

The Impact of the Ancient Greek Slave Trade on Art in the Balkans

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While ancient Greece's far-flung overseas slave trade deeply impacted neighboring cultures and displaced thousands of foreign people, it also acted as an unexpected catalyst that shifted the development of the art of southeastern Europe. Evidence suggests that the trade opened new societal elements that had not previously existed in either the Scythian culture of the Eurasian steppes or the Thracian tribes of the Balkans. As a result, the slave trade contributed to a significant change in the Scythians' way of life that in turn introduced eastern artistic designs and techniques, a process known as "orientalizing," that spread into the Balkans. Further, craftsmen of other cultures, such as the Celts who had moved into southeastern Europe from the west, quickly adopted and adapted the new designs. Beginning with the inception of Greek colonization in the seventh century BC, this dynamic, interwoven progression of artistic transmission was driven to a peak in the fourth century and subsequently carried beyond, both in time and distance.

I. The Nature and Extent of Greek Slavery

Exactly when slavery in the ancient Greek world began is unknown,¹ but it was all-pervasive. Compulsory, dependent labor was used in all places under Greek control and was so taken for granted that few, if any, questioned either its existence or its ethics. Even in the face of civil war, revolution or other crises, slavery remained unchallenged because it was so rooted in society.²

As the Greek city-states began to establish colonies and trading posts overseas, the slave trade naturally followed. Frequent arguments have revolved around the extent of the trade with skeptics claiming that without records to quantify numbers, the trade must have been sporadic at best. However, in a thorough, quantitative analysis based on recorded slave costs vs. output ratios from silver mines in Thrace, archaeologist Timothy Taylor argues, "a systematic, large-scale and long-lived slave trade had existed in classical times in eastern Europe."³ He has applied the same extrapolation to other parts of the Greek world.

In a treatise attributed to Aristotle called *Oeconomica*, we are told the life of slaves consisted of three things: "work, punishment and food." However, not all slaves were assigned to pure drudgery. Slaves participated in every part of Greek life except the political process and citizenship. According to noted economic historian M. I. Finley,

“The efficient, skilled, reliable slave could look forward to managerial status. In the cities...he could often achieve a curious sort of independence, living and working on his own, paying a kind of rental to his owner, and accumulating earnings with which, ultimately, to purchase his freedom.”⁴

Finley further states, “Skilled slave labor in antiquity was as good as any; that is obvious from fine pottery, metalwork or monumental buildings.”⁵ In spite of this quasi-independence and having fine skills, the slave or manumitted person was still considered at the lowest level of society. A person’s value, in Greek thinking, was in status, not in the type or quality of work performed. Organized slave revolts were rare and if a slave did rebel, it was usually to flee for his homeland. A completely different sense of freedom existed in the ancient Greek world compared with modern conceptions.

II. Who Were the Slaves?

The Greeks almost uniformly equated slaves with foreigners and indeed most slaves were people who had been captured “outside the Greek orbit,”⁶ generally in war, piracy or raids for plunder. To a degree, nationalities of slaves can be traced through a few fragmentary lists that have survived. These lists are by far incomplete, but they give a taste of the peoples’ origins. One undated fragment lists slaves who were confiscated and sold at a public auction. Of thirty-two, thirteen were Thracians, seven were Carians, and the rest were from a number of other locations including Cappadocia, Colchis, Scythia, Phrygia, Lydia, Syria, Illyria, Macedonia and the Peloponnese. An inscription in Attica dated from around the beginning of the fourth century BC contains the list of a ship’s crew that included slaves from Thrace, Dacia, Getae and Triballi (a Thracian tribal name).

