

## 6. CELTIC RELIGION AND BELIEFS

### 6.1 ANCIENT CELTIC RELIGION (origins to the 5C AD)

The question of the religious beliefs of the Ancient Celts is a problematic field of study concerned as much with establishing what can we know about the religious beliefs of the pre-(Roman) conquest Celts. The question of continuity of older beliefs after the establishment of Christianity and its links with modern folklore is also touched upon.

In speaking of Celtic 'religion' and 'gods' we must be wary of understanding these words with the modern connotations we are so used to. We are not simply looking at a difference but at a fundamental paradigm shift in mentalities. In Europe, for centuries, religion is the most usually applied to the standardised and, indeed, enforced patterns of worship associated with "religions of the book" such as Christianity, Islam and Judaism. Since the religion of the Celts was indubitably more amorphous than such 'religions' with similarities to what is commonly referred to as 'superstition' we would do better to use a neutral term and refer to the 'beliefs' rather than 'religion' of the ancient Celts (and if we persevere in using the term 'religion' we must be aware of its connotations). In these well-known religions the term 'God' has been appropriated to refer to a supreme unique god, creator of the world. The divinities of the Celts were certainly not as supreme as this as each seems to have had special – but constricted – attributes. Neither are the other well-known 'gods' of the ancient Greeks, Romans or early medieval Norse wholly helpful in elucidating the role of divinities amongst the Celts. These 'gods' were arranged in a 'pantheon' which not only implies a special attribute to each but also – and this is crucial – a system or hierarchy of 'gods' in relation to one another, e.g. *Zeus*, *Jupiter*, *Odin* as 'father of the gods'. The ordered pantheon of 'gods' in the ancient world seems to have been a secondary development of a more amorphous reality at an earlier date, and it is likely that the Norse pantheon was knowingly modelled on the classical pantheons.

Those who would seek a coherent religious world view amongst the Ancient Celts are sure to be disappointed since our sources are restricted to:

- scattered comments by Greek or Roman authors whose authority we cannot verify and whom we must suspect of peddling travellers' tall tales;
- short inscriptions throughout the western Roman Empire which in many cases probably reflect Roman as much as, if not more than, native ideas and influence;
- burials and archaeological remains, open to various interpretations;
- later thematic and linguistic similarities in medieval literature most especially from medieval Irish and Welsh literature,
- comparative study of other religious beliefs.

The evidence is so spread and difficult of interpretation that it has attracted more than its fair share of cranks and dubious scholars who come to unwarranted and unprovable conclusions. It should be pointed out that the Ancient Celts lived between 6C BC–5C AD – i.e. 11 centuries – and they lived in areas as removed from each other as the north of Scotland and central Turkey, southern Germany to central Spain, western France to Hungary and northern Italy, and came into contact with numerous Ancient peoples such as the Greeks, Illyrians, Germans, Etruscans, Latins, Basques, Iberians to name the most obvious. It is inconceivable that in their dealings with other peoples over such long periods their beliefs remained unaffected. That would be contrary to all that we know about human societies. The following paragraphs attempt to describe what according to the most reliable recent scholarship is known of the beliefs of the Ancient Celts.

The Ancient Celtic *deiwos* ‘god, divinity’ is simply the old Indo-European term for a divinity whose original meaning was ‘sky’. Our attempt to conceptualise the role of each known Celtic divinity is suggested but also hampered by the *interpretatio romana* which was the the Romans’ habit of making a Celtic divinity coequivalent with a better-known Roman one such as Apollo, Mars, Mercurius, Minerva and the common addition of a Celtic epithet or equivalent, e.g. *Mars Teutates*. In nearly all cases we simply do not know what the link was between the Roman and Celtic divinity. In inscriptions from the Roman period sometimes no equivalent is given. We could do worse than to look at the indirect evidence of the names given to Celtic divinities, whose etymology is suggestive of an animistic origin whereby natural phenomena were ‘deified’ or ‘personified’ as supernatural beings. These can be classified in the following groups:

- nature – *Dewa & Dewona* ‘goddess’ (name of a number of rivers), *Borwo* ‘water-source (god)’, *Lugos* ‘light’, *Taranos* ‘thunder’ (equated with Jupiter), *Ogmios* ‘path, (astral) orbit’, *Litawis* ‘earth (goddess)’, *Sirona* ‘?star (goddess)’.
- particular rivers – *Sequana* ‘Seine (goddess)’.

