

Daniel Konttori (1602255)

Celtic Germany :
Should Germany be considered a Celtic country?

Daniel Konttori (160225)

A Dissertation submitted to the University of Wales Trinity Saint David in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

2020

Master's Degrees by Examination and Dissertation

Declaration Form

1. This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Name.....Daniel Konttori.....

Date 23/10/2020.....

2. This dissertation is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Name.....Daniel Konttori.....

Date 23/10/2020.....

3. This dissertation is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references.

A bibliography is appended.

Name.....Daniel Konttori.....

Date 23/10/2020.....

4. I hereby give consent for my dissertation, if accepted, to be available for photocopying, inter- library loan, and for deposit in the University's digital repository

Name.....Daniel Konttori.....

Date 23/10/2020.....

Supervisor's Declaration.

I am satisfied that this work is the result of the student's own efforts.

Signed:

Date:

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank the University of Wales Trinity of Saint David for presenting me the opportunity to take part in the MA Celtic Studies programme via distance learning. I wish to thank all tutors but my deepest debt of gratitude is given to Mr. Andrew Currie for guiding me through the process of producing this dissertation and always providing much appreciated advice. Thank you very much. It was a pleasure.

Contents:

Abstract	5
Introduction	6
The Growth of Literature on the Celts	8
Evidence of Celts in Germany	26
Discussion & Conclusion	46
Bibliography	67

Abstract

Western and Central Europe of the Iron Age was the area of the Celts. Still today they fascinate us and countless books about them are available. First mentioned by classical sources as barbarians but respected as fearless warriors, they were also skilled craftsmen.

Today, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, Cornwall and Brittany are considered to be Celtic countries and in those countries festivals, congresses and classes are held to celebrate the Celtic heritage in art. Literature and music. Those nations are defined as Celtic, mainly because of the Celtic language still spoken there, but the question arises why are only those countries defined as Celtic and not all those where the Celts lived in the Iron Age? Why, for example, is Germany not considered a Celtic country even so that it possesses a high proportion of the best known Celtic sites like the Heuneburg, Glauberg or Manching and for most scholars lies in the heartland of the Celts?

This paper will try to tackle that problem. It will examine the development of the literature about the Celts as well as the available evidence for Celts in Germany. That evidence and its relations will be discussed and put in the context of the definition of a Celtic country. Furthermore the definition of a Celtic country today, in the light of the examined sources and evidence, will be discussed and in that context the text will pursue the task to answer the question if Germany should be considered a Celtic country.

Introduction

The Celts are a fascinating topic which covers a wide branch of subjects. In the modern Celtic countries they are still alive. Those countries are Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Cornwall, the Isle of Man as well as Brittany. They celebrate their Celtic heritage at important festivals, like the Eistedfodd in Wales, they celebrate Celtic music, art, and literature.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, a Celtic Revival with a growing self esteem about being a Celts started in those countries, culminating in the foundation of the Celtic league 1961 at the Eistedfodd with its aim to promote the Celtic culture and heritage, with a focus on preserving and promoting the Celtic languages.

The Cambridge dictionary states a Celt is “a person who is related to the Celts of ancient Britain, especially someone from Ireland, Scotland, Wales, or Brittany”¹. That seems to be a little bit too narrow, in fact it describes a so-called ‘modern Celt’. The Oxford dictionary distinguishes between two ‘Celts’:

1 a member of a people inhabiting much of Europe and Asia Minor in pre-Roman times. **2** a person from a modern region in which a Celtic language is (or was) spoken.²

That definition classifies a modern as well as an ancient Celt. Clearly, that definition has not the aspiration to be scientifically sufficient. But its classification number 2 which includes not only regions where a Celtic language is spoken, also

¹ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/celt?topic=names-of-groups-of-people-who-lived-in-the-past>

² Paperback Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 109f

mentions the modern regions where a Celtic language was spoken in the past. That would enlarge the number of modern Celts significantly.

Modern Celtic countries are defined as such because a Celtic language is spoken there by at least a minority of the people. But in nearly all popular books about the Celts the majority of the archaeological sites mentioned and shown in the pictures are not in that Celtic countries. Important artefacts which represent the Celts were excavated from sites outside of the Celtic countries.

A look at the map of Europe today shows the Celtic countries are on the western corner of Europe, on the Atlantic fringe but around 2500 years back in time, situation was different. The Celts had settled in nearly all of western and central Europe. They undertook expeditions to the east and reached as far as Asia Minor. They were traders and could especially be found as mercenaries in the armies of several kings. The Celts, it seemed were important people in Iron Age Europe.

Germany is located in Central Europe, at the heart of the Celtic sphere. Among the first pictures a student or interested person in the subject of the Celts will see in coffee table books or introductory works would be images of the Heuneburg, the Hochdorf grave, the grave of the Bettelbühl princess or the statue of the Glauberg. That lead inevitably to the question that if the Celts of Germany, so it seems, are a kind of role model for the Celt in general, should Germany thus be considered a Celtic country?

The following text will examine the available sources regarding the Celts in Germany, the focus will lie on the area in the borders of modern day Germany as well

as discuss the definition of a Celt as well as a Celtic country in order to answer that question.

The Growth of Literature on the Celts

The literature regarding the Celts is massive and it is not possible to cover all the literature available, so the following passage will try to give an overview about the development of literature about the Celts from the first few mentions to modern arguments. Today,⁰ there are informative standard works available, produced for example by leading scholars like Barry Cunliffe, as well as works that specialize in various branches of the vast and complex topic.

Hecataeus of Miletus was one of the first ancient authors to mention Celts. Writing at the end of the sixth century BC, he mentions Narbo to be a Celtic city and locates Massalia in the realm of the Ligurians, next to the Celtic territory. That distinction between Ligurian and Celtic territories can possibly be interpreted that Hecataeus was aware of the differences between those people. Only fragments of his works survive, but he is quoted by several ancient authors, like Strabo, who writes that Hecataeus wrote that statements in his work *Europe*.³

³ Rankin, D., *Celts and the Classical World*, (London, Routledge, 1996), p. 8

In another fragment of *Europe* Hecataeus mentions: ‘Nyrax: a Celtic city’⁴. It is not clear where Nyrax was located, a possibility could be Noreia in Austria, but that is speculation. Although the locations are not known, it is fair to wonder about the proximity to the area of modern Germany. Modern boundaries were irrelevant in the distant past and people would more likely have chosen their settlement territory for practical reasons like agriculture, defense and trade. That makes a location of an ancient city near the sea or a river likely.

Nevertheless, what is important about the account of Hecataeus is that he distinguishes between the terms ‘Celts’ and ‘Narbaioi’ as the name for the inhabitants of Narbo. That shows he acknowledges Celts to be a certain kind of people and uses the term ‘Celts’ as a name for that people as a whole. He thus established the Celts as a people which were present in Iron Age Europe.

The next important ancient author to mention the Celts was Herodotus who refers to them in his *Histories*, written in the fifth century BC. He writes about the river Ister, which is the Danube, as a comparison to the Nil. ‘The Ister rises in the land of the Celts, at the city of Pyrene [...], and flows through the middle of Europe[...]’⁵. He further argues that the Celts lived beyond the pillars of Hercules, so north of Gibraltar, and next to the Cynesians who were, according to Herodotus, the westernmost Europeans.

Scholars debate about the geography of Herodotus’ ‘land of the Celts’. The Heuneburg is a leading candidate as the city of Pyrene, because it is situated at the

⁴ Koch, J.T. & Carey, J., *The Celtic Heroic Age*, (Aberystwyth, Celtic Studies Publications, 2003), p. 5

⁵ Herodotus, *The Histories*, translated by Robin Waterfield, (Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 108

source of the Danube and would thus be in a good location. But Pyrene could also be situated on the Iberian Peninsula, which would make sense as the Pyrenees, the mountains between France and Spain, are equal in name, and the distance to Gibraltar as well as being located at the west of Europe by Herodotus would fit with that location, though it would be far away from the Danube. But he probably thought the Danube would rise in Iberia.

