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## Intercultural anthroponomy in Hellenistic and Roman Galatia with maps drafted by Michael Grün and April Ross

*Abstract:* From 278 BC, Celtic mercenaries started to be involved in the dynastic wars of Asia Minor and began to settle in eastern Phrygia as ‘Galatians’. From there they ruled substantial parts of central and western Anatolia until the creation of the Roman province of Galatia in 25 BC. Despite their historical importance, little is known about their cultural identity, so that a closer look at their personal names helps to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge. After a general introduction to the onomastic resources for central Anatolia, it is pointed out that Celtic compound names dominated among the aristocracy of Hellenistic Galatia. Prosopographical information is then employed to explain that the rare use of foreign names in the course of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC was mainly due to intermarriage with the nobility of neighbouring territories. Despite the growing impact of Hellenization and Romanization in the same period, Greek and Roman personal names became more popular than Celtic names only in the latter half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, though Celtic names only disappear in the course of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Surprising is the resurgence of Phrygian names in imperial inscriptions, which may at least partly be explained by the amalgamation of the priestly elite of Pessinus and the Tolistobogian nobility. But in some places, there seems to have been a continuity of Phrygian settlement that may go back to the early Hellenistic period if not beyond. This appears to be implied in rural naming patterns, where a high degree of homogeneity as to the use of either Phrygian or Celtic names is attested in the epigraphic record. The evidence becomes even more striking if the implications of intercultural naming practices are also considered. The assumption of an early ‘Galatization’ of central Anatolia, soon followed by its ‘Hellenization’, is therefore in need of modification.

*Keywords:* Galatia; Phrygia; Celtic and intercultural personal names; Hellenization; Romanization.

### 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 were faced with the Seleucid Empire towards the East, but soon began raiding the Greek cities on the Western and Southern shores for their own benefit. At the same time,

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they settled in central Anatolia. This area was mainly inhabited by Phrygians, and only few if any Greeks had migrated to the cities of Gordium (*Gordion*) and Ancyra (*Ankyra*, modern Ankara) in the aftermath of Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian Empire (334–323 BC). While 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 allies (or even by their enemies), it now emerges that they remained the strongest force in central Asia Minor even after the so-called 'Elephant Victory', won by the Seleucid king Antiochus I in ca. 275 BC. Not even after their defeats by Attalus I of Pergamum in the 230s BC or by the Roman general Manlius Vulso in 189 BC did they fall under the control of Pergamum, even though their operational zones were clearly reduced around those years.<sup>1</sup>

By the first century BC (see map 1), 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. The latter 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. In between these two tribes lived the Tectosages, under whose domination the city of Ancyra declined to a village.<sup>2</sup>

The early Galatians had been split into hundreds of only loosely connected chiefdoms, which only gradually united to the aforementioned three tribes. According to the geographer Strabo, each of these was neatly subdivided into four tetrarchies, each of which was governed by five officials, whereby 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 nearly unanimous acceptance by modern scholars. Challenging the common assumption that there were twelve tetrarchies in the third or second centuries BC, I would suggest that it was only around 100 BC that Mithridates VI established four tetrarchs over the Galatians. They were recognized by Pompey, who even raised one of them, Deiotarus I, to kingship and invested him as the ruler of Eastern Pontus and Armenia Minor (see map 1).<sup>3</sup>

The argument against Strabo could go even farther, for the organization of the Galatians into three tribes is probably the result of a much longer ethnogenesis than hitherto acknowledged. In particular, the provincialization of Galatia under Augustus (see map 2) has biased the accounts of the historians, because it was only after 25/20 BC that its inhabitants were divided into three *civitates*, and only later did Pessinus become the capital of the Tolistobogians, Ancyra that of the Tectosages, and Tavium that of the Trocmi. The names of other tribes such as the Toutobodiaci or the Tosiopi should therefore not be ignored or explained away as groups within one of the three peoples, but should be considered as previously autonomous units.<sup>4</sup>

Although the study of Galatian archaeology and epigraphy has advanced significantly in recent years (see below, section B), 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* (nearly all localized find-spots in the heartland of Galatia are indicated on map 3).<sup>5</sup> Closely related is

<sup>1</sup> For the history of Galatia in the Hellenistic period, cf. esp. Mitchell, *Anatolia*; Coşkun 2011a; Coşkun 2011b; Coşkun 2012. For partly different views, cf. Stähelin, *Geschichte*; Moraux 1957; Strobel, *Galater*; Strobel 1999; Strobel 2002.

<sup>2</sup> Tavium: Strobel – Gerber 2000; 2003; 2007; 2010. – Pessinus: Devreker – Waelkens 1984; Claerhout – Devreker 2008; Strobel 2009. – Gordium: Kealhofer, *Midas*; and see below, n. 37. – Ancyra: Bosch, *Ankara*; French, *Roman Inscriptions*; Kadioğlu et al., *Roman Ancyra*; Mitchell – French, *Inscriptions*. – On the transformation of these cities under Roman provincial rule, cf. also Coşkun 2008; 2009a.

<sup>3</sup> Strab.12.5.1, with Coşkun 2011a and 2011b, against Strobel 2002, 240; Strobel 2007.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Plin. nat. 5.146; Plut. mor. 259, with Coşkun 2011a and 2013c.

<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, this preliminary version does not yet indicate the numbering of the find spots as in the map of

the question of how the invaders treated the indigenous people either in the few cities of the region (which they did not destroy but let decay gradually) or in the countryside. Did they incorporate these into their own civic body and assimilate them 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. This 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, and 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 Greek inscription probably of the late first century AD commemorates *Diastolē*, the daughter of *Olorix* and the wife of *Eparatorix*; all of these PNs are Celtic.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, a slightly younger gravestone reads: “His parents *Omon* and *Rossomara*, and his brothers *Mamas* and *Pasikrates*, and his maternal aunt *Ammia* and her daughter *Lala* honoured *Archelaos*, in memory”, thus assembling two Celtic, three Phrygian and two Greek PNs.<sup>9</sup> Finally, a third-century tombstone mentions *Kyrille* 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 (see below, n. 37), at least one difficulty arises: why did Phrygian PNs reappear so vigorously in the second century AD after their long absence from the evidence, only to disappear again shortly thereafter? Whoever sets out to tackle this problem will find that the onomastic material of ancient societies has mainly been collected with regard to the language it belongs to *prima facie*. Complete corpora of PNs for specific areas and periods are rare or, as in the case of central Anatolia, barely 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), Thracian-Bithynian, and Iranian ‘families’, several ‘fragmentary’ languages are at issue. Although scholarship has much advanced over the last decades, the most comprehensive work

RECAM II.

