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Cum grano salis, or about the Anartophracti in the Słonne Mountains

ABSTRACT

At the end of the 20th century, as the researchers became more convinced about the existence of the La Tène culture settlement zone in south-eastern Poland, there were more and more attempts at identifying the ethnicity of this population. Some of the researchers allowed for connecting the said settlement with the *Anartophracti*, known from Claudius Ptolemy's writings (Geography, III, 5, 8).

However, in order to identify the La Tène culture population from south-eastern Poland with Ptolemy's *Anartophracti*, it is necessary to prove that Ptolemy's account concerned the peoples inhabiting the area of the upper San basin in the 3rd and possibly 2nd century B.C. It is thus necessary to prove that the geographical and chronological data are consistent. One more argument in support of the claim would be a proof that the name *Anartophracti* refers to a Celtic tribe. It would have to be also assumed a priori that the ethnonym of *Anartophracti* is not a duplicate of the name *Anarti*.

In author's opinion, Ptolemy's writings do not allow to prove that the *Anartophracti* he mentions lived at the areas on the upper San river: they could have rather lived to the east or north-east of the Carpathians. Ptolemy's account is not clear enough to locate the *Anartophractis'* settlements.

The above list of the written sources seems to indicate that the chronology of all the information concerning the Anarti ranges between the end of the 1st half of the 1st c. B.C. and the late 240s A.D. There are no premises to link with the *Anarti* any settlement concentrations from the north-eastern La Tène culture from phase LT C or LT D₁.

KEYWORDS

Anartophracti, Ptolemy's Geography, the Carpathians, San-Dnester Route



The locations of Barbarian peoples known from the written sources have been inspiring vivid discussions for a long time. This concerns especially the peoples mentioned several times in different written sources, but also some *hapax legomena*-like ethnonyms. Attempts have also been made at identifying Ancient place names and matching them to the settlements or settlement concentrations known from the archaeological excavations, or even to modern-time towns. The best known example from the Polish lands is Ptolemy's *Calisia*, which was identified with the town of Kalisz already by Jan Długosz (*Roczniki, czyli kroniki...*, I, *Sławniejsze miasta i miasteczka Polski*, 175, 176, Biliński 1955; Rospond 1960; Kolendo 2009-2010). There have been also attempts at locating the settlements of *Askauskalis* and *Setidava* and the mountains of *Askiburgion* (Piaskowski 1962; Cofta-Broniewska 1979, 147; Kolendo 1999, 220, 221; 2009-2010, 78).

The archaeologists often questioned the possibility of pinpointing the precise locations in the Polish lands of concrete peoples known from the written sources. The best example is the dispute about the location of the seats of the Cotini, in which the bold but not documented concepts of J. Piaskowski were criticised and rejected by K. Godłowski and Z. Woźniak (Piaskowski 1961a; 1961b; 1962; 1964; Woźniak 1963, Godłowski 1963).

The tentative identifications of the peoples inhabiting the areas of modern south-eastern Poland in the Iron Age date back to long time ago when the Polish researchers first focused their interest on the Celts. The first one to do so was Karol Rogawski¹ who, in 1856, considered the prehistoric flint tools discovered in the vicinity of Leżajsk as material traces of the Celts. In large part Rogawski based his conclusions on the findings of a Swiss archaeologist, Ferdinand Keller, who considered the La Tène materials together with the finds from the Stone Age and remains of stilt houses, as Celtic remains (Rogawski 1856). Karol Rogawski based his interpretation on Ptolemy's Γεωγραφικὴ Ἑφήγησις, (*Geōgraphikḗ Hyphēgēsis – Geography*): *In this way the Celtic Olmbrones and Cotonni reached the springs of the Vistula and beyond the Oder. The Anorti, Teurisci, Bastarni, and Peucini got far beyond the Tatra Mountains, to the area of the Prut, Dnester, and Bug rivers. [...] These related branches of the Celtic tribe, the Bastarni and Peucini were most probably those*

1 More exactly, Franciszek Karol Rogawski, 1819 (?) – 1888, a Galician politician and archaeologist, i.a., one of the initiators of the Exhibition of Ancient and Historical Art in Cracow.

who left their Celtic artefacts in the wooded plains of the outlet of the San river². The presence of the Peucini was to be additionally supported by the name of the village of Pełkinie, Jarosław district (Rogawski 1856, 100, 101). Rogawski mentioned also the *Carpi* and *Saboci* who were said to have inhabited the vicinity of Leżajsk in the Roman Period (Rogawski 1856, 106). K. Rogawski's ideas are today a historical curiosity and the issue of the presence of the Celts in the San river catchment area returned much later, in the 1970s. In 1970, in his monograph of the Celtic settlement in Poland Z. Woźniak mentioned only 'single artefacts of the La Tène culture from south-eastern Poland.' The new light on the issue of the presence of the La Tène culture population in the San river catchment area was shed by M. Parczewski's discoveries in Bachórz, Dynów district (Parczewski 1978). The successive years brought a gradual increase of the finds related to the La Tène culture, yet their number was still quite small and even in the 21st century A. Kokowski questioned the existence of the Celtic settlements in south-eastern Poland (Kokowski 2001, 112, 113). As the researchers became more convinced about the existence of the La Tène culture settlement zone in south-eastern Poland, there were more and more attempts at identifying the ethnicity of this population. Some of the researchers allowed for connecting the said settlement with the *Anartophracti*,³ known from Claudius Ptolemy's writings (*Geography*, III, 5, 8) (Olędzki 1997, 166; 2000, 525, 526; 2004, 131; 2005, 150; 2008, 91; Karwowski 2007, 139; 2008, 151, Parczewski, Pelisiak, Szczepanek 2012, 25; Kolendo, Płóciennik 2015, 23, 247, Footnote 19; Florkiewicz, Kotowicz 2017, 322).

