

Essay 1

The concept of a modern “Celtic nation” is both rooted in historical reasoning and constructed in relatively modern times, blending linguistic and cultural criteria into a unique form of self identification. Unlike conventional definitions of nationhood based on government assertion, Celtic nations are defined primarily through cultural continuity and particularly where it concerns the survival of identifiable Celtic languages. Today, six regions are widely recognized as Celtic nations: Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany, Cornwall, and the Isle of Man. These regions share a common heritage rooted in connection with the ancient peoples of Europe who were deemed ‘Celts’ by Greek and Roman classical authors. Many scholars both old and new believe through evidence of trade routes, archaeology, mythology, folklore and traditions passed down through the generations that they shared somewhat of an identifiable cultural fabric. However, each region of course possessed and continues to possess an incredibly distinctive cultural trajectory all their own shaped by language, geography, history, and politics.

This essay examines how a Celtic nation could hypothetically be defined in the present day and explores what makes the six remaining Celtic nations unique. It argues that while language is the central criterion for Celtic identity, other factors, such as collective consciousness, cultural revival movements, and political aspirations play a critical role in sustaining and differentiating a definable Celtic nationhood. Immediately, this endeavor requires the answer of what the term ‘Celt’ means starting with the history of the term and its usage. From there we can trace why and how the term was supplanted into modern understanding. Finally, we will debunk Celto-scepticism and formulate what might determine an identifiable Celtic region if those citizens chose to lean into the identity with intention.

It may surprise many people to know that celticists, archaeologists, anthropologists and historians alike have debated this topic and the Celtic term extensively. Many argue that a more appropriate term is simply Indo-European however, that is far too broad. Classical authors made a very clear and agreed upon distinction between the Gauls and Celts to the Germanic peoples to the Greeks. These can be relatively trusted and logical distinctions. Additionally, as our understanding of the ancient landscape has unfolded, we’ve collectively come to realize that an identifiable

Celtic culture shaped Europe, the classical world, the Greeks and Romans as equally or more than we could have ever realized. It was only with Gaulish roads, established mineral mines and natural resources that Rome was able to become as powerful as they were. Most scholars have settled upon Celtic to precisely be in reference to an umbrella term symbolizing a language grouping as well as culturally shared patterns, including most notably, the druids as central communal figures.

There were in actuality many linguistic spelling variations of the term we know now as Celtic. They were referenced as Keltoi, Celtae, Celti, Celt and areas of multiple nations as Keltica, Celtica, Celtiberia, Celtiberi or Keltike. Some nations were recorded as even being called Celt-Iberian or Celto-Ligurian to insinuate these were groups made of separate allied groups or those of mixed descent.¹ The oldest mention of the Celts was through Rufus Festus Avienus who recorded a purported text of a 6th century BCE Latin Massaliote Periplus or sailing manual. He called it his *Ora Maritima* and recorded in part that “If anybody has the courage to urge his boat into the waves away from the Oestrymnides... he comes to the Ligurian land, deserted by its people: for it has been emptied by the power of the Celts a long time since in many battles. The Ligurians (from Italy), displaced, as fate often does to people... Here they hold on in rough country with frequent thickets... For a long time they lived a timid life in narrow confines... Afterwards, when safety renewed their confidence, quiet peace persuaded them to the Sacred Island (Ireland) the ancient authorities call it this, rich in its land it lies amid the waves, and widely the race of Hiberni (Irish) inhabit it. On the other hand is situated the island of the Albions already (Scottish, Picts or Britons, Albion or Alba for the country itself)”²

The second oldest mention of Keltoi was by the Greek geographer Hecataeus of Miletus (550 - 476 BCE) in 517 BCE. He wrote (as quoted by Strabo from his work, *Europe*) about Ligurians and Celts living near one another.³ Another famous Greek geographer, Herodotus (484 - 425 BCE) wrote again about Keltoi saying “This latter river (Danube) has its source in the country of the Keltoi near the city

¹ Koch, John. Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia, ABC CLIO, 2006. Pg. 845.