<sup>6</sup> Cf., e.g., Stähelin, *Geschichte* 109; Roller 1987, 103–109; Darbyshire – Mitchell 1999, 171; Strobel 2002, 244; 249; 251–54.

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> RECAM II 85: spot 23: modern Kavak, province of Eskişehir. Admittedly, the reading of this inscription is not completely certain, and *Diastolē* is not even included in *ACS*, *DLG* or *GN* (Freeman p. 56 even qualifies *-diastos* as “Greek termination”). But cf. *DLG* 144 *diastu-*, *diassu-* ‘un titre’ (ordonné, initié, selon le rituel?), with reference to personal names such as *Diasumaros* and *Diastulos* in Gaul as well as *Gaizato-diaustos* in Galatia.

<sup>9</sup> RECAM II 28, spot 5: modern Aşağı İğde Ağaç, province of Eskişehir.

<sup>10</sup> RECAM II 241, spot 102: modern Culuk, province of Ankara.

<sup>11</sup> Noteworthy exceptions are L. Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier*, Köln 1968; G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg 1969.

is still L. Zgusta's *Kleinasiatische Personennamen (KPN)*.<sup>12</sup> For Greek PNs, most prominent is the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN)*. Slightly more than half of coastal Asia Minor, i.e. Pontus, Bithynia, Mysia, Aeolis, and Ionia (north of Miletus), has recently been covered by Th. Corsten et al. in *LGPN V A* (2010), and this fortunately in a way that includes nearly all languages if only written in Greek. However, the treatment of inland and southern Anatolia (*LGPN V B* and *C*) will take many more years.<sup>13</sup> Outstanding resources for Latin anthroponomy we owe especially to I. Kajanto and H. Solin.<sup>14</sup> As to Celtic, A.Th. Holder gathered everything of relevance known in his day in the monumental *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz (ACS 1896-1914)*. Most of the Galatian PNs have been reassembled – and partly discussed – by L. Weisgerber (1931), Ph. Freeman (*GL* 2001), and X. Delamarre (*DLG* 2003). While part of Holder's material is missing there, some more recent findings have been included.<sup>15</sup>

It is thus inevitable to work through the diverse epigraphic collections. In this regard, however, the situation has improved substantially over the last few years. For not long ago, one had to depend mainly on the source book for Ancyra edited by E. Bosch (1967), in combination with S. Mitchell's edition of ca. 550 (mainly funerary or votive) inscriptions from outside the major excavation areas of the Galatian countryside (1982). The latter texts date, with only a handful of exceptions, to the first to fifth centuries AD.<sup>16</sup> But after the first draft of this paper was finished (2005), new volumes were added rather quickly: the corpus of Pessinuntian inscriptions by J. Strubbe (Pessinous); the inscriptions of Yozgat by Ch. Wallner (Inschriften), who shows a distinctive interest in onomastics; and, most impressively, part I of the monumental corpus of the inscriptions of Ancyra by S. Mitchell and D. French (2012). The very latest addition to this series of publications is *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* vol. XI, edited by P. Thonemann, which covers the neighbouring areas Phrygia and Lycaonia.<sup>17</sup>

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

#### I. Galatian Personal Names in the Hellenistic Period (Third-First 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 com-

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also Zgusta, Anthroponymie; Robert, Noms indigènes. For Phrygian in particular, cf. Innocente 1997; also Neroznak 1992; Strubbe 1978/79; Frei 1992; Brixhe, 2002. For Carian, cf. Blümel 1992.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. my review of *LGPN V A* in «Gymnasium» 117.5 (2010), 497–499. Still indispensable is Pape – Benseler, Eigennamen, and Bechtel – Fick, Personennamen.

<sup>14</sup> Cf., e.g., Kajanto, Latin Cognomina; Solin – Salomies, Repertorium.

<sup>15</sup> In contrast to my narrow definition, Freeman labels as 'Galatian' every Celtic word or name in the Eastern Mediterranean. Cf. also Stähelin, Geschichte 109–120 (prosopography); Dressler 1967; Schmidt, Sprachreste (p. 28 on the want of a "kontrastiver Vergleich ... mit den nichtgalatischen ... Namensschichten"). For Celtic place names in Asia Minor, cf. Coşkun 2009b and Falileyev, Place-Names. – Darbyshire – Mitchell 1999, 171 n. 1 mention a thesaurus of Galatian names in preparation by Prof. A. D. Macro, which has not yet appeared though.

<sup>16</sup> A 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of Mitchell, *RECAM II* is in preparation (ca. 2015). Cf. also *MAMA IV* and *MAMA VII*.

<sup>17</sup> Note also the following recent editions: Drew-Bear et al., Votive Steles; French, Roman Inscriptions; *RECAM IV*; *RECAM V*; Laflı – Christof, Hadrianopolis. Unfortunately, the more recent corpora could not yet be studied systematically for this revision, so that the epigraphic work (below, section II) and the accompanying maps 4–6 are still based on my research conducted mainly in 2005. Further progress is to be expected for Coşkun 2014. – Additional onomastic material is attested on coin legends, for which cf. now the exhaustive catalogue by Arslan 2004 and 2006 and the encyclopedia by Leschhorn – Franke, Münzen.

pounds. As examples, one may refer to the four kinglets attested for 190/89 BC: While only one of them may have born a name derived from a simple root which remains unclear to us (*Gaudotos*), the other three had compound names that reflect aristocratic themes such as hunting, battling, and horse-breeding (*Ortiagon*, *Komboiomaros*, *Eposognatos*).<sup>18</sup>

For the third and early second centuries BC, only two Greek PNs can be adduced, and this only for the leaders of mercenary soldiers in the service of Hellenistic kings. Since their connection to Galatia in its strict sense is not ascertained, they may well have been recruited from Eastern Europe; at any rate, it is feasible that they changed or rather adapted their previous Celtic names after a very long service at the royal court.<sup>19</sup> It is thus safe to say that foreign PNs were extremely rare among the early Galatian nobility, if at all traceable. The first indisputable evidence dates to the early first 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.<sup>20</sup>

- 1) *Berronike* or *Berenike*, the wife of king Deiotarus I (ca. 120–41/40 BC);
- 2) *Stratonike*, possibly the wife of Deiotarus II Philopator († 42 BC), son of Deiotarus I Philorhomaeus, rather than the latter's wife, as is commonly assumed;
- 3)–6) *Kastor* I *Tarkondarios*, tetrarch of the Tectosages († 42 BC); also his homonymous son (who plotted against his grandfather Deiotarus in 45 BC, but did not become king of Galatia, as is commonly assumed) and grandson (*Kastor* II–III), the latter of whom was king of Paphlagonia ca. 41/40–37/31 BC;
- 7)–9) *Antigonos*, *Dorylaos* and *Hieras*, ambassadors of Deiotarus I in 45 BC;
- 10) *Mithradates*, 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 Pisidia perhaps as early as 41 BC, to which Galatia was added in the 30s († 25 BC); also his homonymous grandson (son of Brigatus and great-grandson of Deiotarus I), who may have been tetrarch of the Trocmi 25–20 BC;
- 13) *Pylaimenes*, the son of king Amyntas (and priest of Augustus in Ancyra in 2/1 BC).