The said researchers in their majority referred to the short passage by Z. Woźniak who, comparing the settlement of the eastern zone of the La Tène

2 *Takowym sposobem dostali się Celty Olmbronowie i Kotonowie do źródeł Wisły i za rzekę Odrę. Anortowie zaś Teuryskowie, Bastarnowie i Peucynowie aż daleko za góry Tatry, do okolic rzeki Prutu, Dniestru i Bugu. [...] Z tych to pokrewnych gałęzi Celtyckiego szczepu, Bastarnowie i Peucynowie są najprawdopodobniej temi, którzy na tych lesistych równinach Sanowego ujścia, zostawili swe celtyckie z tamtych czasów zabytki.*

3 The problem of the location of the *Anartophracti* in the Polish lands has a much longer tradition. One of the first researchers who dealt with this problem was Stanisław Sarnicki, a 16th historian, an elder of the Calvinist church in the Cracow Land. In the work issued in 1585 called *Descriptio veteris et novae Poloniae, itemque Russiae et Livoniae* he located the *Anartophracti* between Podlasie, inhabited in his opinion by the *Iazyges*, and the Vistula river (Sarnicki 1712, 188). https://ia801205.us.archive.org/32/items/bub_gb_czLCRloxeAsC/bub_gb_czLCRloxeAsC.pdf

culture with the texts of the Ancient authors, mentioned the Anarti and took into account all the known in the 1970s passages concerning these people: the writings of Julius Caesar, Ptolemy's *Geography*, the inscription known as *Elogium Tusculum*⁴ (ILS 8965) and the epigraphic sources published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL III 3598, 7633, 8060). According to Z. Woźniak, *some of them* (the Anarti), *probably moved to the other side of the Carpathian mountains* (*Anartofracti*). He believed that the *Anartophracti* *should be located on the other side of the Carpathians, somewhere in the catchment area of the upper Dnester (or the San?) river*⁵ (Woźniak 1974, 168). Like many other researchers studying this subject, Z. Woźniak assumed that the ethnonyms *Anartophracti* and *Anarti* are connected and the peoples given those names were related. Thus if the *Anarti* were considered as a Celtic tribe then the *Anartophracti* were also Celtic, even if the only information about them comes from the 2nd century A.D. For that reason it would be necessary to assume that Ptolemy used much earlier sources. Z. Woźniak believed that Ptolemy's *Anartophracti* could be connected with the materials from Bovsiv, Ivano-Frankivsk district, Ukraine, dated to phase LT C (Krušel'nickaâ 1965, *passim*): in the early 1970s it was the only archaeological trace of the Celtic expansion to the north of the eastern Carpathians. For that reason the supposed *Anartophracti* must have occupied these lands before the *Boii* and *Taurisci* moved there and before the areas on the Tisa river were occupied by the Dacians (Woźniak 1974, 168). A similar line of thought was followed by M. Olędzki, M. Karwowski, M. Parczewski, A. Pelisiak, and K. Szczepanek, yet they connected the *Anartophracti* with the La Tène settlement from the upper San river basin (Olędzki 1997, 166; 2000, 525, 526; 2004, 131; 2005, 150; 2008, 91; Karwowski 2007, 139; 2008, 151, Parczewski, Pelisiak, Szczepanek 2012, 25). Also in that case these researchers assumed that Ptolemy's information concerned the times synchronised with phase LT C, while M. Olędzki was ready to include also phase LT D or, generally, the 'Pre-Roman period' (Olędzki 1997, 175; Table I; 2008, 91). Olędzki also rejected the hypothesis assuming that the *Anartophracti*'s settlements were located on the upper Dnester river, supporting his view by the scarcity of the La Tène materials from

4 M. Olędzki and G. Kazakevich as *Elogium Tusculanum* (Olędzki 2005, 150; Kazakevich 2015a, 156, 2015b, 27).

5 [...] *trzeba lokalizować po drugiej stronie Karpat, gdzieś w dorzeczu górnego Dniestru (lub Sanu?)*.

that area and the lack of clearly marked settlement zone dated to the La Tène period (Olędzki 2004, 131; 2005, 150).

In this author's opinion in order to identify the La Tène culture population from south-eastern Poland with Ptolemy's *Anartophracti*, it is necessary to prove that Ptolemy's account concerned the peoples inhabiting the area of the upper San basin in the 3rd and possibly 2nd century B.C. It is thus necessary to prove that the geographical and chronological data are consistent. One more argument in support of the claim would be a proof that the name '*Anartophracti*' refers to a Celtic tribe. It would be, however, quite difficult, because even if it is proved that the ethnonym comes from the Celtic language,⁶ the people themselves need not necessarily have been the Celts. It would have to be also assumed *a priori* that the ethnonym of *Anartophracti* is not a duplicate of the name *Anarti*, as it was suggested P. J. Šafárik and W. Kętrzyński, and today, by S. Nemeti (Šafárik 1842; 506, 518; Kętrzyński 1901, 36; Nemeti 2014, 59).

I. THE GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The reflections in this paper are based, of course, on Ptolemy's *Geography*, unfortunately, rarely quoted by the advocates of the hypothesis connecting the La Tène population from the upper San river basin with the *Anartophracti*. Let us thus quote Ptolemy, focusing the geographical data allowing to locate the peoples he mentions. The description concerns *European Sarmatia*, i.e., the areas located to the east of the Vistula river:

Lesser races inhabit Sarmatia near the Vistula river. Below the Venedae are the Gythiones, then the Finni, then the Sulones; below whom are the Phrugundiones; then the Avarini near the surce of the Vistula river; below these are the Ombrones, then the Anartophracti, then the Burgiones, then the Arsietae, then the Saboci, then the Piengitae and the Biessi near the Carpathian Mountain.

(*Geography*, III, 5, 8)

6 The Celtic etymology of the ethnonym *Anartes/Anartoi* was suggested by W. Tomaschek (Tomaschek 1894, 2064).

Some reservations should be made here. Firstly, the respective variants of Ptolemy's maps differ in how the course of the western branch of the Vistula is related to the settlement called *Asciburgion*. In the handwritten codes from Vatican and Cracow and in the Francesco Berlinghieri's issue from 1482 *Asciburgion* is located between the Vistula and the Oder rivers whereas in the publications from Ulm from 1482 and 1486, the Oder has its springs in *Asciburgion* and the Vistula, in the *Sarmathian Mountains* (Bzinkowska 1994, 16, 17).

Secondly, Ptolemy says that the Vistula has two sources and locates them at the distance of almost 4 degrees⁷ (*Geography*, II, 1 1, 4). O. Cuntz supposed that one of these sources may have been the San or the Bug river, but J. Kolendo stressed that the sources of the Bug river are too far to the north to take them into account (Cuntz 1923, 60, 61; Kolendo 1999, 219; 2004, 21, 22). At present it is generally assumed that one of Ptolemy's sources (or 'distributaries') of the Vistula is the San (Nowakowski 2019, 283, 284), yet this hypothesis is not generally accepted (cf. Moczulski 2007, 210–212).

