

The Celtic presence in Thrace during the 3rd century BC in light of new archaeological data

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Research on the Celtic presence in Thrace during the 3rd century BC is based almost exclusively on analyses of classical literary sources, to which generally two prestigious archaeological discoveries are added: the golden torc of Gorni Tsibar and the chariot elements of Mezek (Bouzek 2005; 2006; Frey, Szabó 2001; Megaw 2004; 2005; Szabó 1992; 1996).

Without going into detail on this issue, the history of which is strictly associated with the development of Bulgarian archaeology in the 20th century (Emilov 2005), the question of Celtic migration to Thrace with the creation of the kingdom of Tylis in 278/277 BC has long been considered above all a ‘western’ subject of minor interest. It had therefore been excluded from the field of study by most Bulgarian researchers, except Mieczyslaw Domaradzki, who devoted a significant part of his research to this issue (Domaradzki 1978; 1980; 1984; 1995).

Since the middle of the 1990s significant new archaeological and numismatic finds from the 3rd century BC, have been discovered. Some have only recently been published, while the majority is still subject to detailed study and analyses (Anastassov 2006; 2008a; 2008b; Anastassov (forthcoming); Lazarov 1993; 1996; 2006; Tonkova 2006; Mircheva 2000-2001; 2007).

Thus, the scarcity of the archaeological remains from the end of the Early and Middle La Tène periods, which is generally associated with this turbulent episode of the settling of Thrace, does not appear to be the result of the ephemeral nature of migration and the extremely

rapid Hellenization of the Celts, but rather of the state and orientation of research in this area.

Northeastern Bulgaria, a concentration zone of La Tène remains

It appears today that nearly all of the La Tène artefacts, discovered in Thracian territory south of the Danube are concentrated in the northern part of modern Bulgaria. While artefacts from the 2nd and 1st



Figure 1
Distribution map of the main sites with La Tène objects from the 3rd century BC.

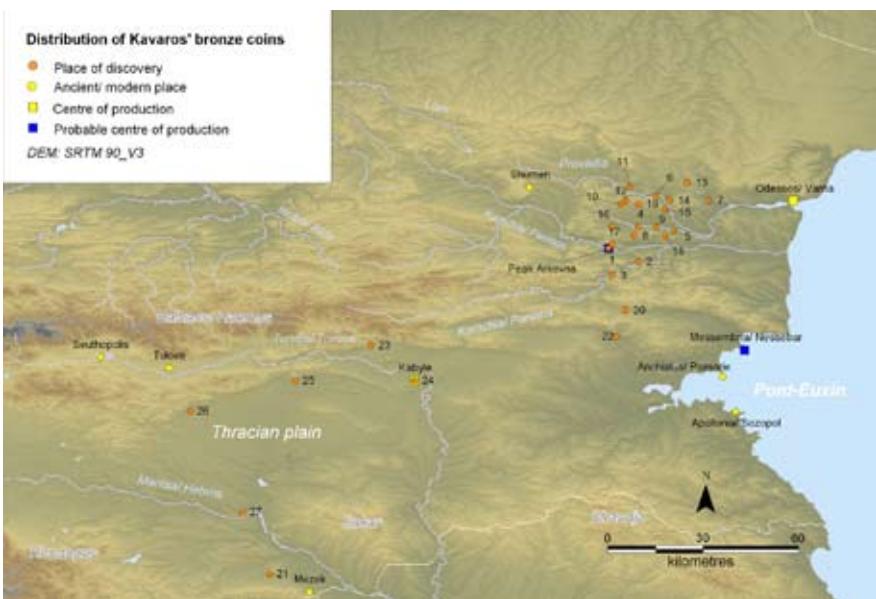


Figure 2
Distribution map of Kavaros bronze coins (after Lazarov 1993; 1996): 1 Peak Arkovna, 2 Asparuhovo, 3 Bilka, 4 Blaskovo, 5 Bozvelijsko, 6 Venchan, 7 Devnija, 8 Kiten, 9 Komarevo, 10 Kosovo, 11 Nevsha, 12 Nenovo, 13 Neofit Rilski, 14 Petrov Dol, 15 Provadija, 16 Slaveikovo, 17 Sladka Voda, 18 Chaika, 19 Cherkovna, 20 Ruen, 21 Cherna Mogila, 22 Aitos 23 Sliven, 24 Kabyle, 25 Tsenino, 26 Stara Zagora, 27 Simeonovgrad.

centuries BC associated with the ‘Padea-Panagjurski Kolonii’ culture primarily occur in the northwest part of the country (Rustoiu 2005b), most of the material from the 3rd century BC which may be associated with the historical settlement of the Celts in Thrace is found in northeastern Bulgaria (**fig. 1**).

A region with a concentration of material from the Early and Middle La Tène can thus be identified at the extreme east of the Balkan range, with the modern city of Shumen at the centre. Geographically, this territory is limited to the west by the city of Veliko Tarnovo, to the east by the Black Sea, to the north by the Danube, and to the south by the Thracian Plain, with an expansion into the Kazanlak region.

It is in this zone and more specifically in the valleys of the Rivers Kamchia and Provadia that most of the bronze coins of Kavaros, the last Celtic king of Tylis, are concentrated (**fig. 2**; Lazarov 1993; 1996; 2006). Their study has raised questions about the location of the Celtic kingdom within this region. The fortified site of the Arkovna mountain near Dalgopol, where some of the Kavaros coins were probably struck, has been proposed as one of the probable royal residences (Tylis?). While this interpretation is supported by the discovery of numerous La Tène remains, as well as the presence of luxury objects and the prestigious nature of the site, it needs confirmation by further research.

The determination of this region, based on archaeological and numismatic data, is corroborated by classical literary sources that emphasize the penetration of migrating groups from the north of the Balkan Mountain range (**fig. 3**; Justin, XXV, 1; Pausanias, X, 19; Plutarch, *Paul-Emile*, 9; Seneca the Younger, *Nat. Quaest.*, III, 11.2).

The most significant evidence concerns the Celtic troops massacred at Lysimacheia in 278/277 BC by Antigone Gonatas, who had previously conquered the territory of the *Triballi* and the *Getae* (Justin, XXV, 1). If this source is based on accurate facts, the expansion of the Celts from west to east would have followed a route between the Danube and the Balkan range and would have reached the Getic territory in the extreme northeast of modern Bulgaria. Their displacement from the northeast to the southeast Balkan Peninsula would thus necessarily imply the crossing of the Balkan Mountains.



Figure 3
The Thracian territory during the ‘Great Expedition’ according to ancient literary sources.

The concentration of most of the archaeological and numismatic material contemporaneous with these events at one of the most important points of passage of the Balkan range, which is moreover in a territory attributed to the *Getae*, can hardly be considered a coincidence.

The ethnonym of the Coralles (*KΟΡΑΛΛΟΙ*), identified by C. Guyonvarc'h as of Celtic origin and located in this same region, is certainly in agreement (Guyonvarc'h 1967).

Given these observations, the hypothesis by which the Tylis kingdom should be sought near Byzantium at the extreme southeast of the Balkan Peninsula is difficult to accept.

Artefacts from the ‘transition’ horizon Lt B2/C1

The La Tène artefacts of the Early and Middle La Tène type discovered in Bulgaria can currently be counted in several hundreds. While their number may still seem largely insufficient and the lack of context regrettable, these discoveries permit an appreciable modification of the image from earlier research that was based only on a few dozen finds.

