

**Intercultural Onomastics  
and Some Patterns of Socio-Political Inclusion  
in the Graeco-Roman World**

**The Example of Galatia in Asia Minor\***

by **Altay Coşkun**

**Abstract**

The Galatians originated from those Celts who had moved East to the Balkans by the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. In the 270s, some of them got involved in the dynastic wars of Asia Minor. Soon afterwards, they settled in central Anatolia, which they ruled until the creation of the Roman province of Galatia in 25 BC. Since only little is known about their cultural identity, a closer look at their personal names shall help to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge. The analysis to be conducted in the first part of this paper starts from the clear dominance of Celtic in the onomastic thesaurus of the last three centuries BC. Prosopographical information is employed to explain that the rare use of foreign names from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC was mainly due to intermarriage with the Galatian aristocracy. From this, however, native Phrygians seem to have been mostly excluded. Since the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century, the new quality of international relations established by king Deiotarus I brought a variety of new (mainly Greek) personal names into the Galatian elite. The second focus is on inscriptions dating to the first three centuries AD. Although Greek and Roman names were then popular throughout Galatia, many villages still show a surprisingly high degree of homogeneity as to the use of either Phrygian or Celtic names. The evidence will become even clearer, if the implications of intercultural naming practices are also considered. This way, the assumption of an early ‘Galatization’ of central Anatolia soon followed by its ‘Hellenization’ is seriously questioned. Further analyses may help to describe more precisely both the modes of ethnic and cultural interbreeding and the extent to which distinctiveness persisted in certain areas.

**A. Introduction:**

**The Land and the Peoples of Ancient Galatia and Some Open Questions**

After various Celtic peoples had moved to the Balkans by the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, some of them were invited to cross over to Asia Minor as mercenaries by the kings of Bithynia and Pontus (situated in the North of modern Turkey). They opposed the Seleucid empire towards the East, but soon raided the Greek cities on the Western and Southern shores for their own benefit. At the same time, they settled in central Anatolia. While this area was mainly inhabited by Phrygians, only a few Greeks had migrated to the cities of

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Gordium (*Gordion*) and Ancyra (*Ankyra*, modern Ankara) in the aftermath of Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian Empire (334–323 BC). It is still a matter of dispute whether the Galatians themselves chose to settle in these remote and mostly arid regions or whether they were assigned these places by their federates or even by their enemies. At any rate, it was the victories won by the Seleucid king Antiochus I in ca. 268 BC, by Attalus I of Pergamum in the 230s BC, and by the Roman general Manlius Vulso in 189 BC that restricted their territories.<sup>1</sup>

By the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, three distinct peoples had emerged. Towards the East settled the Trocmi with the central market place of Tavium (*Tavion*). The West fell to the Tolistobogii. They became neighbours to the most prominent temple state of Pessinus, dedicated to the Phrygian mother goddess Cybele Agdistis, while they directly controlled the former capital of Gordium.<sup>2</sup> In between these two tribes lived the Tectosages, under whose domination the city of Ancyra declined to a village.

The Galatians were split in hundreds of only loosely connected chieftainships, until their gradual centralization culminated in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. The geographer Strabo reports that all of the three tribes had been nicely structured in four tetrarchies, each of which was governed by five officials, and that a council of 300 noblemen formed the highest court of Galatia. But the view of such an orderly republic cannot be reconciled with the remaining evidence, despite its unanimous acceptance by modern scholars. Challenging the common assumption that there were twelve tetrarchies in the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century, I have suggested elsewhere that it was only in the 60s of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC that the Roman proconsul Pompey established (or recognized) four tetrarchs over the Galatians. One of them, Deiotarus I, was even raised to kingship and invested as the ruler of Eastern Pontus and Armenia Minor.<sup>3</sup>

The argument against Strabo could go even farther, for the organization of the Galatians in three tribes is probably the result of a much longer ethnogenesis than hitherto acknowledged. In particular, the provincialization of Galatia under Augustus has biased the accounts of the historians, because it was not prior to 25/20 BC that its inhabitants were divided in three *civitates*, and only then Pessinus became the capital of the Tolistobogians, Ancyra that of the Tectosages and Tavium that of the Trocmi. The names of

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1 For the history of Galatia, cf. the references in the previous note, above all MITCHELL 1993. Cf. also LESCHHORN 1992.

2 Gordium owes its celebrity firstly to its semi-legendary king Midas who allegedly changed to gold whatever he touched, and secondly to the 'Gordian knot' cut through by Alexander the Great.

3 STRAB. *geogr.* 12.5.1, with COŞKUN 2004. But cf. also STROBEL 2002, 240.

other tribes such as the Toutobodiaci or the Tosiopi are either ignored or explained away as groups within one of the three peoples.<sup>4</sup>

Although the study of Galatian archaeology and epigraphy has advanced significantly in recent years,<sup>5</sup> many uncertainties remain as to the precise areas that specific Celtic tribes either settled or ruled, and how they eventually grew together to form the above-mentioned three *civitates*. Closely related is the question of how the invaders treated the indigenous people in the few cities (which they did not destroy but let decay gradually) or in the countryside. Did they incorporate and assimilate these to themselves? Did they consider them as autonomous neighbours, whether friendly or inimical? Or did they degrade them to tax-paying subjects, if not to slaves?