² Murphy, John P. [ed. and tr.], Rufus Festus Avienus. *Ora maritima: or description of the seacoast (from Brittany round to Massilia)*, Chicago: Ares, 1977.

³ Rankin, H.D. Rankin, *Celts and the Classical World*, Routledge, 1998. Pg. 6.

Pyrene, and runs through the middle of Europe, dividing it into two portions. The Keltoi live beyond the pillars of Hercules and border on the Cynesians, who dwell at the extreme west of Europe. Thus the Ister flows through the whole of Europe before it finally empties itself into the Euxine at Istria, one of the colonies of the Milesians.”⁴ These titles were variously referred to again by Greek writer Apollonius Rhodius (3rd century BCE) as well as Strabo (1st century BCE), Gaius Julius Caesar (1st century BCE) and many others. Interestingly, Caesar even went as far to say it was their native name saying that “All Gaul is divided into three parts, one of which the Belgae inhabit, the Aquitani another, those who in their own language are called Celts, in our Gauls, the third.”⁵

Of course, one of the most famous stories relaying the origins of the Celts was told by the Greek poet Parthenius (1st century BCE). He said that “Herakles, it is told, after he had taken the cattle of Geryones from Erutheia, was wandering through the country of the Keltoi and came to the house of Bretannos, who had a daughter called Keltinē. Keltinē fell in love with Herakles and hid away the cattle, refusing to give them back to him unless he would first content her... he was far more struck by the girl’s exceeding beauty, and consented to her wishes... a son called Keltos was born to them, from whom the Keltoi derived their name.”⁶ Finally, Greek geographer Pausanias (1st century CE) also went on to say, “It was a long time before the name “Galatai” came into use; for in ancient times they were called “Celts” both amongst themselves and by others.”⁷ In reality, the term referred to one or possibly a few united nations at a time in classical Western Europe but ultimately, went on to take up a life of its own. The medieval period sees the decline in interest in the Celt and Celtic grouping entirely. The evidence for this absence of reference is the absence of references themselves. For example, in his book *The History and Topography of Ireland*, Gerald of Wales (1146 - 1223 CE) did not mention the term at all. The word is not written in any substantial capacity across the isles in any available literature. ‘Irish’ and ‘British’ were already fully functioning identities by Christian arrival.⁸ Collective historical narratives start to take a sharp turn toward religious bonds or various Norman cultural ties.

⁴ Herodotus, *The Histories*, Book 2, 430 BCE.

⁵ Caesar, J., 1917. *The Gallic Wars* (H.J. Edwards, Trans.). London: William Heinemann., Book 1 ch. 1.

⁶ Longus, Daphnis and Chloe. Parthenius, *Love Romances*, trans. J. M. Edmonds and S. Gaselee. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916.

⁷ W. H. S. Jones and H. A. Ormerod. Pausanias. *Description of Greece*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918.

⁸ Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, trans. by John J. O’Meara (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982)

The term largely lay in hibernation for hundreds of years until the *Celtic Revival* or *Twilight* in Ireland when connections were made by various historians and writers between the Gauls and Iberians in mainland Europe to the remaining culturally similar nations of the isles. Quite timely, the burial ground of Hallstatt was discovered in Austria in 1846 and connected to the Celts of old due to the sheer number of Gaulish language place names nearby as well as being mentioned by classical authors as living there. The artifacts that started to be recovered were incredibly similar in style, design and symbology. It quickly became a unifying term meant to instill a sense of national pride between the nations of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany, Isle of Mann and Cornwall with the aim to preserve the cultural heritage that remained and at least partially in protest of continued English and British imperialism and the negative impacts of that.