Generally, the objects are characteristic of the ‘transition’ horizon Lt B2/C1 (Anastassov 2006). Some more recent discoveries from the end of the Middle La Tène (Lt C2) raise the question of the duration of the Celtic occupation or influence in this region after the disappearance of the Tylis kingdom in 213/212 BC.

Ornaments

Ornaments and particularly fibulae predominate. They reflect an essentially ‘female’ side of this issue. It is quite certain that this is due to the state of research, also observed in other regions of the La Tène world. In the present case, it probably results from the need to isolate sufficiently characteristic elements.

The fibulae are represented by several variants broadly diffused in the La Tène cultural area (fig. 4) (Anastassov 2006). For the Early La Tène schema, late derivations of the ‘Duchcov’ type have been identified. Many are also characterized by the presence of one or more decorative springs at the end of the foot (fig. 4: 5-6, 13-14). These fibulae, known as the ‘Pestrup’ type,

seem to be the emblematic type of the ‘Thracian’ La Tène horizon. They can probably be associated with the presence of individuals originating on the northern edge of the Celtic world (Anastassov 2006, 14).

Fibulae from the Middle La Tène scheme are also typical. They are filiform with a strapped foot. The hook can be more or less massive, sometimes globular, and includes a spherical or discoid button on the foot.

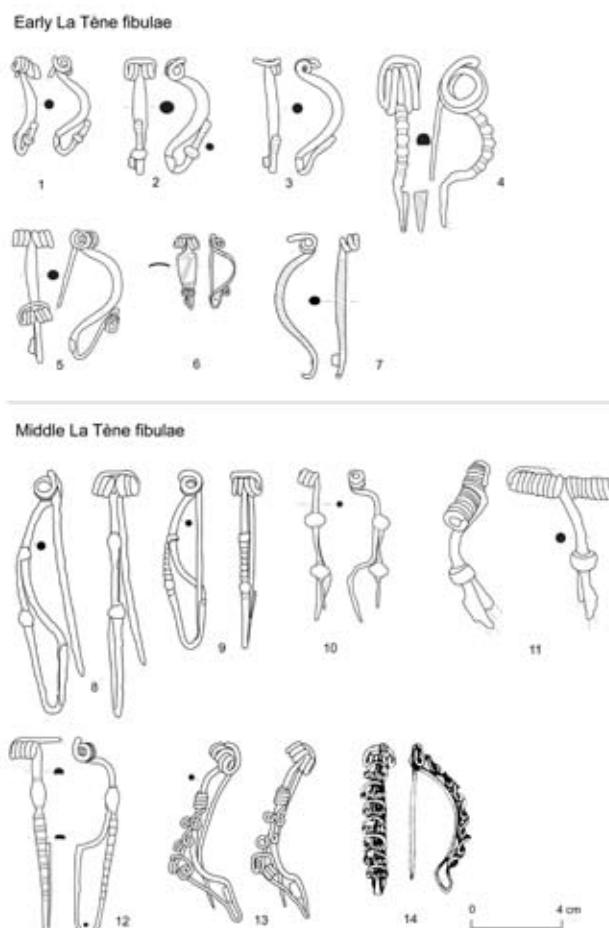


Figure 4

The main Early and Middle La Tène fibula shapes from the Thracian territory: 1 Dragoevo, iron (Anastassov 2006, n°7); 2 Shumen region, iron (ibid., n° 35); 3 Cherenga, iron (ibid., n° 65); 4 Shumen region, bronze (ibid., n° 36); 5 Dragoevo, iron (ibid., n° 17); 6 Cherenga, bronze (ibid., n° 83); 7 Dragoevo, iron (ibid., n° 19); 8 Ruse region, iron, (Anastassov 2008a, Pl. 1, 4); 9 Seuthopolis, bronze (Dimitrov, Čičikova et al. 1984, n° 81); 10 Markovo, bronze (Anastassov 2006, n° 26); 11 Shumen region, iron (ibid., n° 46); 12 Shumen region, iron (ibid., n° 44); 13 Koshov, bronze (Anastassov 2008a, Pl. 1, 5); 14 without localisation, bronze (Domaradzki 1997, 51, n° 613).



Figure 5
'Hybrid' bronze fibula from the Veliko Tarnovo region. A – (Cullin-Mingeaud et al. 2006, n° 164); B – (after Mirčeva 2000–2001, fig. 1).

Some examples can also be considered as hybrids. This is the case when considering a fibula from the Veliko Tarnovo region, which has a zoomorphic foot (ring), typical for the Hungarian Plain, while its construction is clearly of 'Thracian' tradition (fig. 5; Mircheva 2000–2001; 2007, 71, fig. 7). Although interpretations of this type of discoveries can be multiple, these objects show above all the existence of contacts between populations of different origins and material culture.

Ring ornaments are also relatively varied with outstanding examples, like the Gorni Tsibar torc, a stray find decorated in the 'Waldalgesheim' style (fig. 6–9; Anastassov 2006, 20–21; Tonkova 2006). They have many parallels across the entire eastern Celtic area and particularly in Bohemia, Moravia and the Carpathian Basin.

They include bronze bracelets with protuberances or knots often decorated with false-filigree motifs or in the plastic style (fig. 6: 1–4; 8). Beaded rings have also been found (fig. 6: 5–9). The small diameter of some of them suggests the presence of children. A single example of knobbed anklets has so far been uncovered (fig. 20: 15; Megaw 2004, fig. 4; Mihaylova 1992, fig. 2–3).

In addition to bronze ring ornaments, blue glass bracelets with undulating yellow and white lines have also been found (fig. 8; Lazarov 2006, fig. 21; Kvinto 1985, fig. 6a). They generally have a 'D' cross-section, with one or two medial mouldings delimited by narrow grooves.

It is also important to emphasize the unique discovery of a fragment, probably of a ring (?), that is

characterized by triskele décor of clear La Tène tradition (fig. 9; Cullin-Mingeaud et al. 2006, n°167).

Some elements of women's bronze belts, primarily buckles with hooks with zoomorphic heads discovered in the Dalgopol region can also be included in this category (fig. 10; Cullin-Mingeaud et al. 2006, n° 178; Lazarov 2001, 134, n° 46–47; 2006, 178, fig. 12; Tonkova 2006, 278, pl. V, 3).

Weaponry

Weaponry of the La Tène type from the 3rd century BC is relatively rare in comparison to younger discoveries dating to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. This paucity is quite certainly due to the state of research and is based, at least in part, on the difficulty of identification and the often advanced destruction of iron objects.

Offensive weaponry is distinguished primarily by the presence of swords (fig. 11–13; Anastassov 2006; 2008a; Megaw et al. 2000; Atanasov 1992; Torbov 2005). Knives are rather rare with examples of the 'Hiebmesser' type characteristic of Middle La Tène (fig. 26: 3; Atanasov 1995, fig. 25–26; 1992, VIII, 8). Spearheads cannot be linked to the discoveries from Central and Western Europe from the current state of documentation.