Possibly, they practised all of these options in varying circumstances, but the evidence is scanty. Notwithstanding, it is well known that the Galatians took over elements of Phrygian culture themselves, in that they also worshiped indigenous gods as Cybele or Mēn, or used the same types of pottery. At any rate, intercultural relations were even more complex due to the impact of Hellenic culture and Roman domination. With the lack of conclusive literary sources, the potential of onomastics to elucidate the aforesaid matters has frequently been drawn on, though by no means exhaustively.<sup>6</sup>

## B. Preliminary Remarks on Galatian Onomastics

In what follows, I shall distinguish between ‘Celtic’ and ‘Galatian’ personal names (PNs), in that the former category is conceived as purely linguistic, while the latter includes all attested names in areas of central Asia Minor ruled *and* inhabited by *Galatai*.<sup>7</sup>

I shall begin with some general examples. A probably late-1<sup>st</sup>-century AD Greek inscription commemorates *Diastolē*, the daughter of *Olorix* and the wife of *Epatorix*; all of these PNs are Celtic.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, a slightly younger gravestone reads: “His parents *Omon* and *Rossomara*, and brothers *Mamas* and *Pasikrates*, and maternal aunt *Ammia* and his daughter *Lala* honoured *Archelaos*, in memory”, thus assembling two Celtic, three Phrygian and two Greek PNs.<sup>9</sup> Finally, a 3<sup>rd</sup>-century tombstone mentions *Kyrille*

4 Cf. PLIN. *nat.* 5.146; PLUT. *mor.* 259.

5 Cf. the works of J. STRUBBE, J. DEVREKER, S. MITCHELL and K. STROBEL cited in the bibliography.

6 Cf., e.g., STÄHELIN 1907/73, 109; ROLLER 1987, 103–9; DARBYSHIRE/ MITCHELL 1999, 171; STROBEL 2002, p. 244; 249; 251–54.

7 In fact, many more subdivisions would be useful, such as ‘Pessinuntian’ or ‘Ancyranian’, for every spot shows peculiar onomastic features; but they would exceed the limits of this paper.

8 *RECAM* II, no. 85: spot 23 on maps 1/2: modern Kavak.

9 *RECAM* II 28, spot 5: modern Aşağı İğde Ağaç.

and her father *Seleukos* as well as her grandfather *Gaios* and her mother *Aurelia Klodia* (hence twice Greek and three times Latin).<sup>10</sup>

Although these instances illustrate the fact that cultures did indeed amalgamate in Galatia, they still leave us with many open questions. Most importantly, the relation between the language of a PN and the ethnicity of its bearer has yet to be established. If K. Strobel is right in assuming that the natives of central Anatolia were ‘galatized’ in an early period (n. 38), at least one difficulty arises: why did Phrygian PNs reappear so vigorously in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD after their long absence from the evidence, only to disappear again shortly thereafter? Whoever sets out to tackle this problem will experience that the onomastic material of ancient societies has mainly been collected with regard to the language it belongs to. Complete corpora of PNs for specific areas and periods are rare or, as in the case of central Anatolia, non-existent.<sup>11</sup>

As far as the pre-Celtic strata are concerned, with Phrygian as well as with the Anatolian (esp. Cilician, Lycian, Lydian, Pisidian), Thracio-Bithynian, and Iranian ‘families’, several ‘fragmentary’ languages are at issue. Although scholarship has much advanced over the last decades, the most comprehensive work is still L. Zgusta’s *Kleinasiatische Personennamen (KPN)*.<sup>12</sup> In contrast, for Greek and Roman PNs important reference works do exist. Most prominent is the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN)*. But while the volume designed to cover coastal Asia Minor is currently in preparation (*LGPN V A 1*), the collection of the material of inland Anatolia (*LGPN V B*) will take many more years.<sup>13</sup>

As to Celtic, A.Th. Holder gathered everything of relevance known in his day (1896-1914) in his monumental *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz (ACS)*. Most of the Galatian PNs have been reassembled – and partly discussed – by L. Weisgerber (1931), K. H. Schmidt (1994), Ph. Freeman (*GN* 2001), and X. Delamarre (*DLG* 2003). While part of Holder’s material is missing there, some more recent findings have been included.<sup>14</sup>

It is thus inevitable to work through the numerous epigraphic collections, which are, again, much disadvantaged for inner Anatolia. Noteworthy are the source book for

10 *RECAM* II 241, spot 102: modern Culuk.

11 Noteworthy exceptions are WEISGERBER 1968; ALFÖLDY 1969.

12 Cf. also ROBERT 1963. For Phrygian in particular, cf. INNOCENTE 1997; also NEROZNAK 1992; STRUBBE 1978/79; FREI 1992. For Carian, cf. BLÜMEL 1992.

13 I should like to thank E. Matthews (Oxford) and Th. Corsten (Oxford and Heidelberg) who have checked the unpublished data of *LGPN* according to my particular requests. Still indispensable is PAPE/ BENSELER<sup>3</sup> 1911.– For Roman PNs cf. KAJANTO 1965; SOLIN/ SALOMIES 1994.