Such ‘deification’ or ‘personification’ was applied to creatures and to even to functions of society leading to a multiplicity of divinities:

- animals – *Epona* ‘horse (goddess)’, *Damona* ‘cow (goddess)’, *Tarwos* ‘bull’, *Artio* ‘bear’ (goddess).
- society – *Matrona* ‘mother (goddess)’ (name of a river), *Maponos* ‘son (god)’ (equated with Apollo), *Teutates* ‘people ...’, *Nemetona* ‘shrine (goddess)’.

Deification also applied to:

- abstract forces – *Belinos* ‘power (god)’, *Belisama* ‘the strongest (goddess)’, *Brigantia* ‘high (goddess)’ (equated with Caelestis), *Smertrios* ‘providence’.

Some divinity names such as *Albiorix* ‘world king’ are semantically identical to attested personal-names such as *Dumnorix* and *Biturix* (both ‘world king’). As with *Teutates*, the name *Toutiorix* ‘people king’ reminds us that some divinities were appropriated as local protectors. It is revealing that many inscriptions to *Brigantia* have been found in the territory of the Brigantes in Britain. The etymology of many other well-attested names of divinities *Nodens*, *Esos*, etc, is not clear, but we have enough evidence to understand the rationale behind the proliferation of divinities amongst the ancient Celts as similar to that which later led to the proliferation in medieval Europe of saints, each with a special attribute for a particular illness, animal, profession etc.

If Celtic religious beliefs had originated as a set of animistic beliefs, it did not remain a simple animistic religion when the Celts approach the historical horizon. By the 3C BC (c.325–250BC) a religious revolution is attested in the archaeological record as great sanctuaries were inaugurated in Gaul, perhaps reflecting the influence – however indirect – of the Mediterranean world with which the Celts were then becoming more familiar. It seems difficult to dissociate such Latenian sanctuaries from a state or public cult with a priestly caste as administrators and these administrators are likely to have been the class of men known to classical sources as the druids. It is clear from the archaeological evidence that the Ancient Celts used the tumuli (barrows) or other sacred places of ancient prehistoric peoples for their own devotional use and it is clear that they had a holy landscape where holy places and shrines where votive gifts are well attested (i.e. gifts offered divinities at shrines in order to fulfil a vow). These usually express gratitude to a divinity for averting a pestilence, famine or war (for illnesses little figurines and even limbs or internal organs were carved of wood).

Despite the spread of temples groves in woodland appear to have retained a special significance much as it did amongst other pre-Christian northern European peoples such as the Germans, Balts and Slavs. The word *nemeton* ‘sacred grove’ (later ‘temple’) is well-attested all over most of the Celtic world and in the case of the Galatians, their political assembly point was a place called *Drunemeton* ‘oak grove’. The importance of the forest of the Carnutes in Gaul is undeniable whilst Pomponius Mela, the 1C AD geographer, said that the druids “teach, in caves or hidden groves, many things to the nobles in the course of instruction lasting up to twenty years.” The use of woodland groves as sacred places is likely to have been ancient but was also functional in that it helped to safeguard the secrecy and mystery of druidic practices. The pallisades which are known to have surrounded some Celtic temples also seem to have had the function of keeping their activities secret from the rest of Celtic society. Caesar noted that the druids:

are said to commit to memory a great number of verses. And they remain some twenty years in training. Nor do they judge it to be allowed to entrust these things to writing, although in nearly

the rest of their affairs, and public transactions, Greek letters are used. It seems to me there are two reasons this has been established: neither do they wish the common people to pride themselves in the training nor those who learn to rely less on memory, since it happens to a large extent that individuals give up diligence in memory and thorough learning through the help of writing.

The druidic organisation had many attributes of a secret or masonic society with rigorous initiatory rites (known in many non-European cultures) and it is this cultivation of secrecy which is one of the reasons that the religious beliefs of the Celts are difficult to judge. Pomponius Mela said that the druids “claimed to know the size of the earth and cosmos, the movements of the heavens and stars, and the will of the gods.” and Classical writers of the later Empire emphasised that the philosophy of the druids was akin to that of the Greek Pythagoras (recognised for his emphasis on mathematical patterns and his belief in reincarnation), but the truth of these assertions are unverifiable. The celebrated bronze Calendar of Coligny is one of the most important documents that inform us of the intellectual skills of the Celtic intelligentsia.

