-décorée

20 212b- lèvres
décorée



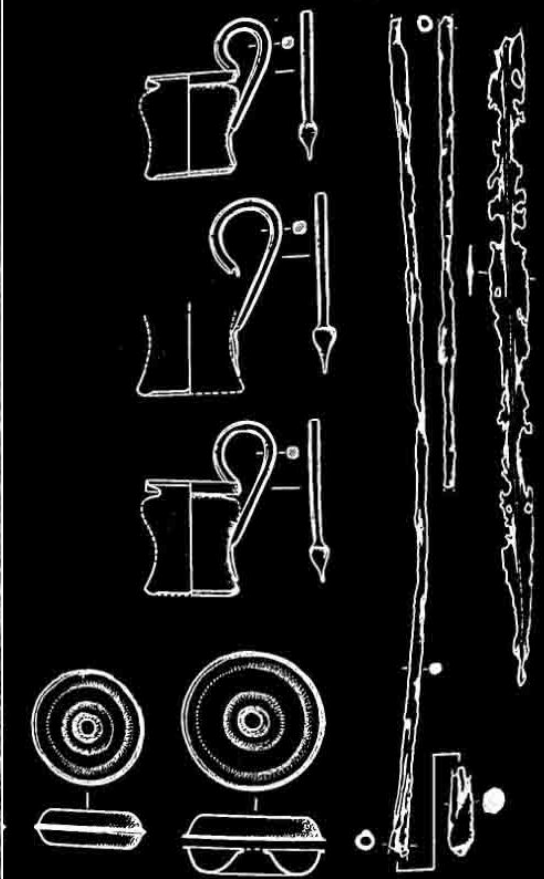
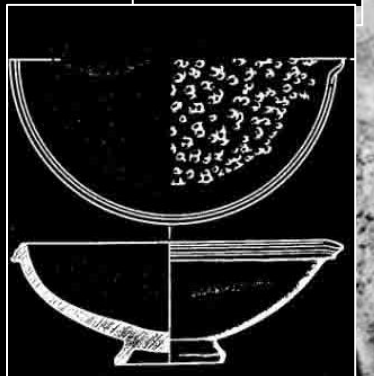
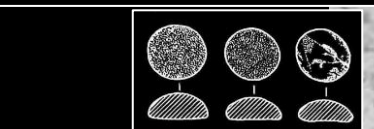
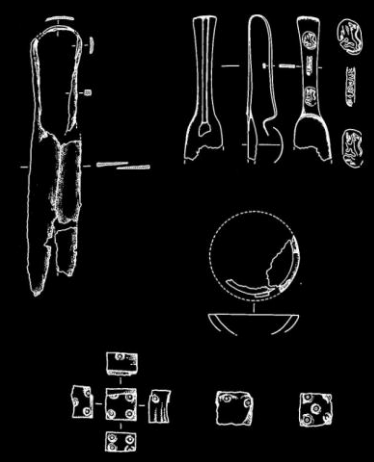
...produced and widespread in Etruria...



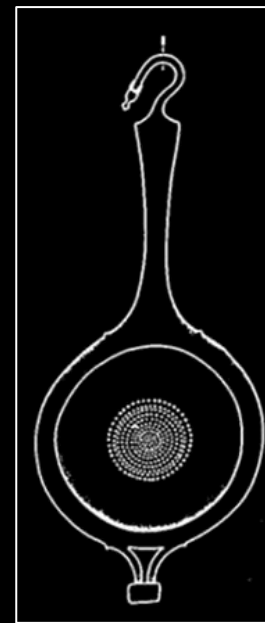
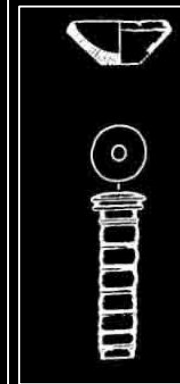


... but also present in
Celtic (?) tombs of
Emilia-Romagna...