14 WEISGERBER 1931. For *ACS*, *GN*, and *DLG*, see bibliography; in contrast to my narrow definition, Freeman labels as ‘Galatian’ every Celtic word or name in the Eastern Mediterranean. Cf. also STÄHELIN 1907/73, 109–20 (prosopography); DRESSLER 1967; SCHMIDT 1994 (p. 28 on the want of a “kontrastiver Vergleich ... mit den nichtgalatischen ... Namensschichten”).

Ancyra edited by E. Bosch and – most recently – the corpus of Pessinuntian inscriptions by J. Strubbe, while most of the remainder is dispersed in several journals. The outstanding resource is S. Mitchell’s edition of ca. 550 mainly funerary or votive inscriptions from outside the major excavation areas. They date—with a handful of exceptions—to the first five centuries AD.<sup>15</sup> Not yet considered are references scattered throughout the literary sources.<sup>16</sup> Hence it is apparent that the completion of a corpus of Galatian PNs is still a long time ahead.<sup>17</sup>

## C. Intercultural Onomastics in Ancient Galatia: Two Enquiries

### I. Galatian Personal Names in the Hellenistic Period (3<sup>rd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> Centuries BC)

As the Galatians did not adopt epigraphic habits prior to the imperial period, we have to rely mainly on literary sources for the first three centuries of their history. Consequently, most of the attested name bearers cannot be located precisely, while it is much easier to establish an approximate date for their lives. Most importantly, the shapes of the names have been open to distortion by foreign authors and copyists. At any rate, nearly all instances refer to the upper classes: kings, dynasts, their families or their representatives, a fact which must always be kept in mind when drawing conclusions on the persons involved. This said, it is striking that the vast majority of the early attested PNs are Celtic compounds. For the 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, three Greek PNs could be adduced. But one or two of them are better explained as Celtic transformed by Greek diplomats or writers. In the remaining case(s), the connection of the name bearer(s) to Galatia in its strict sense may well be questioned.<sup>18</sup> Hence foreign PNs were extremely rare among the early Galatian nobility, if at all traceable. The first indisputable evidence dates to the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. By the time of king Amyntas’ death in 25 BC, another twelve noblemen and one or two ladies are known to have borne PNs other than Celtic.

15 BOSCH, 1967; STRUBBE 2005; and MITCHELL, *RECAM* II.

16 For access to them, cf. MITCHELL 1993; STÄHELIN 1907/73; *GN*.

17 DARBYSHIRE/ MITCHELL 1999, 171 n. 1 announce a repertorium to be in preparation by Prof. A.D. Macro.

18 No Greek onomastic tradition can be traced for *Paidopolitēs*, the son of Ortiagon, but cf. Celt. *Bēpolitānos*. *Apatūrios* and *Lysimachos* served Seleucus III (223 BC) and Antiochus III (217 BC) respectively as leaders of Celtic mercenaries. *Apatūrios* somehow resembles Celtic PNs on *Apa-* (cf. *ACS* I, pp. 164–67). – *Attis*, high priest of Cybele and brother of *Aioiorix* (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC) is ignored here, for his name was due to his priestly function; moreover, Pessinus lay then outside the sphere of direct Galatian influence. I overgo the slaves *Pheidippos* (*CIC. Deiot.* 17) and *Elektra* (below, n. 27). *Kamma*, the famous priestess of Artemis, is a much-disputed case; HOFENEDER 2004 tentatively opts for a non-Celtic extraction of the priestess and of her PN, but cf. COŞKUN, *Galatien*. – Cf. MITCHELL 1993 and STÄHELIN 1907/73 for the sources.

- 1) *Berronike* or *Berenike*, the wife of king Deiotarus I (ca. 120–41/40 BC);
- 2) *Stratonike*, possibly the wife of Deiotarus III or IV, who ruled Paphlagonia ca. 41/31–ca. 6 BC;<sup>19</sup>
- 3–6) *Kastor* I, son of *Tarkondaros*, tetrarch of the Tectosages († 42 BC); further his homonymous son and grandson (*Kastor* II/ III), the latter of whom was king of Galatia ca. 41/40–37/36 BC;<sup>20</sup>
- 7–9) *Antigonos*, *Dorylaos* and *Hieras*, ambassadors of Deiotarus I in 45 BC;
- 10) *Mithridates*, son of Menodotus (priest of Pergamum) and Adobogiona (sister of Brogitarus, king of the Trocmi), friend of Caesar who established him as king of the Trocmi in 47 BC († 46);
- 11–12) *Amyntas*, son of Dyitalus, secretary of Deiotarus I in 42 BC, and king of Galatia, Lycaonia, Pisidia 37/36–25 BC; further his homonymous grandson (son of Brigatus and great-grandson of Deiotarus I);
- 13) *Pylaimenes*, the son of king Amyntas (and priest of Augustus in Ancyra in 30/31 AD).