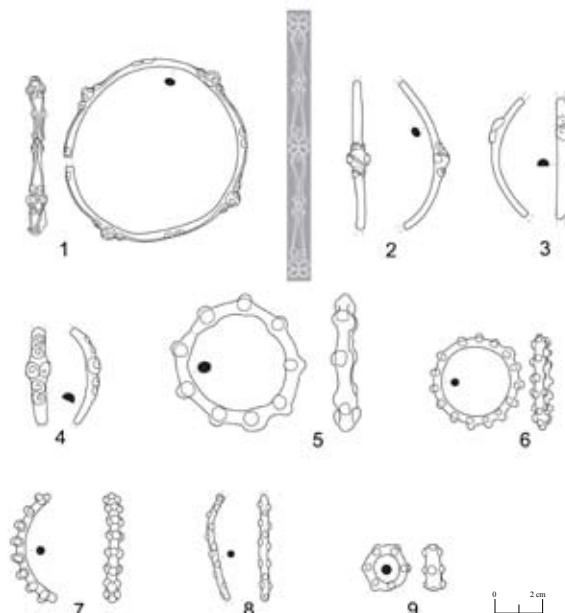


Figure 6
Bronze ring ornaments. 1–9 Shumen region (Anastassov 2006, n° 49–59).

Regarding the swords in particular, the vast majority is dated from the end of the Middle and to Late La Tène (Torbov 2005). Few examples from Lt B2/ C1 are known.

At present, the earliest La Tène sword in Bulgaria has been identified indirectly on a wall painting in the royal tomb of Ginina Mogila at Sboryanovo (fig. 13; Anastassov 2008b). This is a sword of the ‘Hatvan-Boldog’ type with a fairly massive circular chape-end with an openwork design, a marked mid-rib and probably a metal belt. No actual example of this type has as yet been found in Bulgaria. This is also true for the metal belts that characterize the warrior groups of this period of expansion.

Recent analysis of one of the rare decorated swords in Bulgaria discovered in the Ruse region and dated to Lt C2 has demonstrated the re-use of two older obverse plates, probably dating to Lt B2 or to the beginning of Lt C1 for its scabbard (fig. 11; Anastassov 2008a). This discovery, in addition, has demonstrated the presence of original modifications, which characterize peripheral regions, alongside the La Tène craft tradition.



Figure 7
Bronze ring ornaments. 1 Shumen region (Anastassov 2006, n° 49); 2–6 Northeastern Bulgaria (Cullin-Mingeaud et al. 2006, 113).



Figure 8
Glass bracelets. 1–3 Peak Arkovna (Lazarov 2006, fig. 21).

We must certainly not forget the intentional deformation observed on the majority of these swords. In funerary context it appears today that their deformation is primarily a practice emblematic of the eastern and Padanian Celtic area (Anastassov 2006, 22).

Concerning the defensive weaponry, only few discoveries can be mentioned. We find elements of shields (rectangular shield-boss), chain mails and helmets, which are represented by one or two examples (fig. 26; Lazarov 2006; Torbov 2004; Atanasov 1992). On the whole, they are dated from the late stage of Middle La Tène (Lt C2) and present, alongside the classical La Tène forms, elements of Hellenistic or local influences and reinterpretations.

Chariots

Chariots are represented by several discoveries; the most famous of which certainly comes from the Map-Tepe tomb in Mezek in southern Bulgaria near the Greek border (fig. 14–15; Fol 2001; Stoyanov 2005). This old discovery consists of two linchpins, five rein-rings, two strap buckles and an element with a discoid end (riding crop holder?). All of these exceptional elements, which will be subject to more in-depth analyses, are decorated in the ‘plastic’ style typical for productions in Bohemia (Lt B2/ C1).

A linchpin from the Shumen region has also been identified. It has a quadrangular bronze head decorated with a double-dragon motif (‘Arbre de Vie’) (fig. 16; Anastassov 2006, 22–23).

A bronze fragment, probably from a chariot, conserved at the Museum of Varna, has been published recently (fig. 17; Cullin-Mingeaud et al. 2006, fig. 168). This is an element with a zoomorphic (bovid?) mask with almond-shaped eyes, in the plastic style. A good



Figure 9
Bronze disc from a ring (?), Northeastern Bulgaria (Cullin-Mingeaud et al. 2006, n° 167).

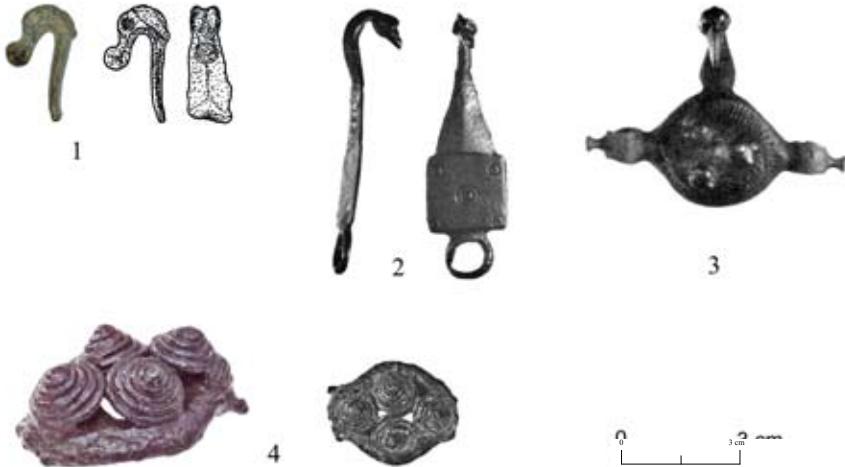


Figure 10
Bronze belt buckles. 1 Peak Arkovna (Lazarov 2006, fig. 12); 2 Bozveliisko (ibid., n° 46); 3 Peak Arkovna (ibid., n° 45); 4 Northeastern Bulgaria (Cullin-Mingeaud et al. 2006, n° 178; Tonkova 2006, Pl. 5: 3).

parallel can be found in one of the rein-rings of Attichy in Northwest Gaul (Oise/France) (Duval, Blanchet 1974, fig. 3, 5: 2; Duval 1985, 40; Szabó, 305).

Pottery

Celtic pottery remains rare. It is represented by a few dozen pieces from four sites: Seuthopolis, Tsarevets (Veliko Tarnovo), Sboryanovo and Arkovna (fig. 18; Lazarov 2006, 179; Vagalinski 2007, fig. 18-19; Dimitrov, Čičikova et al. 1984, 52-53, fig. 24; Kvinto 1985, 60, fig. 7). These are fragments of graphite or grey polished pottery that seems to come above all from the eastern Celtic region. Unfortunately, the vast majority comes from old excavations and may be regarded as lost.

Settlements

It is still extremely difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct even a schematic image of the nature of Celtic settlements in Thracian territory south of the Danube given the little knowledge of dwellings of this period in general. It is important to note that there are

no known settlements that could be considered ‘truly’ Celtic. The characteristics of a dozen sites located in the Shumen region and which have yielded abundant La Tène material cannot be specified without further detailed excavation (Anastassov 2006).

At present most of the La Tène artefacts from settlement contexts comes from sites *a priori* ‘indigenous’.

