

A UNIQUE BRONZE COIN OF AN UNKNOWN RULER OF THE CELTIC KINGDOM IN THRACE

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Cuvinte-cheie: monedă din bronz unicat, conducător celtic, regat celtic, Thracia, prima capitală a regatului celtic al Traciei.

Keywords: unique bronze coin, Celtic ruler, Celtic kingdom, Thrace, the first capital of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace.

Rezumat: Până de curând nu era cunoscut nimic clar despre campaniile celtice/galate în Thracia și despre întemeierea noului regat celtic în Balcani. Istoria statului celtic/galat în Thracia a provocat până acum numai discuții apărute ca urmare a formulării unor ipoteze diferite privitoare la cele mai importante probleme - momentul și modul în care a fost fondat, perioada de existență, teritoriul ocupat și capitala sa. Ipotezele cercetătorilor moderni despre acest stat au fost elaborate pe baza unor scurte referiri, extrase în special din opera scriitorului antic Polybius și de asemenea, mulțumită unor informații fragmentare provenite de la alți câțiva autori antici.

În ultimii 150 de ani s-a încercat, fără succes, localizarea capitalei statului celților/galaților din Thracia, cunoscută sub denumirea Tylis din consemnările lui Polybius și ale lui Stephanus din Byzantium. Situația s-a schimbat semnificativ mulțumită monografiei publicate recent, care se concentrează mai ales pe căutarea și localizarea primei capitale a statului celților/galaților în Thracia și în general pe istoria lui. Prima capitală a regatului celtic în Thracia a fost identificată clar și cu precizie în această monografie, concluzionându-se că nu s-a numit niciodată Tylis, ci Apre - situată la nord de Lysimacheia, pe locul vechii așezări thracice Apros, al cărei nume a fost ușor modificat de către celți/galați în Apre.

O monedă din bronz extrem de interesantă - unicat până în acest moment -, păstrată într-o colecție privată din Bulgaria, descoperită în urmă cu câțiva ani în zona actualului oraș Svilengrad, regiunea Haskovo, reprezintă încă o dovadă semnificativă și concludentă în direcția identificării capitalei regatului celtic din Thracia.

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Moneda este prezentată în această lucrare pentru prima dată. Ea are valoare nominală mică, însă este extrem de importantă din punct de vedere istoric. Pe avers este reprezentat portretul unui conducător. Acesta poartă o diademă mare, din care îi coboară pe ceafă două panglici. Pe revers sunt redată simboluri foarte interesante și două inscripții cu litere grecești, reprezentând numele capitalei regatului celtic din Thracia și încă un nume - aparent un nume de persoană la genitiv - al unui conducător al regatului celtic din Thracia.

Această monedă unică prezintă pe revers o combinație a numelui capitalei, Apre, și un nume personal al unui conducător celt, necunoscut până acum din alte surse - nici de la autorii antici, nici din inscripții sau alte monede. Acest conducător celt însă este deja cunoscut din monografia publicată în 2017, din moment ce a fost deja stabilit că el era de fapt al doilea conducător al regatului celtic din Thracia. Acest conducător de pe moneda amintită nu deținea un titlu regal, ci avea numai statut de guvernator al statului celților/galaților din Thracia, până la încoronarea noului rege, Kavaros.

Această monedă este încă o dovadă concludentă că prima capitală a statului galaților în Thracia a fost numită Apre. Acest aspect este unic pentru monedele antice - pe alte monede nu sunt înscrise simultan numele orașului în care fuseseră bătute (o reședință sau capitală) și cel al conducătorului. Mai mult, dispunem astfel și de adevăratul portret al acestuia.

Abstract: Until recently nothing certain and particular was known about the Celtic/Galatian campaigns in Thrace and the founding of the new Celtic kingdom in the Balkans. The history of the Celtic/Galatian state in Thrace so far has only provoked discussions arising from different hypotheses regarding the most important issues – the time and the way of its founding, the time of existence, the territorial scope and its capital. The hypotheses of modern scholars for this state have been built thanks to a few brief accounts, mainly in the work of the ancient author Polybius and also thanks to the fragmentary evidence of several other ancient authors.

Attempts to locate the capital of the state of the Celts/Galatians in Thrace, known by the name of Tylis from the records of Polybius and Stephanus of Byzantium, have lasted almost about 150 years so far without success. Thanks to a recently published monograph, which mainly focuses on the search and localization of the first capital of the state of the Celts/Galatians in Thrace, and generally on the history of this state, the situation changed significantly. In this monograph, the first capital of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace was clearly and precisely identified and it was stated that it had never been with the name of Tylis, but its exact name was Apre – located at the place of the ancient Thracian settlement of Apros – to the north of Lysimacheia, with the Celts/Galatians only slightly changing its name into Apre.

An extremely interesting bronze coin – a unique one for now, kept in a private collection in Bulgaria, which was found some years ago in the region of today's town of Svilengrad, Haskovo region, is another significant and conclusive proof of the identification of the first capital of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace. The coin is presented here for the first time. The bronze coin is of a small denomination, but it is extremely important for history. On the obverse of the coin is represented a portrait image of a ruler. The ruler is with a wide diadem from which two strips run down behind his neck. On the reverse of the coin are depicted very interesting symbols and there are two inscriptions in Greek letters, presenting the names both of the first capital of the Celtic kingdom in

Thrace and another name – apparently a person's name in the genitive – a name of a ruler of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace.