What is more, we should remember that the analysis of the data concerning the locations of ancient tribes should be in each case conducted with the use of the settlement maps from the Younger Pre-Roman Period and the Roman Period, and in our case embracing the lands of modern south-eastern Poland and adjoining areas (Madyda-Legutko 1996, Maps; Kolendo 1999, 219, 220; Slobodân 2012, 186, 187, Fig. 1; 2014, *passim*; 2017, 216–217, Fig. 1).

What Ptolemy says is not entirely clear. This was pointedly commented upon by A. Brückner (Brückner 1925, 5). It was also criticised by K. Godłowski saying that *Tacitus' account [...] cannot be undermined by the information from the other Ancient sources, especially Ptolemy's Geography. It is known that this author made a large number of errors, he drew imprecise and invalid information from earlier sources but crammed into one fixed scheme*⁸ (Godłowski 1986,

7 Whereas the latitude could be, approximately, determined using the maximum height of the sun, the longitude could not have been established precisely because there were no clocks which would allow to determine the time difference with respect to the prime meridian regardless of which meridian would be given that name. The location was determined basing on the calculation of the distance covered in a day, so the method was not very precise and the error increased as the traveller moved away from the points of known geographical position (Moczulski 2007, 142, 143; Kolendo, Płóciennik 2015; 250).

8 *Relacji Tacyta [...] nie mogą podważyć dane innych źródeł starożytnych, a zwłaszcza*

349). L. Moczulski drew attention to a number of basic errors and misrepresentations in the description of the northern Black Sea Littoral, which the Greeks had known and described hundreds of years before Ptolemy's times (Moczulski 2007, 205). Since Ptolemy's *Geography* describes the areas well known to the Ancient authors in an imprecise way, it is still more important to treat with caution his description of the Barbarian interior, so distant from Alexandria. The arrangement of the catenae presenting the neighbouring peoples is highly schematic and one should not assume that they are arranged in parallel from the north to the south. Some of these faults may be a result of Ptolemy's method derived from a specific understanding of geography through the *logos*, i.e., the requirement of internal harmony and rationality.⁹ As it has been noted by P. Arnaud, the belief that there is some order in the arrangement of the lands and the appearance of certain animal species, etc., is visible, e.g., in the works of Strabo and Marinus of Tyre, on which Ptolemy modelled his writings. L. Moczulski noted that the Ancients noticed the regularity that great rivers start in the mountains; perhaps for that reason in Ptolemy's map *Tanais* (the Don river) and *Rha* (the Volga river) begin in the Riphean Mountains¹⁰ (Bzinkowska 1994, 19; Moczulski 2007, 142). According to P. Arnaud it was the *logos* that was behind the corrections of the maps and the geographical latitudes given even in contradiction to the witness statements (Arnaud 2013, 47–49).

Is it possible to conclude on the basis of Ptolemy's account that the *Anartophracti* lived on the upper San river? The quoted fragment clearly shows that the area around the sources of the 'Vistula' (i.e., the San) was occupied by the Avarini (n.b. considered by M. Olędzki to have been the Celts) and not *Anartophracti* (Olędzki 2008, 91). We can only state that the latter settled the

„Geografii” Ptolemeusza. Jak wiadomo, u autora tego występuje ogromna ilość pomyłek, niedokładności i wiadomości nieaktualnych, zaczerpniętych ze źródeł wcześniejszych, a wciśniętych w jeden „gabinetowy” schemat (Godłowski 1986, 349).

9 Let us note that the linguistic relationship between geo-graphy and geo-metry is not accidental here.

10 Another result of this belief are probably the Mountains of the Moon marked on the map of Africa where the supposed sources of the Nile were located. Modern cartography is also guilty of similar errors. The best example is the Mountains of Kong which were supposed to cross Western Africa from west to east and connect with the Mountains of the Moon. The non-existent mountain range was marked on the map for the first time in 1798 and reappeared on many other maps of Africa until the 20th century (Bassett, Porter 1991).

piedmont areas to the north or north-east of the Carpathian Mountains and probably to the east of the San river (as the *Anartophracti* are mentioned in the part devoted to European Sarmatia, i.e., the lands to the east of the Vistula/San). Jerzy Kolendo stressed that Ptolemy's data concerning the mountains are imprecise (Kolendo 1999, 221; Kolendo, *Plóciennik* 2015, 230). Mount *Karpates* mentioned in the text is probably tantamount with the mountain range of the same name mentioned in the other parts of the text (*Geography*, III.5.6, 15, 18, 20; 7.1, 8.1). It was said to have surrounded *Dacia* from the north and east (Kolendo 2004, 22). Let us also remind that the terms 'farther', 'behind', 'next', 'below' do not denote geographic directions but rather the courses of the routes used by the travellers who were the main source of information about the *Barbaricum* in Rome.¹¹ The quoted text has many ambiguities and the image of ethnic diversity presented in it is very different from that described by Tacitus in *Germania*.

It should be also noted that in the quoted passage there appear twice the names which may be differently spelt ethnonyms of the *Burgundionae* and *Frugundionae* and the *Burgioni*¹² (Łowmiański 1964, 41; Kolendo, *Plóciennik* 2015, footnotes 18, 20). As the *Burgundiones* are usually identified with the Luboszyce culture population, it is quite doubtful that Ptolemy had a reliable source concerning the ethnic situation to the north of the Carpathians. If we were to treat his account as reliable, we should place, successively, the *Avarini*, *Ombrones*, *Anartophracti*, *Burgiones*, *Arsietee*, *Saboci*, *Piengitae*, and *Biessi* at the area between the sources of the San river and the Carpathians, which is impossible not because of the number of the mentioned tribes but of the fact that the sources of the San are in the Bieszczady Mountains, which are part of the Carpathians. Probably, we deal here with a collection of pieces of information from different points in time, of varying reliability and exactness. Such a conclusion was drawn by H. Łowmiański, who pointed out in the text ethnonyms which were descriptive names and derivations from literature, doubles, enigmatic *hapax legomena* and actual names, i.e., ones which occurred more or less contemporaneously to *Geography* (Łowmiański 1963, 32–44). Ptolemy's text differs from the maps published by R. Madyda-Legutko

11 For that reason one should treat with caution A. Bastian's idea, according to which the *Anartophracti* should be located to the south of the *Ombroni*, and the latter, to the south of the *Avarini* (Bastian 1871, 210, 481).