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*, who was to become the last queen of Pergamum, but was killed before her marriage († 138/133). The PN *Ber(r)on(e)ike* seems to be a Phrygian adaptation of the Macedonian

<sup>18</sup> Liv. 38.19.2: *erant autem tunc trium populorum reguli Or<t>iago et Combo<i>omarus* (or *Comb<ar>omarus*, *codd. Combolomarus*) *et Gau<d>otus*; and 38.18.1 (cf. Pol. 21.37.1, 8f.): *missique ad Eposognatum legatis, qui unus ex regulis et in Eumenis manserat amicitia*. On *Ortiagon*, cf. also Pol. 21.38 (22.21); Plut. mor. 258d. *Ortiagon*: 'Hunter of Young Animal' (*ACS* II pp. 880f.; *GL* 59; *DLG*<sup>2</sup> 244); *Komboiomaros*: 'Very Hard Beater' (Stähelin, *Geschichte* 55; *ACS* I 1071; *DLG*<sup>2</sup> 82); *Eposognatos*: '(Who) Knows Horses well' (*DLG*<sup>2</sup> 163–164); *Gaudotos* (Stähelin, *Geschichte* 116; cf. also *RECAM* II 113, AD 86) rather than *Gaulotos* (thus, e.g., *ACS* I 1990–1991; Weisgerber 1931, 154): meaning unclear. More detailed discussions are forthcoming in *APR* s.vv.

<sup>19</sup> *Apaturios* served Seleucus III (223 BC) and *Lysimachos* served Antiochus III (217 BC) as leaders of "Galatian" mercenaries, cf. Coşkun 2011b. Note further that *Apaturios* somehow resembles Celtic PNs in *Apa-* (cf. *ACS* I 164–167). – No Greek onomastic tradition can be traced for *Paidopolitēs*, the son of *Ortiagon*, but cf. Celt. *Bēpolitānos*. *Kamma*, the famous priestess of Artemis who lived in the later second century BC, is a much-disputed case; Zgusta, *Personennamen* 212 § 515 and Hofeneder 2004 opt for a non-Celtic extraction of her PN, while Holder, *ACS* I 721 interprets it as Celtic; cf. also Freeman, *GL* 35 (with several Celtic parallels, though still undecided) and Delamarre, *DLG*<sup>2</sup> 100–101. It may well be that we have to do with a deliberate intercultural choice, on which see below. – The slaves *Pheidippos* (Cic. *Deiot.* 17) and *Elektra* (below, n. 27) lived in the first century BC.

<sup>20</sup> The genealogies underlying the following information strongly depart from traditional views, such as expressed by Stähelin, *Geschichte* or Mitchell, *Anatolia*. For genealogical tables of the Tolistobogii (with Trocmi and Tectosages) and Tosiopi, cf. *GTHW*, for detailed arguments on Galatian individuals, cf. *APR* s.vv.

name. It 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 ‘Defender’ but had also been borne by Macedonian kings. But however highly such features might have been esteemed, these names seem to result from intermarriage with the families of the tetrarch Castor I Tarcondarius and 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 might postdate Amyntas’ political ascendance 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 (mid-80s or 70s BC) are well attested.<sup>23</sup> As to *Stratonike*, the date (mid-first cent. BC) and location (Paphlagonia?), as well as her name, point to her extraction from either Pontic or Paphlagonian royalty.

3)–6) *Kastor I Tarkondarios* seems to have been of Cilician descent, since his unique cognomen strongly resembles that of the Tarkondimotid 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 resided in Gorbeus (south of Ancyra) and controlled this very region.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, 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

<sup>21</sup> *RECAM* II 188; Plut. mor. 1109b; Iust. 36.4.1 with Settapani, *Continuité* 465–466. – For further attestations of imperial date, cf., e.g., *RECAM* II 128; 166 (Galatia); von Fritze, *Münzen* 93, 97 (*Nympidia Beronikē*); Malay, *Manisa Museum*, no. 427 (*Beroneikē*) (Daldis area, north of Sardis); TAM V.1 no. 137; Zgusta, *Personennamen* 171 § 355–28 (Lycia; name not considered as Anatolian).

<sup>22</sup> For further references to such cognomina, cf. Coşkun 2005a, 18.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Cic. Att. 5.21.2 (Deiotarus II); [Caesar], *De bello Alexandrino* 78 (Mithradates, nephew of Brogitarus); Coşkun, *APR*, s.v. *Adobogiona*.

<sup>24</sup> He figures as *Tarcondarius Castor* in *Caes. bell. civ.* 3.4.5, but as *Kastor Saokondaros* and the lord of Gorbeus in *Strab.* 12.5.3. Due to the element *-cond-* (cf. *DLG*<sup>2</sup>, p. 124 on *condo-* ‘tête’, ‘raison’) and the *ts*-variation (<*tau gallicum*?), I once assumed Celtic origin, such as Holder, *ACS/II* 1732 (<\**Dario-ritum*) and Delamarre, *DLG*<sup>2</sup> 136 (*-kondaro-* = ‘grande fureur’). 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, so that I suggest a connection with the Luwian God Tarxunt in *APR* s.v. – For the onomastic context, cf. *RECAM* II 409: “*Trokondimotes* for his mother *Tattis*, in gratitude”; also Zgusta, *Personennamen* 486–493 on Cilician *Tarko-/Troko*-names.

<sup>25</sup> Cic. *Deiot.* 30: *vestram familiam abiectam et obscuram e tenebris in lucem evocavit* (sc. Deiotarus).

of Pontus had massacred most of the Galatian aristocracy in 86 BC, Castor I Tarcondarius or his father, either of whom may even have been the result of a previous marriage alliance with the Tectosages, joined forces with Deiotarus. After the Pontic troops had been expelled from central Anatolia, Castor secured the control of the southern Tectosagan territory and married a daughter of Deiotarus.