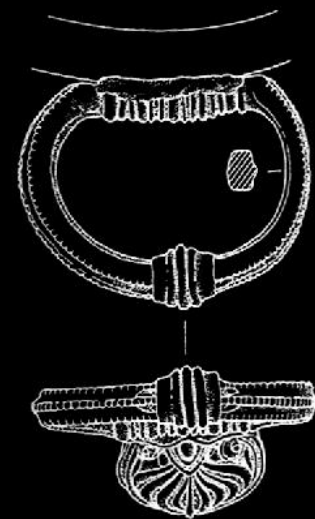




Bologna
t. Benacci 953

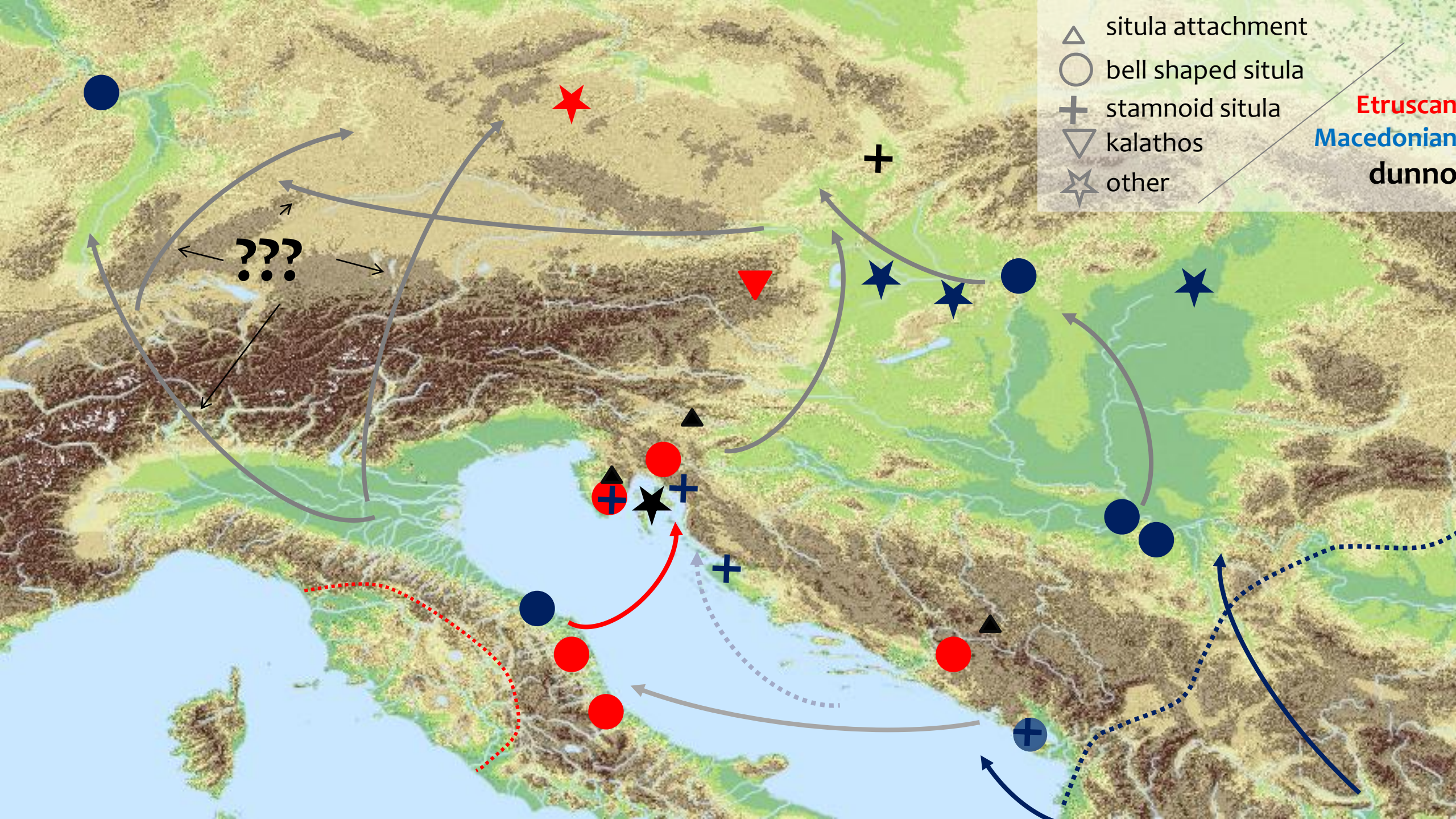


... but also present in
Celtic (?) tombs of
Emilia-Romagna...



...it does not necessarily mean that the Boii brought it from Italy to Bohemia because people and things moved a lot in this period before they (people and things) ended up under ground

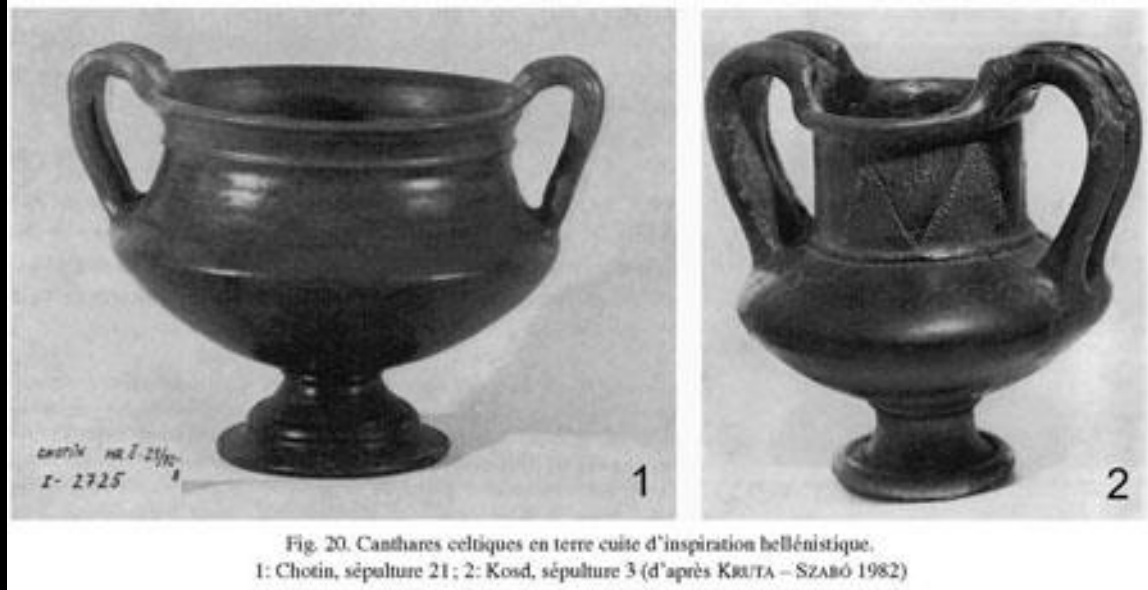




Greek influence on the Celts in the Carpathian basin (real and imagined)

the Danubian kantharoi

Kruta, V. – Szabo, M. 1982: Canthares danubiens du IIIe siècle avant notre ère : Un exemple d'influence hellénistique sur les Celtes orientaux. *Etudes celtiques* XIX, 51–67.



The adoption of drinking vessels with two vertical handles in the LT areas of carpathian basin is traditionally considered the adoption of a Greek kantharos => a sign of hellenisation of the Celts inspired by vessels brought from Greece or seen in Greece like those from Szob an Szabolcz... →