According to Finley, slaves were “by definition nameless,”⁷ a reflection of the Greek attitude towards the lowest in status. Captured and sold people were given stock generic names derived from either that of the new master, the slave trader, the place where purchased, or from their place of origin. “Thratia,” for example, was the feminine version of the Greek word for Thracian; Davos was a Dacian name; and Tibeios stood for a Paphlagonian.⁸

Epigraphic evidence also indicates ethnic diversity in slaves was desirable, as is reflected in the broad mixture of nationalities. This policy supposedly discouraged conspiracies that could have led to uprisings, although as noted earlier, organized slave revolts were rare. On the other hand, as generalized opinions designated which nationality made a better, stronger, more durable slave, those of specific ethnic origins became more valuable. Further, lists of property have included slaves designated as goldsmiths or other kinds of craftsmen, skills that raised value. Laws were put into place that required slave dealers to state a slave’s origins and skills—an attempt to prevent falsifications to achieve a higher price. Accuracy,

however, could be sketchy if physical characteristics did not reveal the slave's true background, and often origins were confused or disguised due to language barriers and lack of geographic knowledge.⁹

III. Scythia

In the seventh century BC Greeks from Miletus on the southwest coast of Asia Minor began to ring the shores of the Black Sea with colonies. Olbia, estimated to have been founded at the beginning of the sixth century, was one of several cities built on the northern shore and put the Greeks in contact with the Scythians of the Pontic steppe.

Originating in central Asia, the Scythians first appear in history via Herodotus's *The Histories*.¹⁰ Around 700 BC the Scythians emerged from the vast Asian steppes, their territory in the east running all the way to border China and Mongolia. Pushed by related tribes, they migrated west where they in turn pushed out the Cimmerian people from the Pontic steppe²² and occupied what is now present-day southern Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and parts of Romania. The Cimmerians dispersed into the Balkans and Asia Minor. If Herodotus is accurate, then the Scythians had settled into their new territory perhaps only a hundred years before Olbia was founded.

In *The Histories*, Herodotus describes the Scythians as having been nomadic when they first arrived, living in wagons and driving enormous herds of horses across the steppe as they followed game and grazing. They used slaves to milk the mares and created a fermented drink called koumiss. Acquired mostly through raids on other indigenous tribes in the area, these slaves were blinded—a method to keep them from running away.

Because of Herodotus's account, we know more about Olbia and its relationship with the Scythians than we know of the other Black Sea cities. By the time the historian visited the colony and encountered the nomads in the mid-fifth century BC, their lifestyle had already changed significantly from the time they first appeared on the Pontic steppe. Herodotus tells us that they had evolved into three sub-groups: a pastoral class that raised and traded cattle, horses, sheep and goats;¹² an agricultural group that settled in the chora, the land around the city of Olbia; and the Royal Scythians, the elite warrior class who ruled over the other two groups and remained semi-nomadic.

Recent studies suggest that many indigenous agricultural tribes occupied the steppe as well and were subject to the Royal Scythians' dominance.¹³ Herodotus, though he valiantly attempted to identify each ethnic group he encountered or heard about, was not always correct or sure of those identities. He tended to lump together groups who were similar in appearance and custom under one name.

In the intervening century and a half between the founding of

Olbia and Herodotus's visit, trade developed between the Scythians and Greek Olbians. The Scythians were highly negative towards the Greeks, even enforcing death penalties for any Scythian who took up a Greek lifestyle in the city. The Greeks viewed the Scythians as fierce primitive fighters who were easily drunk and smoked hemp.¹⁴ But trade proved irresistible and the region was critical to the Aegean economy. Though always grudging of each other's customs, they lived in relative peace as neighbors, kept trade flowing, and the Scythians provided a sort of protectorate role over the city.¹⁵

With the establishment of colonies, the Greeks also introduced their own slave trade to the region. "The practice of selling slaves, in particular from Scythia, to Greece undoubtedly existed as early as the sixth century BC," according to archaeologist Nadežda Gavriljuk.¹⁶ Besides selling livestock and grain (millet and barley) to the Greeks, the Scythians discovered that instead of sacrificing the indigenous people they captured in raids to Ares, the god of war, those captives could be sold to a slave dealer in Olbia in return for luxury goods. Those goods included the wine that the Scythians drank so prodigiously (and undiluted), and most important of all, the stunning gold and silver metalwork for which they are renowned, a large quantity of which has been discovered in their tombs across Eurasia.