This unique coin on the reverse features a combination of the capital's name Apre and a personal name of a Celtic ruler, unknown so far from any other sources – neither by the ancient authors, nor by inscriptions or other coins. This Celtic ruler, however, is already well known from the monograph published in 2017, as it was already established that he was in fact the second ruler of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace. This ruler from the presented coin was without a royal title, but he had only the status of a governor of the state of the Celts/Galatians in Thrace until the enthronement of the new king, Kavaros.

This coin is another conclusive proof that the first capital of the state of the Galatians in Thrace was called Apre. This case of the presented coin is unique in the ancient coinages at all – in other coins there is no simultaneously presented inscription of the name of a polis in which the coins were struck – a residence or capital, and the name of a ruler. Moreover, we already have and the real portrait of this ruler.

Until recently nothing certain and particular was known about the Celtic/Galatian campaigns in Thrace and the founding of the new Celtic state in the Balkans. The history of the Galatian state in Thrace so far has been a great enigma and has only provoked discussions among the scholars as a result of various hypotheses regarding the most important issues – the exact time of its foundation and how this foundation was made, the time of existence of that state, its territorial scope, and the place where its capital was located. The hypotheses of modern scholars for this state have been built thanks to a few brief accounts, mainly in the work of the ancient author Polybius (Polyb. 4. 46; 52; 8. 22), and also thanks to the fragmentary evidence of several other ancient authors – principally those of Livy (Liv. 38. 16) and Justin (Iust. 25. 1-2).

The present views of the scholars, mainly in the modern Bulgarian historiography, were that in Thrace the campaigns of the Celts were plundering and brought only ruin and destruction to the achievements of the Thracians¹. According to most contemporary authors, especially in Bulgaria, the Celtic kingdom in Thrace was located on a small territory, probably somewhere in the southeastern part of the Balkan Peninsula – in the lands near Byzantion, and it was of minor influence. Because until recently it was assumed mainly based on some uncertainly and hypothetically dated inscriptions, that there were other Thracian kings in Thrace during the existence of the Celtic kingdom in the Balkans, and there was also an economic and political crisis in Thrace, as the country was divided into a number of smaller kingdoms, one of which was the Celtic kingdom². Generally mainly in the modern Bulgarian historiography on the issue so far there were some contradictions. On the one hand, it was believed that the foundation of the new Celtic state in Thrace had brought only a crisis and

¹ VENEDIKOV 1955; MIHAILOV 1961; DELEV 2003, p. 107-109; DELEV 2004, p. 280-281 with ref.; see also the review of various opinions in DIMITROV 2010, p. 51 and EMILOV 2010, p. 67.

² FOL 1975, p. 192-194; DANOV 1979, p. 47-71; DOMARADSKI 1984, p. 80-83; TACHEVA 1987, p. 31-33; DELEV 2003, p. 107-112 with ref.; DELEV 2004, p. 282-286 with ref.; DIMITROV 2010, p. 62.

destruction, having been destroyed the achievements of the Thracian rulers before it and, on the other hand, this new state was believed to have been with a limited territorial scope³. Although at the same time there are assumptions about the payment of large taxes to this state of the Galatians in Thrace and by other ancient cities, similar to the taxes paid by Byzantium, mentioned by Polybius. Until now it was thought that Cabyle and the cities on the western coast of the Black Sea were independent Greek cities that paid the Celtic kingdom in Thrace the so-called by M. Price „protection money paid to the Gauls“⁴.

The main issues that emerged from the reports of Polybius about this state have always been – where was located this state and where exactly was the capital, mentioned by Polybius with the name of Tylis (Polyb 4. 46. 2). The same name, however, was also mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium (Steph. Byz., 640. 20-21), but the statement of this ancient author is that this settlement was located near the Haemus Mountain (today's Stara Planina). In addition, there was also a suggestion that a similarly sounding other name, Touleous, which is mentioned by Procopius of Caesarea (Procop. *De aed.* 4. 11)⁵, is also relevant to this capital⁶. These ancient writers' references have been the basis of attempts to seek the capital, called Tylis, which was a temptation for any scholar who would want to solve, if possible, the most important question – where was located this capital of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace, believing most of all to the most trustworthy of the ancient writers – Polybius, who placed it between the Hellespont and Byzantium⁷.

Attempts to locate the first capital city of the Galatian state in Thrace, known by the reports of Polybius and Stephanus of Byzantium with the name of Tylis, continued for almost 150 years – since the first localization proposed by C. Jiereček⁸, at the present village of Tulovo near the town of Kazanlak in Bulgaria – based only on the similar sounding name of this modern village and on the statement of Stephanus of Byzantium, that Tylis was situated near Haemus⁹. This capital has not been located either in the long ago published study by G. Katzarov about the Celts in Thrace¹⁰ or in the book by M. Domaradski, dedicated to the Celts in the Balkan Peninsula¹¹. Some clear and definite success was also not achieved in the publications of the special International Colloquium dedicated to the search for the Celtic capital of Tylis in 2010¹². In general, as many modern

³ The contradictions are noted by TOMASCHITZ 2002, p. 140.

⁴ PRICE 1991, p. 173-176; see also: GERASIMOV 1959, p. 116; DRAGANOV 1993, p. 79; DELEV 2003, p. 109-110; LAZAROV 2010, p. 97; DIMITROV 2010, p. 60-63; EMILOV 2015, p. 372 with ref.

⁵ DETSCHEW 1976, p. 516.

⁶ DOMARADSKI 1984, p. 78-79; LAZAROV 1996, p. 73; DIMITROV 2010, p. 60.