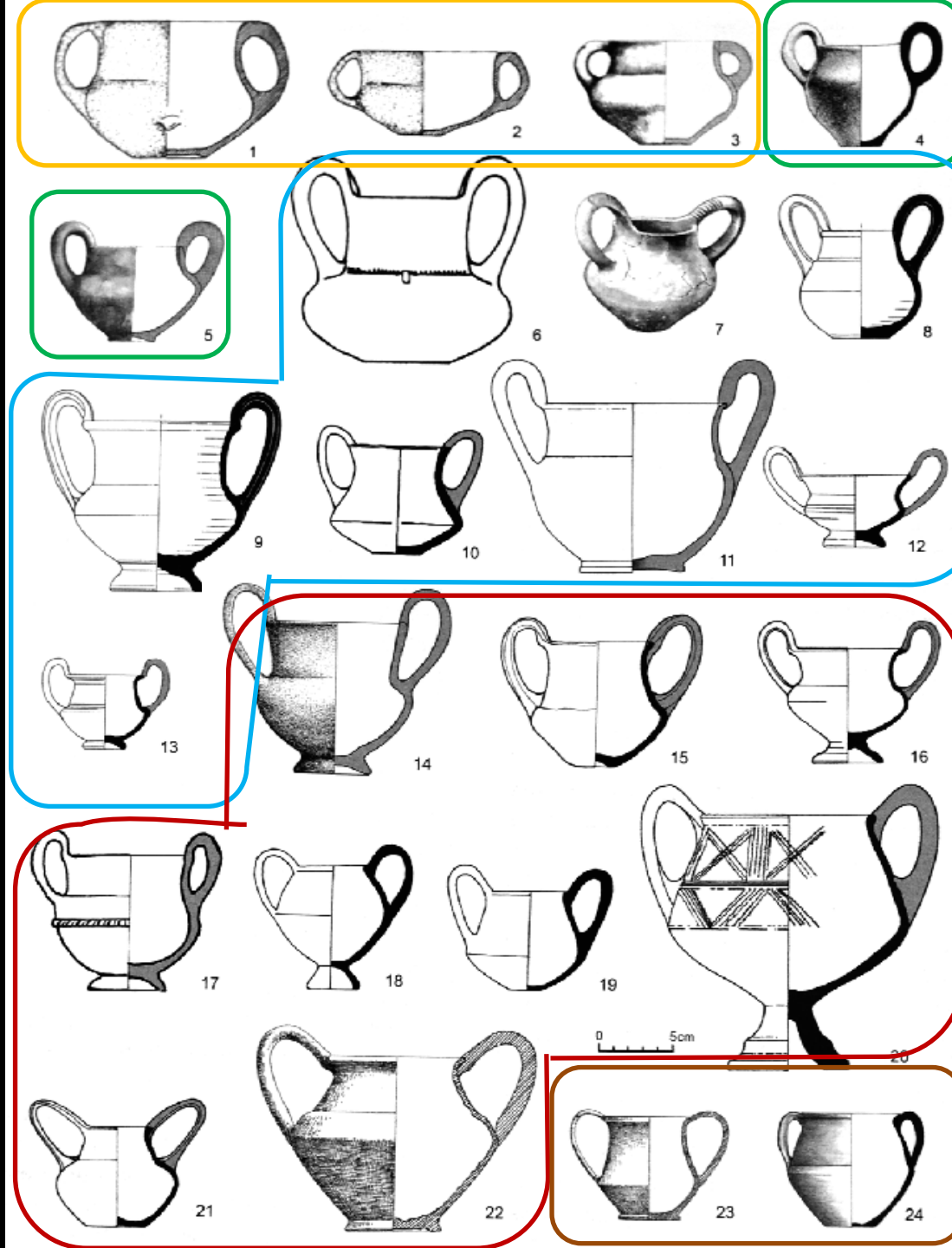
(but there is a ,but‘)



the Danubian kantharoi

... but kantharoi were common in the Balkans from the Aeneolithic, through the Bronze and Iron Ages
In fact it was from the Balkans that kantharos was adopted in Greece

=> LT kantharoi do demonstrate close interaction of the LT populations with others but these others are local non-Greek populations of Carpathian basin



aneolithic
bronze age
early Iron Age
late Iron Age
Roman period

Munich – Obermenzing

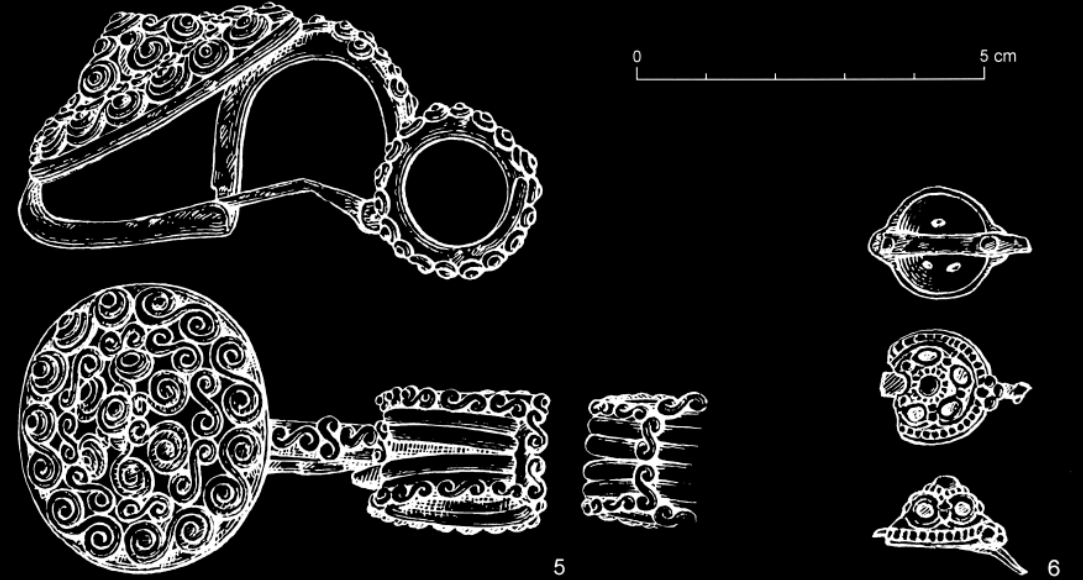
-in a III BC warrior grave there are two surgical instruments – a bone-saw and a retractor
-they are usually presented as proofs of adoption of Greek medical practice though there is no direct parallel to them in Greece...



,false filigree‘

The Greek goldworking method of filigree (gold wire is soldered on top of gold surface) is apparently imitated in LT bronze objects in Carpathian basin (and Moravia) in LT B2–C1

It is possible and interesting... but not something I would consider a groundbreaking Innovation like the following



Through the III BC, new type of two chambered pottery kiln (of Greek origin) is introduced to central Europe from the Carpathian basin