Druids practised rites of offering and sacrifice played a great role in Celtic religion with objects being rendered useless by being broken or bent before they were offered. Archaeology has confirmed the existence of human sacrifice though it is difficult to gauge how often human sacrifice was carried out (perhaps only when there was a perception of dire need). It seems clear that many of the victims were prisoners of war, criminals or even children or individuals with deformities (the latter whilst being repugnant to our modern sensibilities, enjoying the advantage of advanced medicine, was common in many other cultures). Human sacrifice, abhorred by the Romans – though they had practiced it some centuries previously – was abolished by them. Tacitus in 1C AD gives a lurid portrayal of druidical practices, mentioning “their groves, places of savage superstition. ... their altars spread with the gore of captives ... communicating with their deities through human entrails.”

The celebrated druids of the Ancient Celts seem to have been the priestly caste or guild, their name is interpreted as *dru* ‘tree, oak’ and *\*wid* ‘knowledge’. According to Caesar they acted as the priests, scientists, lawyers – in one word the intelligentsia – of Gaulish society forming a guild throughout Gaul which transcended political divisions. They can be described as the intellectual class of the Ancient Celts. They were first noted by the Greeks around 200BC and one of the earliest descriptions of their role in society was by the writer Posidonius around 100BC. The particularity of the druids appears to have been in their organisation. In a debated piece concerning the Germanic peoples, north-eastern neighbours of the Celts, Caesar asserts that the Ancient Germans had no druids, and since one can hardly deny the existence of religious beliefs and even individuals who acted as shamans, seers, medicine men, wizards we are forced to conclude that the Celtic religion of the druids was more organised than that of the Germans. The ‘national’

assembly of Gaulish druids met annually in the forests of the Carnutes (present-day Chartres area) to resolve disputes and come to decisions. In Britain, the island of Anglesey seems to have been a centre of druidic organisation (which was reputed – though this is now disputed by many scholars – to be the birthplace of druidism). That they were a nascent ‘national’ force in Gaul that transcended the domain of particular states and peoples seems certain from the way in Gaul they were repressed as a sacerdotal class under Augustus (27BC–14AD) and prohibited by the Emperor Claudius in 54AD, as well as the attack by Roman troops on the druids of Anglesey in 60AD. Celtic religious beliefs and cults to divinities, on the other hand, were allowed to continue much as before with the majority of pre-Roman cult sites preserved into Gallo-Roman times. Roman religion was purposely introduced to Gaul and other conquered territories as an official policy in order to promote the integration of conquered peoples to Roman ways. This can be seen in Lug(u)dunum (present-day Lyon) the administrative capital of Roman Gaul where in 12AD the Emperor Drusus established a sanctuary dedicated to Augustus at the junction of the two rivers. The imperial cult Sanctuary of the Three Gauls (Aquitania, Celtica, Belgica), as it became known, was entrusted to Gaulish aristocrats from the three parts of Gaul and the many poles that surrounded it were engraved with the names of over sixty Gaulish peoples with a council of the Three Gauls being held there annually. Druids were not known everywhere in the ancient Celtic world but appear to have been typical of Britain, Gaul and even Galatia but not of the Celtiberians in Iberia.

Druid organisations had been proscribed, but it is likely that part of their knowledge was inherited by individuals with shamanic tendencies. Ausonius of Bordeaux in 4C disparaged a contemporary individual for being the descendant of a druidic dynasty (family transmission is a likely source of continuity of specialist knowledge). The Ancient Celtic term *druid* survived into the Neo-Celtic languages in the form of Welsh *dryw* and *derwydd* ‘seer, prophet’ and that of Irish *druí* (later *draoi*) ‘shaman, magician, wise man’ and they are actually portrayed in early Irish literature as pagan opponents to early Christian saints such as Patrick (although Kim McCone has made a convincing case that such rehearsed stories of a Christian holy man beating his pagan rival were inspired by apocryphal biblical stories of Simon Magus which would have been known to Irish clergymen). At any rate, according to Koch, “The druids of early medieval Irish and Welsh literature are a marginal and largely fictional presence.” It should nevertheless be pointed out that the learned poets of Ireland and Wales seem to have shared some of the attributes of the pre-(Roman) conquest druids as an organised intellectual class (and, indeed, *filed* the commonest Irish term for a poet is based on a root meaning ‘to see’, showing how the function of the ‘seer, prophet’ slipped into that of the poet).