⁷ WALBANK 1957, p. 213; p. 499; NACHTERGAEL 1977, p. 52.

⁸ JIREČEK 1876.

⁹ See also DELEV 2003, p. 108 with note 10.

¹⁰ KATZAROV 1919.

¹¹ DOMARADSKI 1984.

¹² See the publications of different authors in the volume: VAGALINSKI (ed.) 2010.

scholars have written on this issue, so are the different views on the localization of the capital of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace¹³.

Another difficult issue was the establishment of the period of existence and development of this state. The only situation that has been established in previous studies was that the state of the Galatians in Thrace was founded in the days of the great Celtic invasion in the Balkans in 279 BC and probably existed from 279, 278 or 277 BC, when it was founded by its first ruler named Komontorios by Polybius (Polyb. IV. 45. 10 – 46. 3), after defeating the Thracians¹⁴. It was assumed that this state has existed probably until about 218 BC, when the Celtic kingdom was destroyed by some Thracian revolt¹⁵. There are also suggestions that the event probably happened between 218 and 212 BC¹⁶.

The questions about the geographical boundaries and the development of the state of the Celts/Galatians, which emerged in Thrace after the great invasion of the Celts in the Balkans in 279 BC, were the subject of comments in the works of some prominent scholars in world science¹⁷. Some contributions in this respect in recent years also have some researchers in Bulgaria¹⁸. The basic information of ancient writers for the campaigns of the Celts/Galatians in the Balkans, Thrace and Asia Minor were presented recently in Bulgarian with relevant comments and assumptions¹⁹. The well-known evidence by the ancient authors about the Celtic campaigns in Thrace, as well as some archeological testimonies placed in the context of Hellenism, were briefly presented very recently, but following some opinions of other authors in the older literature on the subject, some general conclusions were made about the possibly insignificant influence of the state of the Celts/Galatians in Thrace, which is placed in the context of one “ongoing discussion about the simultaneous existence of a number of other political entities in the interior of southern Thrace”, but well supposed “a process of integration of the “western newcomers” rather than their exclusion and the formation of compact “Celtic” enclaves”²⁰.

Thanks to the just published monograph²¹, which is mainly dedicated to the search and localization of the first capital of the state of the Galatians in Thrace, and generally focuses on the history of this state, the situation has changed quite significantly and should be changed in the future. In this work, the first capital of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace was clearly and precisely identified, and it was

¹³ See the review of most of the known views on the localization of Tylis in LAZAROV 1996, p. 73-75, and recently in: MANOV 2017a, p. 11-25.

¹⁴ See WALBANK 1957, p. 498-499; LAZAROV 1996, p. 73; MANOV 2010, p. 89; BOTEVA-BOYANOVA 2014, p. 33 with ref.

¹⁵ PRICE 1991, p. 173.

¹⁶ TACHEVA 1987, p. 33; DELEV 2004, p. 277 with ref.; BOTEVA-BOYANOVA 2014, p. 38-40 with ref.

¹⁷ WALBANK 1957, p. 497-500; NACHTERGAEL 1977, p. 169 with ref.; TOMASCHITZ 2002, p. 139-141 with ref.

¹⁸ LAZAROV 1996; LAZAROV 2010; MANOV 2010; BOTEVA 2010; DIMITROV 2010; EMILOV 2010.

¹⁹ BOTEVA-BOYANOVA 2014, p. 20-69.

²⁰ EMILOV 2015 with ref.

²¹ MANOV 2017a.

stated that this capital had never been with the well-known and sought after name of Tyllis, but its exact name was Apre – located at the site of the old Thracian settlement of Apros to the north of Lysimacheia, as the Galatians had only slightly changed its name into Apre. Furthermore, it was established with certainty that the name of the first capital of the state of Galatians in Thrace – Apre, was changed later in the virtual name of Tyllis by the king Kavaros²² because this *polis* was captured by troops of the Seleucid king Antiochus II during his campaign in Thrace, against the state of the king Kavaros, which began in 252 BC²³.

The ancient author Polybius says that the founder and first king of the state of the Galatians in Thrace became Komontorios, and later said that Kavaros was the last king of that state, while in his time Byzantion was forced to pay taxes to that state in the great amount of 80 talents (Polyb, 4. 46. 3-4). From this too brief information of Polybius is not clear either how long existed the state of Galatians in Thrace, nor how many rulers had this state²⁴. Therefore, until recently, nothing was clear and certain about this state.

Polybius' reports are broadly complemented by Titus Livius' account about two other chieftains of the Galatians, Leonnorios and Lutarius, who crossed Thrace through a route that had not yet been established until recently and reached Byzantion, as well as the Hellespont and the shores of the Propontis. In addition, it was also said that they had captured Lysimacheia and the Thracian Chersonese, and later with their troops they passed in Asia Minor (Liv. 38. 16). From this information of Livy has so far arisen a variety of hypotheses regarding the role of these two leaders in the conquest of Thrace as well as the route of their march through Thrace²⁵. Years ago, it was suggested that probably the name Lutarius, as presented by Livy, originally sounded perhaps as Lykorios, but later it was little changed in the ancient literary tradition²⁶.