There may likely have been a sense of various cultural traditions on the precipice of extinction and this was the reality for language as well, especially Cornish and Manx. The last Cornish speaker is arguably, Dolly Pentreath who died in 1777 and the last Manx speaker was purported to be Ned Maddrell, who died in 1974. Of course, Welsh, Scots Gaelic and Gaeilge were all outlawed by British imperialists but thankfully, persisted. Breton wasn't completely outlawed but still frowned upon and sometimes punished in French schools at one time. These languages remain relatively intact into the present and are making measured successes but still at risk of extinction if continued action isn't taken. A defining marker of these languages being connected to the Celts was made due to Edward Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica* in 1707 where he grouped their languages as "Celtic" albeit based on sound linguistic evidence.

The 17th to 19th centuries continued to see a revisiting of the ancient sources and an attaching of new archaeological and linguistic research to the historical narrative provided by Roman and Greek writers. This is not without its pitfalls, as put by Joseph Rafferty in *Irish Archaeology* when he said "...one is most forcibly struck by the antiquarian bias of the documentation left to us. Thus what passes as history is very frequently but the subjective interpretation of things past, subjectively reported, often centuries after the events described had

occurred.”⁹ This period provided a foundation of the modern understanding of the terms Celt and Celtic, where nationalist and imperial writers alike crafted nation building narratives, and the idea of a ‘Celtic nation’ begins to truly emerge. While the typically cited six Celtic nations of Breton, Cornwall, Ireland, Manx, Scotland, and Wales came under scrutiny, many would be surprised to know that Germany was up for inclusion as well. German scholars sought to specialise the terms ‘Gaul’ and ‘Gaulish’ for being too French in their origin. The use of the terms Celt and Celtic was preferred as these appeared more neutral and flexible to the whims of pseudo-historical national narratives which aided in the proliferation of the term.¹⁰

The French underwent a soul-searching as well to determine the Celtic soul of the nation, with much of this tied into contemporary revolutionary politics. As republicanism and anti-monarchist sentiments rose, the early modern search for identity and authenticity continued. Through debates on French contemporary politics there was a “running battle over French national origins...” symbolised by Abbé Emmanuel Sieyès' encouragement of the French nobility to return across the Rhine to their “Franconian Forests”.¹¹ The divinely anointed authority of the King or Emperor was overturned by revolutionary peoples for whom the ‘Celtic’ ancestry of the masses lent an authority of a different sort. This was ultimately an authority born of the sense of origin and ethnonationalist notions of purity. It was eventually determined that Brittany maintained the most authentic aspects of culture and of what was considered traditionally Celtic. This can also be seen in the Irish case.

In the beginning, debates regarding Gaelic Ireland’s place in a Celtic world seemed to favour exclusion where the Celtic origin was rejected for the home grown Scythian, Egyptian, Iberian origins that came from the Book of Invasions.¹² This was also fueled by excavations of Neolithic sites and historians making pseudo connections from there. Just as many scholars that embraced Celt as a unifying term found it lacking, often citing insurmountable linguistic differences such as those between Wales and Ireland. The 1700’s Irish scholars did not consider themselves a ‘Celt’, and neither were they considered a Celt by outsiders. Their

⁹ Rafferty, Joseph. *A Backward Look*, Archaeology Ireland (Spring 1988) pg 22.

¹⁰ Stewart, Ian *The Celts: A Modern History* (Princeton University, Oxford, 2025) p 44.

¹¹ Stewart, Ian *The Celts: A Modern History* (Princeton University, Oxford, 2025) p 20.