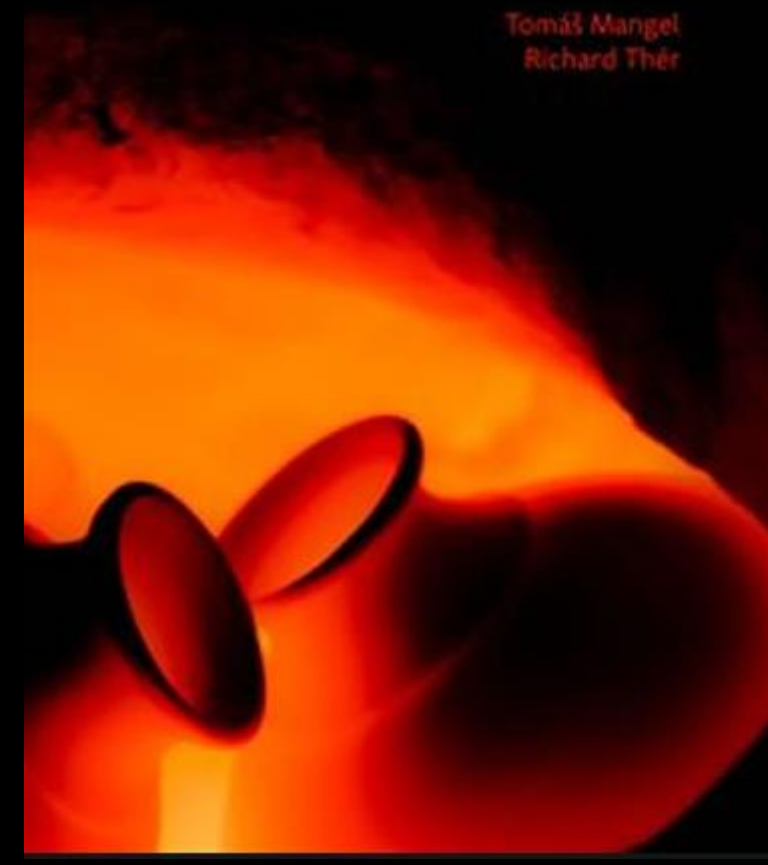
All is explained here ↓

LATÉNSKÉ HRNČÍŘSKÉ PECE VE STŘEDNÍ EVROPĚ

Tomáš Mangel
Richard Thér



In the middle of the III BC, glass begins to be worked in the LT world with Carpathian basin as the principal centre.
(more on it the next time)





In the same period, coinage was first adopted in the LT culture areas

- the earliest examples occur in the Carpathian Basin (Serbia), in Moravia, and at the same time also in the SW Gaul
- based on Macedonian coinage
- more about it in the next lecture

THE CELTS AND THE GALATOMACHIES IN ITALIC AND HELENISTIC ART



galatomachy – [from Gr. Γαλαται Gauls and
μαχειν to fight] = depiction of a fight with Gauls

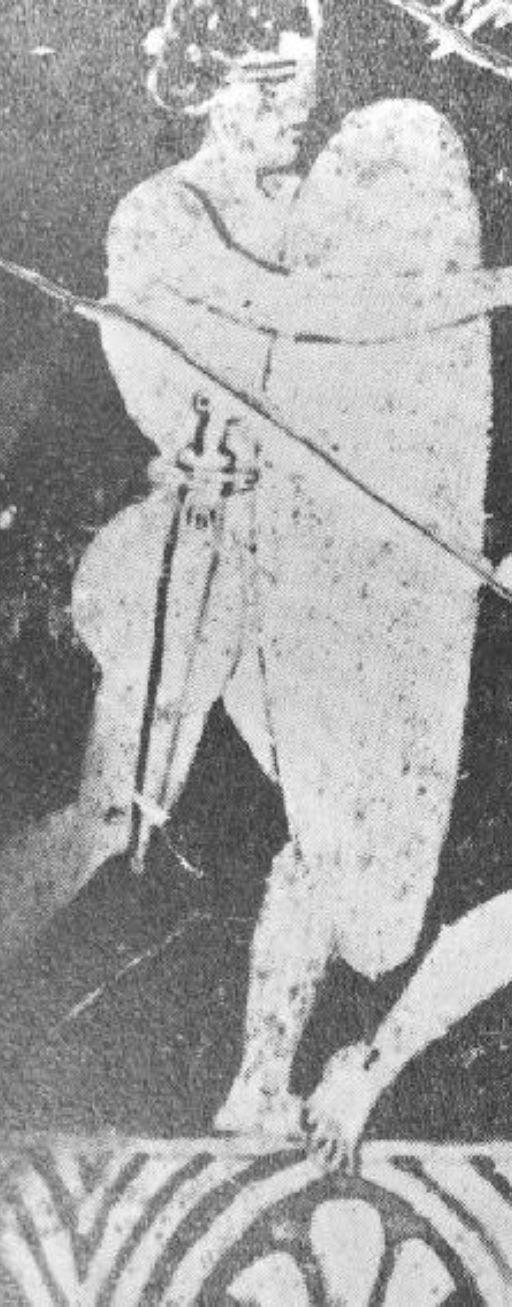
I. HOW TO RECOGNIZE A GALATIAN- IN A -MACHY



Very simply they are using LT weaponry which is quite realistically depicted – long swords on sword-chains, high shields... as a rule, Celts are depicted naked but it doesn't help a lot – so are the Greeks



Faliscan pottery, central Italy, IV BC



Faliscan pottery, central Italy,
IV BC



Delphi

- personification Aitolia seated on a heap of Celtic shields
- thanksgiving for routing the Celts pillaging Kallion in 279 BC
- the first victory monument related to the the Celts known to us



https://www.academia.edu/4933199/Les_repr%C3%A9sentations_d_armes_celtiques_sur_les_monuments_de_victoire_aux_%C3%A9poques_hell%C3%A9nistique_et_romaine._De_la_statue_de_l_%C3%89tolie_vainqueur_%C3%A0_l_arc_d_Orange_origine_et_mutation_d_un_st%C3%A9r%C3%A9otype



Pergamon

gate of the Athena Nikeforos temenos
Eumenes II (197–159 aC)

Dedication to the goddess to commemorate a military victory
but it is unclear which