Up to the fifth century BC, exports from Scythia to Greece had been tepid at best. But around 475 BC, as Athens, Chios and other parts of the Greek world began to need slaves to fulfill their "energy" demands—i.e., muscular energy that was renewable—the market began to boom. Scythian elites could raid across the hinterland, even as far as the forest steppe to the north, easily round up people and trade them in Olbia or the other colonies in return for wine, olive oil and all kinds of Greek pottery and metalwork, the evidence of which spread throughout Scythian territory. Slaves were far cheaper and easier to transport than other commodities like grain. They were also far more profitable and were not susceptible to seasonality like the availability of crops. Later written sources claim a raid could net anywhere from several hundred to tens of thousands of slaves.¹⁷

Scythian slaves were considered some of the most valuable for their hardiness. It should be qualified that "Scythians" who turned up in the Greek slave market could have been in truth a member of any one of these indigenous tribes lost to history but were labeled "Scythian" simply for having come from Scythian territory.

The Scythians had produced their own metalwork before the Greeks arrived—mostly weaponry and armor—but they had no sources of gold. They would have had to trade for it from as far away as the Caucasus, modern-day Kazakhstan or the Altai Mountains to the east, or what is now Transylvania in the west.¹⁸ When Greek items in silver and gold were introduced through trade with Olbia, the warrior elites' interest in it soared. This was in the time of Greece's great rise in power in the fifth century BC, a time of swift development from archaic simplicity to fabulously realistic classical

art, monumental architecture, drama, philosophy, wealth and prestige.

By the late fifth century BC, a metallurgical center had been established at Kamianka-Dniprovska, northeast of Olbia on the Dniepr River.¹⁹ By nature, metalworkers were itinerant, and Greek craftsmen were attracted to this and other Pontic cities. Archaeologist Mikhail Treister has identified five masters of jewelry and toreutics, not by physical locations of their workshops, but by technique and workmanship.²⁰ He believes these masters and others who remain unidentified to have operated mainly in the first half of the fourth century BC and that they were Greek immigrant craftsmen who may have originated from Mysia in Anatolia, southern Italy or Macedon. Archaeologist John Boardman discusses a characteristic ease with which Greek artists adapted decorative fashions,²¹ meaning Greek craftsmen catered very well to other cultures' tastes. Treister also suggests the masters could have been inspired by the art of the places from which they originated; however, while the workmanship may suggest this, the iconography does not.

It was in these workshops where the magnificent gold and silver objects were developed for the Scythians' tastes and styles. Their early art was all about motion, a reflection of the nomadic Royal Scythians' daily life moving across the grasslands. Though some motifs were borrowed from the Persians, Chinese, Assyrians and Uartians (Armenians), the subjects chosen were animals with which the Scythians came most into contact—eagles, leopards and deer. The act of one animal attacking another was often portrayed, and over time the figures became transformative, running from one form or animal body part into other forms or body parts. An example of this is seen in the pattern of three birds swirled into a stylized circle, known in some cultures as a *triskele*. Art historians have designated the Scythians' depiction of beasts, both real and legendary, as a distinct "Eurasian Animal-Style."²²

The fourth century BC was the highpoint of the Scythians' power and wealth, and their animal-style art matured during this time. The elite class wore its gold ornamentation as symbols of self-image. They decorated their beloved horses as well. Plaques and other objects portrayed stags, horses, boars, dogs, leopards and other animals with their legs folded underneath, often with their heads turned back and in pairs that confronted each other. The artisans decorated everything imaginable: bowls, belts, headdresses, war gear, horse trappings, and clothing. In addition, torques, an open neck ring that also originated in Persia, grew highly fashionable for men, women and children. The neck ring's terminals, typically worn in front, often depicted a pair of animal heads facing each other.²³

Greek influence needs to be mentioned as well. Though rarely portrayed in their own art, male Scythians were almost always shown as realistic figures in a combat scene or a blood oath ritual. The realism is indicative of Greek craftsmanship, but the iconography is

Scythian. Females, on the other hand, were usually shown in otherworldly representations of the primary goddess, Tabiti. Further, unlike the Greeks, the Scythians for all their hard-drinking toughness had an aversion to nude human figures.²⁴

The fourth century BC was a period of transition. Both the pastoral and agricultural groups began to make permanent settlements. The population grew quickly. The grain trade lessened in importance and the slave trade expanded to fund the massive amounts of expensive gold treasures. While earlier trade with the Greek colonies had been confined to Black Sea coastal areas, now it expanded into the steppes. From Olbia it ran up the Dnieper and Bug rivers, pulling the previously disdained Greek trade items with it.²⁵ Leadership and society grew much more complex.²⁶ Inter-marriage took place increasingly between local people and Olbian Greeks.²⁷ Apprentices of mixed blood began to work with metalsmiths. Workers, however, were slaves captured in the hinterland.²⁸ Some of the goldsmiths mentioned in the slave lists could also have ended up in these workshops.