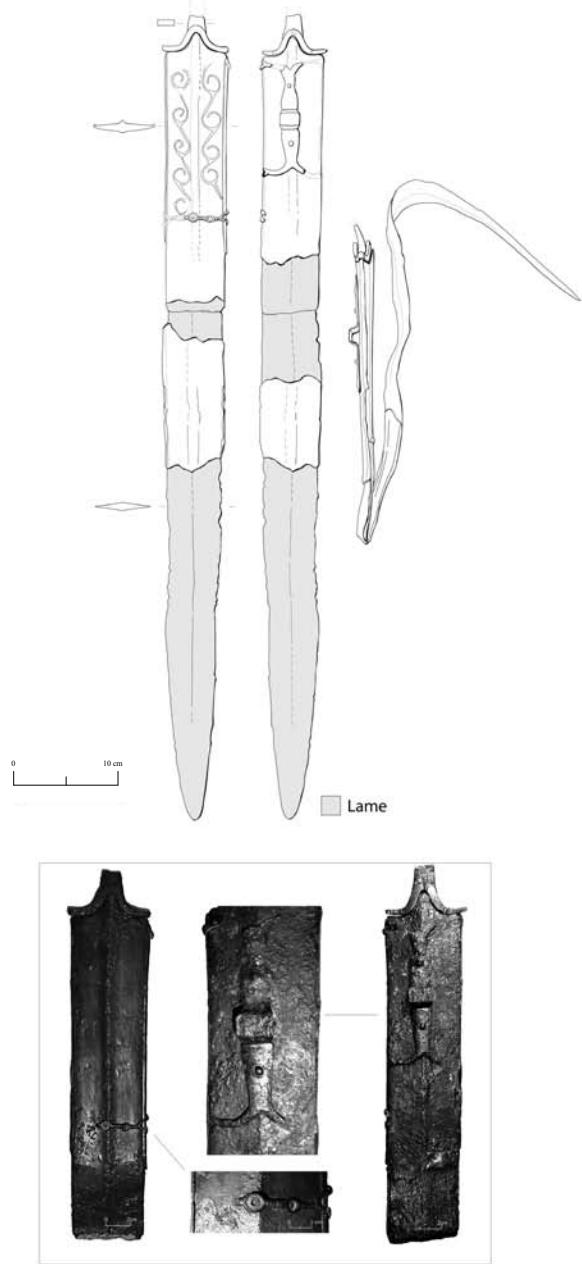


Figure 11
Sword with scabbard from the Ruse Region, iron (Anastassov 2008a, Pl. 2; fig. 5).

Two examples should be kept in mind: the fortified sites of Seuthopolis and Sboryanovo, founded before the historical migration of the Celts (fig. 19-20; Dimitrov, Čičikova 1978; Stoyanov et al. 2006; Dimitrov, Čičikova et al. 1984).

Objects uncovered in these two royal residences with strong Hellenistic influences give evidence about the peaceful establishment of small groups, mostly women, coming from Central and Western Europe. In general the material reflects population mixture, also corroborated by observations from their respective necropolises.

We note that the abandonment of Seuthopolis as well as Sboryanovo is dated to the middle of the 3rd century BC. This is perhaps not without relation to the creation of the Tylis kingdom. The explanation of such a phenomenon, however, goes largely beyond the possibilities offered by archaeology and other interpretations also exist (Stoyanov et al. 2006, 21; Tatscheva 1986; 2000).

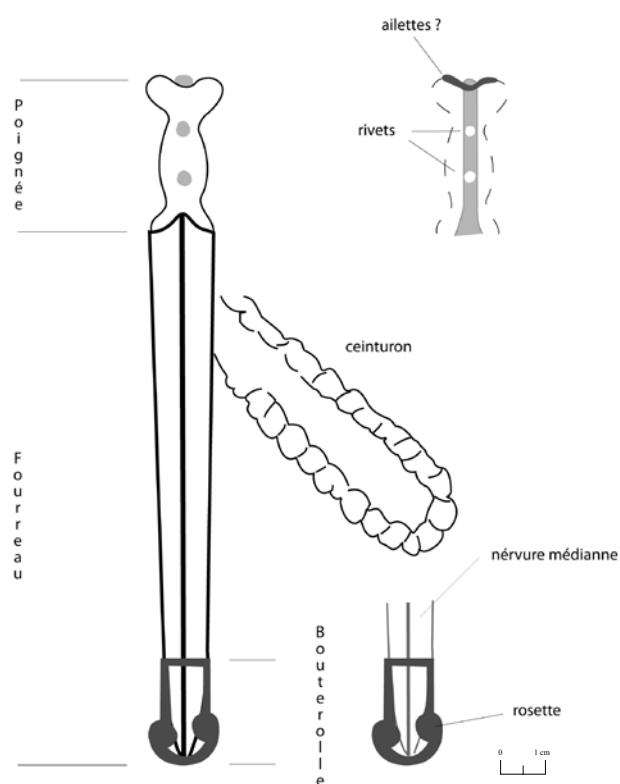


Figure 13
Sword of the 'Hatvan-Boldog' type, painted on the wall of the Ginina Mogila tomb (Sboryanovo), schematic reconstruction (Anastassov 2008b, fig. 3).

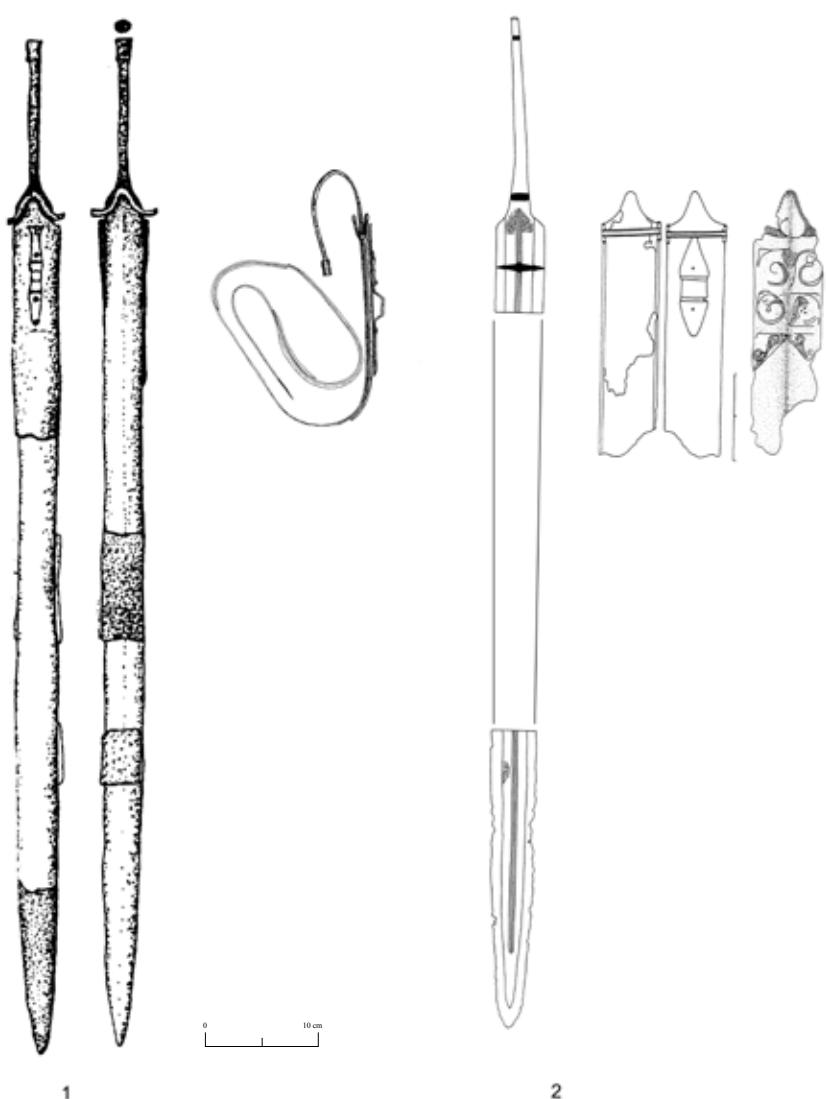


Figure 12
Swords with a scabbard. 1 Kalnovo, iron (Atanasov 1992, pl. 7); 2 Pavolche, iron (after Theodossiev 2005, fig. 2 (a-b)).