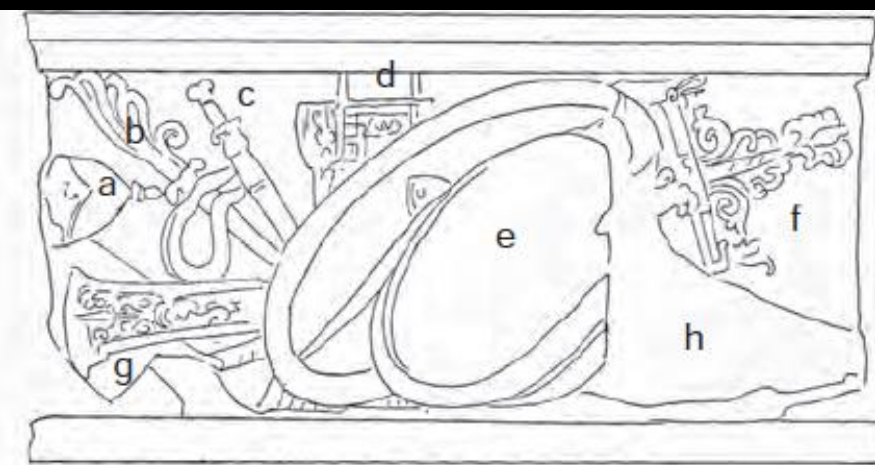
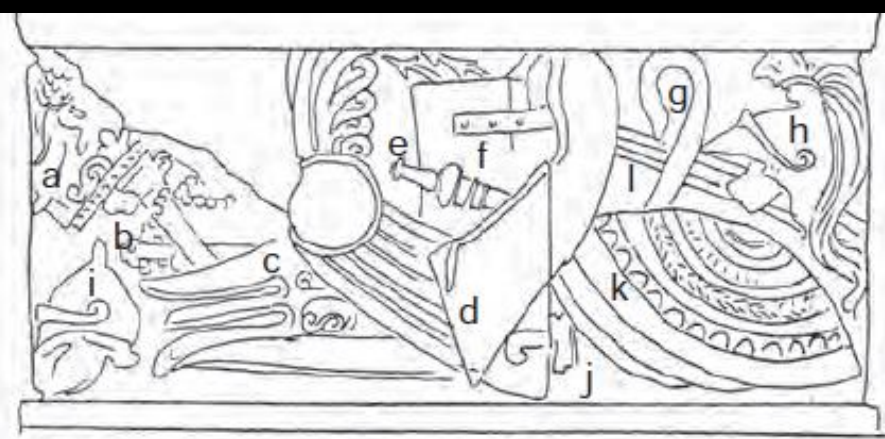
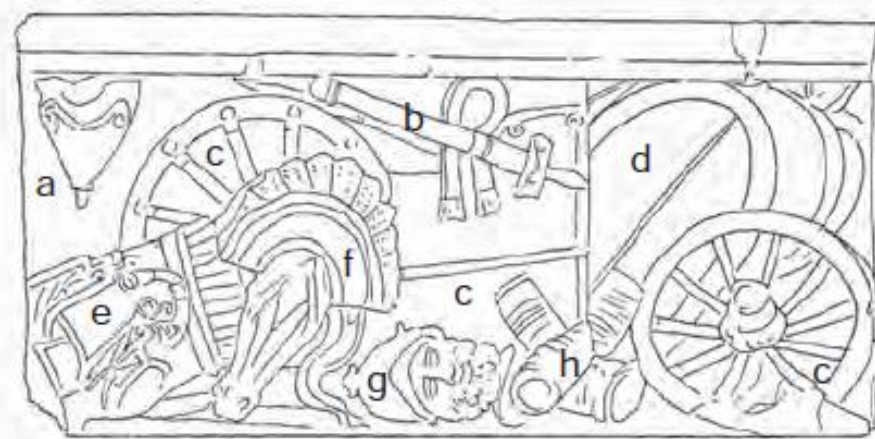
-war against the Celts in 189–183? or in 166?

-war against Macedonia in 172–171 aC?