Powell pointed out, Herodotus did mention the source of the Ister in the land of the Celts twice and that could lead to the assumption that Herodotus perhaps got that information from travelers who used the river as a trading route. According to Powell, Herodotus was well informed about the lower Danube and knew the land she ran through was inhabited.⁶ Such an assumption cannot be taken for sure, nevertheless it contains some reasonable thinking. Again, it would place Herodotus' Celts in the core zone of the traditional Celtic homeland. Rankin offers a good interpretation for Herodotus' account:

Herodotus has no notion of the source of the Danube, but he is aware that it rises in Celtic territory, and that much we can regard as being based on some reliable and well-informed source. He seems to have blended two streams of information: one which tells of Celts living near the upper reaches of the Danube; the other referring to the presence of Celts in Spain, and their penetration into its South-West. Separately these stories are credible enough. The fact that there were Celtic peoples in Spain next to the Cynesioi and also in Central Europe made it seem reasonable enough to him, or his informants, that the Danube rose far in the West in the Celtic lands of the Iberian peninsula.⁷

⁶ Powell, T.G.E., *The Celts*, (London, Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980), p. 13 ff

⁷ Rankin, D., *Celts and the Classical World*, (London, Routledge, 1996), p. 9

Ephorus (c.405-330 BC) whose work is lost but used by later authors like Strabo, describes the Celts, alongside with Scythians, Persians and Libyans, as one of the four great barbarian people of the world which underlines the prominent role the Celts played in the ancient world.⁸

Furthermore is it possible to discover a rise of information about the Celts during the fourth century BC due to an intensification of contact of them with the Mediterranean, as settlers, traders, mercenaries or as raiders, Xenophon (ca. 430-354 BC) for example, first mentioned Celtic mercenaries in his *Hellenica*.⁹

Aristotle (384-322 BC), probably by following Herodotus, places the source of the Danube in the Pyrenes his in *Meteorologica*, but he also mentions the Rhipaeon as well as the Hercynian mountains.¹⁰ These are the Black Forest and the German Mittelgebirge and thus puts the Celts in the geographic context of Germany. Further, Aristotle is among the first to describe the Celts in stereotypes as barbarians.¹¹ He mentions for example homosexuality, fearlessness in battle or the exposure of their children to the harsh northern climate in order to toughen them. Plato, too stereotypes them, in *Laws* he describes the Celts as warlike and hard-drinking.¹²

⁸ the concerning quote is to be found in: Strabo, *Geography*, (I, 2.28) in: Strabo *Geography*, Book 1& 2, translated by Horace Leonard Jones, (Harvard University Press, 1917)

⁹ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, available at: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0206%3Abook%3D7%3Achapter%3D1%3Asection%3D20>

¹⁰ "From Pyrene (this is a mountain towards the west in Celtice) there flow the Istrus and the Tartessus. The latter flows outside the pillars, while the Istrus flows through all Europe into the Euxine. Most of the remaining rivers flow northwards from the Hercynian mountains, which are the greatest in height and extent about that region. In the extreme north, beyond furthest Scythia, are the mountains called Rhipae."

Source: Ross, W.D. *The Works of Aristotle*, Volume III (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1931) *Meteorologica*, Book I, 13, 350b ; access via : <https://archive.org/details/workstranslatedi03aristoft/page/n7/mode/2up>

¹¹ Collis, J., *The Celts. Origins, Myths & Inventions*, (Gloucestershire, The History Press, 2011), p. 17

¹² Koch, J.T. & Carey, J., *The Celtic Heroic Age*, (Aberystwyth, Celtic Studies Publications, 2003), p. 6

As it seems there is a good amount of imagination in the first accounts regarding the Celts, but first hand accounts started to appear in the fourth century BC and brought more reliable information to the Mediterranean. An important mention there must be Phytheas of Massalia who undertook an expedition in the Atlantic sea around 320-310 BC on which he probably sailed as far as Iceland. He locates the British Isles north of the land of the Celts and thus echoes the earlier geographic descriptions that the Celts occupied West and Central Europe.

A major sources about the Celts are the histories of Polybius who lived from about 200 to 118 BC. An Arcadian by birth, he was a hostage of the Romans for several years, although as an honoured guest which allowed him to travel extensively, including Gaul and the Alps. Five out of forty books plus extensive fragments have survived and present a valuable first hand account about the Celts. As Collis summarizes his value:

[...] his direct knowledge of the sources, the geography of the Mediterranean, and some of the personalities involved in the events he was describing, makes him a prime source on the Celts and the historical events in northern Italy, Spain and Asia Minor. [...] he is important in listing the tribes who made up the Celtiberians in Spain, locating the Gallic tribes of northern Italy, and mentioning the Celts of southern France.¹³

One of the most informative ancient sources in regard to the Celts is Poseidonius (c.135-c.50 BC) and his *Histories* which in fact continue the work of Polybius. He , too travelled widely in western Europe, including a visit at Massalia, and his account was based on his first hand observations and although his work is lost, considerable parts where quoted or plagiarised by later authors like Diodorus

¹³ Collis.J., *The Celts. Origins, Myths & Inventions*, (Gloucestershire, The History Press, 2011), p. 19

Siculus, Athenaus, Strabo and probably Caesar. He described many customs of the Celts and his work became the source of many standard accounts of the Celts describing for example the display of human heads or the importance of the druids. Poseidonius called those people living in the hinterland of the colony of Massalia *Keltoi*.

Some scholars, like Rankin¹⁴, argue that Poseidonius has identified the Germans and showed they are in various ways similar to the Celts. The relating passages can be found in Strabo:

Next after the Keltic nations come the Germans who inhabit the country to the east beyond the Rhine; and these differ but little from the Keltic race, except in their being more fierce, of a larger stature, and more ruddy in countenance; but in every other respect, their figure, their customs and manners of life, are such as we have related of the Kelts. The Romans therefore, I think, have very appositely applied to them the name 'Germani,' as signifying genuine; for in the Latin language Germani signifies genuine.¹⁵

Further, as Rankin argues, Poseidonius locates the settlement of the Boii in the 'Hercynian Forest'¹⁶ and thus links them with the area of Germany.

A very important ancient source is *the Gallic War* by Julius Caesar (100-44BC) which offers a comprehensive account about Caesar's campaigns against the Celts in Gaul and its neighbouring areas. As a first hand account of someone who was actually

¹⁴ Rankin, D., *Celts and the Classical World*, (London, Routledge, 1996), p. 18

¹⁵ Strabo, *Geography* 7.1.2 ; via: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0239%3Abook%3D7%3Achapter%3D1%3Asection%3D2>

¹⁶ several ancient sources mention the Hercynian Forest and the different tribes living there. Caesar, for example, offers a description about the size when he writes that it would around sixty days to cross the forest from west to east as well as nine days from north to south. He locates it in central Europe, beginning "in the lands of the Helvetii, Nemetes, and Raurici" and following the course of the Danube "to the lands of the Daci and Anartes. At this point it swings left in regions away from the river, and because of its great size extends to the borders of many peoples." ; (Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 6.24-25)

in contact with the people in question, and that for several years, Caesar's work stands out from most other ancient sources which often rely on information of earlier written and now lost sources. Clearly, Caesar, too, used information of other sources, especially Poseidonius, nevertheless he provided numerous new information which are valuable for the subject. At the beginning, he states:

'the whole of Gaul is divided into three parts, one of which the Belgae inhabit, the Aquitani another, and the third a people who in their own language are called 'Celts', but in ours, 'Gauls'. They all differ among themselves in respect of language, way of life, and laws.'¹⁷

He continues to describe the geography of those people and further argues that Gaul is contiguous to the land of the Germans and the river Rhine constitutes the natural border between them.

Caesar is often precise in his analysis of the people he dealt with, but it is also important to be careful with his account. He was no scholar who's aim was to produce an informative account about a region and its people or about some certain events. He was a conquerer, a military leader and his text was a work of propaganda, on the one hand to glorify his actions and achievements, and on the other hand to justify his campaigns against those people. Furthermore, he used Poseidonius as his source and forged it to fit his needs. As Rankin put it:

Caesar's use of Poseidonius is an example of one eyewitness perverting the evidence of another to suit his own very different intentions. Caesar was not a historian: he was a political war-lord in need of good public relations material with which to confuse both friends and enemies in Rome about the true nature of his activities in Gaul. Caesar did not see so much of actual Celtic life as did Poseidonius. While it was necessary for hi to have some

¹⁷ Caesar, *The Gallic War*, translated by Carolyn Hammond, (Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 3

understanding of the people against whom he was waging war, he did not need to know more than was necessary to accomplish their defeat.¹⁸

It is possible to argue that Caesar chose the Rhine as the border between Gallic people and Germans so that he could present his campaign as a complete conquest of the people and area. He also describes rivers as boundaries between different tribes. In Gaul and modern Germany. For an army, a river is always an obstacle and an important strategic point, thus as Caesar conducted a military campaign against the people in Gaul, his use of rivers must be seen in that context and it can be doubted that he is always exact. In fact, today there is a consensus that many Celts lived east of the Rhine as well as Germans lived west of it.¹⁹

As mentioned, despite its pitfalls, Caesar's account has its value as it offers an attempt to distinguish in some forms between Celts and Germans. He comments on several Celtic tribes and presents a relatively detailed picture of the social landscape.

Furthermore, he distinguishes between different settlement types, describes and names them. The most prominent type mentioned is clearly the *oppida*, what can be argued to be similar to antique fortified towns. He presents three categories of settlement types, *Oppida*, *viici*, that would be equal to villages, and *aedificia*, which were single farmsteads. Caesar's categorisation, though it seems he was "flexible"

¹⁸ Rankin, D., *Celts and the Classical World*, (London, Routledge, 1996), p. 79

¹⁹ Caesar himself acknowledges that. For example, he comments on the Volcae Tectosages that they sent colonies east of the Rhine and "seizes the most fertile areas of Germany, around the Hercynian forest, and settled there.; Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 6.24

with this²⁰, provides a good basis for scholars to examine and compare Celtic settlements in Iron Age Europe.