The fortified site of the Arkovna mountain, which has already been mentioned, is a unique case since it has been interpreted, on the basis of numismatic discoveries and La Tène objects (Kavaros coins, fibulae, glass bracelets, belt elements, pottery), as one of the probable residences of Kavaros (Lazarov 1993; 1996; 2006). Without going into details about this recent discovery, which will be subject to more in-depth analyses, initial observations show evidence of strong Hellenistic influences in structures and artefacts. In any case, this would have been a prestigious site in which populations from Central Europe and the Balkans lived together.



Figure 14
Chariot linchip from Mezek, bronze (photo. J. Anastassov).

The settlement excavated on the site of Tsarevets at Veliko Tarnovo differs in the nature of its structures, which have no true parallels south of the Danube (**fig. 21**; Lillova 2005; Kvinto 1985). They have more in common with the installations of the Carpathian Basin, Bohemia and Moravia. Investigations from the 1970s revealed the presence of at least three pit houses associated with finds from Lt B2/ C1, including fibulae, glass bracelets and graphite pottery. This may be the only known evidence of a ‘Celtic’ settlement in Thrace.

Necropoles

Like settlements, no true ‘Celtic’ necropolis is currently known. In funerary contexts La Tène artefacts come almost exclusively from aristocratic contexts of



Figure 16
Chariot linchip from Shumen Region, bronze and iron (Anastassov 2006, 60).



Figure 17
Fragment of a chariot element (?), bronze (Cullin-Mingeaud et al. 2006, n° 168).

Figure 15
Chariot elements from Mezek, bronze (Fol 2001, 384).

the ‘Thracian’ tradition. This is once again an image certainly distorted by the research orientation, which has focused on tumuli rather than flat cremation burial grounds. Analyses of the La Tène artefacts from the Shumen region, unfortunately lacking context, nevertheless suggest the existence of such necropolises, for which their expanse and characteristics can be determined only by future research (Anastassov 2006).

In the Hellenistic necropolises at Sboryanovo, Seuthopolis, Branichevo and Madara (Domaradzki 1984, fig. 40: 42), for example, ornaments have been found associated with rich female burials.

As an example, tumulus n°23 of the western necropolis at Sboryanovo may be mentioned, which yielded a cremation burial with four small fibulae of the Early La Tène scheme (Lt B2), a bronze belt chain, many glass beads, including one with a human mask and around twenty fine pottery vessels of Greek and Thracian origin (**fig. 22**; Gergova, Radev 1994).

The same goes for the burial of a young girl in a tomb in the tumular necropolis of Seuthopolis (tumulus n°2/ tomb n°2), which yielded two small gold fibulae of the ‘Pestrup’ type, associated, among others, with a gold necklace of Greek or local production (**fig. 23**; Dimitrov, Čičikova 1978, 52-53).

Assuming that the ornament constitutes a strong identifying signature, as seems to have been the case during the Late Iron Age (Kaenel 2007), these female burials may be evidence of high-ranking women from Central or Western Europe within the ‘Thracian’ elite. The archaeological material would thus reflect the practice of exogamy, largely attested in other sources, both in Thrace and in the Celtic world in general.

From a chronological point of view, most of these ‘feminine’ discoveries can be dated to the end of the 4th or the very beginning of the 3rd century BC, i. e. to the start of the ‘Great Expedition’ and perhaps even before the founding of the Tylis kingdom. They could in this way be early indices of contacts or alliances between Celtic and Thracian chiefs, like the Celtic embassy sent to Alexander the Great on the Danube in 335 BC (Strabo, *Geo.*, VII, 3, 8; Arrian, *Anabasis*, I, 4, 6-8).

Alongside these aristocratic female burials, recent research has also yielded evidence of tombs with La Tène objects which differ according to their arrangement or associated rituals from most of the burials known in Thrace.

This is the case in a rich warrior's tomb found in the Hellenistic necropolis at Plovdiv (Philippopolis): a cremation burial which contains a deliberately deformed La Tène sword associated with an Early La Tène fibula of the 'Pestrup' type (Lt B2), as well

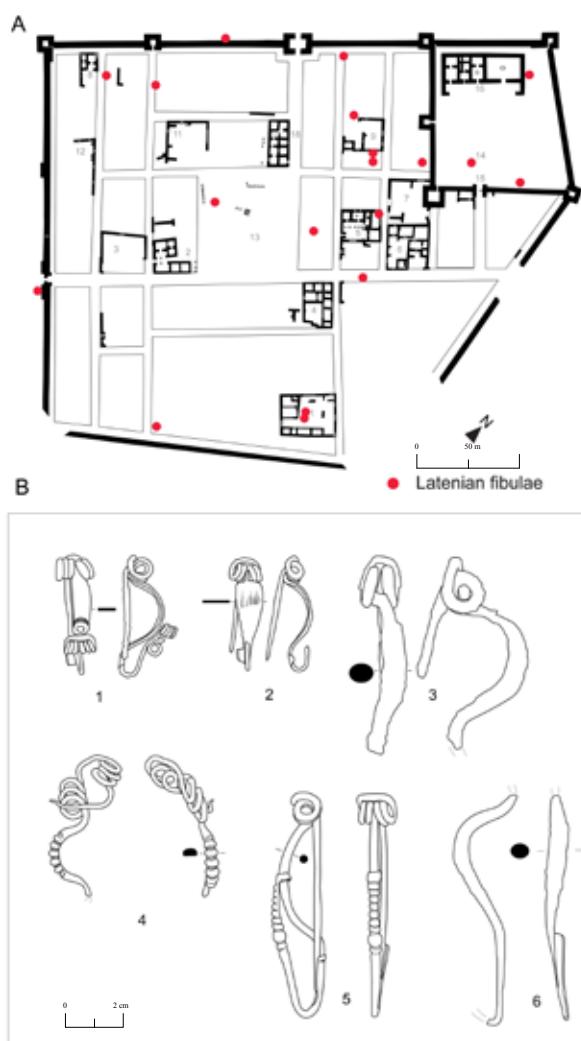


Figure 19
La Tène objects from Seuthopolis. A – Distribution map of the fibulae (after Dimitrov, Čičikova et al. 1984) ; B – The main Early and Middle La Tène fibula shapes (drawings J. Anastassov).

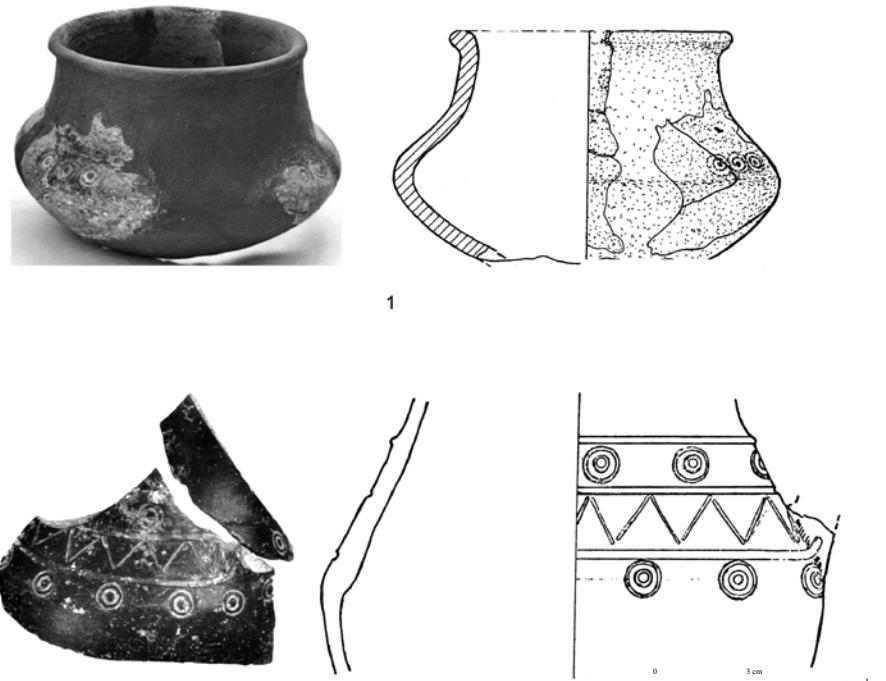


Figure 18
Celtic pottery. 1 Peak Arkovna, gray smooth/ polished ceramic (Lazarov 2006, fig. 13) ; 2 Sboryanovo, graphite ceramic (Vagalinski 2007, n° 18).

as around twenty Greek and local pottery fragments (Bospatchieva 1995).