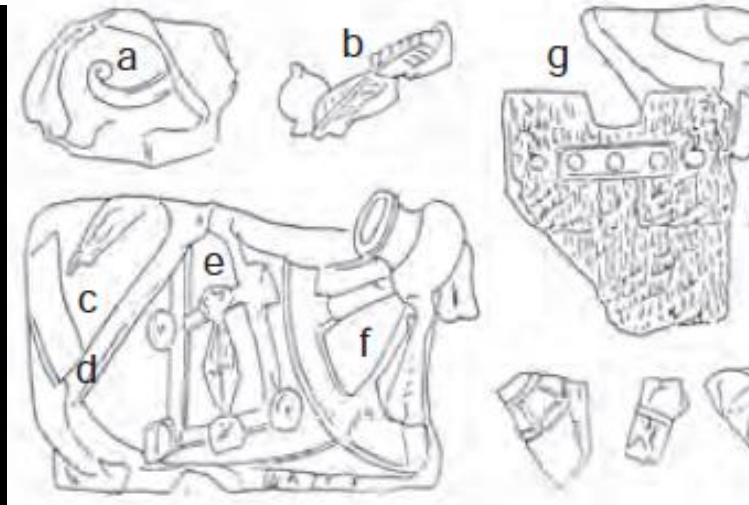
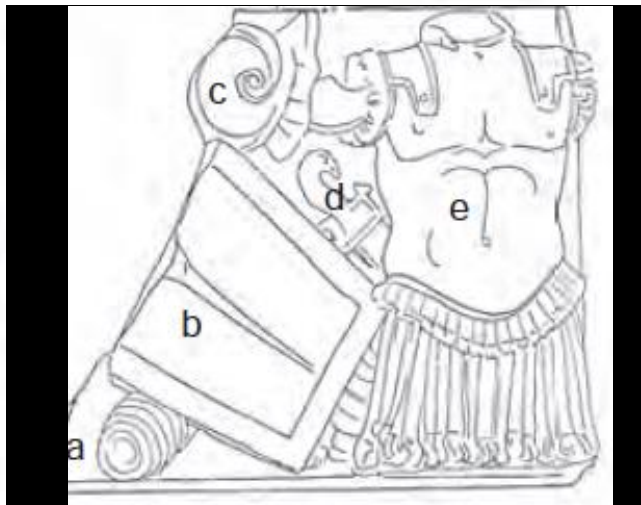
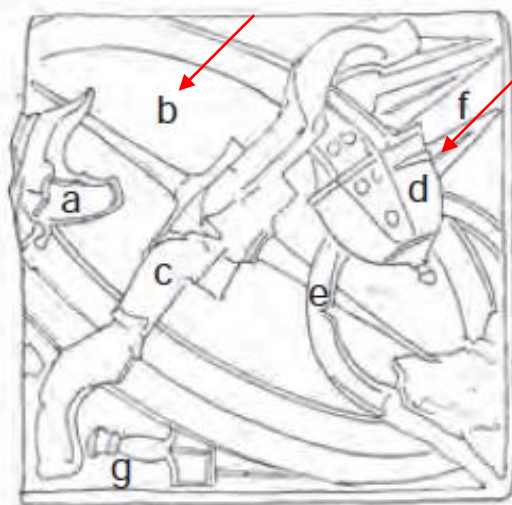
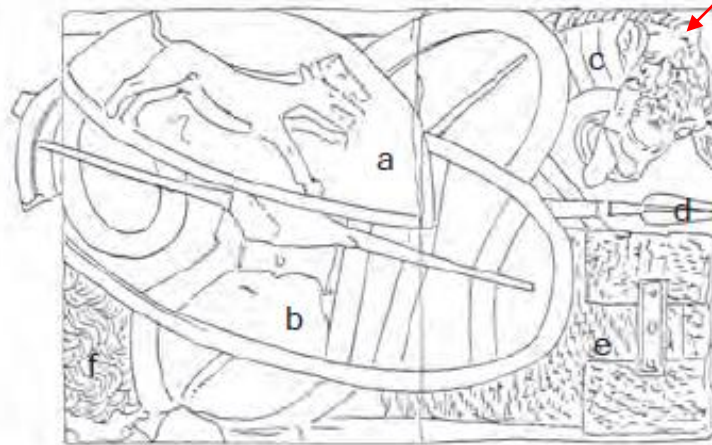
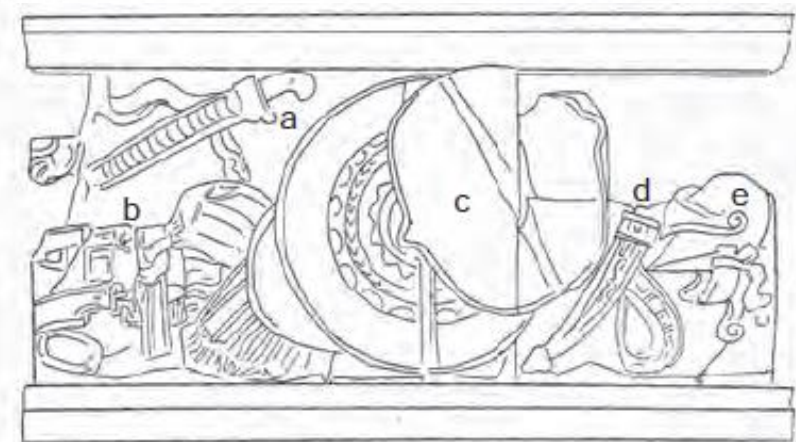
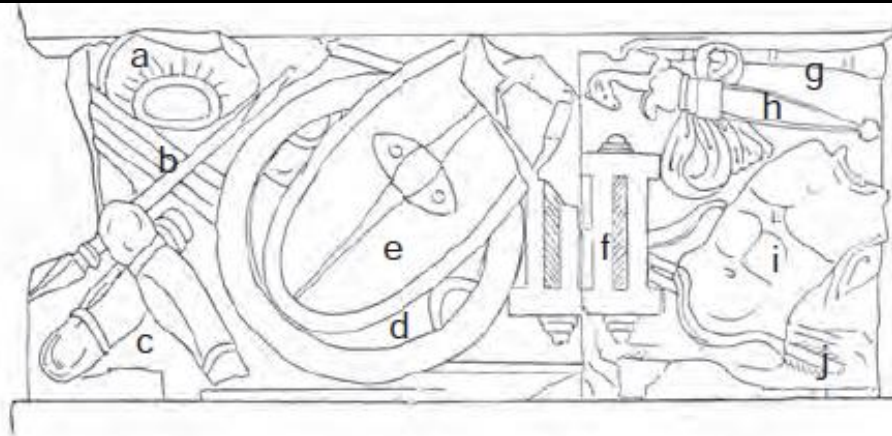
-battle of Magnesia in 190 aC?

Celtic stuff some of which
may belong to the Celts?

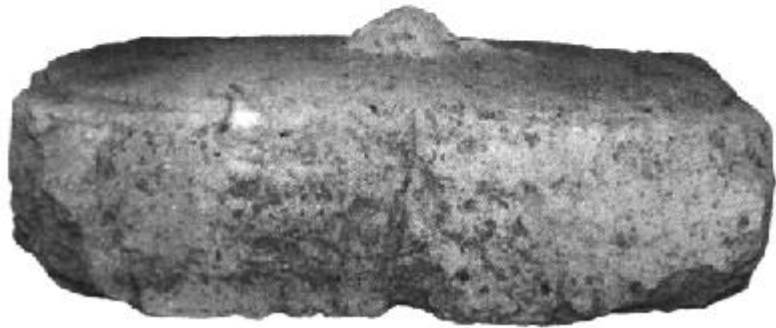




Some (potentially) LT weaponry is mixed with a lot of non-LT weaponry
⇒ Celtic army?
⇒ Celts in Seleucid service?
⇒ Celtic weapons used by Greeks?



Some (potentially) LT
weaponry is mixed with
a lot of non-LT weaponry
⇒ Celtic army?
⇒ Celts in Seleucid
service?
⇒ Celtic weapons used
by Greeks?



← Camarina, Sicily – a gravestone in the shape of a Celtic (?) shield



← 'altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus', Rome

Dioskurides stele (Sidon, Syria)