No unambiguous pictorial representation of a druid has been found and this may be related to the fact that the Celts did not fashion stone images of their divinities (a practice that only started later under Mediterranean Graeco-Roman influences) though Lucan does mention voodoo-type statues in groves near Marseille). Our modern-day image of the druid with long white robes, long white beards carrying out ceremonies in a forest is derived from an engraving in the Dutchman Elias Schedius's *De Dis Germanis* (1648). Interestingly enough, an engraving portraying a druid in Aylett Sammes's *Antiqua Illustrata, or, The Antiquities of Ancient Britain* (1676) is developed by Henry Rowlands in his *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* (1723) with the replacement of the druid's book with an oak branch (a romantic symbol which communicated ancient and internalised wisdom of nature).

Figure 6: Druidic depictions Sammes (1676, left) against Rowlands (1723, right)



The picture of druid-cum-bard was popular with 18C English poets such as Thomas Gray ('The Last Bard' 1757) and William Blake. The Romantic era conflated iconographies of other stereotypes such as wild men of the wood, green men, and holy hermits with classical descriptions and archaeological finds so that before the end of 18C the druid had become a stock-in-trade stereotype.

The survival of native Celtic divinities in the north-western Celtic countries after the establishment of Christianity between 450–650AD is a vexed question. In common with a tendency seen in medieval Scandinavian literature many surviving references to divinities in

Ireland and Wales show divinities to have been transformed into mortals (a process known as euhemerism). Such mortals were possessed of magic powers and were often remembered as heroes, examples being OI. *Lugh* and MW. *Lleu* preserving ancient Celtic *Lugos*, likewise MW. *Nudd* preserves *Nodens*, OI. *Brigit* (OI. form, MnI. *Bríd*, E. *Bride*) representing a goddess *Brigantia* (the celebrated Christian saint Brigit of Kildare is thought to have lived around 600 and to have inherited some of her attributes to the divinity Brigantia). Ancient Celtic *Maponos* is found in MW. as *Mabon* the son of *Modron* (based on the terms *mab* ‘son’ and *\*modr* ‘mother’). Some references in medieval Celtic literature refer to what we might presume to be divinities who are not known in Ancient Celtic, e.g. W. *Gofannon*, OI. *Goibniu* ‘smith (god)’. Place-names, especially those of rivers, contain references to divinities, e.g. *Dyfrdwy* (E. *Dee*), and the *Boyne* river in Ireland (< I. *bó* + *fionn* ‘white cow’) may well constitute a reference to a supernatural animal.

But, beyond the survival of some names of divinities, it is not clear or at least every difficult to prove that medieval Celtic literature actually preserve pagan beliefs known to have been specific to the Ancient Celts. That aspects of the ancient Celtic religion continued into the literature of Wales and Ireland in the medieval period has divided scholars between ‘nativists’ (e.g. Proinsias Mac Cana) and ‘Latinists’ (Kim McCone, Donnchadh Ó Corráin). Resorting to a hackneyed generalisation, nativists see the Irish medieval sagas and law texts as preserving originally oral and pagan native Irish narratives and beliefs predating Christianity whereas the more sceptical romanists believe that the influences of Biblical and Christian literature explain many of the claimed native pagan ‘survivals’. The ‘Latinists’ inspired by a line of argument first advanced by James Carney in *Studies in Early Irish Literature and History* (1955) argue that “early Irish literature as a whole is rooted in a coherent, far-reaching and flexible construct or *senchus* [i.e. tradition] adapted, synthesized and modified by monastic men of letters from the Bible and other Latin writings in conjunction with vernacular traditions both oral, and increasingly, as time went on, written.” (McCone 1990). Nevertheless, McCone still emphasises how difficult it is for modern scholars to separate pagan and Christian elements from the blend of literature produced by the monastic scholars of early medieval Ireland. Illustrative of the areas of contention between ‘nativists’ and ‘Latinists’ are: (1) the white mare ceremony in royal inaugurations of Tír Chonaill noted by Giraldus Cambrensis in the 1180s, and (2) the Old Irish phrase “Tongu do dia toinges mo thúath” (‘I swear by the god my tribe swears by!’).