Thanks to the recently presented monograph, questions regarding the campaigns of the Celts/Galatians in the Balkans and in Thrace in 279 BC, as well as the time and the way of the founding of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace, were fully elucidated²⁷. It turned out that with regard to the conquest of Thrace and to the founding of the new state of the Celts/Galatians, the situation was quite different from the conventional assumptions so far. In fact, the Celts/Galatians who had come to Thrace did not cause any destruction or devastation, in contrast to Brennos' campaign to Macedonia and Greece, but they came with the clear purpose of a new state being founded. It has been established with certainty that the troops of Leonnorios and Lykorios – as this was the original name of this second leader – had gone from the beginning with the great campaign of Brennos, as mentioned by Livy, but later they separated from the common troops at different times. Leonnorios had separated with his troops earlier and had entered Thrace. And Lykorios had to guard with his troops the transport unit together

²² MANOV 2017a, p. 180-181.

²³ MANOV & DAMYANOV 2013, p. 15; MANOV 2017a, p. 110-128.

²⁴ See also BOTEVA-BOYANOVA 2014, p. 38.

²⁵ DOMARADSKI 1984, p. 80-81; BOTEVA-BOYANOVA 2014, p. 42-48 with ref.

²⁶ PARKE 1982, p. 442.

²⁷ MANOV 2017a.

with the women and children, which had been planned for Thrace. Lykorios had separated from the main troops of Brennos later and further south, and the two Celtic chieftains had actually gone through two different routes in Thrace. In addition, it was found that there was another campaign of Celts/Galatians that took place in the lands of present-day Northern Bulgaria, and in fact these Celtic/Galatian troops were the well-known by Justin troops, which were left by Brennos to guard the borders of the lands of the Celts (Just. 25. 1). About a month after the beginning of Brennos' campaign to Macedonia and Greece, which started from Pannonia²⁸, in the summer of 279 BC these Galatian troops, composed of 15,000 infantry and 3,000 horsemen, invaded Thrace crossing south of the Danube and passed into a victorious march through the lands of the Triballi and Getae²⁹. In Justin's accounts, the names of these two Thracian tribes are represented in reversed order, which has caused various hypotheses regarding the route of these troops of the Celts in the lands to the north of Haemus³⁰. However, Justin did not mention the commander of these troops, but it was found that these troops were led by Kersibaulos³¹. It has already been established with certainty that the first king of the state of the Galatians in Thrace did not have the name Komontorios, which Polybius reported in this form (Polyb. 4. 45. 10; 46. 3), but was actually named Kersibaulos³² – a name which is represented on the reverse of two tetradrachms, kept, respectively – one in the Numismatic Cabinet of the State Museums in Berlin³³ and another – in the British Museum³⁴.

However, the purpose of these Celtic campaigns in Thrace was the conquest of Thrace itself and the founding of a new state of the Celts/Galatians, but also the conquest of the ancient Thracian settlement of Apros³⁵. The settlement of Apros was located at the most key and strategic location – in Southeastern Thrace to the north of Lysimacheia, from which it was possible to control the most important roads connecting Europe with Asia Minor – the road from Greece and Macedonia along the northern coast of the Aegean Sea to Byzantion, as well as the road from Thrace, coming along the valley of the river Hebros (today Maritsa) and going to Lysimacheia and the Thracian Chersonese – and thence through the Hellespont – also to Asia Minor³⁶.

Leonnorios led his troops, who were named Tolistoboi, consisting of 10,000 horsemen, and crossed the middle of Thrace, first arriving at the Thracian settlement of Apros in the summer of 279 BC. And Lykorios led 2,000 horsemen, who were called Trocmi, who guarded the transport unit of the carriages together with 8 thousand women and children from the families of some of the Celtic warriors, who arrived in Thrace. These troops of Lykorios passed along the northern shores of the Aegean Sea and came a little later to Apros. At the same

²⁸ MANOV 2017a, p. 53-59; 58 with fig. 9.

²⁹ MANOV 2017a, p. 61.

³⁰ See the discussion in BOTEVA-BOYANOVA 2014, p. 20-29 with ref.

³¹ MANOV 2017a, p. 61.

³² MANOV 2017a, p. 64-73.

³³ PETER 1997, p. 250, no. 3.8.

³⁴ PRICE 1991, pl. 158, j; SNG IX, BM, 1993, no. 308; see also MANOV 2017a, p. 27, fig. 1-2.

³⁵ MANOV 2017a, p. 64-65 with fig. 10.

³⁶ See MANOV & DAMYANOV 2013, p. 15; MANOV 2017a, p. 88.

time, the troops, which were named Tectosages, composed of 15,000 infantry and 3,000 horsemen, led by Kersibaulos, arrived also at Apros³⁷. However, due to the known information from Livy (38. 16. 11-12), so far scholars have been under the impression that these are names of various Celtic tribes. But, in fact, these were three different names of three different groups of Celtic troops led by the various chieftains. In fact, they were all of the great tribes of the Boii in Central Europe around the Danube and the upper reaches of the Rhine³⁸. The routes of the campaigns of Kersibaulos, Leonnorios and Lykorios in Thrace to the settlement of Apros can be seen on the map presented here (Pl. I/1). Later, the Galatians built more buildings in this settlement and slightly changed its name into Apre, and it became the first capital of the new state of the Galatians in Thrace³⁹. Exactly from there the Galatians managed to impose control and tax dependence on the cities of Propontis and the Thracian Chersonese, and also imposed control on Byzantium.