12 According to G. Schütte the ethnonym *Burgioni* is rather a version of *Buroi* - Lugii Buri (Schütte 1917, 99).

(Madyda-Legutko 1996, maps). Obviously, these maps reflect the state of knowledge from 25 years ago, yet the more recent studies have not brought about any important changes. The changes consist in an increased density of settlement points within the already known settlement concentrations rather than in the appearance of new settlement zones. It may be also assumed that the lack of archaeological sites from the Iron Age in the mountain zone results not necessarily from the state of knowledge but reflects a tendency to create settlements in suitable places.

In my opinion, Ptolemy's writings do not allow to prove that the *Anartophracti* he mentions lived at the areas on the upper San river: they could have also lived to the east or north-east of the Carpathians. Ptolemy's account is not clear enough to locate the *Anartophractis'* settlements.

The situation is additionally complicated by the fact that Ptolemy's *Geography* mentions the sources of the Vistula once again when locating the *Lugi Buri*. In Book II describing *Germania Magna* we can read:

*Back below the Semnones the Silingae have their seat, and below the Burguntae the Lugi Omani, below whom the Lugi Diduni up to Mt. Asciburgius; and below the Silingae the Calucones and the Camavi up to Mt. Melibocus, from whom to the east near the Albis river and above them, below Mt. Asciburgius, the Corconti and the Lugi Buri up to the head of the Vistula river; and below them first the Sidones, then the Cotini, then the Visburgii above the Orcynius valley*¹³.

(*Geography*, II, 11).

Some of the researchers assumed that these sources were on Mount Barania in Cieszyn Silesia and sometimes linked the *Corconti* with the Karkonosze Mountains (Much 1889, *passim*; Kętrzyński 1901, 30, 34; Niederle 1912, 25; Olędzki 2017, *passim*), however, according to J. Kolendo and W. Nowakowski, also in this case when Ptolemy mentioned the head of the Vistula river meant the sources of the San river (Kolendo 1999, 219; 2004, 21, 22; Nowakowski 2019, 283, 284). J. Kolendo's and W. Nowakowski's interpretation is based on the location of the areas occupied by the *Lugi Buri* and by the tribe of the *Buri*, known from Tacitus' account (*Germania*, 43,1) and the sources describing

13 https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Periods/Roman/_Texts/Ptolemy/2/10.html

Traianus' campaigns in *Dacia* and the Marcomanni wars (Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, LXVII, 8), which are said to have been in south-eastern Poland and north-eastern Slovakia. It seems that this part of Ptolemy's account is relatively contemporaneous, i.e., refers to the early 2nd c. A.D. Thus in our attempt at locating the *Anartophracti*, we have to take into account the mentions from Book II and III of *Geography*.

II. THE CHRONOLOGICAL DATA

The discrepancies in Ptolemy's account described above may be explained if, following Z. Woźniak and the other researchers mentioned above, we assume that the ethnonym *Anartophracti* is an anachronism and refers to the population of the La Tène culture. Is it, however, possible to determine which times Ptolemy's information about the *Anartophracti* relates to? Can this ethnonym concern the people living in the 3rd-2nd c. B.C.? Claudius Ptolemy is known for his indiscriminate use of earlier sources and in his writings relatively current data are next to the ones derived from several hundred years older texts. One example of that may be the mention of the *Agatyrsi* (III, 5), a tribe known to Herodotus (*The Persian Wars*, 4.10, 4.48, 4.49, 4.78, 4.100, 4.102, 4.104, 4.119, 4.125). In his description of *Dacia*, Ptolemy did not take into account the fact that at the time he wrote his text it had been a Roman province for several ten years, which is indicated by, i.a., some ethnonyms (Nemeti 2014, 22, 23, with earlier literature).

Let us, however, note that the name *Anartophracti* itself seems to contain some chronological information. It is a kind of a hybrid¹⁴ (Czarnecki 1975, 119), for although Ptolemy wrote in Greek, *fractus/fracti* is a Latin and not Greek word. J. Kolendo stressed that we often find transcriptions of Latin names in Greek texts: these are traces of Roman informants and the earlier, Latin, sources used in compilation works (Kolendo, Płóciennik 2015, 35). Thus we should assume that the ethnonym *Anartophracti* has partly Latin roots and we should link it with the Roman and not Greek historiographic tradition. For that reason it cannot be earlier than the second half of the 1st c. B.C., i.e., the time when the Romans began to take interest in *Dacia* in

14 According to W. Jankowski and J. Czarnecki this is a Greek-Latin hybrid, as there are no reasons to believe that the ethnonym 'Anarti' is of Greek origin (Jankowski 1991).

connection with Burebista's activities. H. Łowmiański believed that Ptolemy owes the ethnonym in question to a source written after the Roman conquest (Łowmiański 1963, 39; 1964, 43)¹⁵. This is just one more argument for the late dating of the name *Anartophracti*. The other ones are related to the ethnonym *Anarti*. Unfortunately, Ptolemy mentions the *Anarti* and *Anartophracti* in different parts of his text and does not speak about mutual relations of these peoples or their locations one with respect to the other. However, if we assume that there is a connection between the ethnonyms *Anartophracti* and *Anarti*, we have also to assume that the name *Anartophracti* cannot be earlier than *Anarti*. What are the times, thus, to which the ancient written sources mentioning the *Anarti* refer to? This has been established by W. Tomaszek and taken into account by Z. Woźniak (W. Tomaszek 1894, 2964; Woźniak 1974, 27, footnote 89), but this has been usually ignored or left without comment by the researchers trying later on to identify the La Tène population inhabiting the upper San river basin with Ptolemy's *Anartophracti*.