The examples hitherto discussed permit us to infer firstly that, by the mid-first century BC, most of the few non-Celtic names among the Galatian aristocracy were due to marriage bonds with influential neighbours. If we further 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 early first century BC. While the Galatians had to cease raids outside their own territories after becoming friends of the Romans in 166 BC, their negative reputation will have continued for generations. However, their image will have changed more rapidly once the Tolistobogii became the most important allies of the Romans as early as 94 BC, when Deiotarus supported them against a Pontic usurper in Cappadocia. In the following three Mithridatic Wars (89–63 BC), the same tetrarch turned out to be the staunchest ally against Pontic expansionism, for which he was thanked with the royal title and the territories of eastern Pontus and Armenia Minor by Pompey (map 1).

As a result, the Hellen(ist)ic cities Trapezus and Pharnacia fell under the direct rule of the Tolistobogian king. At the same time, he gained the resources to act as the most powerful defender of Roman Asia Minor against invaders from the North and South-East.<sup>27</sup> These developments also coincided with his earliest activities of building Hellenistic-style cities and residences, of minting his own coins and exhibiting Greek inscriptions for the first time, of establishing a uniform standing army after the Roman model, of conferring benefactions on western Greek cities and of participating more broadly in communication networks.<sup>28</sup> In this period, it would seem, the perception of the Galatians eventually changed from that of fear-inspiring mercenaries or lawless raiders to attractive diplomatic partners in the Hellenistic world.

7)–9) Corresponding to these trends, the multiplication of Greek PNs among the Galatian elite may also 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 as from the disrupted Pontic or Bithynian courts found their ways to Galatian patrons. Perhaps this was the case for Deiotarus' above-mentioned

<sup>26</sup> 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 *Moralia* 1049c. – Cf. also Strobel 2002, 246 with general remarks on polygamy. See further below, n. 37.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Coşkun 2005b; Coşkun 2008; APR s.vv. *Amyntas, Deiotaros I–II, Solovettios*. Note, however, the close connection of the Trocmi to Mithridates Eupator, cf. APR s.vv. *Adobogiona I, Brogitaros, Mithradates von Pergamon*.

<sup>28</sup> Foundation of cities: Plut. Crassus 17.2; Coşkun 2013b. – Palaces: Karalar (spot 65) is considered to be ancient Blucium (*Blukion*), the main residence of Deiotarus I; 45 km to the west, Tabanlıoğlu Kale is possibly identical with Peium (*Peïon*) known as his treasury. Zengibar Kale is located far outside the Galatian territory in the Taurus Mountains and was not yet finished when Amyntas died in 25 BC. All other Galatian forts uncovered so far were more primitive, cf. Vardar – Akyürek Vardar 1996; Darbyshire – Mitchell 1999, 182–188. – Coinage: Devreker – Waelkens, Fouilles 173–174; Arslan, Ankyra Sikkeleri and Arslan 2006; though with my reservations in Coşkun 2009a, 182 with no. 25. – Epigraphic habit: The oldest Greek inscription from Galatia hitherto published is the tomb inscription of King Deiotarus II at the royal residence of Blucium (*RECAM* II 188 of 42 BC, found in Karalar; see above). Deiotarus' legions: Cic. Att. 6.1.14; [Caesar], *De bello Alexandrino* 34.4; 40.4; 68.2. Galatian euergetism and diplomacy: besides n. 27, cf. APR s.vv. *Adobogiona I–II*. – Only the use of Hellenistic pottery (beside the more common Anatolian ware) is much earlier, cf. Darbyshire – Mitchell 1999, 172–192, also on clothing, military equipment, religion and burials; Strobel 2002, 250. For a final assessment, s. below, n. 37.

ambassadors with the Greek names *Antigonos*, *Hieras*, and *Dorylaos*. In the latter case, one may even think of a relation to the family of the geographer Strabo of Amasia.<sup>29</sup>

1), 8)–9) Notwithstanding all these cases of intermarriage and migration, yet another possibility is to be accounted for: the Hellenization of a Celtic or Phrygian name. As a first example, the above-mentioned *Berronike* can be recalled, whose name was adapted to the Graeco-Macedonian *Berenike* in the tomb inscription at the royal residence. Intercultural influence may further be an alternative explanation for two of the aforesaid ambassadors: while the names *Hieras* and *Dorylaos* will have appeared suitable to learned Greeks, they would also have been appealing to Galatians given the popularity of their onomastic motifs among the Celts.<sup>30</sup>

## II. The Evidence of the High Empire (First-Third Centuries AD)

When I now proceed to touch upon the evidence of the imperial period – mostly gravestones of the first three centuries AD –, I shall abstain from adequately characterizing the acceleration of intercultural processes under Roman rule. Nor will justice be done to the problem of Roman *duo* or *tria nomina* and their implication of Roman citizenship.<sup>31</sup> The focus will rather be on the ethnicity of name bearers as well as on the geographical dimensions of Celtic settlement. Based on the observations made above in section C.I, my first premise is here that the bearer of a Celtic name in Roman Asia Minor can be considered to have been (the son of) a Celt, as long as no counter-evidence comes to light. Secondly, if the distribution of Celtic or indigenous names within certain families or particular areas appears to be homogenous, it will be legitimate to draw according conclusions on the ethnicity of their bearers. Three maps drafted by April Ross in 2010–2011 on the basis of the data that I had collected and classified mainly in 2005 (see n. 17) help us to understand distinct settlement patterns on the one hand, and buttress the view of a continued ethnic diversity at least well into the second century AD.

Map 4 shows the north-western sections of Galatia, where so far only the northern parts of the Tolisobogian and Tectosagan territories have been accounted for. The numbered spots indicate the locations of regional inscriptions following the order in Mitchell, *RECAM II* (cf. also maps 2 and 3). While the many Greek and Roman as well as the few Bithynian, Persian, and Semitic PNs have been ignored, yellow circles represent Celtic PNs and green squares Phrygian or Anatolian PNs. Small figures imply the attestation of only one case; medium-sized icons stand for at least two such names, and large ones for four or more occurrences. Eventually, one gains the impression that most rural areas have a dominant, either Celtic or Phrygian, imprint. Only the area around Aşağı İğde Ağaç (spot 5) differs in that it combines several Celtic and Phrygian names. This may be due to the fact that large imperial estates were located there.

In the next step, which is recorded on map 5, the distribution of divine and place names is to be accounted for: yellow circles have been used for Celtic theonyms, yellow triangles for Celtic toponyms, and green diamonds for Phrygian theonyms (Phrygian toponyms have been ignored here). Although the principles of intercultural theonymy and toponymy differ from anthroponymy, most of the evidence fits the afore-mentioned patterns.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Strab. 10.4.10 (477–478); 12.3.33 (557); *APR* s.vv. *Antigonos*, *Dorylaos*, *Hieras*. But see also below with n. 30. Only a fourth ambassador, *Blesamios*, bore a Celtic name (cf. *APR* s.v.).