Though the fourth century brought Scythia its greatest riches, it also brought the onset of its downfall. As Greek influence increased, more Scythians grew sedentary, becoming agriculturalists. The Royal caste gradually settled as well, losing much of its warrior-like and nomadic ways. This shift in lifestyle significantly reduced their vitality, and they became an assemblage of gold-wearing heavy-drinkers. The Sarmatians, a related group of people from central Asia, pressured the Scythians' territory, taking control of more of their lands with each passing year. Fading in power, the Scythians pressed against the Thracians' eastern frontier.

The entire region grew unstable in the second half of the fourth century BC. Greece was in turmoil, its power, already greatly weakened in the Peloponnesian War (431- 404 BC), was further disintegrating. Philip II of Macedon, ruling from c.359 BC, planted a firm foothold in both Thrace and northern Greece and threatened to cut off the Greeks' grain trade with Scythia. Ateas, an ageing Scythian king, made the bold move to attack Thrace in 339 BC, possibly thinking the Thracians were preoccupied and vulnerable in the face of Philip's aggression. Ateas misjudged and the Scythians faced the powerful Macedonian army instead. At 90-years old, or possibly even older, the king was killed in the battle. Reportedly, 20,000 Scythian women and children were enslaved as a result of Philip's decisive victory.²⁹

From that point on the severely weakened Scythians faced expulsion from the Pontic steppe or conquest by the Sarmatians.³⁰ Those that survived and were able to migrate west-ward were absorbed into the mixture of Balkan cultures. As a distinct group, the Scythians completely disappeared from history by 300 BC.

IV. Thrace

Thrace enters history in the seventh century BC, once again via the Greeks through a brief description from Herodotus. This period coincides with the advent of the Iron Age in eastern Europe, about three hundred years later than it did in Greece itself.³¹ Instability, frequent migrations and conquests caused much confusion for Herodotus—as with the Scythians, he attempted to distinguish among the Thracian tribes, but he did not always understand the differences. Thrace consisted of several tribes loosely related by culture and occupied roughly what is now present-day Bulgaria and parts of Romania, Macedonia and European Turkey. In the west some tribes were more closely related to the Illyrians. A group of Celts, known as the Scordisci, settled and partially assimilated into a neighboring tribe called the Triballi. Borders were territorial and highly fluid, and each time a new tribal king took control, the frontiers shifted.³²

Originally it was thought that the Thracians and Scythians were closely related because of many similarities in their artwork, religion and social structure and because the steppes of the Scythians ran to the grasslands of the Thracians along the western Black Sea coastline. Earlier scholarship also suggested the Thracians had no artwork of their own and that any they had was either Greek or Scythian in origin. However, since the collapse of the Soviet bloc, new artifacts have come to light, dramatically changing this thinking. Archaeologists and historians have realized the two were distinct cultures.

As in Scythia, the Greeks introduced their slave trade into Thrace on the inception of Greek colonization in the seventh century BC. Abdera, the first colony on the Aegean coast, was established in 654 BC. Other colonies followed, the chronology of which is uncertain. This time the Greeks were looking for natural resources—timber and silver—rather than trade when they initially took lands in this area. The Thracians beat them off at first, but the Greeks persisted, returning to settle and paying tribute for “protection,” which allowed them to stay.

Evidence suggests that unlike the Scythians, the Thracians had no form of slavery prior to this time.³³ Once established, the Greek slave trade in Thrace sold captives mainly for the silver mines that were developed along the Aegean coast. The largest proportion of these slaves came from Thrace itself, Asia Minor and Scythia. A slave owner could also buy slaves cheaply and lease them to the mines for a high profit. In addition, overpopulation in Thrace was handled by selling off captives, undesirables and even, in Herodotus’s words, their children.