¹² Stewart, Ian *The Celts: A Modern History* (Princeton University, Oxford, 2025) p 57.

shared Christian identity was of greater importance. However, Gaelic Ireland is eventually folded into the Celtic grouping. After Ireland won their independence they were coming off of over a thousand years of occupation. This added gravity to why Douglas Hyde, Ireland's first president embraced the connection. He would go on to write extensively of the 'Celts' and their place as Irish people within that identity and that... "Like the Greeks, like the Romans, like the English, this great people, which once ruled over a fourth of Europe, sprang from a small beginning and from narrow confines... to-day modern Germany".¹³

Hyde tied the Celts into the traditions of great empires, and thus a culture to be more proud of, by placing the rulers "over a fourth of Europe" with the Greek, Roman, English, and German empires. The purpose may have been less to illuminate and more to propagandise or at least equally so. An advocate for native Irish culture and language, Hyde followed in the footsteps of medieval scholars who called the mythological hero Cú Chulainn, Ireland's Achilles. It can be reasonably assumed that he was making efforts to raise an oppressed and demeaned culture by association with the most powerful and regarded cultures of the time. The Celtic Europe of prehistory is a precursor to the Roman and the British empires, more ancient than either, and therefore, deserving of prestige. Prestige, Hyde no doubt hoped, would be shared with the offshoot culture in Ireland which had "...preserved the very oldest forms of the Celtic speech".¹⁴ The history of the Celtic world was additionally a route for Hyde to explain the contemporary politics and cultural shifts within Ireland in the 1890s. Additionally, the collapse of Gaul and Gaulish culture under Roman occupation, was a direct parallel to the collapse of Ireland and Irish culture under imperial occupation. The Celts are simultaneously a historical example and a metaphor for Hyde's Ireland.¹⁵

The creation of the Celtia map by Sir John Rhys, 20 July 1898, presented at the Welsh National Eisteddfod, gives an insight into the complex and muddled framing of a Celtic nation within contemporary political culture. In his map of the Celtic nations of the world, Rhys ignores contemporary boundaries for an imagined or presumed set of borders, typically along pre-existing national lines. This

¹³ Hyde, Douglas A Literary History of Ireland, from Earliest Times to the Present Day (T. Fisher Unwin Ltd; London, 1899) p 1.

¹⁴ Hyde, Douglas A Literary History of Ireland, from Earliest Times to the Present Day (T. Fisher Unwin Ltd; London, 1899) p 10

¹⁵ Hyde, Douglas A Literary History of Ireland, from Earliest Times to the Present Day (T. Fisher Unwin Ltd; London, 1899) p 16.

ignores local detail and differentiation, such as in Celtic Scotland where the distinctly Nordic influenced islands of Orkney are wrapped in the broad cloth of Celticism. Implicit in this map is the natural unification of the peoples within those borders into a singular ‘super-identity’. They belong together as part of a fantasy world, where the peoples exist in a shared past and present community. In reality the languages of Scottish and Irish were collapsing as speakers from both nations either emigrated or abandoned the native language in the shadow of colonialism and in favor of the more financially advantageous English language. With a possible dimming sense of cultural continuity, folklorists like W.B. Yeats, Lady Gregory and Alexander Carmichael collected as many folkloric informational bits as they could manage. The National Folklore Collection in Ireland was collected in the 1920’s and remains one of the largest collections of folklore in the world.

Thus, the Celtic world of six nations was collectively created and came into the modern spotlight via collective archaeologists, scholars, historians and writers alike. It was never officially decided upon... it just *was*. Likely since the revival period, the term has been continuously debated and analyzed. Many have embraced it while others exhaustively questioned it. There are many translations and discoveries that have come out in the last thirty years at least affirming ancient cultural connections. There is archaeological evidence for both extensive trade routes and endeavors, especially in minerals¹⁶ as well as evidence that culture was shared without the significant movement of people.¹⁷ There is also recent evidence showing that the populations have been somewhat stable since the Bronze age.¹⁸ That is simply to say that it can now be known there were people consistently present that may have carried old traditions forward or at least had the opportunity to do so. Of course, it can’t be overstated that culture isn’t genetic. It’s also not always confined to one country or specific boundaries, although many people from regions with a cultural heritage already in place may choose to practice those patterns, languages and traditions more readily, naturally and easily simply by proximity and personal preference.