1) In an official inscription, the wife of Deiotarus I is called *Berenike*, a name frequent among Hellenistic queens. But she figures as *Berronike* in an anecdote related by Plutarch. The historiographer Justin records one *Beronice*, the last queen of Pergamum († 133). The PN *Ber(r)on(e)ike* is further attested in inscriptions from Mysia, Lycia, Phrygia, and Galatia.<sup>21</sup> Hence *Berronike* probably was the daughter of an influential Phrygian, whom the Tolistobogian Deiotarus deemed worthy to marry. It is remarkable that the latter publicly styled his wife *Berenike* in his principal residence of Blucium in 42 BC. As the first Galatian king he was keen to imitate Hellenistic rulers, also in assuming the royal cognomen *Philorhomaïos*, i.e. ‘Friend of the Romans’ or ‘Loving the Romans’. His son Deiotarus II was given the cognomen *Philopator*, i.e. ‘Loving his father’ – also very common among Hellenistic kings. The names and cognomina thus demonstrated his family’s inclusion into the Graeco-Roman world.<sup>22</sup> But despite this affiliation, he preferred Celtic compound names for his children and grandchildren, among whom three further *Deiotaroi*, two *Adobogionai*, and one *Brigatos* are known.

3–6), 11–12) However, there were also three *Kastores* and one *Amyntas* among the offspring of Deiotarus I. The choice of these Greek names was certainly attractive, for *Kastor* was one of the divine twins, the Dioscuri, who were worshipped throughout the East. And *Amyntas* not only had the transparent meaning ‘the defender’ but had also been

19 PLUT. *mor.* 258d. She is often regarded as Deiotarus I’s wife, but cf. COŞKUN, *Galatien*.

20 The grandson of Tarcondarus is commonly identified with king Castor, but cf. COŞKUN, *Galatien*.

21 *RECAM* II 188; PLUT. *mor.* 1109b; IUST. 36.4.1, with SETTIPANI 2000, 465 f.– For further attestations of imperial date, cf., e.g., *RECAM* II 128; 166 (Galatia); VON FRITZE, 1910, pp. 93, 97 (*Nympidia Beronikē*); MALAY 1994, no. 427 (*Beroneikē*) (Daldis area, north of Sardis); *Tituli Asiae Minoris (TAM)* V.1 no. 137; *KPN* 171 § 355–28 (Lycia; name not considered as Anatolian).

22 For further references to such cognomina, cf. COŞKUN 2005, 18.

borne by Macedonian kings. However highly such features might have been estimated, these names result from intermarriage with the families of the tetrarch Castor I and of king Amyntas. Of course, the question remains whether the first Galatian bearers of these Greek PNs owed them to their fathers' respect for Hellenic heroes and kings, to their predilection for Greek culture or, once again, to marriage bonds with Hellenistic dynasties or aristocrats from the Greek cities. In fact, several prosopographical indications speak for the latter options.

2), 10–13) King Amyntas, although begotten by the Galatian Dyitalus, was himself the father of *Pylaimenes*, whose name recalls the long line of Paphlagonian kings. A connection with their offspring is feasible, though it may well postdate Amyntas' political ascendancy in the late 40s BC. The question of how *Amyntas* became a 'Galatian' name thus remains open. But other instances of intermarriage with Hellenistic dynasties, such as the betrothal of Deiotarus II with an Armenian princess by 51 BC, or the matrimony between Adobogiona, the sister of the Trocmian king Brogitarus, and a priest of Pergamum (possibly 70s BC) are well attested.<sup>23</sup> As to *Stratonike*, the date (late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC) and location (Paphlagonia?) as well as her name point to her extraction from either Pontic or Paphlagonian royalty.

3–6) In the case of the *Kastores*, their forbear *Tarkondaros* must have been of Cilician descent, since his unique name strongly resembles that of the Tarcondimotid kings of Rough Cilicia. Moreover, the only other Cilician name on Galatian territory is attested in the south of the Tectosagan tetrarchy. In this context, it should be noted that Castor I resided in Gorbeus and controlled this very region.<sup>24</sup> Further on, Cicero states that only Deiotarus I had exalted him from obscurity to importance by giving him the hand of his daughter.<sup>25</sup> A probable scenario would therefore be that after Mithridates VI of Pontus had massacred most of the Galatian aristocracy in 86 BC, Tarcondarus joined forces with Deiotarus. After expelling the Pontic troops from central Anatolia, he secured the control of the Southern Tectosagan territory and married his son Castor I to a daughter of Deiotarus.

23 Cf. CIC. *Att.* 5,21,2 (Deiotarus II); [CAES.] *bell. Alex.* 78 (Mithridates, nephew of Brogitarus).

24 He figures as *Tarcondarius Castor* in CAES. *civ.* 3.4.5, but as *Kastor*, (son) of *Saokondaros* and the lord of Gorbeus in STRAB. *geogr.* 12.5.3, hence *Tarcondarius* is in all likelihood a patronymic. Due to the element *-cond-* (cf. DLG<sup>2</sup>, 124 on *condo-* 'tête', 'raison') and the *t/s-*variation (<*tau gallicum*?), I once assumed Celtic origin, but neither the first element (if deriving from *sag-* ['seek'], it should be *sagi-* or *sai-*, cf. DLG<sup>2</sup>, 265) nor the derivation in *-arios* (to be distinguished from the basis *taro-* as in *Brogitaros*, cf. DLG<sup>2</sup>, 291) can be explained conclusively as Celtic. – For the onomastic context, cf. RECAM II 409: "*Trokondimotes* for his mother *Tattis*, in gratitude"; also KPN 486–93 on Cilician *Tarko-*/*Troko-*names; p. 502 § 1517–13 on *Tattis* (popular in Isauria).