Although the investigation of this tomb dating to the beginning of the 3rd century BC is still in its preliminary phase, it appears quite likely that this was a burial of a 'Celtic' warrior whose presence in this territory could be explained by the development of mercenary units in the Hellenistic kingdoms (Rustou 2006a, 53-63).

This tomb is an isolated discovery in southern Bulgaria and as such cannot be associated with the presence of a large group of migrants. Nevertheless, the intentional deformation of the sword, which is an unusual practice for the 'Thracian' funerary traditions in this period (Anastassov 2006, 22), indirectly testifies to the presence of individuals originating from the eastern or Padanian border of the Celtic world at the time of the warrior's death.

The Kalnovo necropolis located along the River Kamtschia in northeastern Bulgaria is an extremely important discovery that contrasts with the other funerary arrangements known in Thracian territory (Atanasov 1992). It has eight 'catacomb' tombs (pits with niches),

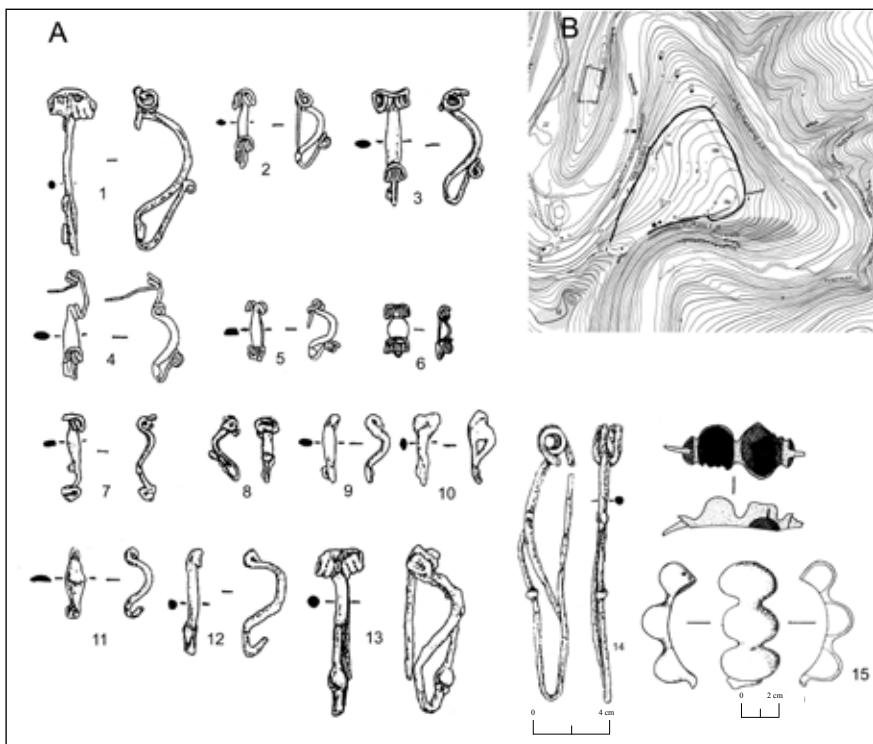


Figure 20
La Tène objects from the fortified settlement of Sboryanovo.
1, 7–14 iron ; 2–4, 6 bronze ; 5 silver (Megaw 2004, fig. 9); 15 Knobbed anklet (*ibid.*, fig. 4); (Vagalinski 2007, fig. 18) ; Topographical map of the settlement (Stoyanov et al. 2006, fig. 2).

of which three contained ornaments and weapons from Lt C1 and Lt C2 (fig. 24). A large deposit (votive, trophy?) consisting of a complete warrior's panoply from Lt C2 (helmet, sword, spearhead, shield, horse bit, chain mail) (fig. 26) was also recovered in a probable ritual area organized around a rich male burial associated with fibulae from Lt C1 (fig. 25).

While the ornaments and weapons are indisputably of La Tène tradition, the funerary structures find their closest parallels in the Ukrainian and Russian steppes. In Bulgaria, only a single similar discovery has been made at present, i.e. a tomb at Branichevo in the same region, which also contained La Tène objects (Domařadzki 1984, fig. 40).

With such a discovery, which must still undergo multiple analyses, it is the hybrid 'Celto-Scythian' nature with strong Hellenistic influences that should above all be emphasized. It shows the complexity of ethnic and cultural processes provoked by the 'Great Expedition' that archaeology still has difficulty in grasping and particularly explaining.

Origin(s) of the migrants

Based on the La Tène objects uncovered in Bulgaria it is now possible to distinguish the origin of some of the individuals who took part in the 'Great Expedition' and settled in Thrace during the 3rd century BC.

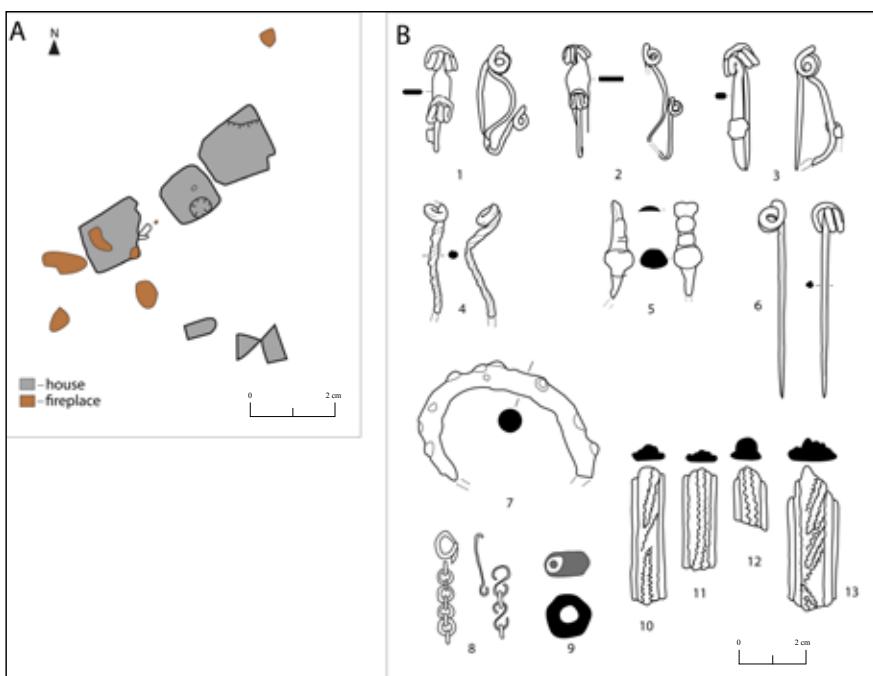
The territories of Moravia, Bohemia and the Carpathian Basin, which have delivered the closest parallels, seem to have been among the main sources of the migrating groups.