There is no reason to think that the beliefs of the Ancient Celts were uniform. We know almost nothing of their myths and very little about their rites which are impossible to distinguish from magic. What fundamental tenets can we ascertain from the descriptions in Classical sources? There do not seem to have been creation myths (*cosmogony*) and their concept of the end of the

world (*eschatology*) is not known unless it be that of the sky falling on the earth. Concepts of an otherworld are not known though the druids are said to have believed that dead spirits gathered in ‘orbe alio’ (which is probably to be translated as another part of the world rather than ‘another world’ (Maier 1997). The soul was immortal.

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## 6.2 CELTIC CHRISTIANITY AND SPIRITUALITY (5C to the present)

Christianity had arrived in Britain and Gaul by 2C, but could only propagate itself in a widespread fashion outside towns from 4C onwards after it had become the official religion of the Roman Empire. Our – admittedly sparse – sources show 5C Britain, following the departure of the legions, as being a largely Christian country, albeit one with much missionary work being carried out on the fringes. But in late 5C, following the establishment of the pagan ancestors of the English in south-eastern Britain, the Christian Church among the Britons, the Picts and the Irish was separated from and had lost routine contact with the main body of Christians on the European continent and thus did not keep up with the doctrinal development of the Roman Church so that by 7C it had acquired a reputation for deviancy. The 7C saw a struggle between the Irish missionaries from Iona and Roman missionaries from Canterbury to direct the development of Christianity in England. In 664 at the Synod of Whitby, the Irish faction was defeated and many of the Irish missionaries returned to their homelands. From then till 9C different Celtic regions yielded to Roman practices concerning the dating of Easter and the tonsure of religious men.

Thereafter the doctrinal differences between Christianity in the Celtic lands and the rest of western Europe were minimal, though the Celts were often accused of being lax in their observances of Christian duties and in their lifestyle (priests being married, abbacies being inherited by powerful ecclesiastical families). It is only with the Protestant Reformation of 16C that the differences between the early christianity of the British Isles and 'Roman' (i.e. Catholic christianity) were resuscitated doctrinally and reified as an early Protestant christianity which later was forcibly 'degraded' into medieval popish Catholicism. This interpretation of history was popular among various strands of Protestants and had acquired the title of the 'Celtic Church' by 19C. Since the mid 19C 'Celtic christianity' was reified further along the lines of ethnical stereotypes of the Celts as mystical peoples condemned to disappear from the modern world through their disdain of worldly interests.

Neo-druidism is a type of spirituality which can be accounted as Celtic appears in 18C as a spin-off of the Romantic movement. Inspired by the researches of British antiquarians such as John Aubrey, William Stukeley and Henry Rowland. This druidmania amongst the antiquaries of the period is said to have inspired a certain John Toland to found a druidic order on Primrose Hill, London in 1717. However, the first securely attested neo-druidic association, organised very much as a masonic organisation, was the London-based Ancient Order of Druids founded by Henry Hurle in 1781. In 1792, the Welshman Edward Williams (better known under his pseudonym Iolo Morganwg), then living in London, established the druidic Gorsedd of the Bards of Britain on Primrose Hill. Iolo Morganwg was one of the foremost scholars of old Welsh literature of his day and a vivid imagination, helped along by resort to heroin, led him to create forgeries which through his consummate skill fooled Welsh scholars for over a hundred years. Iolo Morganwg prided himself on being a 'bard' and his highly developed sense of local patriotism led him to exaggerate the poetic tradition of his native Glamorganshire and exaggerate it by extending its tradition to reach back to the Ancient Celtic druids. Able to persuade his contemporaries that the Gorsedd had preserved and revived the ancient traditions of the Welsh he was able to associate it and its ceremonies to an eisteddfod held in Carmarthen in 1819. Thereafter the growth of the eisteddfod in 19C Wales went hand in hand with the success of the Welsh gorsedd of druidic-bards (in reality a literary association). Even after many of Iolo's claims were disproved around 1900, the Gorsedd and the druids have established themselves as an irreplaceable part of Welsh culture. In imitation of the Welsh Gorsedd, a Breton gorsedd – *Gorsedd or Collège des Bardes* – was founded by the Breton nationalist François Jaffrennou (psd. Taldir) as a daughter institution. In 1928 a Cornish Gorseth was established, though with a proviso bowing to Christian sensibilities that all its members would be bards and none druids. The Breton Gorseth has become embroiled from time to time in power struggles between a pagan wing and a

literary-cultural and in the 1960s the Welsh Archdruid Cynan had to help restore order. Druidic orders of a more masonic or pagan nature have flourished in England, France and the USA but both Ireland and Scotland have not participated much in the revival of any form of modern druidism (the fact that the Scots have their own strange ceremonial attire might well be a contributory factor to their reticence to adopt druidism).