¹⁶ VandenBoom, Becki. “Pre-conquest Celtic and Germanic Trade with the Wider Mediterranean.” Academia.

<https://www.academia.edu/5081476/Pre_conquest_Celtic_and_Germanic_trade_with_the_wider_Mediterranean>

¹⁷ Spanish National Research Council (CSIC). "Copper Age Iberians 'exported' their culture -- but not their genes -- all over Europe." ScienceDaily. ScienceDaily, 21 February 2018. <www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2018/02/180221131858.htm>.

¹⁸ L.M. Cassidy, R. Martiniano, E.M. Murphy, M.D. Teasdale, J. Mallory, B. Hartwell, & D.G. Bradley, Neolithic and Bronze Age migration to Ireland and establishment of the insular Atlantic genome, Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U.S.A. 113 (2) 368-373, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1518445113> (2016).

There is mention by classical writers of Gauls traveling to and fro from the isles to the mainland. Caesar himself mentions their connection to Britain frequently. He mentions it in relation to the druid Divitiacus, "...the most powerful man of all Gaul, had been king; who had held the government of a great part of these regions, as well as of Britain..."¹⁹ He further mentions Gaulish citizens fleeing to Britain during wartime²⁰, sailing back and forth and owning ports presumably trading or visiting²¹, Britons aiding the Gauls in war²² and that the tradition of the druids itself was brought from Britain to Gaul.²³ From here, we can deduce other further connections to Scotland and Ireland via archaeology as well such as the placement of Ogham stones which are not coincidentally located in regions that were commonly traveled by Irish seafarers or traders. The Irish and British were also thought to have been trading since the Bronze age.²⁴

There is at least one story in Irish mythology linking Gauls to the Irish through intermarriage in the *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* where Labraid Loingsech, the high king at the time took refuge in Gaul, married a Gaulish princess and returned home to reclaim his throne. Many Gaulish family names are found via artifacts, especially coinage that clearly points to familial inhabitants in both mainland Europe and Britain such as Vellaunus / Vellauni, Cunovindos / Cunovindus and Segomarus / Segomarus. There are also possible god and goddess cognates like Lugus / Lug, Maponos / Maponus and Epona. Of course, Ireland also has a Lugh and Ogma (Ogmios in Gaul) in their mythology. There are other hypothetical god and goddess cognates that are too problematic to consider as evidence although certainly not impossible connections. One example is the Irish matriarchal goddess, Danu and her possible connection with the Danube River in Europe that not coincidentally runs through Germany and Austria where substantial Celtic artifacts have been recovered. There is at least a somewhat stable foundation of evidence for cultural connection likely fueled by trade but possibly, genuine intermarriage and familial connections.

¹⁹ Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, trans. W. A. Macdevitt (London: Macmillan, 1917), Book 2, ch.4..

²⁰ Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, trans. W. A. Macdevitt (London: Macmillan, 1917), Book 2, ch.14.

²¹ Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, trans. W. A. Macdevitt (London: Macmillan, 1917), Book 3, ch.8..

²² Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, trans. W. A. Macdevitt (London: Macmillan, 1917), Book 4, ch.20.

²³ Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, trans. W. A. Macdevitt (London: Macmillan, 1917), Book 6, ch.13..

²⁴ University of Southampton. "Archaeologists discover evidence of prehistoric gold trade route." ScienceDaily. ScienceDaily, 5 June 2015. <www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2015/06/150605081611.htm>.

Moving forward, the main arguments of what makes a Celtic nation are thus tied to firstly, linguistics and the survival of a uniquely Celtic language into the modern era. Cornwall and the Isle of Mann are arguably on the outskirts of this. The Celtic language family is a branch of Indo-European languages and is divided into two types, Insular (P-Celtic: isles) and Continental (Q-Celtic: Western Europe). Within these are also the Goidelic branch which is Irish Gaeilge, Scots Gaelic and Manx and the Brythonic branch, Welsh, Breton and Cornish. The ancient Celtic languages have been most often envisioned as having expanded from a homeland in central Europe in close association with the La Tène and Hallstatt cultures of the European Iron Age (about 750 - 50 BCE).