25 CIC. *Deiot.* 30 *vestram familiam abiectam et obscuram e tenebris in lucem evocavit* (sc. Deiotarus).

The examples hitherto discussed permit us to infer firstly that, by the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC, most of the few non-Celtic names among the Galatian aristocracy were due to marriage bonds with influential neighbours. If we accept that Galatian rule over central Anatolia was harsh and deprived the natives of wealth and prominence, it will be evident that intercultural dynastic marriages could only be arranged with celebrities from outside the territory directly controlled by the Galatians. The possibility of having native concubines (and hence mothers) is thereby not excluded, but no such liaison seems to have left its traces in the onomastic evidence.<sup>26</sup>

Secondly, the earliest attested examples of intermarriage with Hellenistic dynasties or the elite of the Greek *poleis* date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. It is therefore a plausible assumption that the friendship between Galatians and Romans as well as their concerted opposition to Mithridatic expansionism turned the Galatians from fear-inspiring mercenaries or lawless raiders into attractive partners. This change was enhanced by the central role Galatian kings and tetrarchs played in securing the frontiers of Asia Minor after its reorganization by Pompey (66-59 BC) and Mark Antony (42-31 BC). It was in the same period that Greek cities as Trapezus and Pharnacia fell under the direct rule of Galatian dynasts. These developments also coincided with their earliest activities of building Hellenistic-style cities and residences,<sup>27</sup> of minting own coins and exhibiting Greek inscriptions for the first time, of establishing a uniformed standing army after the Roman model, of conferring benefactions on western Greek cities and participating more broadly in diplomatic networks.<sup>28</sup>

7–9) Corresponding to these trends, the multiplication of Greek PNs among the Galatian elite may next be explained—at least in part—by the fact that many aristocrats or highly skilled professionals from the newly annexed or neighbouring Greek cities as well

26 The fact that Stratonice accepted the (anonymous) children born by her slave Electra was possibly exceptional only in respect of the (main) wife's behaviour, cf. PLUT. *mor.* 258d. Another case of polygyny is implied in PLUT. *mor.* 1049c. – Cf. also STROBEL 2002, 246 with general remarks on polygamy. S. further below, n. 37.

27 For Deiotarus' initiative to build a city, cf. PLUT. *Crass.* 17.2. Karalar (spot 65) is considered to be ancient *Blukion*, the main residence of Deiotarus I; 45 km to the west, Tabanlıoğlu Kale is possibly identical with *Peïon* known as his treasury. Zengibar Kale is located far outside the Galatian territory in the Taurus and was not yet finished when Amyntas died in 25 BC. All other Galatian forts uncovered so far were more primitive, cf. DARBYSHIRE/ MITCHELL 1999, 182–88.

28 For the coinage: J. DEVREKER, in Devreker/ Waelkens 1984, 173 f., though with my reservations in COŞKUN, *Galatien*. The oldest Galatian inscription hitherto published is *RECAM* II 188 of 42 BC, found in Karalar (s. above, n. 27). For Deiotarus' army, cf. CIC. *Att.* 6,1,14; [CAES.] *bell. Alex.* 34,4; 40,4; 68,2. For Galatian euergetism, cf. COŞKUN 2004, 699 n. 65. For Deiotarus' diplomacy, cf. COŞKUN 2005b. – Only the use of Hellenistic pottery (beside the more common Anatolian ware) is much earlier, cf. DARBYSHIRE/ MITCHELL 1999, 172–92, also on clothing, military equipment, religion and burials; STROBEL 2002, 250. For a final assessment, s. below, n. 37.

as from the disrupted Pontic or Bithynian courts found their ways to Galatian patrons. Perhaps this was the case for some of Deiotarus' above-mentioned ambassadors.

1), 8–9) Notwithstanding all these possibilities, the example of *Berronike/ Berenike* hints at an inclination to hellenize or romanize Celtic or Phrygian PNs, in particular in diplomatic contexts.<sup>29</sup> A different mode may have been at issue with the ambassadors *Hieras* or *Dorylaos*: these names could appear suitable to learned Galatians, as their Greek bases seem to translate popular Celtic onomastic motifs.<sup>30</sup>

It is finally a reasonable assumption that, until the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, but probably also far beyond, the bearer of a Celtic name was in all likelihood of Celtic or at least of mixed origin.

## II. The Evidence of the High Empire (1<sup>st</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> Centuries AD)

When I now proceed to touch upon the evidence of the imperial period—mostly grave-stones of the first three centuries AD—, I shall abstain from adequately characterizing the acceleration of intercultural processes under Roman rule. Nor will be done justice to the problem of Roman *duo* or *tria nomina* and their implication of Roman citizenship. The focus will rather be on the ethnicity of name bearers as well as on the geographical dimensions of Celtic settlement. My premise is that, if the distribution of Celtic or indigenous names within single families and within particular areas appears to be homogenous, it will be legitimate to draw conclusions on the ethnicity of their bearers accordingly.