The greek scholar Strabo (c. 64 BC-AD 21) is best known for his *Geographica*, although it is not a primary source. He used extensive information from other authors which are lost, like Poseidonius, and in that regard proves to be of value. He compiled a systematic description of the geography and the customs of the people in the Roman provinces.

Pliny the Elder (AD 23-79) deserves a short mention. He was born in Cisalpine Gaul and served in Germania with the Roman army. In his work *Natural History*, he presents various comments on the Celts regarding for example their location and rituals of druids, whereas Tacitus (AD c 56-120), also born in Cisalpine Gaul, in his most well known works, *Agricola* and *Germania*, uses his descriptions of the people

as part of a general tirade against his perception of the shortcomings of the Roman leadership. Modern decadence and indiscipline and the loss of individual liberty are his themes, and the Britons and Germans provide convenient characters through which to purvey these views. The Celts are no longer a serious threat to Rome; it is the danger from within that is more insidious. For Tacitus, then, the Celts provide the allegory.²¹

Ptolemy (around 90-168 AD) lived in Egypt under the rule of the Roman Empire. He produced several scientific works including the *Geography* which locates and coordinates sites and tribes of the known world. This work included ten maps on Europe with maps III-V portraying western and Central Europe. Ptolemy does not

²⁰ Collis, J., *Oppida: Earliest Towns North of the Alps* (Sheffield : Dept. of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield, 1984), p.5

²¹ Cunliffe, B., *The Ancient Celts* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1999), p. 9

only mention towns or geographical features, but assigns certain landscapes or sites to specific tribes and thus places several Celtic tribes on the map. His work is erroneous but nevertheless does Ptolemy hold “a place among the foremost of those who have made contributions to the science of geography.”²²

It is fair to say that nearly all ancient sources link the Celts to Germany. Despite an often erroneous geography, virtually all authors place the Celts in the realm of the Rhine, the Danube and the Hercynian forest. The Danube rises in Germany, the majority of the Rhine runs through Germany and the Hercynian forest covered nearly all of southern and parts of central Germany. Authors like Caesar mention various Celtic tribes in the realm of Germany and thus present the Celts in that country with specific tribal names.

Sidonius Apollinarius (AD 430-470), bishop of Clermont-Ferrand, and his apology for the Arvernians ‘who suffered from the scurf of the Celtic tongue’²³ ‘marks the end of the classical sources talking in anything like contemporary terms of anything Celts’.²⁴ Cunliffe notes:

‘For more than 1,000 years, following the collapse of the Roman world in the West, the concept of the Celts real or imagined seems to have passed out of consciousness.’²⁵

But ‘with the Renaissance came a desire to create a firmer base for history’²⁶

²² Ptolemy, *Geography*, translated by E.L. Stevenson, (New York, Cosimo Classics, 2011), p. xiii

²³ Collis.J., *The Celts. Origins, Myths & Inventions*, (Gloucestershire, The History Press, 2011), p. 25

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 25

²⁵ Cunliffe, B., *The Celts. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 111

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 111

George Buchanan (1506-1582), a Scottish scholar and the tutor of James I, compiled a history of Scotland in which he examined place-names whose endings resemble Gaelic or Irish *-briga*, *-dunum* and *-magus*. He used a variety of classical sources like Caesar, Strabo or Ptolemy and found that such names were common in western Europe. Because of that he concluded not only that the British population originated from the continent but also that all people in question had spoken related languages out of which Welsh, Irish and Scottish Gaelic developed. He termed the group of related languages *Gallic* which consisted of three sub-groups: *Belgice*, *Celtice* and *Britannice*.²⁷ He argues for Celtic origin in northern Italy, southern and western France as well as western Iberia.²⁸

Despite flaws in his account and the heavy reliance on classical sources, his work merits mention as it presents an early scholarly account regarding the Celtic languages which would for several centuries be the dominant subject in the Celtic context and still today the linguistic aspect is of enormous importance.

Paul-Yves Pezron (1639-1706) who according to Collis “was arguably the most influential figure in the development of the modern concept of the Celts”²⁹. His major work was *L’Antiquité de la Nation et de la Langue Celtique*, published in 1703. He argued for a Celtic origin in Asia Minor and that Breton as the last pre-Roman language of Gaul was preceded by an ancient Celtic language of the classical sources, which was one of the ‘Original languages’ spoken at the time of the Tower of Babel. He noted similarities with Greek and Latin and interpreted that with his argument that

²⁷ Collis.J., *The Celts. Origins, Myths & Inventions*, (Gloucestershire, The History Press, 2011), p. 37

²⁸ Cunliffe, B., *The Celts. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 112

²⁹ Collis.J., *The Celts. Origins, Myths & Inventions*, (Gloucestershire, The History Press, 2011), p. 48

the Celts were overlords in that regions during their migration from Asia Minor, according to him their place of origin, to the west. In his account he includes mythological elements for example by presenting the Celts as descendants from Noah³⁰ or arguing that “the Titans of Greek mythology were simply a mythological memory of the Celtic-speaking kings.”³¹ For Pezron, nations were defined by their language, which presents one of the starting points for the linguistic definition of Celts.

In 1707 the Welshman Edward Lhuyd (1660-1709) published the first volume of his *Archaeologica Britannica*, the glossography in which he examined vocabulary in Welsh, Irish, Gaelic, Cornish and Breton, and where he demonstrated a close relationship between those languages, with Latin and Greek. His studies led to the modern differentiation of ‘P-Celts’ and ‘Q-Celts’ according to the use of the letters P and C.³²

According to Collis Lhuyd thought the term ‘Celtic’ should only be used for the ancient inhabitant of Gaul but did eventually use it for the people on the British Isles as well because of “a tacit acceptance of the nomenclature of Pezron”³³ It seems also plausible that he used the term ‘Celtic’ because it provides a kind of neutral term. Another choice could have been Gaulish, but that term was closely associated with France whereas ‘British’ in contrast was too closely linked to the island. But

³⁰ Cunliffe, B., *The Celts. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 113

³¹ Collis.J., *The Celts. Origins, Myths & Inventions*, (Gloucestershire, The History Press, 2011), p. 49

³² for example: ‘son of...’: (m)ap in Welsh / mac in Irish and Gaelic

³³ Collis.J., *The Celts. Origins, Myths & Inventions*, (Gloucestershire, The History Press, 2011), p. 50

regardless of his actual intention, his work is of important value and his division of the languages is accepted.

Sir William Jones (1746-1796) held in his year of death a lecture at the Asiatic Society of London in Calcutta. In it, he was able to present similarities between Celtic, Gothic, Sanskrit as well as Old Persian. He argued that they are part of a language family and thus started the concept of an Indo-European language family. Malcolm Chapman admitted that “the progressive scholarly elaboration of these ideas represents, perhaps, the greatest modern intellectual achievement in the humanities.”³⁴

In the nineteenth century, important strides were made regarding Celtic studies and the first person to name is certainly Henri d’Arbois de Jubainville (1827-1910).

“D’Arbois de Jubainville is one of the key influences on the modern interpretations of the Celts, since it is on his views that archaeological interpretations depend, for instance the association of the spread of La Tène art and culture with the migrations of the Celts.”

He suggests four colonisation phases, referring to these as ‘Empires’, with the last one, at around 500 BC, being a Celtic Empire. Jubainville sees an eastern origin for the Celts and mainly used linguistic evidence. He further was the first professor of Celtic Studies in the Sorbonne.

In 1846, Georg Ramsauer, director of mining, discovered the now famous Iron Age cemetery at Hallstatt in Austria and conducted systematic excavations there between 1846 and 1863. That excavations revealed around 1000 graves, a lot more are assumed to be there, and about 20,000 artefacts, ranging from weapons, bronze

³⁴ Chapman, M., *The Celts. The Construction of a Myth*, (London, The Macmillan Press, 1992), p. 14

and ceramic vessels to personal equipment and jewelry. As many of those were imported from the Mediterranean, they could be dated and revealed the cemetery to be from the seventh and sixth century BC.

Just a few years later, in 1857 discovered the local fisherman Hansli Kopp the remains of a Celtic bridge at the northern shore of Lake Neuchâtel in Switzerland and between them around forty iron weapons, the famous La Tène site.