The tribe of *Anarti* has been mentioned in the written sources several times. The earliest one can be found in Book VI of Caesar's *The Gallic War*, among some information about Germania, probably derived in part from the writings of Poseidonius of Apameia. In his description of the Hercynian Forest (i.e., the area later identified with the mountain range crossing the central European Barbaricum) Caesar wrote that it extended without a break down to the land of the Dacians and *Anarti* (*The Gallic War* VI, 24), which may indicate that these peoples occupied adjoining areas near the Carpathians. Caesar also said that the Hercynian Forest had been known already to Eratostenes (*The Gallic War* VI, 24), and we should add that his text contains descriptions of fantastic animals inhabiting it, probably derived from a Greek source (Kołendo 2004, 16). This does not mean, however, that the whole Caesar's description was taken from some earlier, Greek, texts. Indeed, the few geographic and ethnographic data concerning the Hercynian Forest (and thus, indirectly, the location of the *Anarti*) are presented in the latitudinal arrangement, from the 'Rhine' perspective, i.e., that of someone travelling from the west, rather

15 On the other hand, Ptolemy's description of *Dacia* presents the state before the Roman conquest. According to I. Grumeza, this is suggested by the mention (III, 5) that *Dacia* was separated from *Sarmatia* by the river *Tyras* (Dniester) whereas the river *Axsiaces* (Tiligul) flows through *Sarmatia* not far above *Dacia*, and begins in the Carpathian Mountains (Grumeza 2009, 40).

than the ‘Danube’ one, as it was done by many Greek authors who used the informants travelling to the north. It may thus be supposed that Caesar’s information about the borders of the Hercynian Forest is not much earlier than *The Gallic War* itself and was probably collected due to the increased interest of the Romans in the Dacian areas during the reign of Burebista.¹⁶ Nevertheless, this part of the *Barbaricum* is presented in *The Gallic War* as a poorly known area and it is Tacitus who was the first to present more exact information about it (Raczyńska-Kruk 2018, 35–37).

Even if we may consider Caesar’s information as not entirely reliable, another mention, dated to the last decade of the 1st c. B.C., certainly represents the state from the turn of the centuries, namely, the one from the so-called Elogium Tusculum (ILS 8965). This is a partly preserved inscription describing the merits of a legate from *Illyricum* who crossed the Danube to fight with the peoples attacking *Pannonia*.¹⁷ Of the legate’s name only letters ‘ciu[s]’ have been preserved but most of the researchers believe that it was *Marcus Vinicius* or his son *Publius* (Premmerstein 1904, *passim*; Mócsy 1962, 543–544; Fitz 1993, 62–66; Fehér, Kovács [ed.] 2003, 269–270; Wolff 2004, 552; Beljak 2006, 257, Obr. 2; Komoróczy 2006, 189). The researchers do not agree about the direction in which the expedition went (Babeş 1993, 170). Among the peoples attacking Pannonia, there were the *Anarti*, *Bastarni*, and Dacians, which may suggest that the expedition went to Transylvania, but also the *Cotini* and *Osi*, probably inhabiting at that time the area of modern Slovakia or north-eastern Hungary. B. Komoróczy drew our attention to Strabo’s mention (VIII 3, 13) according to which the Romans used the Mureş river to provide food supplies for their troops (and thus also the Tisa river, of which the Mureş is a tributary) (Komoróczy 2006, 189). The dating of the *Elogium Tusculum* excludes the possibility that the ethnonym *Anarti[os]* denoted a Celtic tribe from the Tisa river basin or the southern piedmont of the eastern Carpathians: in ca 19–10 B.C. these areas were settled by the Celto-Dacian or Celtic population.

16 Let us note that already Strabo had quite numerous data on Dacia and the tributaries of the Danube (VII, 3; VII, 5; VII, 6).

17 [M(arcus) Vinu]ciu[s] P(ubli) f(ilius) / [co(n)s(ul) XV] vir s(acris) f(aciendis) [pr (aetor) q(uaestor)] / [legatus pro] pr (aetore) Augusti Caesaris in [Illyrico] / [primus t] rans flumen Dan<u=I>vium [progressus] / [Dacoru] m et Basternarum exer [c]itum acie] / [vicit fu] gavitque Cotinos [Osos 3] / [3]s et Anarti [os sub potestatem] / [Imp (eratoris) Caesaris A] ugusti [et p(opuli) R(omani) redegit .

A small bit of information on the location of the Anarti is provided by a burial inscription from *Aquincum* (CIL III, 3598, 10552), probably dated to the Flavians' times (Mráv, Ottományi 2005, 93). It comes from the stele of *Iulia Utta Florina*, a daughter of *Eppo, natione Anarti[a]*, who died at the age of 85. However, the inscription confirms the existence of one person and cannot be considered as a proof of a lasting existence of the *Anarti* in *Aquincum*. We may only suppose that their seats were not far away from the borders of *Pannonia*.

Another mention comes from the 2nd c., namely paragraph III, 8, 3 from *Geography*, in which Ptolemy lists the seats of the *Antari*, *Teurisci*, and *Costoboci*. It contains a name similar to the Celtic ethnonym of *Taurisci*: a Celtic tribe from Noricum. For Z. Woźniak the presence of *Teurisci* in Carpathian Ruthenia and Maramureş may be the evidence of later shifts in eastern Celtic world, perhaps due to the migrations of the Boii to Pannonia and their eastward pressure through the war with the Dacians. Z. Woźniak also noted that according to some researchers the *Teurisci* occupied these areas in Burebista's times (Woźniak 1974, 26, 27). According to G. Kazakevič, the *Teurisci* and *Anarti* may be Celto-Dacian peoples with whom such sites as Mala Kopanya and Zemplín are associated (Kazakevič 2015b, 27). The *Costoboci*, a tribe known from the later Marcomanni Wars, are also mentioned which allows to believe that in this case Ptolemy used a contemporary source. Basing on Ptolemy's writings, W. Tomaszek assumed that they inhabited the north-western part of *Dacia Porolissensis*. In this way he assumed that Ptolemy's information was contemporary to him since the province of *Dacia Porolissensis* was established in 124 AD (Tomaszek 1894, 2064).

The next source indicating the Dacian location of the *Antarti* is the inscription from Romania. *Corpus Inscriptiones Latinorum* No III 8060 records an inscription on a milestone (*miliarium*) discovered in 1851 in Almaşu Mare¹⁸ (Mereştii Mari), Alba district, in Transylvania (Romania). The stone was embedded in the wall of a country house and has not been preserved till our times, yet A. von Domaszewski made a record of it and published it in CIL. The title of Maximinus Thrax visible on it allows it to date it to 236.¹⁹ Many researchers,

18 The supplement to CI, Volume III, in which the discussed inscription was published, was issued in 1902 thus it has the name Nagy-almas, used in Austro-Hungary.