Slightly parallel to the esoteric phenomenon of a revived Celtic pagan religion is the flourishing since the late 19C of little groups of men attempting to revive the 'Celtic Church', many of these have veered towards, if not joined with, Orthodoxy as the form of Christianity most likely to have been similar to the Christian Church as it was in the age of the saints.

The strong 'new age' esoteric hold of such Celtic spirituality – whether pagan or Christian – often has only a fleeting interest in what can or cannot be considered Celtic. Donald Meek (2000) criticises this tendency:

Without the ... Celtic languages ... the appropriation of the 'Celtic' material is greatly facilitated, and an alternative 'Celtic' culture is created largely for the consumption of 'outsiders' and nonspeakers of Celtic languages who continue to colonise the 'Celtic Fringe', either physically or spiritually.

For a handily summarised accretion of unscholarly information on esoteric Celtic spirituality, one can do no better than peruse the appropriately entitled *Complete Idiot's Guide to Celtic Wisdom* written by an American Carl McColman.

As can be seen from the history of each Celtic country since 16C, the Protestant Reformation initiated a long-acrimonious dissension between factions and societies that can still be experienced to this day in Northern Ireland. Since that time it is manifestly impossible to argue for or define a uniform set of characteristics that mark out a supposed 'Celtic Christianity', rather it is the differences which assail the observer. Brittany and Ireland (the native populations at least) remained staunchly Catholic whilst Wales, Cornwall, Mann and the Scottish Highlands (with some exceptions in the last country) turned to evangelical Protestantism. In Wales and the Scottish Highlands the Protestant denominations also fell out with each other, resulting in the great difficulty in generalising in detail what is characteristic of either Welsh or Highland Christianity. The only comparable feature that all Celtic-speaking areas seem to share since late 19C is the development of a religious tendency – whether Catholic or Protestant – that goes against the state preferences of the English or French governments (that is a religious tendency that can emphasise their 'national' particularities). Particularly interesting are the partially successful Welsh Nonconformist missions established by the Baptists and Calvinistic Methodists in Brittany after 1836 to save their countrymen in France from the error of their religion. Welsh Nonconformist missions were particularly active in 19C in Madagascar and in the Khassia Hills of Assam in

India. In the latter area they converted the dominated and despised Khasi people to Calvinistic Methodism (Presbyterianism) and, using English and Welsh conventions, codified the dialect of Cherrapunji to give the literary orthography of the Standard Khasi language.

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## 7. STEREOTYPES AND ICONS OF THE CELTIC NATIONS

An average American may be able to conjure some vague associations with Scotland and Ireland but will be more hard-pressed to say anything about Wales (unless it is something to do with the Prince(ss) of Wales or with the verb ‘to welsh’). The much smaller countries of Cornwall and Mann do not really register, nor does the much larger Brittany because it has always lain in the French rather than in the English sphere of influence. Nevertheless English people have stereotypes of the Welsh as do French people concerning the Bretons. The first question one can ask is ‘Are these stereotypes recognised?’ and secondly ‘What is the relation between the stereotype and the reality?’. Literature on such stereotypes is not always easily available, but the many stereotypes are instructive in enabling one to learn about the Celtic peoples. Below are a number of words and names which are redolent of aspects of each national culture.

### 7.1 THE ANCIENT CELTS – ‘DRUIDS, MEAD AND TROUSERS’

The ideas which existed among the Greeks and Romans concerning the Celts are less subject to verification as stereotypes or as actual characteristics than later periods because of the distance in time and the lack of documentation. Rankin (1987) is a useful book looking at the view of the Celts held in Classical literature, and it might be worth pursuing the following: mead, trousers (Gallia Braccata), long hair (Gallia comata), druids, warriors, human sacrifices.