In return, imported Greek goods spread throughout Thrace, wealth increased, and fabulous gold and silver artwork was crafted, all in a similar manner as in Scythia. Thrace, however, seems to have been more resilient to outside pressures. Chieftains had been hereditary controllers of tin supplies in the late Bronze Age. “...bronze-

smiths probably operated via ties of clientage,” says Taylor.³⁴ But as ironworking became more established, society detribalized. “Control was lost by the old order, artisans became less tied to particular tribal groups or lineages, and status became something that was more often achieved than ascribed.”³⁵ This indicates a more flexible social structure that could absorb new elements.

The Danube River corridor became the principal route of communication and trade between east and west. Instability in the Pontic steppe, Europe and elsewhere caused peoples to migrate into or through the region. As a result other cultures certainly influenced the artisans of the Balkans as well and must be taken into account. First, the remnants of the Cimmerian people from the Eurasian steppe, mentioned earlier, had already been absorbed. Their art showed Persian elements that had been passed on to Scythian art. In addition, Herodotus tells how the Persians launched a campaign against the Scythians in 513-12 BC from Thracian lands. Defeated through a clever ploy, the Grand Persian Army retreated into Thrace and maintained a presence there until the Greeks finally ran them out in 479 BC. The army’s elite kept an entourage of working artists during this hiatus, also possibly influencing Thracian art.³⁶

In an effort to bring some stability to the region at the end of Greece’s Persian Wars, the Scythians and Thracians executed a peace treaty c.480 BC.³⁷ In spite of this, throughout the fifth and fourth centuries BC the Scythians continued to pressure Thrace’s borders. Further, by the fourth century BC, large amounts of Celtic people had migrated eastward from Gaul and established many communities in the Middle Danube and Transylvanian regions.³⁸ Known for their constant raiding, groups of Celts continued east, creating the Scordisci tribal region as well as spreading more communities as far as present-day Moldova. In Thrace, they “undoubtedly played an active role in the disruption of Thracian tribal regimes.”³⁹ This disruption likely explains why hoards of silver and gold from the mid-fourth century were buried in the region of modern-day North Bulgaria—for safekeeping.

V. The Orientalizing of Art in the Balkans

The Greek slave trade’s profound influence on the Scythians’ lifestyle created a sort of chain reaction that is most readily seen through the art of the Balkans. Art historians, beginning with Paul Jacobsthal, coined the term “orientalizing”⁴⁰—from the now not so politically correct label “oriental”—to describe the transmission of eastern characteristics to European art.

In the Balkans of the fourth century BC, Thracian art decidedly began to show specific traits strikingly similar to certain details in Scythian art. Some eastern influence had already appeared in the fifth century BC, most likely descendant from the Cimmerians and the Grand Persian Army’s presence, but by the fourth century BC, the

influence is much more pronounced. This could be due partly to Greek craftsmen working in the colonies along the Aegean coast making goods for Thracian elites and who could have adopted motifs and styles from the influx of Scythians. There is also the likelihood that craftsmen fled the workshops in the Pontic steppe upon the invasion of Sarmatian conquerors and went to work for Thracian elites. Greek art picked up some of the animal-style motifs as well.

Archaeologist Ivan Marazov points out how “local Greek and Thracian artists developed a taste for Iranian (i.e., Persian/Scythian) models.”⁴¹ He also notes that Thracians and Scythians “influenced each other for centuries,”⁴² having had a similar social base and drawing from the same eastern sources. He does not mention the Cimmerians, a portion of whom were absorbed into the Thracians. Perhaps in this case he is equating the Cimmerians with the Scythians.

The animal-style art is one of two key motifs or styles that orientalized Thracian art. It is not only that recently discovered Thracian pieces portray the same animals—deer, eagles, lions, gryphons, serpents, among others—but the way they are portrayed: around a “tree of life,” which is a symbol from Persia; as well as one beast attacking another and the sense of movement, both traits from Scythia. Shapes of horse trappings are nearly identical, including the triple spiral motif. Of personal adornment, the torque—though simpler than those the Scythians produced—appeared in both personal collections and were depicted on objects with human faces. All these elements originated in Persian art and were subsequently passed to Scythian art. Like the Scythians, individual masters and workshops in Thrace can be identified as well, and from the slave lists mentioned earlier, it is possible some enslaved Scythian goldsmiths toiled in these workshops.