Furthermore, it was found that the Celts/Galatians of Kersibaulos, Leonnorios and Lykorios captured the city of Cabyle in 279 BC, as they defeated and eliminated the Thracian Spartokos, who was placed there as an *epistates* (governor) of this city by Lysimachus few years before the death of this Hellenistic king of Thrace in 281 BC⁴⁰. Then those leaders of the Galatians went to Seuthopolis and Kersibaulos took as wife Berenice – the second wife of Seuthes III, known by the inscription of Seuthopolis⁴¹. So the new state of the Celts/Galatians in Thrace was founded by those three Celtic chieftains mentioned, with Kersibaulos becoming the first king of this state, and the royal wedding took place in the city of Apros⁴². It was also found that Berenice was from the Ptolemaic royal house and was the daughter of Ptolemy I and Berenice I, and thus she was the sister of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II. So far, this same woman, Berenice, was known by another name – Philotera⁴³, which turned out to be her other name – an alias⁴⁴. That is why the state of the Galatians in Thrace is more accurate to be defined not as the Celtic kingdom, but as the Galatian-Ptolemaic state in Thrace, and it was one of the most important states of Hellenism⁴⁵. This state of the Galatians in Thrace was located still at the beginning of its foundation in the lands on both sides of the Haemus Mountain – between the Propontis and the Lower Danube, including the lands of the Thracian tribes of Getae⁴⁶.

In this regard, searching for archaeological materials in Thrace and identifying them as traces of the Celtic kingdom with attempts to determine its territory can no longer be plausible in the future. Because it was already found that during the reign of the king Kavaros in his state were made various artifacts that were in different styles – in Celtic, Greek and even Thracian style, and the

³⁷ MANOV 2017a, p. 63-65 with fig. 10.

³⁸ MANOV 2017a, p. 58-59 with fig. 9.

³⁹ MANOV 2017a, p. 60-63; p. 179-182.

⁴⁰ MANOV 2017a, p. 63.

⁴¹ MIHAILOV 1964, no. 1731; ELVERS 1994.

⁴² MANOV 2017a, p. 64-73.

⁴³ BENGTON 1982, p. 56.

⁴⁴ MANOV 2017a, p. 67.

⁴⁵ MANOV 2017a, p. 93, 188.

⁴⁶ MANOV 2017a, p. 73; see also the same hypothesis of NACHTERGAEL 1977, p. 169.

state of Kavaros was united by the reign of a king. It was a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural state in which Celts, Thracians and Greeks lived together, which was a phenomenon during the Hellenistic period in the Eastern Mediterranean and this state was firmly connected with the Ptolemaic Egypt⁴⁷.

Until now, we knew only the coins of one king of this state in Thrace, who was also known by Polybius – Kavaros. As we shall see, because of the fact that there is no other reliable information from the ancient writers or inscriptions concerning the initial period of the establishment and development of this state in Thrace, the coins are the most important evidence and have the greatest value in support of presented historical interpretations.

As another significant and conclusive proof of my identification of the first capital of the Celtic kingdom or of the Galatian-Ptolemaic state in Thrace, there is also a bronze coin kept in a private collection in Bulgaria, which was found some years ago in the vicinity of today's town of Svilengrad, Haskovo region. The coin will be presented here for the first time. The bronze coin is of a small denomination, with a diameter of 13 mm and a weight of 1.94 g, but is extremely important for history. In fact, this unknown up to now coin is quite interesting in its iconography.

On the obverse of the coin is a bust portrait image of a ruler, to the right. He is with a snub nose and expressive eyes. Due to the small size of the coin is difficult to establish another fact, but in my opinion the ruler is presented with a special kind of helmet on his head. Furthermore, he is presented with a diadem from which two long wide strips run down behind his neck (**Pl. I/2a**).

On the reverse of the coin, as the main symbol just in the middle is vertically depicted a ruler's short two-edged sword that is placed in a sheath. To the left of the sword as another symbol is depicted a large lyre. To the right of the sword, vertically from top to bottom is a very good inscription in Greek letters: ΑΙΠΗ – apparently the name of a *polis* in the nominative. Furthermore, it was found that just next to the letters of the inscription ΑΙΠΗ there is another inscription in Greek letters, which are presented slightly thinner than the clearly visible letters of that inscription. In the other letters placed next to the letters of the name of the *polis* can be read the name ΕΥΤΥΔΑ – obviously a person's name in the genitive (**Pl. I/2b**). Due to difficult to distinguish letters of the name of the ruler here will be applied and a drawing of the reverse of the coin with two different legends, written in Greek letters (**Pl. I/2c**).

It turns out that this rather interesting coin is a combination of a portrait image of a ruler on the obverse, and on the reverse there is a combination of two inscriptions – one with the name of the capital Apre and another inscription – with a personal name of a Celtic ruler who has not been so far known by any other source – not from ancient writers, nor from inscriptions or other coins. This ruler with this name, *Eutydas*, however, is already well known from my work of 2017, and I have already found that he was in fact the second ruler of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace – after the first ruler and the founder of the state⁴⁸. The first

⁴⁷ MANOV 2017a, p. 185-188.

⁴⁸ MANOV 2017a, p. 77.

ruler and founder of the state of the Galatians in Thrace was actually the father of the future king Kavaros, who was named Kersibaulos, as already mentioned⁴⁹. This ruler from the coin presented here had no royal title, but he had only the status of a governor of the state of the Galatians in Thrace until the enthronement of the new king, Kavaros⁵⁰.