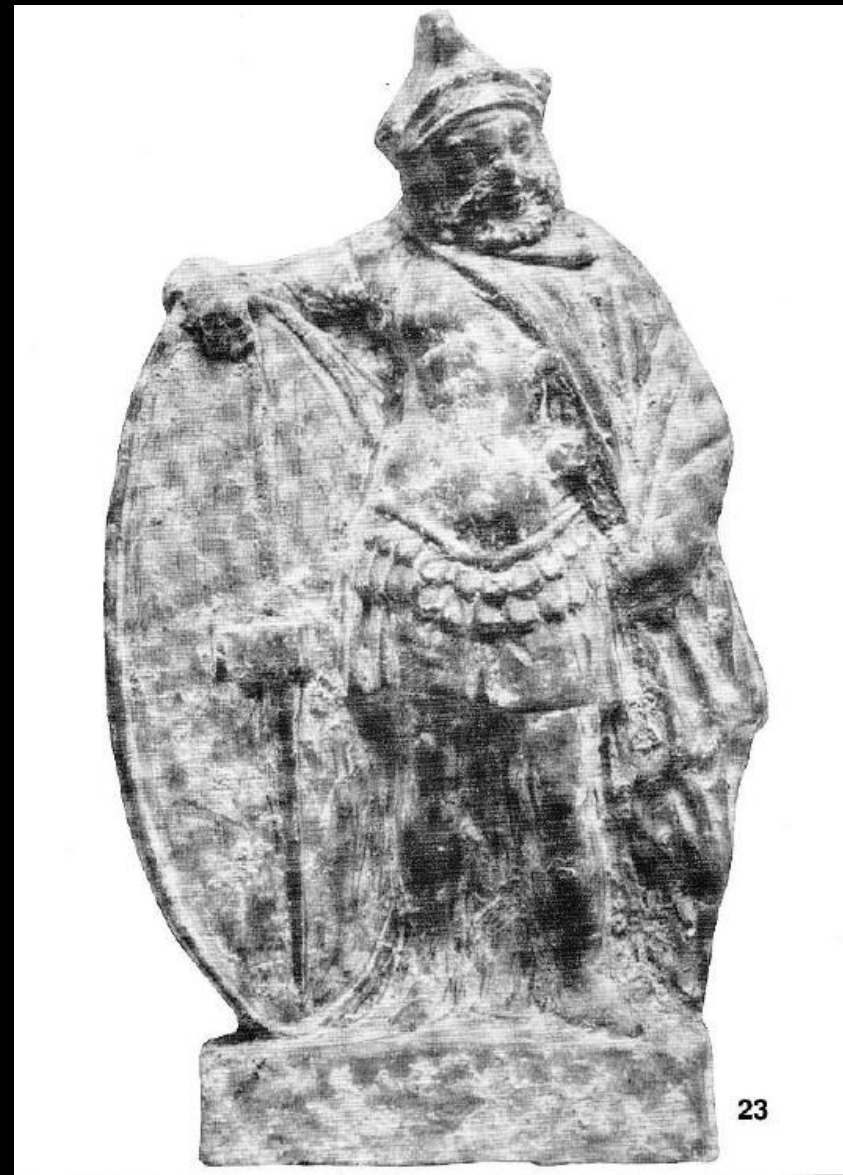


But Celtic weaponry by itself does not necessarily identify its user as a Celt => the Celtic shield (*thyreos*) was adopted by Greeks and *thyreoforoi* became a specific corps within hellenistic armies, for the Romans the Celtic shield became the regular legionary weapon of late republic



=> A Celt?