A torque made of silver-plated iron, found in modern-day Rodenbach, Germany, with facing bulls’ heads and each bull wearing its own torque, is most likely Thracian. The famed Gundestrup Cauldron (found in Jutland and of a later period than explored here) has Celtic pictorials, including an antlered god wearing a torque and holding a second torque. Its construction and use of silver and gilding, however, are suspected to be Thracian.⁴³

How did these artifacts get so far away from their origins? The cauldron could have been a gift from an elite in Thrace to a king of another culture in northern Europe. Equally possible, they could have been plunder that was carried off. Intriguingly, many more objects in the same vein have been discovered across a far-flung region.

VI. A Further Legacy

The Celtic people who migrated into the Balkans in the fourth century BC were a combination of settlers, raiders and mercenaries. They belonged to the Early La Tène phase of Celtic culture and art.

Their chieftains moved about with entourages that included expert craftsmen. Because every decoration on every object had meaning and every symbol was a form of communication, the artisan had to have a deep knowledge of Celtic mythology. Their craftsmen were not simply makers of pottery, shields and helmets. Rather, they were treated with great respect, something akin to a shaman.⁴⁴ “They were the repository and the perpetrators of ancient skills and beliefs, and as such they themselves would surely have been regarded as being above normal men,”⁴⁵ according to archaeologist Barry Cunliffe. This respect was completely the opposite of the way the Greeks, Thracians, Scythians, Persians and most other cultures treated their craftsmen—like slaves even if they were not or had actually bought them as slaves.

The fourth century BC Early La Tène art of the Celts in the Balkans shows a continuance of the same animal-style motifs taken from Scythian inspiration. This could have come either directly from Scythian crafts or indirectly through Thracian or Greek-made pieces. Either way, Celtic craftsmen were by tradition amazingly quick to adopt new styles and techniques.

They were also by tradition highly mobile. Cunliffe’s analysis of the movements of Celtic people demonstrates not only did they swiftly migrate, settle, uproot and move on from west to east, but back again throughout the vast lands believed dominated by the Celts—from the Atlantic to the Black Sea—before, during and after the period studied here. Their craftsmen, held in high esteem, would certainly have accompanied their chieftains. They would not have been considered expendable and left behind as other cultures’ artisans might have been. They would have carried their knowledge, skills and the new designs with them throughout Europe, traveling with their chieftains.

Archaeological finds appear to bear this out—many Celtic gold and silver decorative items which display Scythian influence have been discovered. Some show an even more dramatic influence than Thracian art does. A prime example is a hoard that included arm rings and neck rings with confronted rams’ heads that are turned back and the legs folded under—very reminiscent of Scythian gold work of the sixth and fifth centuries BC.⁴⁶ That they came from a grave in modern-day Rodenbach, Germany in the Rhine basin attests to the high degree of the Celts’ mobility. Pieces found with the vegetal style, including the tree of life motif, have been found over vast distances, also supporting the suggestion that the Celtic warrior society was highly mobile.⁴⁷ And the triple spiral motif, of which Scythian art was often worked in birds,⁴⁸ are found in the Celtic *triskele*.

Interestingly, no evidence suggests that Celts moving through southeastern Europe and farther east were forced into slavery. Possibly some Celtic tribes, like the Boii, who originated in Gaul and had some sort of slave system of their own, brought that system with

them on their distant travels. However, the Celts in the Balkans appear to have had a profound sense of maintaining freedom, reflected in their lifestyle, art and mythology. Taylor makes an intriguing observation: "...that the elite neck torques of the La Tène Celts... inspired in part by those of Persia, are a reflex of the existence of slave chains. Torques in some way symbolize enslavement, not to a superior human but to a superior power. To wear a gold or silver neckpiece signaled enslavement to deity and, by that very token, freedom on earth."⁴⁹

VII. Conclusion

Both Marazov and Cunliffe believe the finds discovered so far are only a tiny bit of what actually was moving around Europe and Asia, much more of which has yet to be found, analyzed and interpreted. Indeed, as Boardman illustrates so well in his work, goods carrying art were imported, exported, gifted and transported all over the known world. Moreover, numerous additional opportunities existed for the transmission of artistic traits. The import and export of goods, war and mercenaries transporting plunder, itinerant metal-smiths travelling from workshop to workshop, and migrations and settlement all could have contributed in some degree to the orientaling of art in the Balkans. But the impact of Greek slavery certainly had a profound effect on the north Pontic steppe people in ways they never imagined when they first encountered the Greeks. In following the trail of the Scythians' decline and dispersal, the Greek slave trade appears to have been a prime catalyst in transmitting artistic influence from eastern cultures to western art in the Balkans of the fourth century BC.