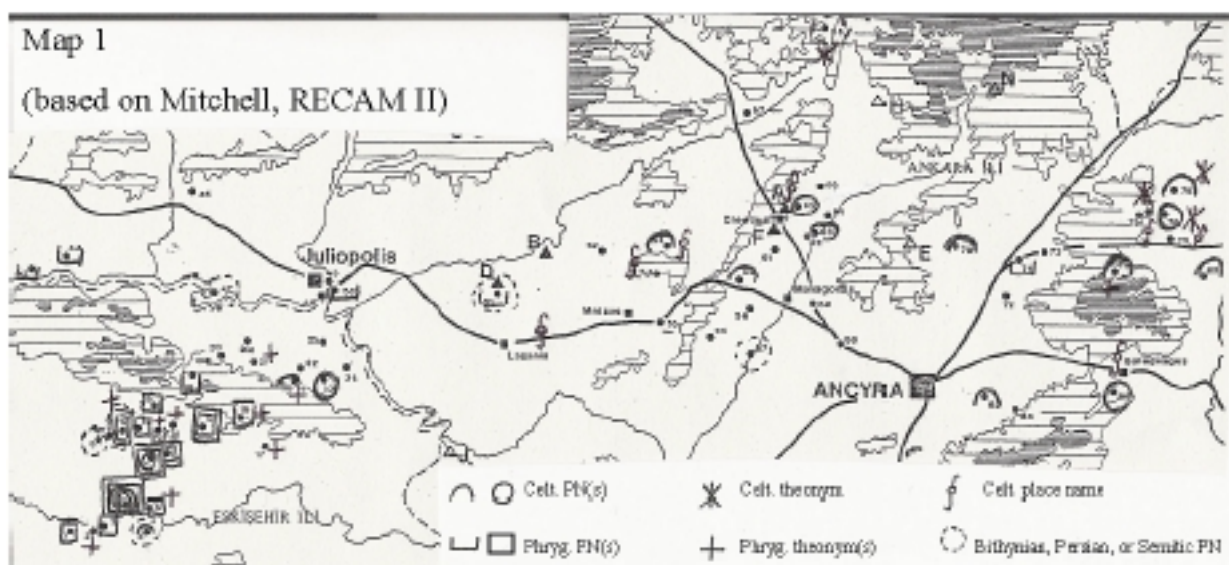
Map 1 shows the Northern sections of the Tolistobogian and Tectosagan territories. The numbered spots indicate the locations of regional inscriptions. While I have ignored Greek and Roman PNs in my first approach, I have marked with a circle the record of Celtic and with a quad the record of Phrygian or Anatolian PNs. Half a circle or quad means that only one attestation of a relevant name has been found; two circles/ quads represent four or more occurrences. Large dotted circles indicate either Bithynian, Persian, or Semitic PNs. Eventually, one gains the impression that most areas have a dominant, either Celtic or Phrygian, imprint. Moreover, these results match the distribution of divine (Celtic \* / Phrygian +) and place names (only Celtic considered: §). Although the

29 On *Domnekleios/ Domnilaus* (ca. 48 BC), cf. my analysis in *Amici Populi Romani Reipublicae Exeuntis* (<http://www.sfb600.uni-trier.de>, link 'Teilprojekte', link 'A 2', link 'Materialien').

30 As to the motifs of 'holiness' (*hierós*) or of 'spear' (*dóry*), one may refer to Celtic PNs with the elements *sacro-* or *gaiso-*, cf. *DLG*<sup>2</sup> pp. 264f. and 174 respectively. – Since our evidence (Greek and Latin inscriptions or literary texts) is strongly biased, it can only exceptionally be decided whether a name pair (given name/ adapted name) or only a single intercultural name was in use. More on intercultural names below in sect. II.

principles of intercultural theonymy and toponymy differ from anthroponymy, most of the evidence fits the afore-said patterns.<sup>31</sup>

Admittedly, the distinctive tendencies would emerge less clearly, if *Domnos* and *Domnē* were taken into account. Although normally regarded as Phrygian PNs, *Domnus* and *Domna* were also popular in Gaul and Noricum. Compare further the names of the Haeduan *Dumnorix* or of the Tectosagan *Domnekleios*, whereas *Domnallus* was frequent in Ireland. All of these PNs are based on the Celtic root *dubno-* ('deep', 'dark', 'world'). Moreover, the assonance to Latin *dominus/ domina* (whence the Roman PNs *Domnus/ Domna*) seem to have further enhanced the popularity of *Domnos/ Domnē* in Roman Galatia. The Latin notion even seems to have instigated the translation into Greek, for *Ky-*