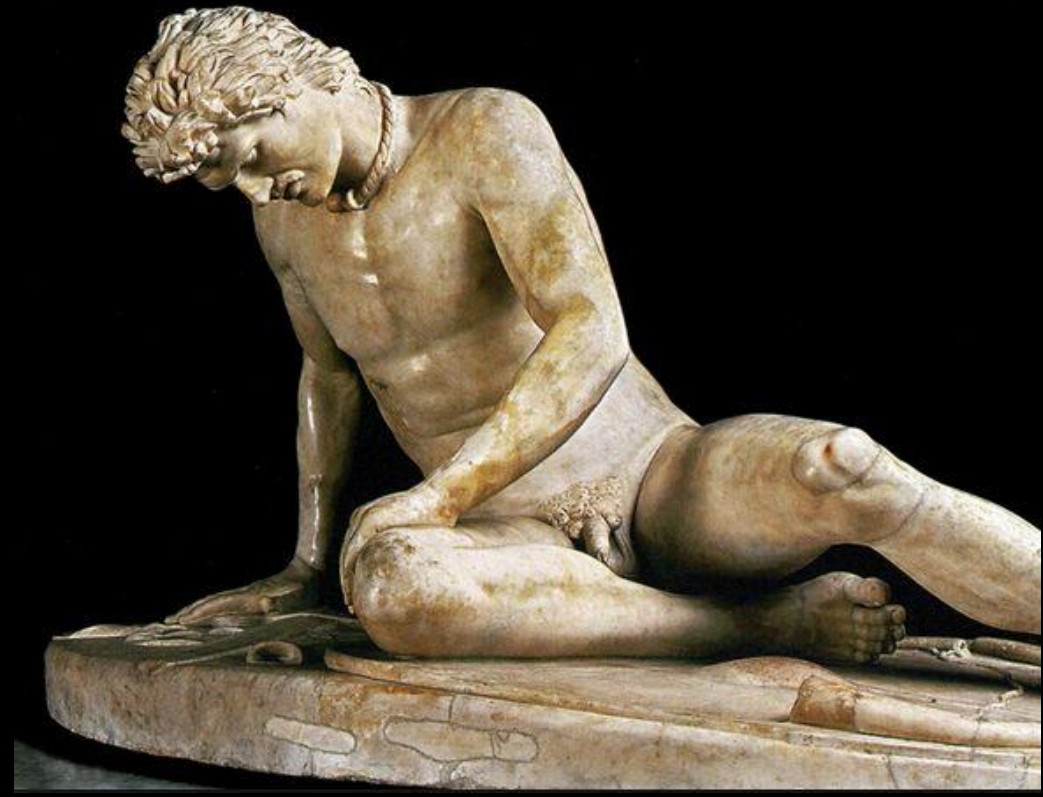
Possibly yes

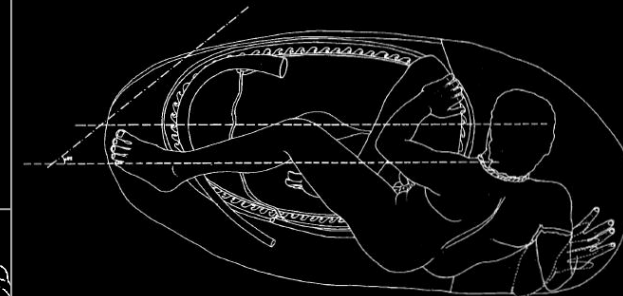
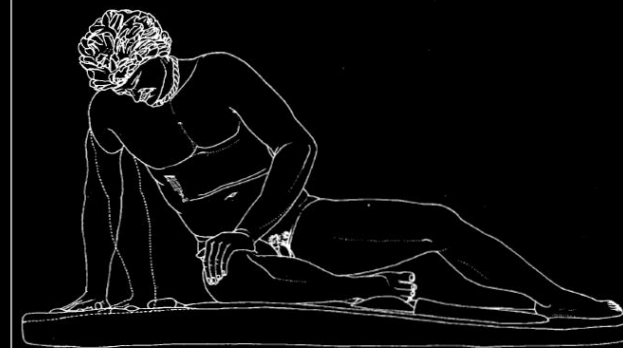
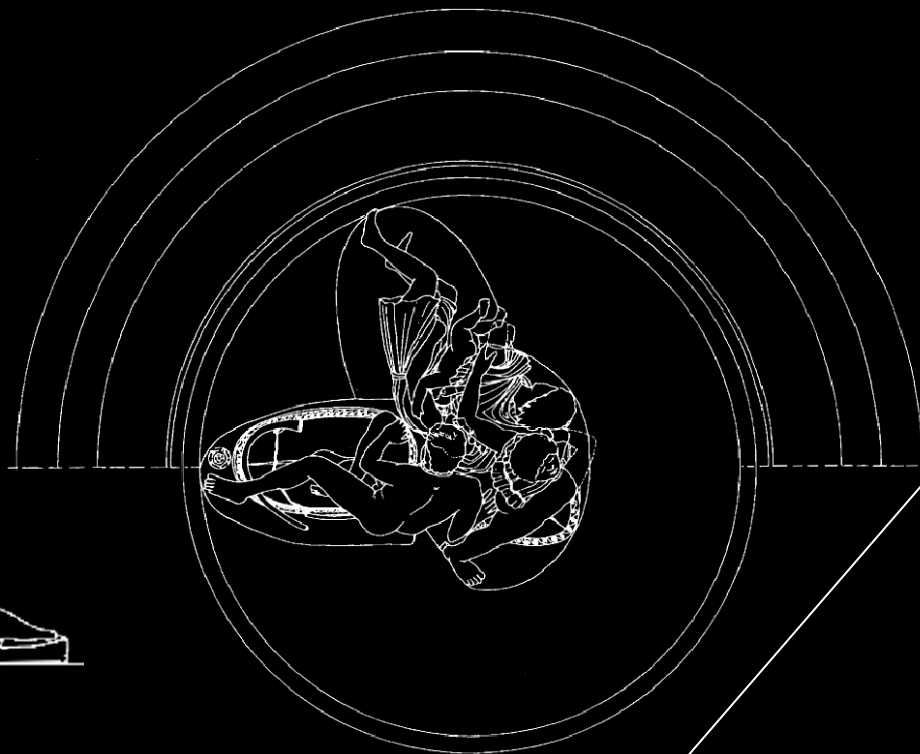
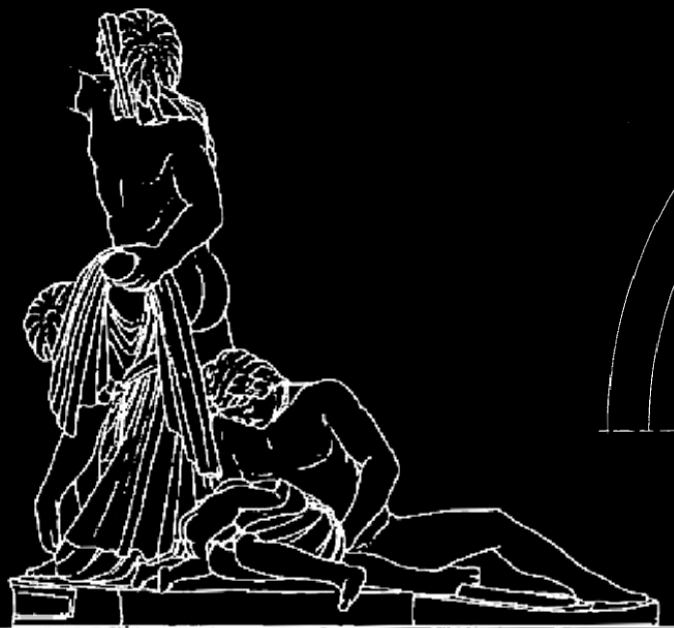


probably not...

2. HOW TO READ THE -MACHIES

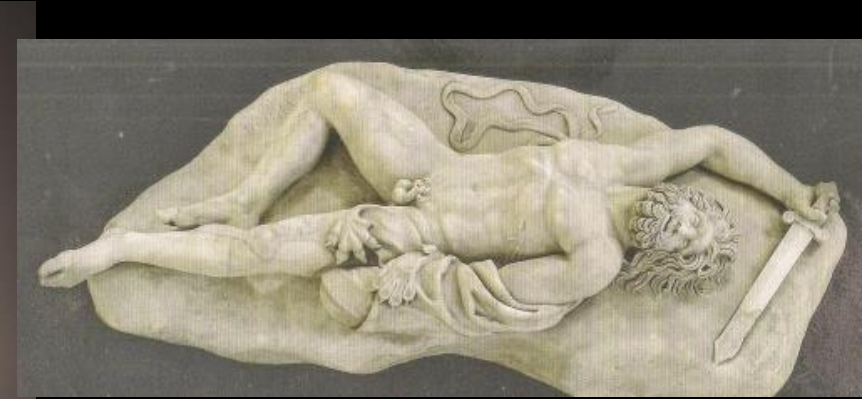
-The most famous of the Galatomachies was dedicated by Attalos of Pergamum to commemorate his 241 BC victory (there are two versions)
-of the Large Votive, two Roman Republican copies survive until today





The precise reconstruction of the original monument need not worry us today





Attalid small votive group...

-originally exposed on the Acropolis in Athens
-preserved in much less impressive copies
-significantly, the Gauls are only one of the defeated enemies along with Giants, Amazons, and Persians = mythical or historical arch-enemies of the Greeks (Amazons and Persians) or of the Gods

=> The Attalids present themselves as protectors of human and divine Order and the Celts become visual symbol of its threat



Galatomachies in the Etruscan art

-A relatively common motif on Late Etruscan urns and sarcophagi

-Although the Etruscans were the first to encounter the Celts with arms, their artistic representations are probably not historical documents but are only secondarily inspired by Microasiatic or Greek iconographic models with Etruscan adaptations



-The Celts are often depicted as defeated while plundering a sanctuary (Delphi?)

= variation on the Etruscans' beloved theme of crime and punishment



The same theme (with the same meaning?) appears in the pediment of the II BC temple in Civitalba



- unspecified Celtomachies
 - extraordinarily brutal in comparison with other Etruscan battle scenes
 - = order × barbarism (~ Pergamum)
 - => totalkrieg



galatomachies are most common in Chiusi in III aC, but...

≠ historical reliefs

= not depictions of specific events / persons but at the most a symbolic and abstract reminder (order × barbarism) using a Greek motif,

-the area seems to be the most appropriate for depictions of the Celts... but Persians are present as well!!!