A new zone located at the border of the northern La Tène/Celtic world has to be added to this oriental Celtic territory, known for a long time as one of a series of outposts (Szabó 2006). It is made visible by the large diffusion of the 'Pestrup' type fibulae on the Thracian territory, the origin and development of which is situated in northern Germany and in the Marne and Moselle regions (Anastassov 2006, 16-17).

Whether these are the vestiges of the *Tectosagi*, *Tolistoboi*, *Trocmi*, *Aigosagi* or *Coralles* is extremely

Figure 21

The settlement of Tsarevets at Veliko Tarnovo. A – Schematic map of the structures (pit houses, fireplaces) B – La Tène objects. 1–8 bronze; 9–13 glass (after Kvinto 1985, fig. 6).



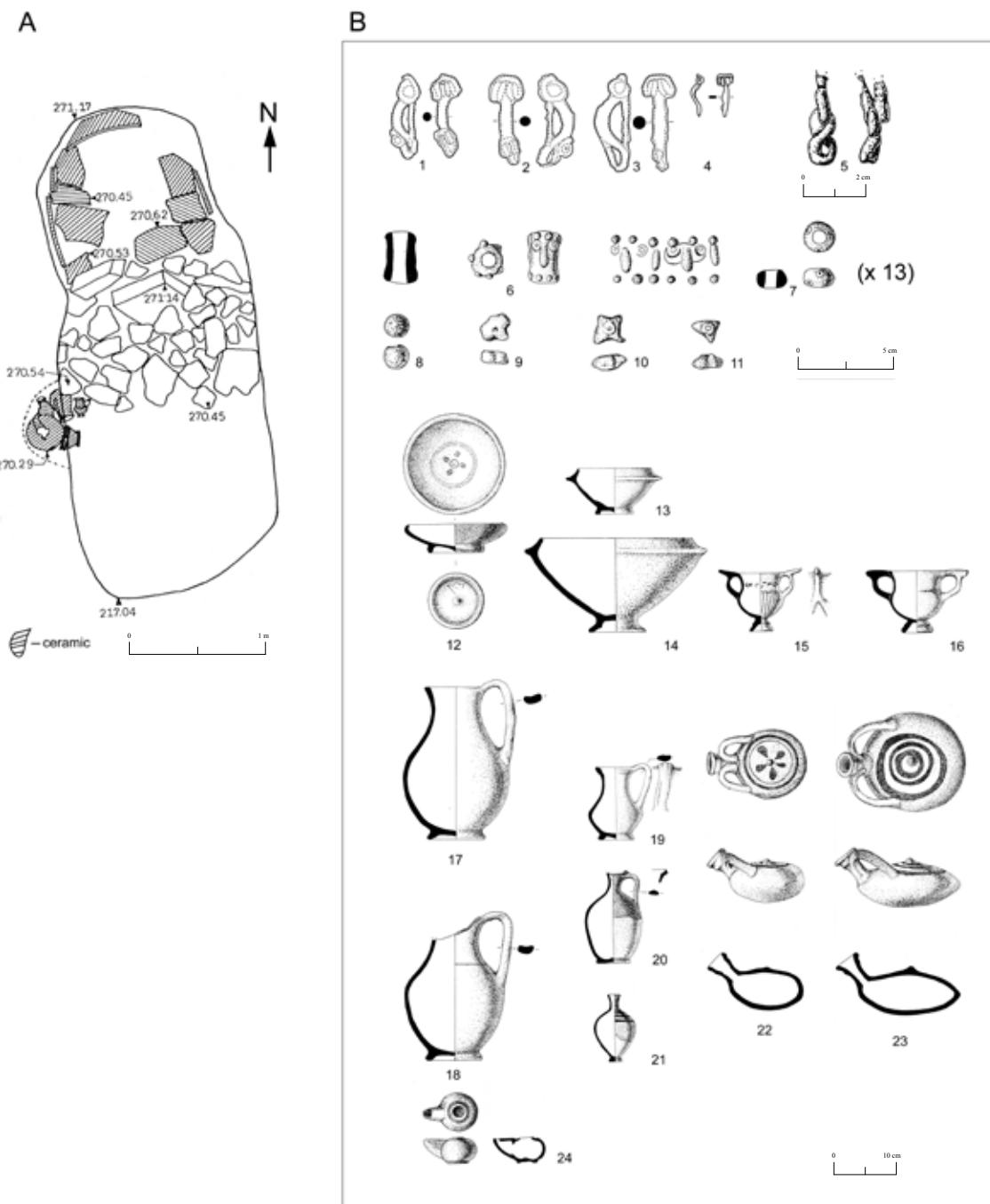


Figure 22
Female tomb in tumulus n° 23 of the Western necropolis at Sboryanovo. A – Plan of the tomb (Gergova, Radev 1994) B – Grave goods. 1–3 iron; 4 silver; 5 bronze; 6–11 glass; 12–24 Greek or Thracian pottery. (drawings: 1–4 J. Anastassov; 5–24 Gergova, Radev 1994).

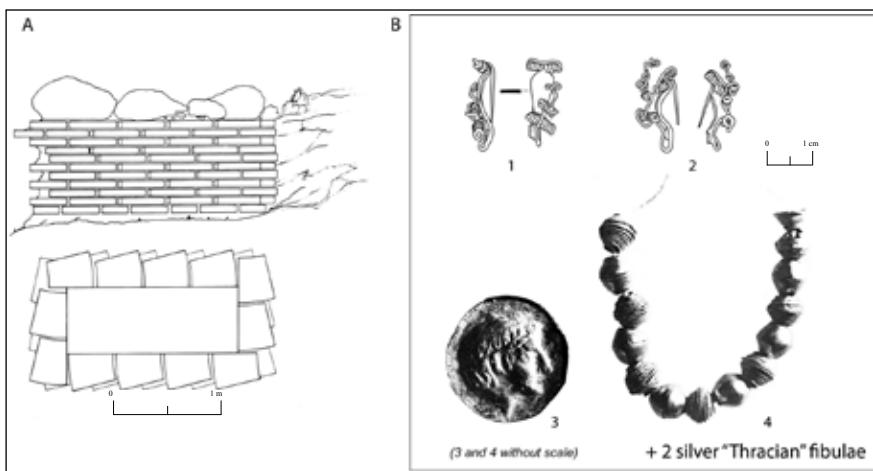


Figure 23
Female burial from tomb n°2/ tumulus n°2 from the necropolis of Seuthopolis. A – Plan of the brick tomb (Dimitrov, Čičkova et al. 1984, fig. 86) B – Grave goods. 1–4 gold (drawings: J. Anastassov; 3–4 Dimitrov, Čičkova).

difficult to answer. The archaeological data, however, makes it possible to confirm some of the observations made on the basis of literary sources about the tribal or ethnic heterogeneity of the migrating population.

They also make evident the mixing of Celtic and Thracian populations reported by ancient authors concerning the weaponry, the customs or the settlement (Ammianus Marcellus, *Hist. XXVII*, 4; Justin, *XXXII*: 3; Polybius, V, 65; Strabo, I, 1 / III, 4. 17 / VII, 1.1 / 3. 2, 11 / 5. 1, 2, 4, 10).