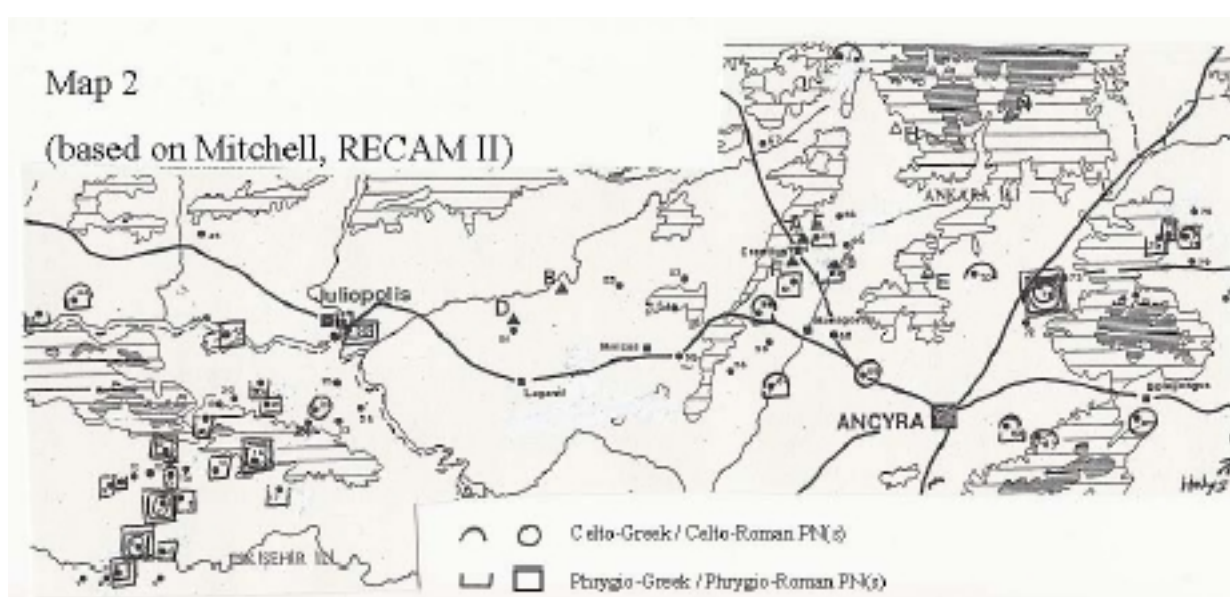
*rios*, *Kyriilos* and their derivatives were especially popular throughout Galatia.<sup>32</sup> Being based either on homophony (*Domnos*) or on translation (*Kyrios*), these examples are ideal to explain the two principal types of intercultural naming, apart from the simpler

31 Celtic place names in the area under inspection are *Chorion Artikniakon* (spot 53) and *Erigobrogis* (ca. 5 km south-west); *Blukion* (above, n. 27); *Bolekaskos* (east of Ancyra); *Ikotarion* (near spot 78); *Konkarztiakiton Chorion* (spot 79); *Petobrogen* (ca. 45 km east of Iuliopolis). Doubtful, intercultural, and Phrygian toponyms have to be ignored here. – Dedications: to Zeus *Suolibrogenos* (spot 68) and to Zeus *Bussurigos* (spots 76–78), esp. *RECAM II* 201, 206 (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD); *Aurelius Sentamos* was a worshipper of *Bussurigos* and a priest of *Cybele*; cf. also *STROBEL* 2002, 251 f. Dedications to the Phrygian gods *Matar/ Meter* (13a); *Zeus Akreinenos* (spot 21); *Zeus Bronton* (spots 13a, 21); *Zeus Narenos* (spots 10, 13, 16, 17, 24); *Zeus Saryendenos* (spot 21); Phrygian curse formula (spot 74?). For a Celtic high priest of *Cybele* (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC), s. above, n. 18; for coins of *Mēn* minted by *Deiotarus I*, s. above, n. 28. Cults with Greek names only have been ignored here.

32 The register of *RECAM II* offers 38 references for *Domnos* and its derivatives, 11 for *Kyrios* etc. For the Celtic evidence, cf. *ACS I* 1302–4 (with the omission of *Domnus*, *-a*, *-os*, *-e*); *DLG<sup>2</sup>* 151 f. (but not mentioned in the list of homonyms, pp. 349 f.).

categories of *Entlehnung* and transliteration. As has been deployed in a previous paper, L. Weisgerber coined the notion of *Deckname*, i.e. ‘cover name’, for a name that transports a particular onomastic tradition into a different cultural context.<sup>33</sup>

Accordingly, I have also looked for further Greek and Roman PNs with similarly ‘hidden’ onomastic traces. Except for Celto-Phrygian homonyms, they are marked on map 2. Most typical of areas in which Celtic PNs dominate is *Akylas*, the common Greek transliteration of Roman *Aquila* (‘Eagle’), which resembles the Celtic PNs on *Ak(k)o-* (‘Swift’).<sup>34</sup> The Phrygian predilection for theophoric PNs was extended to Graeco-Phrygian hybrid forms (e.g., *Menophilos*) as well as to a variety of Greek theonyms used as PNs (e.g., *Asklepios*, *Helios*) and of theophoric PNs (e.g., *Asklepiades*, *Dionysios*);



further on, a significant number of Greek PNs recall the Phrygian god *Mēn* (‘Moon’) although they are based on a different root (such as *Mēnandros* < *men-* ‘sense’).<sup>35</sup>

Of course, due to the absence of indisputable prosopographical evidence, most assumptions of a ‘covered’ background remain educated guesses, and some instances are even likely to mislead us, for a Phrygian, too, might have been induced by a connection, say, to a Roman called *Aquila* to call himself or his child *Akylas*. Although further methodological refinement will help to reduce the degree of imprecision, even at the current state of research, the overall impression is quite consistent nevertheless: the majority of

33 Cf. COŞKUN/ ZEIDLER 2005, ch. B.I on *Deckname*.

34 For *Akylas* cf. spot 71, but also RECAM II 120a, 124, 127, 142, 221, 235, 289, 416, 520, the evidence of Ankyra not yet considered. Another example is *Sabinus* (spot 69), on which cf. COŞKUN/ ZEIDLER 2003, 46 and 49 f.