<sup>30</sup> For the motifs of ‘holiness’ (*hierós*), ‘spear’ (*dóry*), and ‘people’ (*laós*), cf. Celtic PNs with the elements *sacro-*, *gaiso-*, or *touto-*, all attested in Gaul and Galatia, cf. *DLG*<sup>2</sup> pp. 264f.; 174; 295f. – 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, such as *Domnekleios* / *Domnilaus*, who died in 48 BC, cf. *APR* s.v.) or only a single intercultural name was in use. More on intercultural names below in section II.

<sup>31</sup> On the spread of Roman citizenship in Galatia, cf. Coşkun 2014.

<sup>32</sup> 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



Admittedly, the distinctive tendencies would emerge less clearly, if *Domnos* and *Domnē* were taken into account as well. 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 Tectosagen *Domnekleios*, whereas *Domnallus* was frequent in Ireland. Most of these PNs of the western provinces are clearly based on the Celtic root *dubno-* ('deep', 'dark'). Moreover, the assonance to Latin *dominus* or *domina* (whence the syncopated Roman PNs *Domnus* and *Domna* respectively) seem to have further enhanced the popularity of *Domnos* and *Domnē* in Roman Galatia. The Latin notion even seems to have instigated the translation into Greek, for *Kyrios*, *Kyryllos* and their derivatives were especially popular throughout Galatia.<sup>33</sup> Being based either on homophony (*Domnos*) or on translation (*Kyrios*), these examples are ideal to explain the two principal types of intercultural naming patterns beyond the simpler categories of *Entlehnung* and transliteration. For these practices, L. Weisgerber once coined the notion of *Deckname*, i.e. 'cover name', for a name that transports a particular onomastic tradition into a different cultural context. However, A. Coşkun and J. Zeidler (2003 and 2005) have shown that one should not presume any intention of deceiving anyone by such names. According choices rather responded to a desire to express a belonging to more than one 'ethnic' group, if not simply to increase the options for skilfully varying inherited onomastic themes or sound patterns.

Accordingly, in yet another step of the study of Galatian names, Greek and Roman PNs have been scrutinized for similarly 'hidden' onomastic traces. While Celto-Phrygian homonyms such as *Domnos* have been discarded here, less doubtful cases have been marked on map 6. Most typical of areas in which Celtic PNs dominate is *Akylas*, the common Greek transliteration of Roman *Aquila* ('Eagle'), which resembles the Celtic PNs based 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*); furthermore, 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 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, and this in a sample which is predominantly based on second-century AD inscriptions.

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79); *Petobrogen* (ca. 45 km east of Iuliopolis); cf. now also Coşkun 2009b (with further names) and Falileyev, Place-Names (with fewer names accepted as Celtic). Doubtful, intercultural, and Phrygian toponyms have been 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, 251–252. 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-second cent. BC), s. above, n. 19; for coins of *Mēn* minted by Deiotarus I, s. above, n. 28. Cults with Greek names only have been ignored here.

<sup>33</sup> The register of *RECAM* II offers 38 references for *Domnos* and its derivatives, 11 for *Kyrios* etc. For the Celtic evidence, cf. *ACS* I pp. 1302–4 (with the omission of *Domnus*, *-a*, *-os*, *-e*); *DLG*<sup>2</sup> pp. 151f. (but not mentioned in the list of homonyms, 349–350). On *Domnekleios*, see above, n. 30.

<sup>34</sup> 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, Cover Names 46 and 49–50.

<sup>35</sup> The abundant evidence is accessible through the register of *RECAM* II; for a more systematic study, cf. now Coşkun 2011c.

The cultural or ethnic realities of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods must somehow have corresponded to this evidence!

#### D. Conclusions and Outlook

The most illuminating insights from PNs born in zones of cultural contact will be gained, if the entire data are collected irrespective of the language at stake and organized according to geographical, chronological, and socially differentiated units. The more closely the samples are 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 begun with 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 early 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 first 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 groups such as *Domnos* should be left aside in this enquiry, other Greek or Roman PNs with 'hidden' onomastic traditions as, for instance, *Akylas* do deserve to be considered.

This way, various regions with a high degree of cultural homogeneity clearly appear on maps 4–6. 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 may 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>

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

<sup>37</sup> Strobel 1999 and Strobel 2002, esp. 250–253 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 third cent. (cf. Roller 1987, 104) would suggest more caution; none of the more recent findings on Gordium have altered this picture (see above, n. 2). Furthermore, Brixhe 1985 rejects the idea that the Phrygians neighbouring the Galatians to the West had only been superficially hellenized by the second to third centuries 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 (on this, cf. also White Muscarella 1989), and downplay the role of the

## Abbreviated Literature

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Galatians as promoters of Hellenism on the other, at least prior to the first century BC. A second Hellenizing wave was instigated only in the course of the first cent. BC, but it took centuries to transform Galatian society as a whole, cf. also Darbyshire – Mitchell 1999; Kadioğlu et al., *Roman Ancyra*; also Strobel 2007 (though with my caveat in *APR* s.v. *Adobogiona I*). As to the fate of the Phrygian natives, however, I only partly agree with Darbyshire – Mitchell 1999. 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 third century, 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. 32), and the persistence of onomastic distinctiveness at the same time. This notwithstanding, the prominence of Phrygian nobles in the epigraphic record of Roman Ancyra still needs to be accounted for (see also above, section A).

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## Özet

### Helenistik ve Roma Dönemi Galatia’ında kültürlerarası antroponomi

Helenistik Dönem’de Küçük Asya’da yaşanan taht savaşlarına dâhil edilen Keltler; “Galatlar” adı altında İ.Ö. 278 yılından itibaren doğu Phrygia’yı iskan etmeye başlamışlardır. Zamanla önemli bir siyasi güç haline gelmişler ve İ.Ö. 25 yılında Galatia Eyaleti olarak Roma Imperium’una dahil edilene kadar İç ve Batı Anadolu’da hüküm sürmüşlerdir. Tarihte aldıkları bu öneme rağmen Galatların kültürel kimliklerine ilişkin çok az bilgi mevcuttur. Burada; bilgilerimizdeki eksik bir takım noktaları doldurmak amacıyla Galatların kullandığı şahıs