These preliminary observations, which future research will certainly support and specify, aim above all to open the debate and entice reflection. The conclusions presented in this framework should therefore be considered with discernment, having in mind the preliminary character of this research.

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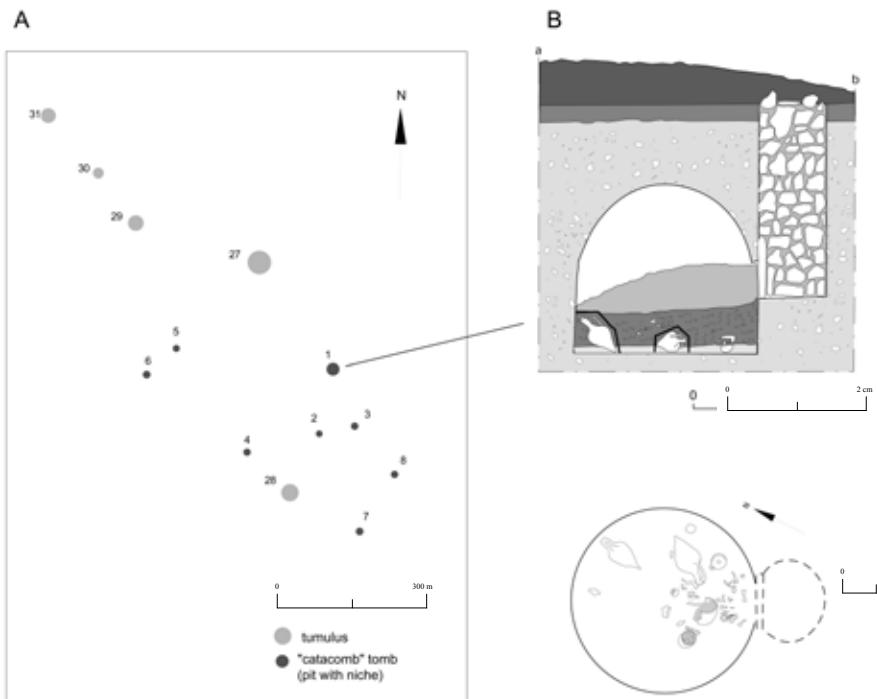


Figure 24
Kahnovo necropolis. Detail of structure n° 1 (after Atanasov 1992, fig. 1, 3).

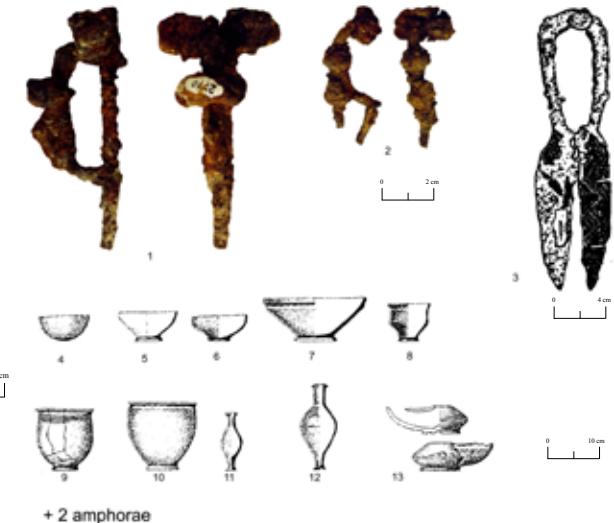


Figure 25
Kahnovo necropolis. Grave goods from structure n°1. 1–3 iron; 4–13 ceramics (3–13 after Atanasov 1992).

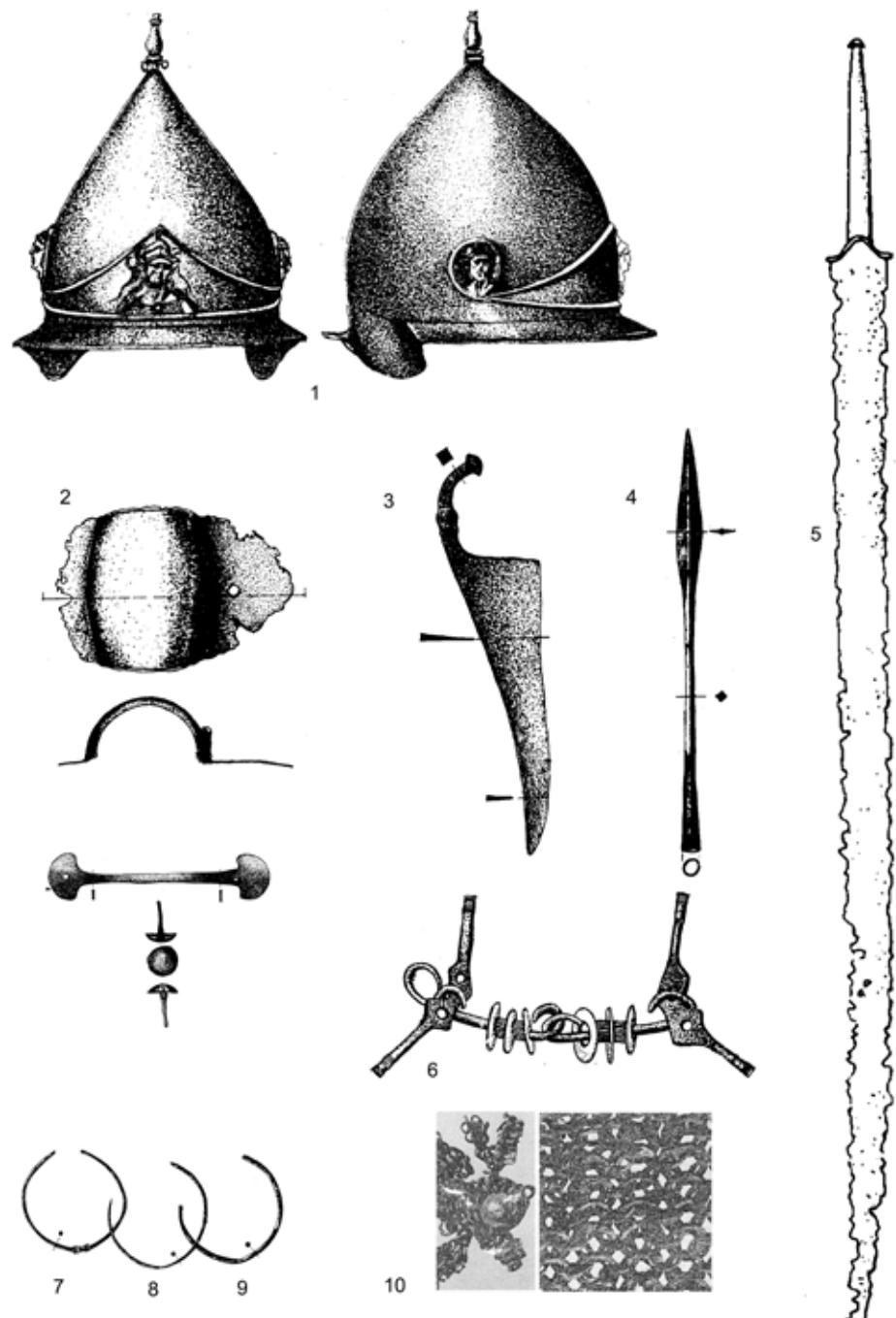


Figure 26
Kalnovo necropolis. Warrior's panoply found in the upper layers of structure n°1. 1 iron, silver ; 2–10 iron (after Atanasov 1992).

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