35 The abundant evidence is accessible through the register of RECAM II.

purely Celtic PNs have been recorded in areas in which also Celto-Greek PNs, Celto-Roman PNs, Celtic toponyms, or Celtic theonyms have been attested, whereas indigenous PNs remain rare or non-existent.

Cultural or ethnic realities must somehow have corresponded to this evidence.

#### **D. Conclusions and Outlook**

The most illuminating insights from PNs borne in zones of cultural contact will be gained, if the entire data is collected irrespective of the language at stake and organized according to geographical, chronological, and socially differentiated units. The more closely the samples have been defined, the more apparent the manifold aspects of intercultural impact will become.<sup>36</sup> Accordingly, I have approached the onomastic data of ancient Galatia to learn more about the interdependence between PNs, the ethnicity of their bearers, and their cultural or political affiliations. Although the samples studied up to now need to be elaborated and completed, some conclusions may be drawn even from my experimental enquiries.

The first analysis has departed from the clear dominance of Celtic in the Galatian onomastic thesaurus of the last three centuries BC. Prosopographical information was employed to explain that most of the few appearances of foreign PNs result from intermarriage rather than from a more general inclination for foreign cultures. This observation goes along with the general lateness of Hellenic influences on the Galatian ruling class, which is also suggested by archaeological and literary evidence. But after the Galatian contacts with the Graeco-Roman world had become closer in the course of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, a variety of intercultural naming patterns began to emerge. In contrast with Phrygian or Anatolian, Greek and Roman culture were apparently much privileged, which is mirrored by the avoidance of indigenous names by members of the Galatian elite. The conclusion imposes itself that the natives of central Anatolia were excluded from the higher ranks of Galatian society.

The second focus was on inscriptions mainly dating to the first three centuries AD. Although Greek and Roman PNs are dispersed throughout Galatia and the record of some families might even represent a ‘multicultural’ society, the majority of individual tombstones show a clear dominance of either the Phrygian or the Celtic element. The same tendencies are mostly paralleled in the onomastic data attested in their close neighbourhood. The argument will further be strengthened, if the implications of intercultural naming practices are taken into account as well: namely, while PNs attractive to both

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36 Cf. the suggestions of the *Network for Intercultural Onomastics = NIO* (<http://www.nio-online.net>).

groups such as *Domnos* should be left aside in this enquiry, other Greek or Roman PNs with ‘hidden’ onomastic traditions as, for instance, *Sabinus* do deserve to be considered.

This way, various regions with a high degree of cultural homogeneity clearly appear on maps 1/2. Certainly, the relevance of such indications will mainly be confined to imperial times, to which the epigraphic sources belong. But in combination with the literary evidence for demographic changes, in particular for the profound reorganization of Galatia under Augustus, the onomastic material from outside the ‘Roman’ cities may still allow us to glance at much earlier settlement patterns.

The experiment so far deployed in fact encourages further analyses which may reveal in more detail how the different ethnic and cultural elements either interbred or maintained their distinctiveness in certain areas. Whatever the outcome will be—the intermediate results as expounded in the present paper suffice to question seriously the assumptions of an early ‘Galatization’ of the Phrygians, just as they raise doubts about the idea that the Galatians were the promoters of ‘Hellenization’ in central Anatolia. More nuanced approaches are required.<sup>37</sup>

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37 STROBEL 1999 and 2002, esp. 250–53 claims a thorough ‘Galatization’ and argues for an early date of ‘Hellenization’. But also the fate of Gordium, which steadily declined under the Galatians despite the first signs of Hellenization by the early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. (cf. ROLLER 1987, 104) would suggest more caution. Furthermore, BRIXHE 1985, 45–80 rejects the idea that the Phrygians neighbouring the Galatians to the West had only been superficially hellenized by the 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cents. AD; they rather spoke a Greek dialect, possibly even as their first language. This would equally imply an earlier date for Graeco-Phrygian contacts on the one hand, and downplay the role of the Galatians as promoters of Hellenism on the other. A second Hellenizing wave was instigated only in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC, but it took centuries to transform Galatian society as a whole, cf. also DARBYSHIRE/ MITCHELL 1999. As to the fate of the Phrygian natives, however, I only partly agree with the latter scholars. Although they reasonably assume that the Galatians extinguished the Phrygian elite in the course of their settlement, they suggest that “the lower ranks of Galatian society were mostly filled, at least in the early period, by those of native Anatolian origin (...) Nevertheless, a degree of upward social mobility may have been possible over time” (p. 171). If this had happened more often than in exceptional cases, one would expect clearer traces in the onomastic thesaurus of Galatia. In contrast, the assumption of polygyny among the Galatian middle and upper classes is more appropriate to explain the demographic increase in the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent., the recovery of manpower after the disaster of 189 BC, the continuity of Anatolian pottery, the indications of one-sided acculturation in religious matters (above, n. 31), and the persistence of onomastic distinctiveness at the same time.

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