isimleri incelemeye alınmıştır. Makalenin giriş kısmında Galatların Hellenistik Dönem’de, İÖ. 3. yüzyılda Anadolu’ya giriş süreci ve Anadolu’da etki alanları hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. Galatların, Apameia Antlaşması’ndan sonra etkinlik alanları azalsa da bölgedeki etkinliklerinin sona ermediği belirtilmektedir. Galatia’da varlığını sürdüren Trokmi’ler, Tolistobog’lar ve Tektosag’lar kabilelerinin yönetimlerine dair, araştırmacıların hemfikir olduğu İÖ. 3–2. yüzyıllarda oniki *tetrarkhia*’nın varlığının aksine, sadece İÖ. 100 yılı dolaylarında Mithridates VI tarafından dört *tetrarkhia* kurulduğunu önermektedir. Bölgenin Roma eyaleti haline getirilip üç *civitates*’e bölünmesinin ardından Ankyra’nın Tektosag’ların, Pessinus’un Tolistobog’ların, Tavium’un ise Trokmi’lerin başkenti oluşundan sonra bunların egemenlik alanları gibi veriler yetersiz kalmıştır. Coşkun, bu kabilelerin bölge kentlerine siyasal, sosyal ve kültürel açılardan nasıl baktığı gibi soruları makalesinde yöneltmektedir. Ayrıca, Galatların Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi’nde Frig kültürünün öğelerini taşıyıp taşımadığını, kültürler arası ilişkilerin niteliğini açıklamak için onomastik verileri incelemiştir.

Makalenin ikinci bölümünde ise, Galat onomastiği üzerine bazı gözlemler açıklanmaktadır. Verilen örneklerde, İS. Geç 1. yüzyılda Kelt isimlerinin ağırlıkta olduğunu, kısa bir süre sonra Kelt, Frig, Grek şahıs isimleri ve İS. 3. yüzyılda ise Yunan ve ağırlıklı olarak Roma şahıs isimlerinin varlığına dair örnekler sunulmaktadır. Örneklerden hareketle, Frig şahıs isimlerinin İS. 2. yüzyılda yoğun bir biçimde yeniden ortaya çıkışına ve kısa bir süre sonra da görünmemesine dikkat çekilmektedir. Galatlar örneğinde görüldüğü gibi, Orta Anadolu’da şahıs isimleri konusunda tamamlanmış bir *corpus*, Zgusta’nın Küçük Asya Şahıs İsimleri Sözlüğü’nün üzerine kapsamlı bir çalışmanın yapılmadığını vurgulamaktadır. Bunlara ilaveten, Anadolu’da Yunan ve Latin şahıs isimleri ve şimdikiye kadar Kelt-Galat isimleri bibliografyası sıralanmaktadır.

Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünde ise Hellenistik Dönem’de (İÖ. 3–1. yüzyıllar) Galat şahıs isimleri ve Roma Yüksek İmparatorluk Dönemi’ne ilişkin veriler tartışılmaktadır. Hellenistik Dönem’de bölgedeki örneklerin krallık, hanedan, seçkin sınıf gibi belli bir zümreden türetildiği ve erken dönem Galat soyluları arasında yabancı şahıs adlarının nadir görüldüğü belirtilmektedir. Ve Amyntas’ın ölümüne kadar kesin olarak tarihlenen soylu şahıs isimleri açıklanmıştır. Hellenistik krallıklar arasında yaygın olan ve Yunan-Roma dünyasıyla yakın bağlantıyı gösteren Philopator, Philorhomaïos gibi *cognomina*’ları kullanmalarına karşın çocukları, torunları için Deiotaros, Adobogianos, Brigatos gibi Kelt isimlerini kullanmayı tercih ediyorlardı. Yazar, Galatlar arasında Kelt olmayan isimleri ise İÖ. 1. yüzyılda hanedanlıklarla ve Yunan kentleriyle yapılan evliliklere dayandırmaktadır. Çalışmada Yunan isimlerinin Galatlar arasında yaygınlaşmasının nedenleri açıklanmaktadır. Bunların yanı sıra, A. Ross yardımıyla epigrafik verilerden yola çıkarak Roma Yüksek İmparatorluk Dönemi’nde bölgedeki Kelt, Frig, Anadolu şahıs isimlerinin, yer isimleri ve tanrı isimlerinin dağılımını gösteren bir harita meydana getirilmiştir. Bölgeler arası bağlantılar tartışılırken *domnus*, *domnē* gibi isimlerin yayılımı ve bu isimden türetilen şahıs isimlerinin batı eyaletlerinde yaygın görüldüğü ve *dubno-* Kelt kökünden türetildiği açıklanmaktadır.

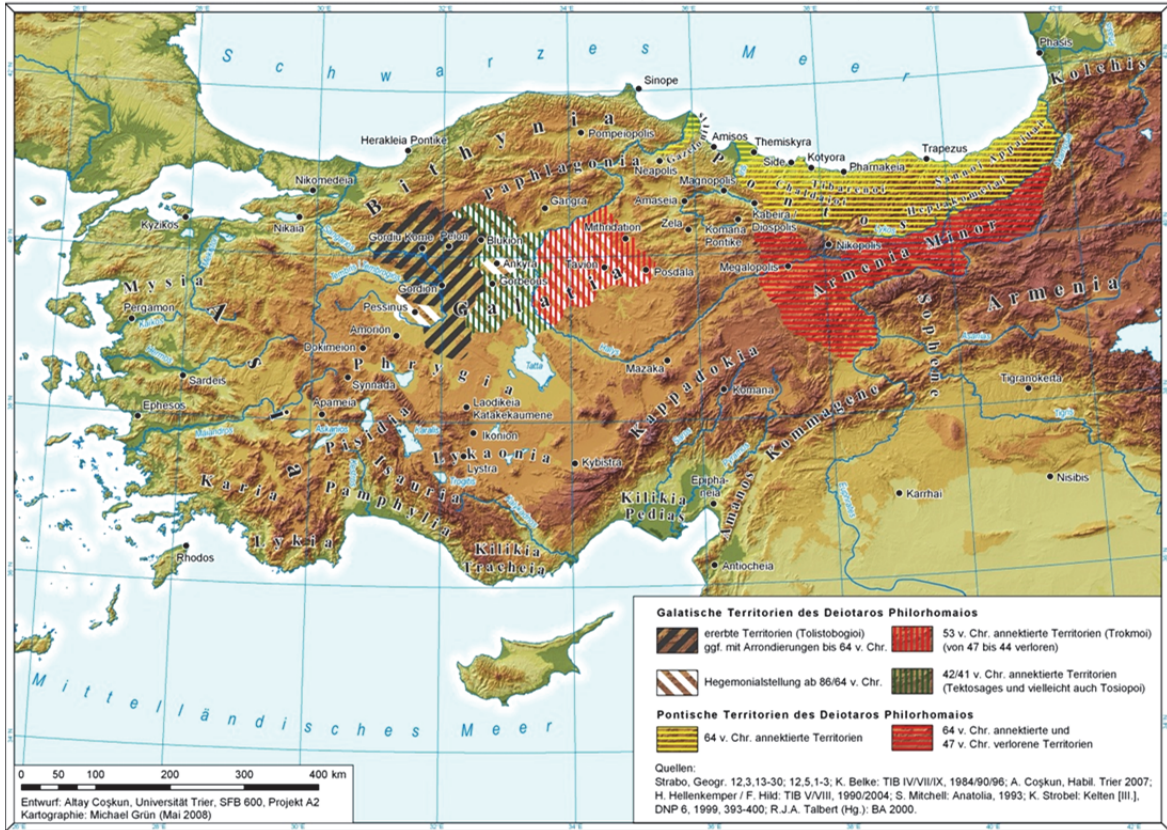
Makalenin sonuç kısmında ise, Hellenistik Dönem’de son üç yüzyılda Galat isimlerinin Kelt isimlerinin baskın bir şekilde görüldüğü; yabancı şahıs isimlerinin az görülmesinin yabancı kültürlerle eğilim değil, yapılan evliliklerin sonucu olduğunu; Galatların Yunanlar ve Romalılarla ilişkilerinin artışına bağlı olarak isimlerdeki kültürler arası çeşitliliğin de arttığı vurgulanmıştır. Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi’nde Yunan ve Roma adlarının artışına rağmen yine de bölgede mezar taşlarının çoğunluğu Frig ya da Kelt isimlerinin örneklerini göstermektedir.