The closest parallel as an image of a vertically represented short sword in a sheath can be seen on the reverse of the bronze coins with the name of Eupolemos, general of Cassander, which coins are usually considered to have been struck in Mylasa in Caria (Pl. I/3). Another similar image of a vertically placed sword is found on the reverse of bronze coins⁵¹ of the Bosporan ruler Leukon II (Pl. I/4). Such a double-edged sword, along with a Celtic shield, also occurs in a Lysimachus type of silver tetradrachms⁵² (Pl. I/5), which still H. Seyrig has successfully identified as coins struck on behalf of Leukon II⁵³ – due to the apparent similarity with the symbols on the obverse and the reverse of one of the types of bronze coins of Leukon II. Similar images of such swords are also known from a marble trophy from Athens and from tombs in ancient Macedonia⁵⁴ – like the well known swords in sheaths depicted in the frescoes of the ancient Macedonian tomb of Lyson and Kallikles at Lefkadia in Northern Greece. A similar sword in a scabbard is also depicted on the facade of the Temple of Athena from Pergamum, which is in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin⁵⁵.

Although this type of double-edged swords are well known during the Hellenistic period and are usually defined by the Greek term *xiphos*, such swords are also well known from the earlier periods in the Celtic lands of Central Europe – from the period of Early Iron Age (Hallstattzeit). Several such double-edged swords in bronze sheaths can be seen in The Museum of the Celts in Hallein (Salzburg), Austria, and in the rich burial of a Celtic chieftain at Hochdorf, Germany, dating back to the 6th century BC, there is even such a ceremonial sword with a golden handle and a golden scabbard⁵⁶.

Apparently the sword on the reverse of the bronze coin presented here should be perceived as the personal sword of the ruler depicted with his portrait on the obverse of the same coin, which is a symbol of his power as a ruler. Perhaps in this way by so depicted sword next to which is written the name of the capital of the state of the Galatians in Thrace, is presented the idea that the new ruler – albeit only with the status of a governor – has kept the power of the new kingdom firmly and was a sure protector of the young future king, Kavaros. Similar sword is depicted also on the reverse of the tetradrachms of the founder of the state of the Galatians in Thrace, Kersibaulos, as the image of this sword

⁴⁹ MANOV 2017a, p. 64-69.

⁵⁰ MANOV 2017a, p. 77; p. 92.

⁵¹ Special thanks to Dane Kurth – the curator of the site www.wildwinds.com, for the permission of use the bronze coins of Eupolemos and of Leukon II – respectively here pl. I, fig. 3 and pl. I, fig. 4.

⁵² SNG XI, 2000, no. 567.

⁵³ SEYRIG 1963, p. 7-11, pl. I, nos 1-3, 5.

⁵⁴ CAMP 2010.

⁵⁵ GEBHARD 2012, p. 333, fig. 457.

⁵⁶ HOPPE & SCHORER 2012, p. 215, fig. 272; p. 216, fig. 273.

placed right next to the Celtic oval shield on the reverse of these tetradrachms was first noticed recently⁵⁷ and it can be seen on the coin illustrated below (Pl. II/4).

For the other symbol represented on the reverse of this coin – the lyre, it has recently been found that this lyre is actually the main symbol of the city of Apre and that the first and earliest bronze coins of the king Kavaros were struck exactly there, because on the reverse of these coins, just after the last letter in the name of the king, is presented a lyre that seems to have been put by Apollo himself⁵⁸. As a confirmation of this fact – that the main symbol or *parasemon* of the city of Apre was the lyre of Apollo, coins of the highest nominal value of the same city of the type “Apollo/lyre” with the legend ΑΙΠΗΝΩΝ can also be used⁵⁹, because on the reverse of these coins is a representation of one large lyre (Pl. II/1). Recently, it has been suggested that perhaps the image of Apollo on the obverse and his principal symbol – the lyre on the reverse of the coins of the highest denomination, are connected with a great temple of Apollo in Apros⁶⁰. Years ago were presented and several bronze coins with the image of Celtic oval shield on the reverse⁶¹ and also with the legend ΑΙΠΗΝΩΝ, as noted, that there is an additional symbol lyre on the reverse (Pl. II/2), and these coins were then defined as autonomous coins, struck by the city of Apros around the middle of the third century BC⁶². Later it was found that in fact these coins (Pl. II/3) were struck in the first capital of the state of the Galatians in Thrace not as autonomous coins, but as coins of the founders of the new Galatian state in Thrace with the center of Apre⁶³.

The image of the lyre as an additional symbol on the coin presented here confirms the observations and conclusions made so far – that it was the main symbol or *parasemon* of the city of Apre, connected with the main sanctuary of Apollo there. The presented coin is the greatest proof of what the real name of the first capital of the state of the Galatians in Thrace was – even presented in the nominative, as well as what the real name of the second ruler of that state was, who was only a governor without the royal title, as his name is presented in the genitive. It turned out that the state of the Galatians in Thrace, at the time of its about sixty years of existence between 279 and 218 BC, had three different rulers – two kings and one governor, and except that their names had already been established, also coins with the portrait images of these three rulers can now be presented.

It was already found that the first ruler and founder of the state of the Galatians in Thrace was named Kersibaulos, and the name Komontorios, mentioned by Polybius (Polyb. 4. 45. 10 – 46. 3), was his other changed name – an

⁵⁷ See MANOV 2017a, p. 28, fig. 3.

⁵⁸ See MANOV & DAMYANOV 2013, p. 14, pl. 3, fig. 6a; MANOV 2017a, p. 84-86; MANOV 2017b.

⁵⁹ Special thanks to Stavri Topalov for providing photos of this coin from his private collection – here pl. II, fig. 1.

⁶⁰ KOICHEV, MUTAFOV, PEEV & TOPALOV 2004, p. 78.