In 1871, the Swedish archaeologist Hans Hildebrand (1842-1913) suggested to divide the Iron Age into two parts, the Hallstatt period and the La Tène period. Subdivisions were developed and varied geographically, but the rough framework remains and illustrates the immense importance of the two archaeological sites of for further studies. It is fair to say that the two sites are at least partly responsible for the rise of archaeology as a subject of its own. In that regard, Alexandre Bertrand (1820-1902) was one of the first to equate the material culture of the Hallstatt period with physical evidence for the Celts. The importance of the development of archaeology in the nineteenth century is summarized by Collis:

One of the major achievements of archaeologists in the nineteenth century was to build up a chronological framework, not only for historically documented periods, but also , to a large extent, for the prehistoric period as well.³⁵

Joseph Déchelette (1862-1914) is a major figure in the development of the concept of Celtic culture. Before his death he produced five volumes of his *Manuel d'Archéologie Celtique et Gallo-romaine* where he, amongst other things, placed the Celts into the sphere of the Hallstatt period, as Collis cites:

³⁵ Collis.J., *The Celts. Origins, Myths & Inventions*, (Gloucestershire, The History Press, 2011), p. 73

On the evidence of the similarity of the burial rites and the main artefact types, as well as from the anthropological data, in the Hallstatt period people belonging to the same ethnic group seem to have occupied, on the one hand, the southern part of Germany, Bohemia, and perhaps parts of eastern Austria, and on the other hand north-eastern and central Gaul, that is at the minimum Lorraine, Burgundy, the Berry and the Auvergne. In the fifth century the eastern part of this area was, according to the historical sources, occupied by the Celts; the same must be true of the western part. [...]³⁶

The discovery of Hallstatt and La Tène sites and their association with the Celts developed the so called ‘Traditional View’ based on archaeological evidence. According to that view the Celtic homeland covers the areas north of the Alps, namely parts of northern France, southern Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Bohemia. Chronologically the Celtic period in the Traditional View covers the time from circa 800 BC -50 BC which is divided into a Hallstatt and a La Tène period and those are further divided. The division is not consistent in all parts of Europe or with all scholars alike. In several parts two periods coincide and all epochs or cultures possess a wide variety of regional differences but that should be of no concern here.

From that homeland the Celts migrated in all directions of Europe, migrations and expeditions into northern Italy, the Balkans and Anatolia are evidenced in the classical sources. There is a consensus that the Celts reached their maximum expansion during the La Tène culture.

Beginning at the end of the twentieth century, an alternative view developed, mainly founding its arguments on linguistic examination. That view, ‘Celtic from the

³⁶Collis.J., *The Celts. Origins, Myths & Inventions*, (Gloucestershire, The History Press, 2011), pp. 89-90

West', is especially promoted by Barry Cunliffe and John Koch.³⁷ It proposes the Atlantic coastal zone as the origin of the Celts who then migrated to the east. That argument rests on linguistic evidence, especially inscriptions in south-west Spain and southern Portugal, the ancient kingdom of Tartessos. John Koch examined those inscriptions and convincingly argues that the Tartessian language should be regarded as a Celtic language, and probably the oldest known one.³⁸ Classic sources support Celtic presence on the Iberian Peninsula and again linguistic evidence strengthen the argument as Herodotus, for example, mentions *Arganthonios*, a king of the Tartessians which is, according to Koch, a Celtic name.³⁹

As linguistics played a more prominent part in Celtic studies, several scholars voiced criticism. Archaeologists like John Collis and Simon James neglect linguistic arguments and in fact argue for a superiority of archaeology. Central themes for those 'Celtosceptics' is Britain and the claim of an ancient Celtic past of the islands as well as the term 'Celtic' itself as a description for the ancient people. Furthermore they criticise Celtic Romanticism which started in the eighteenth century especially on the British Isles and Brittany. They in fact reject the notion of modern Celts, based on a surviving Celtic language. James, for example argues 'Celtic' is a modern terminology which is transferred into an ethnic usage for ancient people and 'not a truth handed down directly from generation to generation from the remote past.'⁴⁰ For

³⁷ for a concise summary of the topic see, Koch, J.T. *Celtic from the West*, lecture held at 2.December 2015; available at: https://www.academia.edu/19895000/Celtic_from_the_West

³⁸ for further information see: Koch, J.T. *Tartessian*, (Aberystwyth, Celtic Studies Publications, 2013)

³⁹ Koch, J.T. 'Celts from the West', *O'Donnell Lectures 2008*, pp.270-280, p.273

⁴⁰James, S., *The Atlantic Celts. Ancient People or Modern Invention?*, (Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), p. 17

him Celts were no self-conscious ethnic group and thus it would be invalid to label the people as that. With such an argument, James is effectively supporting the anthropologist Malcom Chapman with his book 'The Celts: The Construction of a Myth' which is

The most challenging work on the whole question of validity of the concept of 'Celtic' [...]. It deserves careful reading as an essential preliminary. Other writers have been quick to espouse a politically correct disdain for the use of 'Celt' though usually without Chapman's depth of scholarship⁴¹

John Collis, a leading Iron Age scholar, presented a summary of arguments by Celtosceptics which is here provided in the translation of Raimund Karl:

1. The classical sources are ambiguous, it is impossible to locate the origin of the Celts.
2. The idea of Celts in Great Britain is a modern invention.
3. The use of the term "Celts" ...by linguistic criteria is erroneous.
4. The use of the term "Celts" for a people speaking a Celtic languages cannot be extended back into Antiquity.
5. The interpretation of La Tène artwork as "Celtic" depends on a modern definition of the Celts and thus is unacceptable.
6. The correlation of La Tène culture with Celts is based on a questionable interpretation of classical sources.
7. The methodology of the paradigm that "La Tène culture equals "Celtic language" equals "the Celts" is based on the unacceptable method of the German archaeologist Kossinna (1911).

⁴¹ Cunliffe, B., *The Ancient Celts* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1999), p.276

8. This methodology is a medium for a political and racist interpretation of archeology and therefore has to be refuted.⁴²

In 1998, Patrick Sims-Williams wrote the article “Celtomania and Celtoscepticism” which illustrates both sides of the argument and is a valuable source for understanding the problem which can be summarized that ‘Celtosceptics’, if they do not reject the Celts at all, utilize archaeological evidence and thus ultimately propose the traditional, archaeological based, Celtic homeland in Central Europe, whereas ‘Celtomaniacs’ follow linguistic examinations and argue for a Celtic origin in the west, on the Atlantic fringe.

Raimund Karl proposes a different path. He argues that it is impossible, in fact futile, to search for ‘the origin of the Celts.’ ‘Celtic’ is a scientific construct, a tool to work with. Further,

Knowing the ‘origin of the Celts’, whatever that should be and however we want to define it, would not really help us with anything at all, since it does not answer any relevant questions.⁴³

Karl argues for a new approach to the topic, which will be discussed later in the text.

As a summary it is fair to say that from the first mentions in ancient sources, the literature on the Celts becomes more complex as well as scientific over the centuries. Today, the variety of differentiations cover not only various aspects of archeology or material culture, it furthermore examines the Celtic languages and their

⁴² Karl, R., ‘Celtoscepticism, A convenient excuse for ignoring non-archaeological evidence?’, in: Sauer, E., W., *Archaeology and ancient history breaking down the boundaries*, (London, Routledge, 2004), pp.185-199, p.185f

⁴³ Cunliffe, B.& Koch, J. (ed.) *Celtic from the West*, (Oxford, Oxbow Books, 2012), p. 62

relations to other Indo-European languages. Additionally, Celtic Art, Music, Dance and more are topics of books available throughout the world. The Celts can be studied at a multitude of Universities which underlines the fascination of the topic.

Evidence of Celts in Germany

Archaeological sources

The prime sources for a Celtic population and settlement in the area of modern Germany is of archaeological nature. Hundreds of sites were excavated in the last century and a half and an astonishing quality of material culture could now be examined in order to study the people of Iron Age Europe. Those sites are cemeteries, hillforts, and other types of settlement. Especially burial sites produced an immense amount of material culture ranging from weapons to everyday goods as well as jewelry.

It is impossible to present each site in detail here, but there is informative literature available to explore the Celtic archaeological evidence in Germany. Riekhof and Biel, for example present an extensive topography of over 160 archaeological sites in Germany (as well as Switzerland).⁴⁴ That number seems not to be exhaustive as Leif Hansen argues for more than 300 *Viereckschanzen* in an area spanning from

⁴⁴ Riekhoff, S./Biel, J., *Die Kelten in Deutschland*, (Stuttgart, Theiss Verlag, 2001), p. 278ff

the river Main in the north to the Alps in the south as well as the Rhine in the west to Bohemia in the east.⁴⁵ Müller examines the most prominent sites in southern Germany⁴⁶ and Sigrid Dusek produced several important works about Celtic settlement in pre-historical Thuringia, which belongs to the northernmost expansion of the Celts in Germany.