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\*RANKIN, H. David. 1987. *Celts and the Classical World*. (London: Croom Helm). (Chapters 4)

### 7.2 THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS – ‘KILTS, HAGGIS AND BAGPIPES’

A list of Scottish Highland icons, stereotypes and reputed characteristics which you might want to investigate (to see if they are stereotypical or genuine): oats, porridge, haggis, whisky, heather, Highland cattle, clans, gillies, Highland regiments, kilts, tartans, shinty, Saint Andrew, Mòd, cèilidhs, second sight, Presbyterianism, Wee Frees, the Sabbath, bagpipes, dourness, mountains, lochs, Caledonia McBrayne, Saltire, Caledonia, Scotia.

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### 7.3 IRELAND – 'SHILLELAGHS, POTATOES AND LEPRECHAUNS'

A list of Irish icons, stereotypes and reputed characteristics which you might want to investigate (to see if they are stereotypical or genuine): potatoes, barm brack, shamrock, porter (guinness), Irish wolfhounds, donkeys, poteen (poitín), harps, shillelaghs, blarney, Irish-English (Hiberno-English), leprechauns, banshees, navvies, simian portrayals, hurling, Gaelic football, curraghs, Celtic crosses, round towers, crannogs, hermit cells, Saint Patrick, céilís, Oireachtas na Gaeilge, patterns (*pátrún*), Catholicism, green, the emerald isle, fiddle, bodhrán, uilleann pipes, sean nós, Irish rebel songs, 'Amhrán na bhFiann (The Soldiers' Song)', Irish national flag, capital of Ireland, TG4, Hibernia, Erin.

### 7.4 MANN – 'TAIL-LESS CATS'

A list of Manx stereotypes icons, stereotypes and reputed characteristics which you might want to investigate (to see if they are stereotypical or genuine): tail-less cats, loaghtan sheep, Tynwald, Yn Chruinnaght, TT Races, the Manx flag, Manx national day (5th of July).

### 7.5 WALES – 'DRUIDS, LEEKS AND EISTEDDFODS'

A list of Welsh icons, stereotypes and reputed characteristics which you might want to investigate (to see if they are stereotypical or genuine): Welsh Rarebit, Laver Bread, Bara Brith, Caerphilly Cheese, leeks, daffodils, dragon, sheep, Welsh Black cattle, corgis, shepherds, drovers, druids, Welsh costume, rugby, coracles, coal mines, slate quarries, Saint David, Eisteddfod, Gorsedd, Prince of Wales, Welsh Not, Nonconformism, Calvinism, Methodism, hymns, land of song, 'Hen Wlad fy Nhadau', quires, land of the white gloves, hwyl, volubility (eloquence), emotion, cerdd dant, mountains, Welsh national flag, capital of Wales, S4C, Welsh cousins, to welsh, Cambria, Wallia (Gwalia), Gomer.

### Select Bibliography

(\* recommended introductory works)

MORGAN, Prys. 1983. 'From death to a view: the hunt for the Welsh past in the Romantic period'. In Terence Ranger & Eric Hobsbawm (eds). *The Invention of Tradition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 43–100.

## 7.6 WESTERN BRITTANY – 'CLOGS, PANCAKES AND BOMBARDS'

A list of Breton stereotypes and icons which you might want to investigate (to see if they are stereotypical or genuine, with French equivalent added between brackets for those who might be literate in French): potatoes (patates, pommes-de-terre), pancakes (crêpes), cider (cidre), chouchenn (hydromel), clogs, coiffes, ermine, korrigans, fishermen (pêcheurs), gourenn, Goursez, Saint Erwan (Saint Yves), Conan Meriadoc, Ar Veuc'h (La Symbole), bagpipes, bombards (bombardes), Gouel ar Brezhoneg, pardons, fest noz, Catholicism (Catholicisme), kan ha diskan, gwerz, 'Bro Goz ma Zadou', moors (landes), standing stones, Breton capital(s) of Brittany, drunkenness, the Breton Flag (Le Gwenn ha Du), TV Breizh, Breton cousins (cousins de Bretagne).

## 7.7 CORNWALL – 'PASTIES'

A list of Cornish stereotypes and icons which you might want to investigate (to see if they are stereotypical or genuine): pasties, clotted cream, chough, piskies, fishermen, smugglers, tin mines, Stannaries, Cornish wrestling, Gorseth, Saint Pyran, King Arthur, Duchy of Cornwall, Nonconformism, Wesleyanism, clannishness, Cornish wrestling, Cousin Jack, 'Trelawny' ('The Song of the Western Men'), 'Bro Goth agan Tasow', the Cornish banner (of Saint Pyran).