This model can somewhat be affirmed by archaeology as well in the fact that the oldest monuments are in France and Brittany. Not coincidentally, as we venture farther from the center, the artifacts and settlements become more scant or could simply be undiscovered. For example, in the west of Ireland and Scotland, the Hallstatt, La Tène and even earlier Bell Beaker artifacts are more limited. The fact that they exist at all in more isolated regions is still very telling. Of course, the presence of artifacts does not guarantee a language continuum, but gives us insight into the possibility of one. The impression of most scholars is that they were connected by trade out of necessity and that naturally lends to broader cultural sharing with the buying and trading of goods or practices they deemed beautiful and pleasing. The idea that everything culturally Celtic came from precisely one place is unrealistic and it was likely more of a give and take. Based on archaeological records, it appears that the Yamnaya people were the largest and fastest cultural shift in the area.²⁵ From there, ‘Celticity’ arose slowly over time and space, out of the land and newly formed nations on an individual basis. Cultural patterns were fed into the farthest corners of Ireland and Scotland and back out again into the mainland. Most of the monuments themselves were built very quickly in succession over a few hundred years. Clearly, these places were in semi-regular contact going back for an incredibly long time.

²⁵ Gross, Michael., The Indo-European ancestors’ tale, *Current Biology*, Volume 28, Issue 12, 2018, Pages R679-R682, ISSN 0960-9822, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cub.2018.05.089>. (<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0960982218307577>) Abstract: Summary Ancient DNA from populations linked to the common origin and subsequent spread of Indo-European languages offers the unique opportunity to match up a highly detailed linguistic phylogeny with substantial genetic data as well as with the archaeological record. Michael Gross reports.

Secondly, the next identifier is a genuine cultural continuum of varying but identifiably unique facets of belief which is arguably degrees of animism, polytheism, water worship, folkloric practices and most importantly, the druids as spiritual communal figures. The druids remain at the center of the Celtic argument where these are well defined roles that share commonalities across all historically 'Celtic' regions. In all available references both in classical and native literature, the druid role was a lifetime role, they studied for 10+ years, their traditions were passed on mostly orally, they were living cultural repositories of their nation's history, they were judges, oversaw rituals and kingship or coming of age ceremonies and practiced medicine as well as seership. The druid communal role continued in both Ireland, Scotland and Wales through the 1800's in various related roles including as poets, musicians, doctors and seers. They sometimes taught in 'hedgeschools,' and were locally known to have 'the cure' or 'the sight'.

Musicians and poets still abound using traditional stringed instruments like the harp. The mythology has been kept alive through storytelling, literature and the school system. The festivals are still celebrated and have never ceased to be celebrated of Samhain, Imbolc, Bealtaine and Lughnasa. The distinctive art and spiral forms have also never ceased to be included and implemented. Sacred sites are still considered immensely important, visited, cared for and honored. The land is still recognized as sacred and alive, so much so that fairy trees are still to be minded and respected. Well and water worship and asking for healing from the well is a wonderful example of a specific tradition that has continued for over 2,000 years. Finally, familial surnames are still in use that have a history going back for generations. For example the standard of including Ó or Mac, which variously means 'Son of' is very alive. Families still exist with links to the kings of old in both Ireland and Scotland. One example is the O'Connor (Ó Conchobhair) family which has lived on the same property for over 1,500 years in Roscommon. Some other examples on Ogham stones include, Ó Luigh or Ó Loughlin, O'Duffy (Ó Dubháin), O'Keefe (Ó Caomh) and O'Tralee (Tralley).