Several scholars have examined the archaeological evidence and concentrated on specific aspects, as Axel Posluschny, for example, discusses the distribution hillforts, one of the regular settlement types, and *oppida* in southern Germany and , for example, states that hillforts, concentrated in central and southern Germany, differentiating regionally, whereas in the area of eastern Baden-Württemberg as well as the bordering parts of Bavaria, ‘smaller enclosed settlements that do not occur on hilltops, plateaux or in promontory situations are found in large numbers’.⁴⁷ He titles such sites as ‘Herrenhof’. Uenze argues that Bavarian lords were mere “chieftains or petty nobility”⁴⁸ as contrasted to ‘princes’ in Baden-Württemberg, but should nevertheless be regarded as elite, albeit as a regional different structure. Posluschny argues against such a comparison because of the absence of rich burial in the area surrounding a *Herrenhof*. He writes that :

⁴⁵ Krause, D.; Fernández-Götz, M.; Hansen, L.; Kretschmer, I., *The Heuneburg and the Early Iron Age Princely Seats*, (Budapest, Archaeolingua Publishing House, 2016), p. 155

⁴⁶ Müller, H., *Die Kelten in Süddeutschland*, (Darmstadt/Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Labern, 2012)

⁴⁷ Posluschny, A., ‘Hillforts and oppida: some thoughts on fortified settlements in southern Germany’; in: Lock, G., & Ralston, I. (ed.), *Hillforts: Britain, Ireland and the Nearer Continent*, (Archaeopress, 2017), p. 209

⁴⁸ Uenze, H.-P., ‘Bavaria’ ; in: Kruta, V. (ed.), *The Celts*, New York, Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1999), p. 288

Most hillforts in southern Germany [...] were mainly in use at the beginning of the late Hallstatt phase (Hallstatt D) and it is during this period that a very few of these sites developed into the more significant and generally larger *Fürstensitze*.⁴⁹

That short part should illustrate that archaeological evidence is able to show a certain form of social system or hierarchy which points to a complex society. It is further able to recognize regional differences as well as changes between the Hallstatt and La Tène cultures. Regardless the classification or regional differences, with the help of the evidence scholars are able to show different settlement patterns which on the one hand vary in size and construction and thus probably purpose but on the other hand, because of the material culture, show similarities so that it is possible to categorize all as Celtic.

One significant settlement type is the *Oppidum*. The term has its origins in Caesar's *Gallic War* where he classified several settlement types. *Oppida* can be seen to have been fortified settlements with an urban character. Woolf argues contrary and writes that the definition of *Oppida* is "the most general interpretation"⁵⁰, and does not always see a urban character according to his comprehension. It is to say Woolf has a point as *Oppida* can vary greatly in size and structure but they still share common features and those sites play an important part in the examination of the Iron Age. Collis, on the contrary, labelled them as "La Tène towns" and sees their development as a crucial change as he writes:

⁴⁹ Posluschny, A., 'Hillforts and oppida: some thoughts on fortified settlements in southern Germany'; in: Lock, G., & Ralston, I. (ed.), *Hillforts: Britain, Ireland and the Nearer Continent*, (Archaeopress, 2017), p. 211

⁵⁰ Woolf, G., 'RETHINKING THE OPPIDA', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 1993, pp.223-234, p.223

The first century BC was one of revolutionary economic and political change in central Europe. Already by the start of the century large urban settlements were appearing, centres of trade and industry which contrasted strongly with the peasant economics of the previous centuries, which were based largely on small village and farming settlements.⁵¹

There is a considerable list of *Oppida* in Germany and some of them like Kehlheim or Manching are role models in the study of such sites and settlement types.⁵²

In *Keltische Viereckschanzen*, Günther Weiland presents a detailed work that examines various aspects of *Viereckschanzen* like topography, the ditches, palisades, inner development and shafts, which are an object of special interest.

Viereckschanzen are rectangular enclosures, surrounded by a bank and a ditch, which vary in size between 400 and 1200 square metres and have one gate. Most of them can be dated between the second and first centuries BC. Despite the huge number of such sites, there is still an ongoing debate about the purpose of the places as it seems they are not completely understood yet. In the past they were thought to be Roman military bases and other previous interpretations range from farm to ritual places. But as there is evidence of continuing settlement, the present definition of *Viereckschanzen* is that they were central places under the control of a ruling social class and had a multifunctional purpose as a gathering place, a ritual site, a farm and part of a settlement as well as the residence of a higher chief or something equivalent. Among others, Müller for example, argues that the *Viereckschanzen* are similar to the *aedificia*, as described by Caesar in the *Gallic War*.⁵³

⁵¹ Collis, J., *Oppida: Earliest Towns North of the Alps* (Sheffield : Dept. of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield, 1984), p. x

⁵² those *oppida* can be found in the topography in: Riekhoff, S./Biel, J., *Die Kelten in Deutschland*, (Stuttgart, Theiss Verlag, 2001), p. 278ff

⁵³ Müller, H., *Die Kelten in Süddeutschland*, (Darmstadt/Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Labern, 2012), p. 16ff

The mentioned shafts, together with the fact that sites possess a gate at the north, like ‘gallo-roman’ temples, were the main evidence to describe *Viereckschanzen* as ritual places. Because of the finds in the shafts, Günther Wieland does not rule out a ritual function, but he is also able to present a good argument that those shafts were probably wells as the constant supply of fresh water was an every day problem in most *Viereckschanzen*. He supports that argument with the examination of animal and human bones found in *Viereckschanzen* and concludes that the finds portray a similarity with finds from other settlement places and do not specifically point to ritual deaths. Wieland proposes a function as a ‘central point of a rural settlement’⁵⁴ with both ritual and mundane areas, as well as settlements. There is even the possibility to argue for defensive purposes, but there is still need for further examination in order to fully understand such sites. Nevertheless Wieland presents evidence that *Viereckschanzen* were integrated into a settlement or a cluster of several settlements. In the third part of Wieland’s book, several *Viereckschanzen* are presented in detail by various scholars and Wieland finishes his account with a list of 277 *Viereckschanzen* in Germany, Switzerland, Austria and the Czech Republic. This long list highlights the significance of *Viereckschanzen* as a regular form and integral part of the Celtic settlement in southern Germany.

In the following section, a few of the most prominent sites in Germany are presented in a little more detail. There is exhaustive literature for each site for detailed examination. The presented sites are of significance as they are role models and play an integral part in the study of the Celts.

⁵⁴ Wieland, G. (ed.), *Keltische Viereckschanzen*, (Stuttgart, Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1999), p. 79

Heuneburg

The Heuneburg is arguably one of the most prominent and significant sites in Celtic Europe. Müller offers a good summary about the location and excavation of the site, but clearly the most detailed account of the Heuneburg and its excavation is to be found in *The Heuneburg and the Early Iron Age Princely Seats: First Towns North of the Alps* by Krause, Fernandez-Götz, Hansen and Kretschmer. They set out their aims for their much detailed work:

The volume has two main, interconnected aims: to provide the first synthesis in English on the archaeology of the Heuneburg and its surroundings; and to set the development of this important Early Iron Age central place into the broader context of the centralisation and urbanisation process of the Late Hallstatt period.⁵⁵

The Heuneburg is located between Hundersingen and Binzwangen on the Upper Danube, around one hundred kilometers south of the city of Stuttgart in Baden-Württemberg in south-west Germany. Its optimal geographic location was easily defensible as it offered natural protection from 3 sides. Furthermore, before the Danube was straightened in the nineteenth century, it meandered through broad sections of the valley and had numerous arms, which would have been responsible for fertile soil. That strengthens the historic importance of the Danube, not only as a way of communication through Central and Middle Europe, but also in the context of settlement of people. Together, there are numerous reasons why the Heuneburg was built at this location,

⁵⁵ Krause, D.; Fernández-Götz, M.; Hansen, L.; Kretschmer, I., *The Heuneburg and the Early Iron Age Princely Seats*, (Budapest, Archaeolingua Publishing House, 2016), p. 9

But the decisive factor was the Heuneburg's situation on routes of communication, lying as it does near the point from which the Danube is navigable for a distance of more than 2700km. At the same time, from the Heuneburg there is good access to the south, to the Alpine passes, Lake Constance and the Upper Rhine. Similarly there were good routes to the north. The highlands of the Swabian Alb were easily reached through the Warm valley, from where there was direct access to the Middle Neckar and the riverine network of the Rhine. Thus the Heuneburg is ideally situated to be able to control, from just one point, Both east-west trade along the Danube and north-south exchange across the Alps.⁵⁶

According to Dirk Krause 'it can be classified as the 'first city north of the Alps'' because:

Between the end of the 7th and the middle of the 5th centuries BC the Heuneburg was one of the most important centers of settlement, economy and power in the entire European Iron Age, one that had far-reaching connections to places as distant as Etruria and the Greek colonies.⁵⁷