⁶¹ I express my thanks to Prof. Dimitar Draganov from the Numismatic Museum – Rousse, for providing the photos of this coin – here pl. II, fig. 2.

⁶² DRAGANOV 2001; DRAGANOV 2005.

⁶³ MANOV 2017a, p. 78-84.

alias⁶⁴. His portrait image can be seen on the obverse of the tetradrachm in the British Museum, where the king is represented with a lion's scalp as Heracles⁶⁵ (**Pl. II/4**). With the name and royal title of Kersibaulos only silver tetradrachms are known, for which tetradrachms have recently been found to have been struck in Byzantion as posthumous emissions after 262 BC by order of his son and future king of the state of the Galatians in Thrace – Kavaros⁶⁶. The king Kersibaulos ruled the state of the Galatians in Thrace between 279 and 274 BC⁶⁷. Unfortunately, he found his death in the battle against the king Pyrrhus in Epirus, as an ally of Antigonos Gonatas. That battle was mentioned by Plutarch (*Plut. Pyrrh.* 26. 2-5) and dated back to 274 BC⁶⁸, as the king of Thrace was leading the troops of Galatians there, but was wounded and soon afterwards he had gone from this world⁶⁹.

As the next ruler of the state of the Galatians in Thrace was appointed his best friend, political adviser and assistant – just this man – Eutydas. His real Celtic name was Tydas, but because he was very good to the royal family, he also received the addition of the first two letters in Greek to his name, which is with the connotation of good one, and so his official name became Eutydas – the good Tydas. He governed the state of the Galatians in Thrace only as a governor – without a royal title, in the years between 274 and 257 BC, to the official enthronement of the new young king, Kavaros⁷⁰. Probably the coin presented here (**Pl. I/2; Pl. II/5**) had been struck in 259 BC together with the other bronze coins struck in Apre in honor of the founders of the state of the Galatians in Thrace on the occasion of the anniversary celebrated – 20 years since the founding of the state in 279 BC⁷¹.

It has already been established with certainty that the founder and first king of the state of the Galatians in Thrace, Kersibaulos, was the father of the future king Kavaros⁷². Moreover, it was found that the official enthronement of the new king of the state of the Galatians in Thrace, Kavaros, took place in the summer of 257 BC with a special ceremony in Apre in front of the sanctuary of Apollo there, the new king receiving the royal insignia sitting on an elephant⁷³. Already it was also found that on the obverse of the earliest bronze coins of the king Kavaros, certainly struck in the capital of Apre, was actually presented the portrait image of the young king⁷⁴ (**Pl. II/6**).

One very important fact should be noted. In fact, the bronze coins struck in Apre, both for the founders of the state of the Galatians and those of two of the rulers of that state, are in their appearance coins, but actually these coins were not

⁶⁴ MANOV 2017a, p. 34, 180.

⁶⁵ MANOV 2017a, p. 27, fig. 1-2.

⁶⁶ MANOV 2017a, p. 26-34, 101.

⁶⁷ MANOV 2017a, p. 75.

⁶⁸ NACHTERGAEL 1977, p. 171 with note 205.

⁶⁹ MANOV 2017a, p. 75.

⁷⁰ MANOV 2017a, p. 77, 92.

⁷¹ MANOV 2017a, p. 80-82.

⁷² MANOV 2017a, p. 69.

⁷³ MANOV 2017a, p. 92-93.

⁷⁴ MANOV 2017a, p. 84-92; MANOV 2017b.

money intended for commercial purposes and were designed to serve as a symbolic chronicle of events, and intended only for the priests and a very narrow circle of associates of the king. The most important evidence in this respect is their extreme rarity – only about 10-15 such coins are known, mainly from private collections, and until about 20 years ago no coin with the legend ΑΙΠΗΝΩΝ was known to science. From the earliest bronze coins of the king Kavaros, struck in Apre, in museums in Europe and in various private collections around the world are also known only a few specimens⁷⁵.

Moreover, it was found that on the obverse of the tetradrachms with the name and royal title of king Kavaros, struck in Cabyle, which became the new capital of the king of Thrace after the war with Antiochus II, was also presented a portrait of this king – represented as Heracles and as Alexander the Great⁷⁶ (Pl. II/7). Furthermore, gold staters were also minted by the king Kavaros, but they were not with his name and title and are the types of gold staters of Alexander and Lysimachus. These staters were minted in Lysimacheia before the war against Antiochus II, and after this war were struck in the cities of the Black Sea – both of Alexander and Lysimachus type. Such gold staters have been struck by the king Kavaros also in the cities of the Propontis, as well as in Byzantion and Kalchedon, but in those ancient cities they were only of the type of Lysimachus⁷⁷. The king Kavaros officially ruled the state in Thrace in the years between 257 and 218 BC⁷⁸. In the reign of this great king of Hellenism, the state reached its greatest territorial expansion and the biggest boom in the economy and development of the arts⁷⁹. In the recent work presented, it was firmly established that Kavaros was one of the greatest kings of Hellenism, with a state that spanned very large lands in Southeastern Europe, as the Black Sea and the Propontis had become actually his own seas, and the cities on the coasts of these two seas have been integrated into his state, as well as the cities on the northern shores of the Aegean Sea from Aenos to Amphipolis, and Galatia in Asia Minor has also been from this quite extensive state of King Kavaros⁸⁰. In fact, there was no any Thracian revolt in the end of the reign of this king, as supposed up to now by the not sufficiently clear information of Polybius (IV. 46. 4), because from 218 BC, with the authority and decisions of the king Kavaros had already begun another history in the Balkans⁸¹.