19 Im[p(erator) C] aesar [i] Caius [[Iu [l(ius) Verus Ma]]]/[[x]i[mi] nus] P(ius) F(elix) Aug(ustus) pontif [ex] / [[[maximus]]] trib (unicia) potestat [e] / II imp(erator) III co(n)s(ul) pater patria [e] / et Gaius [[[Iul(ius)] V[er]u[s] M[aximus]]]] / nobilissim[us] Caes(ar) fil(ius) Augu[stinus] / m(ilia) XVI a R[eg] VL vico An[artorum]] .

both earlier and contemporary ones, believe, despite certain doubts as to the shape of the last preserved letter, that the last two words of the inscription should be interpreted as *vico An[artorum]* : *Anarti's* village (CIL III 8060; Dacovicu 1966, 168; Macrea 1969, 114, 154, 155; Woźniak 1974, 27). This view has been shared, with some reservations, by Z. Mráv and K. Ottományi (Mráv, Ottományi 2005, 92, 93). A sceptical opinion about A. v Domaszewski's interpretation was expressed by V. Pârvan who stressed that the last letter may have been misread and the *Anarti* inhabited in his opinion north-western *Dacia* rather than the vicinity of Almaşu Mare (Pârvan 1926, 275). Still more sceptical are I. Piso and D.-A. Deac. These researchers agree with V. Pârvan's reservations about the shape of the last legible letter and the location of the *Anarti*. They believe that the last letters of the word in question should be read as *vico Au (?) [---]*, perhaps, *vico Au[relianus]* (Piso 2011, 323–324; Deac 2013, 266).

The next inscription mentioned by Z. Woźniak but ignored in the later publications, comes from Căşeu, Cluj district (ant. *Samum*) w Rumunii (CIL III, 7633).²⁰ In this fragmentarily preserved inscription from 249 A.D. there is no literal reference to the *Anarti*, yet A. v Domaszewski believed that the inscription indirectly referred to that people. This point of view was shared by, i.a., W. Tomaschek (Tomaschek 1894) whereas V. Pârvan and D.-A. Deac (Pârvan 1926, 275; Deac 2013, 266) expressed a contradictory opinion.

Besides the three inscriptions mentioning the *Anarti* (two of which have been questioned) there is one more, quite recently discovered epigraphic source, namely, the altar of the Earth Mother discovered at the beginning of the 21st c. in Budaörs, Pest district, in Hungary. The altar is dated to 247–249 A.D. and the inscription visible on it mentions the delegates sent by the local villages: „*vicus Teuto(- - -) et Bataion(is) et Anarti[or(um)]* (Mráv, Ottományi 2005, *passim*, Mráv 2016, 519, 521; Fig. 18:5). The reading of the ethnonym '*Anarti*' in this case is evident and has not been questioned.

Let us note that two of the above-mentioned inscriptions are dated to the 230s and one to 247/249 (the reign of Maximinus Thrax, Gordian III, and Philip the Arab or Philip II) and thus are younger than Ptolemy's text and do not refer to the past but to the current events.

20 [De]a[e Ne]m[esi] / Reg(inae) M(arcus) [Val(erius)] Va/lentinus b(ene)ff(iciarius) / co(n)s(ularis) [mi]l[es] l[eg(ionis)] / XIII g(eminae) Gordi(anae) / aed[il(is)] col(oniae) Nap(oae) / agens sub si<g>(nis) / Samum cum reg(ione) / Ans(---) v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito) [p(osuit)] // Imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro) M(arco) Ant(onio) G[ordi(ano) Augus]t[us] / to et Aviola c[o(n)s(ulibus) X(---)]

Let us also note that none of the discussed inscriptions comes from northern *Dacia* where the *Anarti*'s seats are usually located. In the case of the finds from Almaşu Mare and Căşeu this circumstance is considered as an argument against linking the fragmentarily preserved inscriptions with the *Anarti*. Not attempting to settle this debate I would like to note that the designate *Anartorum* may have been important as there were no other settlements inhabited by the *Anarti* in the area (or, more exactly, by the people considered by their neighbours as the *Anarti*). The case is similar for the inscription from Budaörs where, besides the 'Anarti's village' also *vicus Teuto* (- - -) is mentioned. Also, H. Wolff reminds that *vicus* denotes a rural settlement and not a larger administrative unit, which would have been called *civitas* (Wolff 1976, 111–116). *Vicus Anartorum* would then be a small settlement inhabited by the population (deported?) from the north.

The above list of the written sources seems to indicate that the chronology of all the information concerning the *Anarti* ranges between the end of the 1st half of the 1st c. B.C. and the late 240^s A.D. There are no premises to link with the *Anarti* any settlement concentrations from the north-eastern La Tène culture from phase LT C or LT D1. It cannot be excluded that the information from *Geography* concerning the location of their seats is not an anachronism so also the data concerning the location of the *Anartophracti* may come from the times almost contemporary to Ptolemy.

III. THE ETHNIC AFFILIATION OF THE ANARTI AND ANARTOPHRACTI

The epigraphic and historical data presented above allow tentatively to determine the *Anarti*'s ethnicity. Some researchers believe that they were a Celtic tribe, even though almost every written source mentioning the *Anarti* was recorded when the Celtic domination in Europe was over. Caesar distinguished the *Anarti* from the Dacians (*The Gallic War*, VI, 24), which may indicate that these were two separate ethnic groups.²¹ Z. Mráv, K. Ottományi,

21 The criteria used by the Ancient authors to include a people to a tribal group are not always obvious for us and were not always uniform. Let us recall that Caesar clearly wrote that the *Veneti* were not the Celts, whereas the archaeologists recorded the presence of La Tène culture in Armorica. In this case we may have to do with another version of the difference between the ethnic mosaic known from the written sources

and A. Falileyev believed that *Anarti* is a Celtic ethnonym (Mráv, Ottományi 2005, 91, 92 ; Falileyev 2007, 21–23). Also A. Mócsy considered the *Anarti* to be the Celts (Mócsy 2014, 18, 19, 35, 58). A similar position was adopted by V. G. Kotigoroško who claimed that Ptolemy's mention about them (III, 8, 3) is an anachronism (Kotigoroško 2008, 299). He also believed that the ethnonym *Anartophracti* may be translated as *Anarto-fraki*, which would reflect the mixed Celto-Dacian character of the population living in the upper Tisa river basin in the last 25 years B.C. The name then survived as a general name of the inhabitants of northern *Dacia* (Kotigoroško 2008, 299, 302). An equally bold hypothesis was put forward by Č. Bonev. Assuming that the *Anarti* and *Anartophracti* were related he noticed that in the upper Dnester and Prut basin Ptolemy recorded a settlement of *Erakton* (*Geography*, III, 6, 15). He suggested that *Erakton* should be read as *Frakton* in order to suggest that this could have been the central settlement: *Anarto-frakton*, i.e., of the *Anarti* who had crossed the Carpathians (Bonev 2008, 84, 85).