The hilltop plateau of the Heuneburg, around 300 metres long and 190 metres wide, covers an area of approximately 30.000 square metres with its highest point lies around 600 metres above sea level. The enormous extent of the outer settlement leads to calculations of around five hundred households to have lived there. With an assumption of circa seven persons per household that would mean that around 3.500 people would have constituted that settlement. That number, together with the inhabitants of the densely populated hilltop plateau and the lower town, add up to an estimated population of the Heuneburg of around 5.000 people. This number is quite impressive, in relation to ancient Greek poleis.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Krause, D.; Fernández-Götz, M.; Hansen, L.; Kretschmer, I., *The Heuneburg and the Early Iron Age Princely Seats*, (Budapest, Archaeolingua Publishing House, 2016), p. 15

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p.9

⁵⁸ Müller, H., *Die Kelten in Süddeutschland*, (Darmstadt/Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2012), p. 77

All the facts show that the Heuneburg was in a perfect spot and there is the assumption of an prehistoric network of roads and paths through the valley around the Heuneburg and that Roman roads followed such earlier paths.⁵⁹ Also, there is evidence of Bronze Age settlement when the Heuneburg “first enjoyed supra-regional importance as a fortified settlement centre.”⁶⁰

The Heuneburg is an important site for examination in context of the Hallstatt period. But not the settlement itself, furthermore, in the area around the Heuneburg a huge number of burial mounds are preserved containing graves which provide crucial information about the people and are important study objects. As a prominent example may serve the Princess’ Grave from Bettelbühl’⁶¹

The Glauberg

Situated around thirty two kilometres north east of Frankfurt/Main, between Taunus and Vogelsberg, the Glauberg is a further impressive and important site. An interesting fact is that the site was known to the people of the area even before excavations began. Müller noted that since the sixteenth century scholars were interested in the Glauberg, albeit mainly because of the ‘Reichsburg’ from the time of

⁵⁹ Krause, D.; Fernández-Götz, M.; Hansen, L.; Kretschmer, I., *The Heuneburg and the Early Iron Age Princely Seats*, (Budapest, Archaeolingua Publishing House, 2016), p. 13

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 42

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 132

the Hohenstaufen, which was first mentioned in 1247. The first excavation took place in 1844 and since the twentieth century regularly excavations took place. The most excessive account about the surely most systematic excavation of 1994-1996 is to be found in “Ein frühkeltischer Fürstengrabhügel am Glauberg im Wettereraukreis, Hessen”

The plateau of the Glauberg encompasses an area of about 80.000 square metres and there is evidence of repeated settlement from the neolithic until the Middle Ages. Since Late Hallstatt times it was fortified and enlarged up to an area of 197.000 square metres.

There are different interpretations about the purpose of the site, ranging from a trade centre or a monument for representative purposes to an oppidum. Riekhoff and Biel classify it as an “Early LaTène city”⁶², but as Müller rightly notes, with regard to the fortification: “the overall architectural impression displays too many gaps in order to function in any form of protection.”⁶³

Nevertheless, excavations reveal that the place was probably a trans-regional centre, a princely seat overseeing a territory from the rivers Neckar in the South and Werra in the North as well as from the Rhine in the East to the Thuringian Forest in the East.⁶⁴

The importance of the Glauberg is very complex. Of the numerous graves found, the so-called grave 1 and grave 2 stand out. Especially grave 1, referred to as a princely grave, seems to be of importance. The items it contains reveal more than just

⁶² Riekhoff, S./Biel, J., *Die Kelten in Deutschland*, (Stuttgart, Theiss Verlag, 2001), p. 99

⁶³ Müller, H., *Die Kelten in Süddeutschland*, (Darmstadt/Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Labern, 2012), p. 20

⁶⁴ Krause, A., *Die Welt der Kelten*, (Hamburg, Nikol Verlag, 2004), p. 42

the wealth or status of the person buried there. In addition to ornate bronze vessels, and richly personal decorations, like fibulae, it contains a complete set of weaponry, consisting of sword, shield and two spears. For Wells, that “is a striking example of the ‘elite warrior’ theme.”⁶⁵ That marks a change to burials of the Hallstatt period where only a small number of weapons are to be found in graves. The new emphasis may be seen in the context of a Germanic threat from the north. Further, one of the fibulae and the vessels are decorated with animal and human figures, which again marks a change from Hallstatt culture. Together, the evidence found in the graves at the Glauberg help to examine the cultural change between the two important periods of Hallstatt and LaTène. In addition, the absence of Mediterranean burial objects further underlines that change.

Of further importance are the statue of the Glauberg. A 1.86 metre high and circa 230 kilogramme heavy stand-stone statue, complete besides the ankles that are broken off, which features are similar to the buried man of grave 1. It was found west of the burial mound and near the founding place, fragments of three more statues were excavated and all seem to be similar to the first one. Wells argues that the intact statue should represent the buried man of grave 1 and that all four statues together were part of something like a ritual district. This assumption can be supported by the circa 350 m long avenue in the southeast of the mound which leads to grave 2. The exact purpose of that avenue is still not clear, but it strongly indicated a ceremonial purpose.

⁶⁵ Wells, P.S., *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians*, (London, Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 2001), p. 64

Posleschny summarizes:

[...] it seems indisputable that the Glauberg was of great importance at this time, most likely not just for people in its immediate surroundings but for the population over a wider area. The scale of the massive external ditch-and-rampart system and the the conspicuous wealth of the princely burials at Gauberg were visible signs of the role of its inhabitants or at least of its ruling class, demonstrating that the Glauberg fulfilled certain central functions (e.g. long-distance trade, cult and/or religion, the concentrations of wealth and possibly of power) ⁶⁶

Hohenasperg

Just a few kilometres north west of Ludwigsburg and north of Stuttgart lies the small city of Asperg with the Hohenasperg. It is argued by several scholars that there was a princely seat located on its summit, despite the absence of any finds to prove that assumption. Moreover, the argument in favour of such a princely seat rests on the presence of several burial mounds containing richly decorated graves in the nearest surrounding area. Despite that absence of finds, Müller argues for a settlement continuity since circa 4000 BC⁶⁷. Nevertheless, around 400 settlement places, dating from circa 450 BC, are located within a radius of 10 kilometres.

The most important of the burials is clearly the burial mound of Hochdorf. It contains a princely grave that “counts probably as one of the best preserved princely

⁶⁶ Posluschny, A., ‘Hillforts and oppida: some thoughts on fortified settlements in southern Germany’; in: Lock, G., & Ralston, I. (ed.), *Hillforts: Britain, Ireland and the Nearer Continent*, (Archaeopress, 2017), p. 216

⁶⁷ Müller, H., *Die Kelten in Süddeutschland*, (Darmstadt/Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2012), p. 49

graves among that time.”⁶⁸ The very richly decorated grave is to be seen in correlation with the statue of Hirschlanden, which contains similar decorations as the corpse and, like Hochdorf, is part of the burial mound complex surrounding the Hohenasperg, to highlight the elite status of the man buried there. The deceased was about forty years of age, with 1.87 metres relatively tall and seemed to have been quite strong in his bodily structure. What makes this grave in particular interesting is the ornamented bronze couch on which the body rested. With a length of nearly three metres it was very large and it was supported with eight female figurines which rested on wheels and made the couch moveable. On the other side of the burial chamber stands a four-wheeled vehicle covered with iron. All the other grave goods, a good number of them gold jewelry, add to the assumption of a man with high power.

That grave in particular is of huge importance for scholars to examine burials mounds and to put them into the context of Celtic society of the La Tène period.

The princely grave of Hochdorf is an indication that the presentation of the dead may have played an essential role in the context of the burial. This is possible to conclude mainly from the fact that some of the objects were produced especially for the burial, but also the presentation of the corpse underlines this.⁶⁹

The evidence of the burials and settlements underline the importance of the whole region as a centre of early La Tène culture.

⁶⁸ Müller, H., *Die Kelten in Süddeutschland*, (Darmstadt/Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2012), p. 55

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 65

Steinsburg

Located on the 642,5 m high 'kleiner Gleichberg' east of the small town of Römhild in southern Thuringia, the Steinsburg is not the most popular Celtic site in Germany, but it has its significance in the examination of Iron Age Germany. The settlement covers an area of around 68000 square metres, was fortified at several times with at least three ring walls and there is evidence of different intense settlement phases, starting during the Urnfield culture and a second time of settlement density during late Hallstatt and Early La Tène times. The archaeological findings suggest the presence of craft shops and the purpose of being a centre of trade. Together with the ring wall and its gates, some scholars define the Steinsburg as a Celtic *oppidum*.

The heyday of the settlement was probably during the fifth century BC and afterwards its importance declined, but was not abandoned until the first century BC. Its significance lies in the fact that the Steinsburg was actually situated in the transition zone between Celts and Germans. Archaeological evidence shows that during the second century BC the influence from the north gained more weight, which again can be seen in context of rising German pressure but the settlement was abandoned without any traces of violence in the first century BC.⁷⁰

Geographically the Steinsburg is of importance as it lies nearly in the middle of modern Germany and presents one of the northernmost settlements of Celts in the country.