*Anahtar Sözcükler:* Galatia; Phrygia; şahıs adları; Helenizasyon; Romanizasyon.

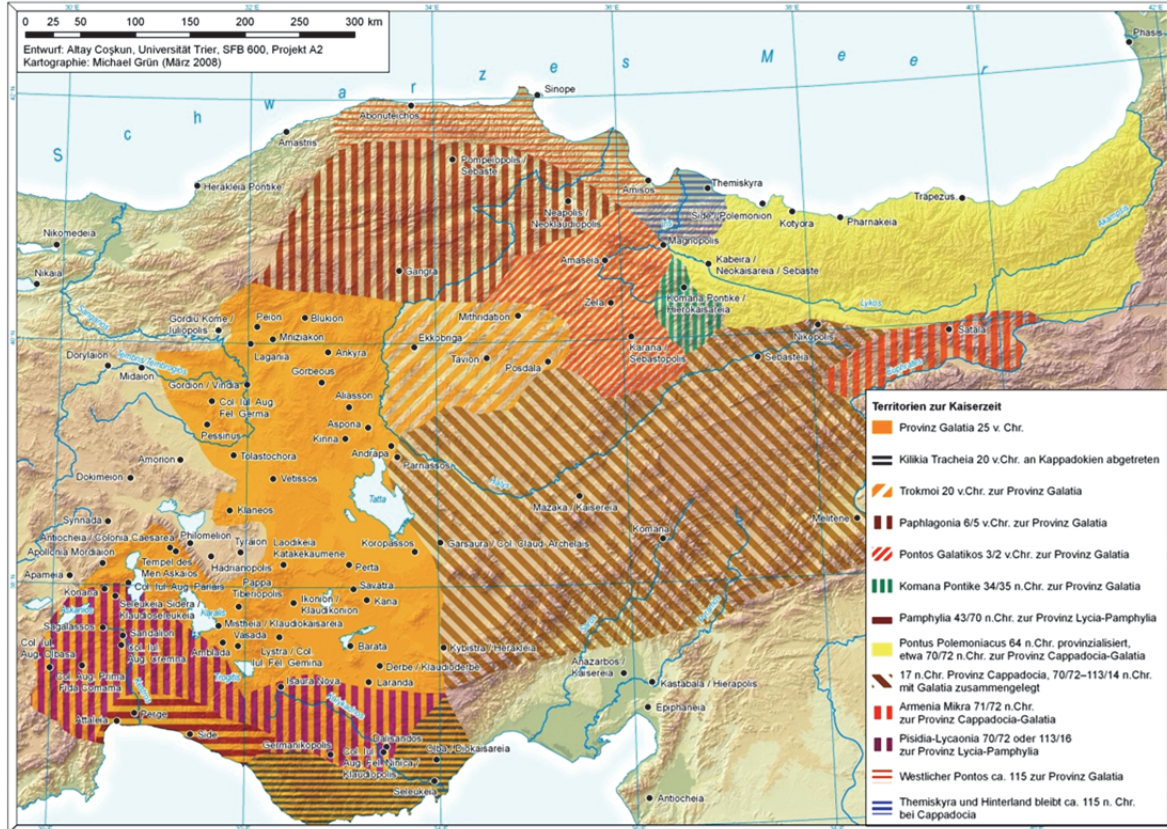
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Pdf files of the maps in the following pages (in their original colours) can be downloaded for free from the website of the Waterloo Institute for Hellenistic Studies (<http://wihs.uwaterloo.ca/node/15>).

Kleinasien mit den Territorien des Deiotaros Philorhomaiois (1. Jahrhundert v. Chr.)