In addition, it was established with certainty that the state of the Galatians in Thrace maintained three different capitals at the same time – Seuthopolis, Apre and Lysimacheia – before the war of the king Kavaros against the Seleucid king Antiochus II in the middle of the 3rd century BC, as also it had three different capitals and after that war, maintained by the king Kavaros – Cabyle, Byzantion and Lysimacheia⁸².

⁷⁵ See MANOV 2017a, p. 84-92, MANOV 2017b.

⁷⁶ MANOV 2017a, p. 166 with fig. 68.

⁷⁷ MANOV 2017a, p. 168-169 with figs. 71-72; p. 172-173.

⁷⁸ MANOV 2017a, p. 92; p. 184.

⁷⁹ MANOV 2017a, p. 186 with fig. 79.

⁸⁰ MANOV 2017a, p. 185-187.

⁸¹ MANOV 2017a, p. 184.

⁸² MANOV 2017a, p. 182.

The present unique coin is yet another conclusive proof that the capital of the state of the Galatians in Thrace was named Apre and is another significant confirmation of the events presented in the work published in 2017. This case of the presented coin is unique in the ancient coinages at all – in other coins in antiquity there is no inscription of the name of an ancient city in which the coins were struck – a residence or a capital, together with a name of a ruler, and, moreover, on the obverse of the coin being presented also the portrait of the ruler.

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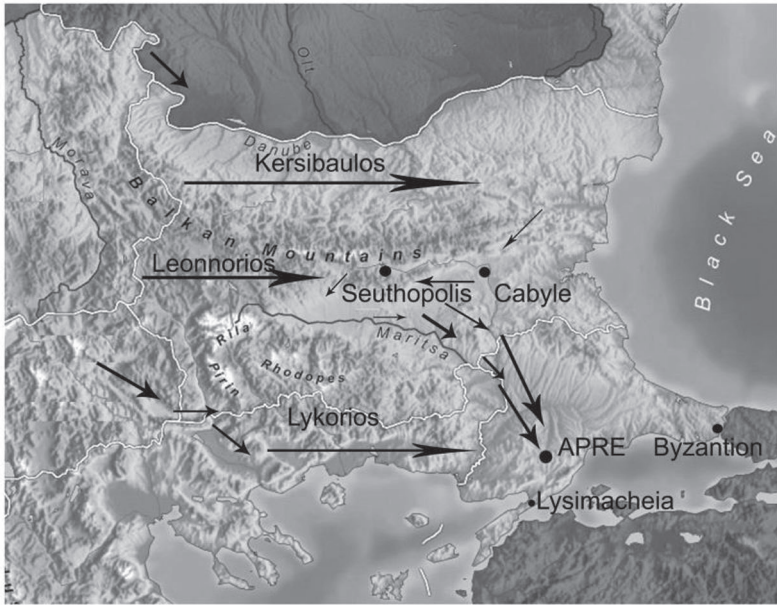
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Pl. I - 1: Map with the routes of the campaigns of the three Celtic chieftains, who founded the Celtic/Galatian kingdom in Thrace.

2a-2c: Unique bronze coin with portrait image of a ruler of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace (private collection, Bulgaria). 2a – obverse; 2b – reverse; 2c – drawing of the reverse. D. 13 mm. Coin scale: 1,5:1. 2c – drawing scale: 2:1.

3: Bronze coin of Eupolemos, struck in Mylasa, Caria (image: with permission of www.wildwinds.com). D. 19 mm. Scale: 1:1.

4: Bronze coin of the Bosphoran ruler Leukon II (image: with permission of www.wildwinds.com). D. 18 mm. Scale: 1,5:1.

5: Silver tetradrachm of the Bosphoran ruler Leukon II (image: after SNG XI, 2000, William Stancomb Collection, No. 567). D. 29 mm. Scale 1:1.



Pl. II - 1: Bronze coin of Apre of the highest denomination of the type "Apollo/lyre" with the legend ΑΙΠΗΝΩΝ (private collection Stavri Topalov, Bulgaria). D. 22 m. Scale 1:1.

2: Bronze coin of Apre with image of Celtic oval shield on the reverse and the legend ΑΙΠΗΝΩΝ (The Collection of the Numismatic Museum – Rousse, Bulgaria). D. 15 mm. Scale 1,5:1.

3: Another bronze coin of Apre with image of Celtic oval shield on the reverse and the legend ΑΙΠΗΝΩΝ (private collection, Bulgaria). D. 15 mm. Scale 1,5:1.

4: Silver tetradrachm of the founder of the Celtic / Galatian kingdom in Thrace – the king Kersibaulos, struck in Byzantion, with his portrait image on the obverse (The British Museum, image after Price 1991, Pl. 158, j). D. 28 mm. Scale: 1:1.

5: Bronze coin, struck in Apre, on the obverse with portrait image of the second ruler – governor of the Celtic/Galatian kingdom in Thrace (private collection, Bulgaria). D. 13 mm. Scale 1,5:1.

6: Bronze coin, struck in Apre, on the obverse with portrait image of the king Kavaros (private collection, Germany). D. 16x18 mm. Scale: 1,5:1.

7: Silver tetradrachm of the king Kavaros, struck in Cabyle, with portrait image of the king on the obverse (image after the auction Triton VII, 12.01.2004). D. 30 mm. Scale: 1:1.