⁷⁰ Dušek, S, *Ur- und Frühgeschichte Thüringens*, (Stuttgart, Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1999), pp. 110 ff

Manching

The municipality of Manching lies near the Bavarian town of Ingolstadt and one of the best known *oppida* was located at that place in the late Iron Age.

The *oppidum* of Manching was not constructed on a hilltop as most similar settlements, but its location near the Danube was the key to its significance. The north-east of the settlement area was in the Iron Age connected with the Danube and presented an ideal premise for a harbour. There were thus connections to important waterways in East-West as well as South-West directions, additionally to the land trading routes in the Danube valley and to the North. What is interesting is that those paths are still in use today as rail-and motorways.

Surrounding swamps as well as river offered a natural defense and the land surrounding the settlement was fertile and ideal for agriculture, together with the rich resources of iron ore the place offered favourable conditions for such a settlement. There is evidence for earlier settlements, probably as early as the Neolithic but unfortunately most evidence was surely destructed when an airbase was built on the site during the 1930s and again the 1950s.

Nevertheless, Manching is very well examined and the diversity of finds help to portray the life and the society of the city as well as probably other similar settlements as well.

Manching's significance is further underlined by the fact that it is actually one of largest known settlement north of the alps with a size of around 380.000 square

metres and a population during its prime time, the late second century BC, between 5000-10000 inhabitants. As Sievers notes:

The flourishing urban centre was not only a magnet for the population of the immediate surrounding, but further a market square, cultural centre as well as a political and economic connecting point in the communication between East, West, North and South.⁷¹

There are countless other significant sites which could have been mentioned here and all play important parts in the study of the Iron Age people of Europe.

Linguistic sources

Despite the fact that no Celtic language is spoken in Germany today, there is sufficient evidence of Celtic in the modern German language. Enough to argue that Celtic languages were the dominant languages in the area of modern Germany during the Iron Age.

Several place names in Germany are of Celtic origin and thus present a substantial supporting evidence not only for Celtic settlement but also for a certain degree of continuity in the settlement as a name for a river or a mountain range has to be in use for quite a considerable time in order to be such a concise term that people will keep it in their language. One of the most important example is the river Rhine which simply meant 'river' in Celtic.⁷²

⁷¹ Sievers, S., *Manching-Die Keltenstadt*, (Stuttgart, Konrad Theiss Verlag GmbH, 2003), p. 94

⁷² Krause, A., *Die Welt der Kelten*, (Hamburg, Nikol Verlag, 2004), p. 14

The following tables show examples from different aspects of the German language, beginning with river and mountain range names:

River:	Mountain range
Rhein	Ardennen
Donau	Taunus
Neckar	Vogesen
Main	Schwarzwald
Isar	Bohemia
Lech	
Lahn	
Lippe	
Ruhr	
Mosel	
Saar	

The ‘Ardennen’ and ‘Vogesen’ are geographically situated in modern France, but they are connected to mountain ranges in Germany, especially the important areas of ‘Eifel’ and ‘Taunus’. Furthermore, it is possible to trace the origin of a substantial number city names back to Celtic:

Andernach am Rhein	Bad Cannstatt	Bonn
Cochern an der Mosel	Daun in der Eifel	Dormagen
Jülich	Kempton im Allgäu	Mainz
Remagen	Worms	Trier
Bobbard am Mittelrhein	Düren	Regensburg

Krause notes that it is not possible to be absolutely sure if a city name goes back to an actual Celtic settlement or if just Celtic words were used.⁷³ Nevertheless

⁷³ Krause, A., *Die Welt der Kelten*, (Hamburg, Nikol Verlag, 2004), p. 14f

the use of Celtic words for a city allows the assumption of a influential presence of Celtic speaking people in that area.

The city of Trier, for example, is named after the Treverii, the important Celtic tribe which inhabited the local area. St Jerome (AD 430-479) lived in the area around Trier as well as in Asia Minor and notes that the Galatians spoke a language identical to that spoken around Trier. He writes: “The Galatians have their own language and it is almost the same as that of the Treveri [of eastern Gaul].”⁷⁴ As he lived at the end of the fourth, beginning of the fifth century, that statement, together with other linguistic evidence, can be used to argue that in Germany Celtic languages were spoken ,at least for certain time, as a first language and were only gradually replaced as it seems they did survive long enough, even after Roman and German conquests, to be incorporated into the German language.

Bavaria, another example, is a federal state in southern Germany and its name is derived from the Bavarians or Baiuvarii, Germanic people who settled there. Nevertheless, the name can be traced to the Celtic tribe of the Boii, meaning something like ‘the people of the land of the Boii’ Through phonetic change and influence of germanic languages ‘oi’ changed to ‘ai’. It is argued that the Celtic Boii are one of several tribes out of which the Germanic Baiuvarii developed.⁷⁵ The same argumentation goes for Bohemia which lies in the Czech Republic, east of the border of Germany, it neighbours to Thuringia and Bavaria, and is regarded to be part of the Hallstatt zone.

⁷⁴ James, S., *Exploring the World of the Celts*, (London, Thames & Hudson, 1993), p. 123

⁷⁵ Hoops, J, (ed.) *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* (Strassburg, Trübner, 1911), Band I, p.156; access via: (<https://archive.org/details/reallexikonder01hoop/page/156/mode/1up>)

To round up the linguistic evidence of the Celts in Germany, a few examples of Celtic loanwords should be presented. Several scholars argue that especially the Germanic tribe in close proximity to Celtic tribes adopted several social structures of the Celts. This can be seen in the loanwords which Germanic people absorbed and which survived till today in modern German. These loanwords reflect the influence Celts had on Germans as they cover important aspects of the social life. The table presents just a few of these loanwords and for further information the work of Bernard Maier is to be recommended.⁷⁶

Celtic loanwords in modern German language:

administrative	craftmanship	warfare	Nature
Amt	Eisen	Lanze	Pferd
Reich	Leder	Schwert	Bär
Vasall	Flanell	kämpfen	Buche
Eid	Wagen	Kämpfer	Eiche

The surviving scraps of a Celtic language are in no way as dominant as the archaeological evidence, but it shows the deep influence the Celts had to have on the Germanic people who gradually drove them off their country. Especially words like ‘Eisen’(iron) stand out. One of the most important material of the time, but the Germans continued to use the Celtic word. It reflects the acknowledgement of the Celts as masters in their craft of ironworking. The same can be argued for

⁷⁶ Maier, B., Kleines Lexikon der Namen und Wörter keltischen Ursprungs, (München, Verlag C.H. Beck oHG, 2003)

‘Amt’ (commission or office) and ‘Reich’ (realm, empire). The adoption of such administrative words underlines the model role of the Celts for the Germanic people.

In that context the work of Hachmann, Kossack and Kuhn has to be mentioned.⁷⁷ Despite being already published in 1962, it is an important work regarding the border between Celts and Germans. Because evidence in the transition areas cannot fully support either Celts or Germans, they argue for a third party,

a bunch of related but less coherent people, probably those who were left behind at the formation of the great Neighbours Celts and Germans and as it seems, without a common name.⁷⁸

There are clearly flaws in their assessment as they see the Celts and the Germans as a self-conscious nation, nevertheless, their argument about the transition zone between Celtic and Germanic areas provided plausible information and needs to be examined further. There was no clear cut between those people and the transition seems to be rather fluid. Krause listed several tribes in Germany which he labels ‘celticized Germans’. Although that term does not fit exactly with what Bachmann, Kossack and Kuhn argue, it does indeed acknowledge a third party of tribes.⁷⁹

As a summary of all available sources of evidence, the following, simplified, map shows the area of Germany where the archaeological sources, literate mentions, as well as supporting linguistic evidence, in form of place names, suggest the area

⁷⁷ Bachmann, R.; Kossack, G., Kuhn, H., *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten*, (Neumünster, Karl Wacholtz Verlag, 1962)

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p.133

⁷⁹ Krause, A., *Die Welt der Kelten*, (Hamburg, Nikol Verlag, 2004), pp. 243ff

should be considered to have been settled by the Celts in the late Bronze and Iron

Age⁸⁰:



⁸⁰ map accessed via : <https://diercke.westermann.de/content/deutschland-physische-karte-978-3-14-100800-5-19-2-1?&stichwort=Deutschland>; editing by the author

Discussion and conclusion

The presented evidence illustrates that the area of modern Germany forms an extremely important geographic zone in the context of the Celts. Nearly half of the modern country was inhabited by the Celts. The centres of both the Hallstatt culture and the La Tène culture are within the realm of Germany. Further, several of the most important archaeological sites are located in Germany as well. Places like the Heuneburg, Glauberg, Hochdorf, Hirschlanden, Manching and several other sites are recognized to be part of the most representative sites and are used by scholars to examine various aspects of Celtic life and society. Germany, thus lies at the heart of Celtic Studies.