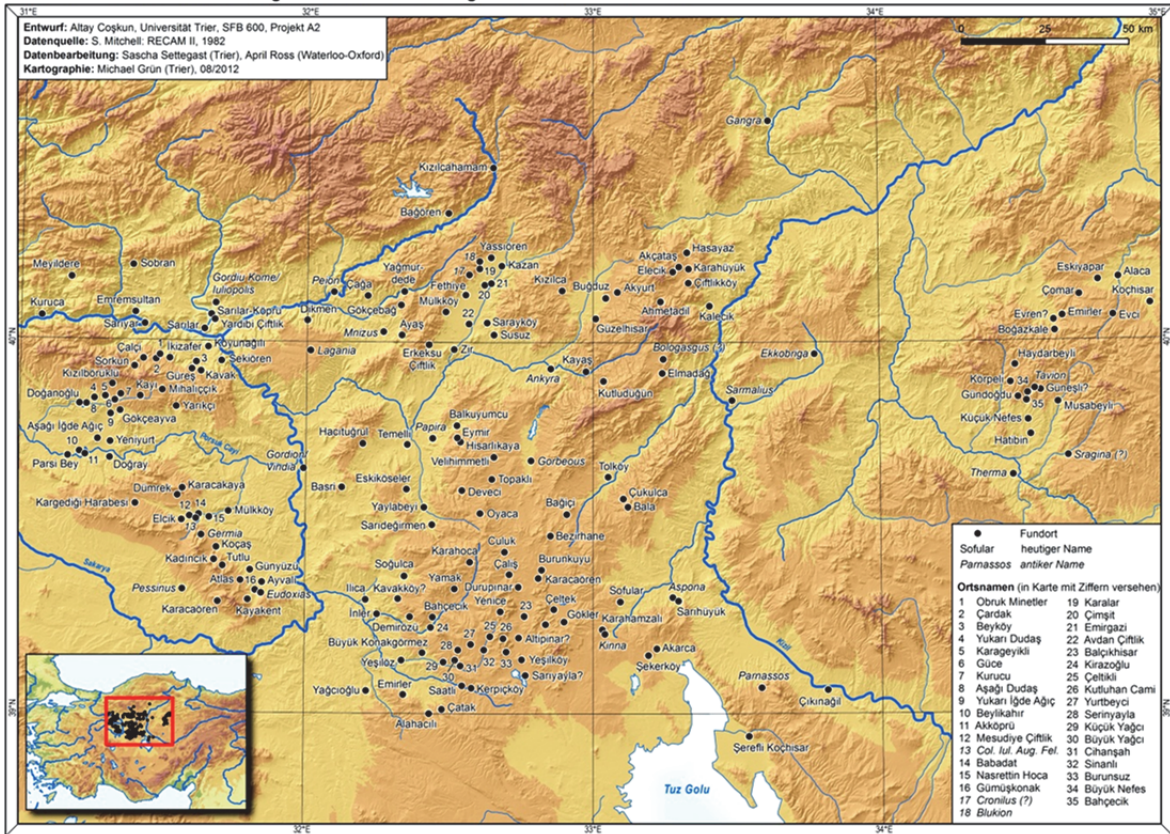


Die Provinz Galatia von Augustus bis Gallienus (1. Jh. v. - 3. Jh. n. Chr.)

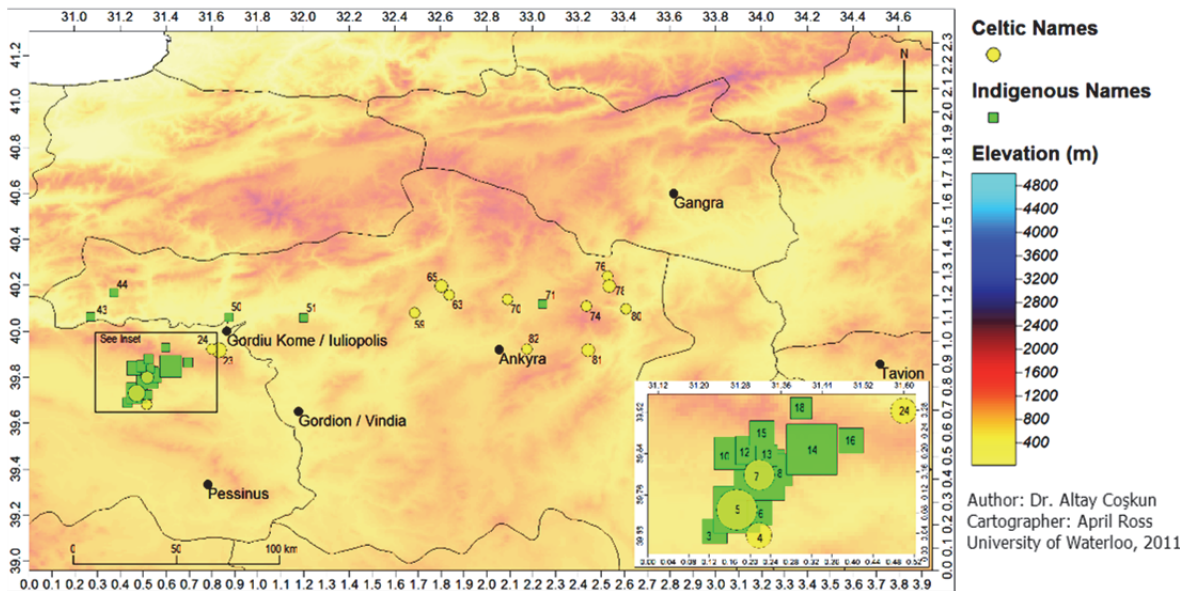




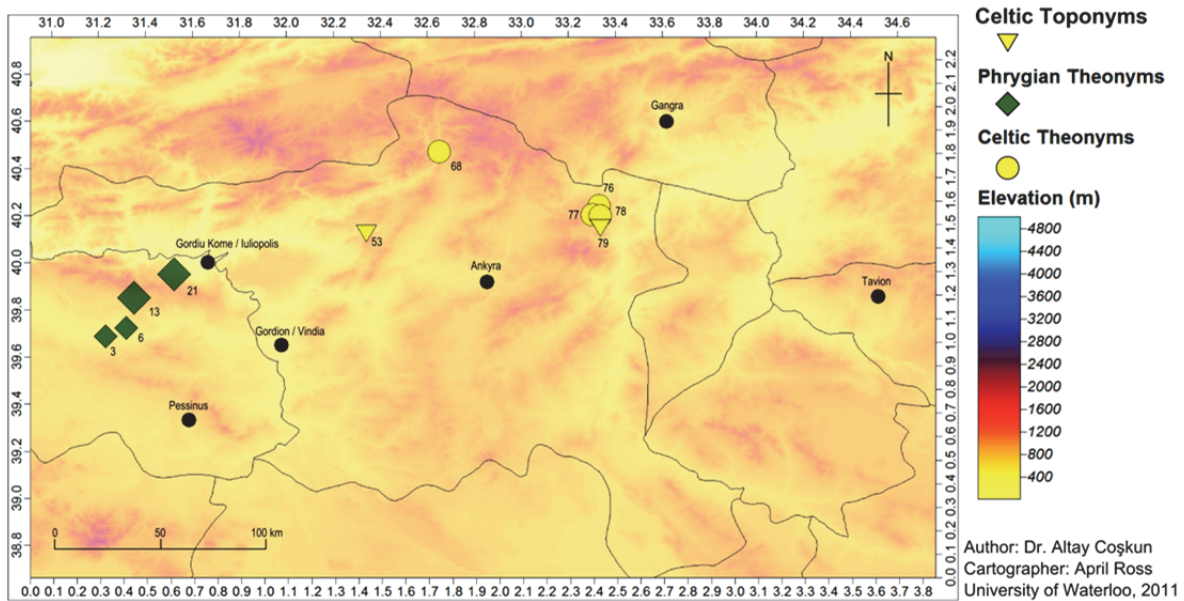
**Fundorte von Inschriften in Kerngalatien auf der Grundlage von S. Mitchell: RECAM II**



**Celtic and Indigenous Names in Northern Galatia  
 1st and 2nd Centuries AD**



## Toponyms and Theonyms in Northern Galatia 1st and 2nd Centuries AD



## Intercultural Celtic and Indigenous Names in Northern Galatia 1st and 2nd Centuries AD