For Z. Woźniak the *Anarti* were the people from the early Celtic times. He stressed that they were considered as 'people of at least Celtic origin' (Woźniak 1974, 27). J. V. Kopal had a slightly different opinion, according to which the name *Anarti* need not necessarily be Celtic. He also stressed that the people denoted with this ethnonym could have been Celtic (Kopal 1996, 177, 178). P. Sims-Williams, in turn, believed that the *Anarti's* Celticity is uncertain (Sims-Williams 2006, 216). The strong argument for the *Anarti's* Celticity is the inscription from *Aquincum*, mentioned above, which mentions *Iulia Utta*, *Eppo's* daughter. Z. Mráv and K. Ottományi stress that the names *Eppo* and *Utta* are Celtic homonyms. It would thus be a proof that in the 1st half of the 1st c. A.D. Celtic homonyms²² were used in Pannonia but also evidence of progressing Romanisation, which is indicated by the name *Iulia*.

and the diversification of the material culture revealed by the archaeological excavations (cf. Collis 2009).

- 22 J. Kolendo, who mentioned the inscription from *Aquincum* when discussing the subject of 'slaves of German, and partly Dacian origin from *Pannonia*' expressed a different opinion on the tribal affiliation of *Iulia Utta* (Kolendo 2000, 118). It seems, however, that Z. Mráv, K. Ottományi and A. Mócsy were right to indicate the relatively high social position of that Romanised representative of the *Anarti* and suggest her Celtic roots (Mráv, Ottományi 2005, 93–98, Mócsy 2014, 58).

Many researchers believe that *Anarti* and *Anartophracti* were Celto-Dacians. This was the opinion of, i.a., V. Pârvan (Pârvan 1926, 93, 102) and G. Kazakevič. Like J. Kobal, the latter researcher assumed that Ptolemy's account about the *Anarti*, dated to the 2nd c. A.D., is anachronistic and concerns a Celto-Dacian people from phase LT D (Kazakevič, 2015b, 27). G. Kazakevič also believes that the '*Anartophracti*' are the population which left the Zemplin Type in Little Poland materials and the southern part of the Tyniec group (Kazakevič 2015a 156, 157). According to V. Pârvan the *Anarti* were a Celto-Dacian people from north-western *Dacia* (Pârvan 1926, 222, 223, 248, 461, 462). According to I.A. Oltean, the *Anarti* were a Celtic tribe who came to Transylvania from the west and became assimilated (Oltean 2007, 47). For J.G. Cuno Ptolemy's *Anarti* were a Celtic people (Cuno 1871, 340). This view seems to agree with the dating of the epigraphic artefacts: let us remind that the *Anarti* are mentioned in the inscriptions from the Danubian provinces of the Empire from the 1st and 3rd c. A.D. and thus from the times when it was not possible to talk about the existence of the Celtic settlement. Although one should allow for a certain heterogeneity of the population of Pannonia and *Dacia*, especially soon after the provinces were established, it is hard to assume that in the 3rd c. A.D. communities determined as Celtic could function there. One thus should assume that the *Anarti* from the 3rd century Roman inscriptions are Pannonian or Dacian descendants of the Celto-Dacian population. For M. I. Rostovzeff the said inscriptions confirm the existence of 'the native population which was not absorbed by the cities and lived in villages' (Rostovzeff, 1926, 556). For that reason there are no grounds for connecting Ptolemy's *Anartophracti* (i.e., 'a group of *Anarti*') with the Celts.

Summing up, we may assume that due to the political situation in the Carpathian piedmont, in Pannonia, and on the upper Tisa river, the *Anarti* could have been a people with Celtic traditions, which succumbed to increasing Dacian influence in the 1st c. B.C. The *Anarti* who lived in the Roman Empire became then Romanised, which is best proved by the name of *Iulia*.

IV. TENTATIVE LOCATION OF THE ANARTOPHRACTI'S SEATS

In order to find the connection of Ptolemy's *Anartophracti* with the inhabitants of the Polish lands we should take into account one more possibility. Near Medyka, Przemyśl district, some Celto-Dacian materials dated to the turn of the eras have been found (Poradyło 1999). In the light of the recent research

they most probably cannot be treated as direct descendants of the La Tène settlers from the upper San river. They may have been another wave of the arrivals from the upper Tisa river region (Bochnak 2019). Can the population of the settlement in Medyka (and perhaps other so far undiscovered settlements in that area) be identified with the *Anartophracti*? Although this is not contradicted by the chronology and ethnical affiliation of the *Anartophracti*, yet their seats were said to have been located between the sources of the Vistula (i.e., the San) and the Carpathians, and the settlement in Medyka does not match this location.