Notes

¹Yvon Garlan, *Slavery in Ancient Greece*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 25.

²M.I. Finley, *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* (New York: Penguin Books, 1983), 97.

³Timothy Taylor, "Believing the Ancients: Quantitative and Qualitative Dimensions of Slavery and the Slave Trade in Later Prehistoric Eurasia," *World Archaeology* 33 (2001): 29.

⁴Finley, *Economy and Society*, 110.

⁵Ibid., 192-93.

⁶Ibid., 103.

⁷Ibid., 171.

⁸Ibid., 169.

⁹David Braund and G.R.Tsetschladze, "The Export of Slaves from Colchis," *The Classical Quarterly* 39 (1989):119.

¹⁰*Herodotus, The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Selincourt (London: Penguin Classics, 2003), 240-88.

¹¹Lazlo Torday, *Mounted Archers: The Beginnings of Central Asian History* (Edinburgh: Durham Academic Press, 1997), 242-80.

¹²Lada Onyshkevych, "Scythia and the Scythians," in *Scythian Gold*, ed. Ellen D Reeder (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999), 30.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁴ *Herodotus, The Histories*, 264.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 33-34.

¹⁶ Nadežda A Gavriljuk, "The Graeco-Scythian Slave-trade in the 6th and 5th Centuries BC," in *The Cauldron of Ariantas, Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Black Sea Studies 1*, ed. Guldager Bilde, Jakob Munk Højte and Vladimire F. Stolba (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2003), 77.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 81-82.

¹⁸ Onyshkevych, "Scythia and the Scythians," 33.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

²⁰ David Braund, *Scythians and Greeks: Cultural Interactions in Scythia, Athens and the Early Roman Empire (Sixth Century BC - First Century AD)*, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2005), 56-63.

²¹ John Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 54-55.

²² Paul Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, Vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), 163.

²³ Ellen D Reeder, "Scythian Art," in *Scythian Gold*, ed. Ellen D Reeder (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999), 45-6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 43-55.

²⁵ Onyshkevych, "Scythia and the Scythians," 33.

²⁶ David Braund, *Classical Olbia and the Scythian World*, ed. David Braund and S.D. Kryzhitskiy (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Proceedings of the British Academy 142, 2007), 142.

²⁷ Reeder, "Scythian Art," 50.

²⁸ Gavriljuk, "Graeco-Scythian Slave-trade," 83.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 78.

³⁰ E.V. Cernenko, *The Scythians: 700-300BC* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 1983), 32.

³¹ Timothy Taylor, "Thracians, Scythians and Dacians," in *The Oxford Illustrated Prehistory of Europe*, ed. Barry Cunliffe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 377.

³² Fanula Papazoglu, *Central Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman Times: Triballi, Autaratae, Dardanians, Scordisci and Moesians* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1978), 346.

³³ Ivan Marazov, *Ancient Gold: The Wealth of the Thracians* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 13.

³⁴ Taylor, "Thracians," 378.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 378.

³⁶ Barry Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 168.

³⁷ Braund, *Classical Olbia*, 151.

³⁸ Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*, 168.

³⁹ Taylor, "Flying Stags: icons and power in Thracian Art," in *The Archaeology of Contextual Meanings*, ed. Ian Hodder (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 131.

⁴⁰ Paul Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, 156.

⁴¹ Alexander Fol and Ivan Marazov, *Thrace and the Thracians*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 80.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 89.

⁴³ Ruth and Vincent Megaw, *Celtic Art: From its Beginnings to the Book of Kells* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1989), 176.

⁴⁴ Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*, 112-13.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 112-13.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁴⁸ Reeder, "Scythian Art," 46.

⁴⁹ Taylor, "Believing the Ancients," 39.

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