Thirdly, having some sort of cultural connection via a 'Celtic' consciousness has arguably fueled anti colonialism and anti imperialist sentiment. Again, we can harken back to Hyde's relatability to the Gaulish struggle and the way they were

snuffed out by regime. There is an even deeper comparison to be made in the way Romans pitted Gaulish nation against nation in a sort of divide and conquer fashion of which England did the same to Irish and Scottish clans. The sense of this unifying identity in some measurable capacity may have hypothetically created a larger sense of relatability, pride and means of which to be supportive of one another's struggle for existence. There is power in that. England or Britain may have hypothetically been included into the Celtic identity fold if it wasn't for the aristocracy's tragic and deeply damaging colonial endeavors, more reminiscent of Roman culture, than the Celtic culture of which they were once embedded within.

In conclusion, the definition of Celt or Celtic has ultimately never been fixed and has always been fluid, constructed and deconstructed by scholars and writers. The term is both meaningful and meaningless from a cultural perspective depending on the context in which it is being used. It has always existed and not existed, been real and fake, natural and constructed. The Celtic identity is always a framing from a memory of the past, and an identity that has been constructed ultimately for the understanding of outsiders to the culture in question. For most vast references or discussion, the individual country or ethnic names are far more important and relevant in their unique distinction. However, from a scholarly or political perspective, there are enough similarities that can be drawn to remain relevant in the Celtic studies realm as well as for a sense of pride in cultural continuity and possible relatability across time.

Bibliography

Gaius Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, trans. W. A. Macdevitt (London: Macmillan, 1917)

Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, trans. by John J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982)

Gross, Michael., The Indo-European ancestors' tale, *Current Biology*, Volume 28, Issue 12, 2018, Pages R679-R682, ISSN 0960-9822, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cub.2018.05.089>.
(<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0960982218307577>) Abstract:

Summary Ancient DNA from populations linked to the common origin and subsequent spread of Indo-European languages offers the unique opportunity to match up a highly detailed linguistic phylogeny with substantial genetic data as well as with the archaeological record. Michael Gross reports.

Herodotus, *The Histories*, Book 2, 430 BCE.

Hyde, Douglas A *Literary History of Ireland, from Earliest Times to the Present Day* (T. Fisher Unwin Ltd; London, 1899)

Koch, John. *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*, ABC CLIO, 2006.

L.M. Cassidy, R. Martiniano, E.M. Murphy, M.D. Teasdale, J. Mallory, B. Hartwell, & D.G. Bradley, Neolithic and Bronze Age migration to Ireland and establishment of the insular Atlantic genome, *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U.S.A.* 113 (2) 368-373, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1518445113> (2016).

Longus, Daphnis and Chloe. Parthenius, *Love Romances*, trans. J. M. Edmonds and S. Gaselee. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916.

Murphy, John P. [ed. and tr.], *Rufus Festus Avienus. Ora maritima: or description of the seacoast (from Brittany round to Massilia)*, Chicago: Ares, 1977.

Rafferty, Joseph. *A Backward Look*, *Archaeology Ireland* (Spring 1988)

Rankin, H.D. *Celts and the Classical World*, Routledge, 1998

Spanish National Research Council (CSIC). "Copper Age Iberians 'exported' their culture -- but not their genes -- all over Europe." *ScienceDaily*. ScienceDaily, 21 February 2018. <www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2018/02/180221131858.htm>.

Stewart, Ian *The Celts: A Modern History* (Princeton University, Oxford, 2025)

University of Southampton. "Archaeologists discover evidence of prehistoric gold trade route." ScienceDaily. ScienceDaily, 5 June 2015.

<www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2015/06/150605081611.htm>.

VandenBoom, Becki. "Pre-conquest Celtic and Germanic Trade with the Wider Mediterranean." Academia.

<https://www.academia.edu/5081476/Pre_conquest_Celtic_and_Germanic_trade_with_the_wider_Mediterranean>

W. H. S. Jones and H. A. Ormerod. Pausanias. Description of Greece, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918.