Can we still attempt at locating the seats of the *Anartophracti*? This tribe is mentioned in the part devoted to European Sarmatia, i.e., the areas to the east of the San river and the Carpathians. Also it is known that the *Anartophracti* occupied the areas close to those mountains. Ptolemy says that near the sources of the Vistula (i.e., the San) there were the lands of the *Avarini* whereas the *Ombroni*, *Anartophracti*, *Burgioni*, *Arsieti*, *Saboci*, and *Piengiti* occupied the areas up to Mount (or Mountains) *Karpates*, where the *Biessi* had their seats. Additionally, according to J. Kolendo the name *Karpates* did not refer to the whole mountain range today called the Carpathians, but only to its part which encloses Transylvania from the east (Kolendo 2004, 25). It is quite possible that the sequence of place names and ethnonyms of *European Sarmatia* to some extent reflects the course of a route leading to the north (Bzinkowska 1994, 20). The arrangement of *Geography* allows to assume that the route ran to the east of the seats of the *Anarti*, *Teurisci*, and *Costoboci*. Due to the environmental conditions the most comfortable roads lead (approximately) up the Dnester river, then through the Przemyśl Gate towards the San or up the Boh river towards the upper Bug river. These routes are evidenced for the Late Stone Age, Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age (Czopek 2009, 2011, 2019; Ignaczak 2009, 2011). Most probably, also the German *Bastarni* who travelled from the Elbe river basin through the Vistula basin to the area between the Prut and Seret rivers for some time went along the Dnester (Babeş 1993, 164, 165). It seems that Ptolemy had a considerable number of sources concerning the route along the Dnester because this part of his map of *European Sarmatia* is the richest in data (Bzinkowska 1994, 18). Thus if we look at the discussed sequence of the ethnonyms as at a reversed description of a route from the south towards the Vistula basin, then indeed, going up the Dnester river the traveller will see at a certain moment the Carpathians (and that is where the *Biessi* may have lived) and then, moving along the external part of the Carpathian range could get through the passes in the

Bieszczady Mountains to the sources of the San river or, travelling through the Przemyśl Gate, to the central part of the basin of that river. Thus the seats of the *Anartophracti* would be somewhere in the upper Dnester basin, i.e., in the vicinity of the *Costoboci* and close to the Ptolemy's *Anarti*'s lands. At the same time I believe, that Ptolemy's account does not allow to determine the precise chronology of his information about the *Anartophracti*. It is, however, possible that the information about the seats of the *Anarti* (and, possibly *Anartophracti*?) refers to the times close to Ptolemy's life. In this case the location of *Lugi Buri* from *Geography*, Book II, approximately reflects the settlement situation on the left 'German' side of the San and the sequence from *Geography*, Book III, refers to the right bank of the San. This arrangement would agree with the assumption that the Vistula (and the San) were traditionally considered to be the borderline between *Germania* and *European Sarmatia*.²³

Thus should the *Anartophracti* be considered as a group of Dacians living outside the Roman province whereas the *Anarti* should, as, i.a., W. Tomaszek assumed, live in *Dacia Porolissensis*? Let us note that this suggestion is in part similar to that of H. Łowmiański, who believed that, as *Dacia* was occupied by the Romans, part of the local population moved from the Carpathian Basin to the north. According to H. Łowmiański, besides the *Anartophracti*, these were also the tribes with the names he considered to be *Thracians*, i.e., the *Biessi*, *Costoboci*, *Transmontani*, and *Carpi* (Łowmiański 1964, 43). In terms of archaeology, the upper Dnester basin was occupied in the Early Roman Period by the Lipitsa culture population, and in the area of Lvov, the Lipitsa and Przeworsk culture elements overlapped²⁴ (Fig. 1) (Slobodan 2012, 186, 187, Fig. 1; 2014, *passim*; 2017, 216–217, Fig. 1). The population of that culture is usually connected with the *Costoboci* known from the written sources but they may have been also representatives of several tribes parts of which moved beyond the Carpathians.

Considering the *Anartophracti* as a people related to so-called Free Dacians (*Daci liberi*) inhabiting the upper Dnester basin in the Early Roman

23 According to Gudmund Schütte the border between Ptolemy's *Germania* and *European Sarmatia* ran along the route from Carnuntum to the coast of the Baltic (Schütte 1917, 99) yet in the light of the recent investigations only the farthest, northern part of the Amber Route could overlap with such a border.

24 The said units of this culture have very similar assemblages of metal artefacts which makes it difficult to determine their cultural affiliation.

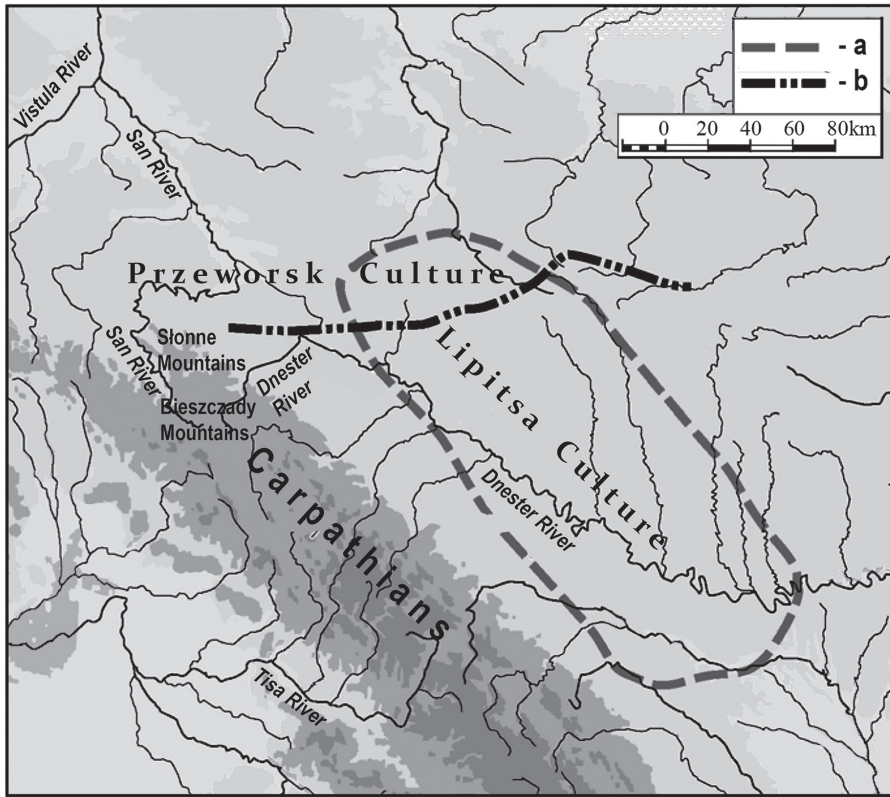


FIG. 1. San and Dniester rivers basin during the Early Roman Period. a – East-southern border of the Przeworsk culture area, b – Lipitsa culture area. According to Slobodan 2017, with modifications

Period is a concept which does not contradict the historical and epigraphic data, however, there are no arguments to support it, so it has to remain a speculation. Certainly, the hypothesis connecting the *Anartophracti* with the La Tène population from the upper San basin should be treated *cum grano salis*.

Translation by S. Twardo

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