That raises the question why Germany is not considered a Celtic country? As already stated, the Celtic countries are Wales, Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, Cornwall and Brittany. That definition is solely based on linguistic evidence as Celtic languages are still spoken today by at least a minority in the mentioned countries.

There is no question that countries where Celtic languages are spoken should be considered as Celtic countries. It presents a kind of continuity and a link between past and present. Especially if there is sufficient evidence that the language is indigenous to the area in question. Language is an important factor for the definition of a Celtic country, but it cannot serve as the sole defining factor as Green rightly writes:

The problem of defining what is (or should be) meant by the terms ‘Celts’ and ‘Celtic’ centres around the relationship , if any, between material

culture, ethnicity and language. Any construction of later prehistoric Europe is based upon information which is both fragmentary and ambiguous. The evidence is (like many Celtic goods) triple-headed and consists of archaeology, documentary sources and linguistic material. Those three categories of evidence combine to present us with a Celtic world which, by the last few centuries BC, appears to have stretched from Ireland to eastern Europe and beyond to Galatia.⁸¹

Of course, linguistic evidence has to play an important part, but the fact that no Celtic languages are spoken in Germany today does not rule out a Celtic presence in the past, as the archaeological evidence has shown. Furthermore, there are some additional points to consider.

The survival of Celtic languages on the British Isles is to a great extent due to the geographical fact that islands are more remote and thus more difficult to conquer as a continental country. Additionally it is to say that the Celtic languages did only survive in those even more remote areas like the Scottish Highlands where Romans, and later Anglo-Saxons, were not able to conquer the land. Ireland, despite having various Viking settlements, was never conquered. The continental Celts in that respect were much more at a disadvantage as they had to face threats from two sides, from the north came the Germans and from the south the Romans. Even if not all Celts were driven off Germany, it is to argue that those remaining were forced at one point to assimilate and as a consequence to adopt the language from the victorious people.

⁸¹ Green, M. (ed.), *The Celtic World*, (London/New York, Routledge, 1996), p.3

Cunliffe offers a concise summary:

In the century and a half from 200 to 50 BC, the communities closest to the Roman frontier had changed dramatically, but at this point local developments were overtaken by Germanic pressures from the Nordic zone, Dacian and Sarmatian pressures from the east European zone, and a rapid escalation in the Roman desire for empire. In a brief sixty years the Celtic communities of continental Europe were completely overrun and within the century much of south of Britain had been absorbed as well.

Only the insular Celtic-speaking communities of the far west remained free. Those of Cornwall, Wales, and northern Britain were loosely controlled within the frontiers of the empire, beyond in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and in Ireland they lay beyond the reach of Rome [...].⁸²

That is why German is spoken in Germany today. The Romans and the Germans were able to defeat the Celts and subsequently the Germans defeated the Romans. German is the language of the winners and not the indigenous one. As shown, there are plenty of Celtic words and names which survived in the German language. There are countless modern example where the language of a nation is not the indigenous one. Prime examples are both American continents where English, respectively Spanish and Portuguese are the main languages, the languages of the conquerers, but surely not indigenous ones.

Languages evolve over times and changes in order to adapt to new circumstances, again a reference can be made to North America where the American English now differs so much from British English that dictionary present both. Loanwords or foreign words are a common feature today due to a more global interaction of people. And again, geographically a language is more likely to change at a much slower rate because of the remoteness of an island. An illustrating example

⁸² Cunliffe, B., *The Ancient Celts* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1999), p. 273

might be Iceland which lies quite isolated in the north Atlantic ocean. The language spoken there, Icelandic, is a descendent of Old Norse, the language of the first settlers. The languages has changed so little that Icelanders are still able to read literature in Old Norse dating back to the tenth century.

Further to consider is the question that if a language dies out, does the people loose their definition? Celtic languages survived till today, but only as minority languages and nearly all of those languages were at one point in time on the brink of dying out and it took considerable efforts by the respective governments to revive them. Cornish, for example, died out in the eighteenth century and the Cornish language spoken today by a minority of the people is a reconstructed language because at the beginning of the twentieth century a reconstruction process started in order to revive the language. So, it is possible to wonder if Cornish would not have been reconstructed, would Cornwall still been regarded as a Celtic nation? If not for government efforts to preserve them, most other Celtic languages would have died out and some are still not secure to survive as there are for example only a tiny minority able to speak Scottish Gaelic.⁸³

To dwell on the above question, if , for example, the Welsh language dies out in the future, should Wales not be considered a Celtic country anymore? Or to take a step further, if Welsh would die out, would Welsh people not be considered Welsh anymore? Clearly not. Today already most people in Wales do not speak Welsh as their first language or cannot speak Welsh at all, but clearly they are defined as Welsh.

⁸³ The Gaelic report of Scotland's Census in 2011 for example shows that only 1,7% of the population possess some Gaelic language skills;
see: <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/news/2015/scotlands-census-2011-gaelic-report-part-1>

Additionally, in theory every person can learn every language. J.R.R. Tolkien for example even constructed languages and thousands of faithful fans of ‘Lord of the Rings’ can now speak Sindarin as well as true Star Trek fans know the Klingon language. If a person learns Welsh, would that made him a Celt because he or she can speak that language? Is a Welsh person who is not able to speak Welsh no Celt? But that person still lives in Wales which is a Celtic country. Does that makes him or her a Celt because of the definition regarding the country? That are absurd questions but they help to underline the point that language cannot serve as the sole factor in defining a country.

Clearly it is possible to define a country in certain ways and language is one possibility. It is a tool to help to distinguish countries from another in various categories. To take Estonia as an example, which is a Baltic country like Latvia and Lithuania. That is a geographically definition as all three neighbouring countries lie at the Baltic sea. But Estonian is no Indo-European language like Latvian and Lithunian. It is part of the Finnish branch of the Uralic languages. So linguistically Estonia cannot be grouped together with the other two countries as it is possible by using geography as the criterium. It is thus possible to define Estonia differently, according the the factor applied.

Now it is necessary to transfer such thoughts and apply them on Germany in the context of the Celts. Based on the applied definition of a Celtic country today, Germany has no claim to be considered a Celtic country, but what to do with the fact that the Celts actually lived there? Arguably there seems to be flaws in the definition if just language defines a country.

The sheer fact that it is scholarly consensus that the Celts lived in Germany makes it difficult to accept the actual definition without criticism. As Peter S. Wells argues there are three major sources of information about Iron Age Europeans:

First, information that peoples of Iron Age Europe present about themselves, through their material culture. They did not leave written text that inform us about their identities, but they created, arranged and patterned a wide variety of material culture that can provide us with a wealth of information about ways that they understood, expressed and negotiated their identities.

Secondly, information that Greek and Roman authors provide about their northern neighbours in the form of texts that have been preserved. These documents are all outsiders' accounts and need to be evaluated with much greater critical thoughtfulness than has usually been practised. Examined in concert with the archaeological evidence, they can provide important supplementary information.

Thirdly, information created by modern investigators, on the basis of both the archaeology and the ancient texts. A great deal of accepted knowledge about the identity of the Iron Age Europeans is passed along in modern scholarly tradition without reference back to the original material culture created by the prehistoric peoples.⁸⁴

Wells is absolutely right in his statement. Archaeological evidence is a major source of information and it is necessary to consider it in a debate about the definition of a country. The material culture was produced and used by the people in question. It is in fact a first hand evidence. That makes material culture very valuable for scholars as it helps to understand certain aspects of the ancient society and together with new scientific methods in various fields it is possible to date material culture more precisely and thus a reconstruction of many aspects of Iron Age life is possible.

Archaeological evidence enables scholars to distinguish regional differences as well as similarities especially in burial rites, decorations and material culture of

⁸⁴ Wells, P.S., *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians*, (London, Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 2001), p.15

everyday life. Because of that it is possible to talk about different cultures and differentiate changes between the Hallstatt epoch and the La Tène period. Still, it is important to put the archaeological evidence in its context, as Wells rightly points out not to interpret it:

‘as if the people who created the materials were ver much like us - as if they organized and lived their lives in ways similar to the way we do, and viewed their social, natural and supernatural surroundings as members of modern Western industrial societies do.’⁸⁵

It is generally custom to equate La Tène culture with Celtic, whereas several scholars do not recognize the Hallstatt culture to be Celtic. Some, like Martin Kuckenberg, see the West Hallstatt zone as the area as “that region where the Celts and their culture originally developed”⁸⁶ and equate La Tène culture as “the culture of the ‘classical’ historical Celt”⁸⁷. Such categorisations illustrate that the definition of the term ‘Celt’ is a tool for differentiation. Clearly the people in question did not just started to exist. They did not suddenly ‘pop-up’. Ancient sources first wrote about Celts at about the time of the Hallstatt epoch, but it would be misleading to see that as the starting point of the people now defined as Celts. The people who produced the material culture which defines the Hallstatt culture inhabited the area in question for a much longer time before the first sources wrote about them. In fact there is an agreement of scholars that the Urnfield culture which precedes the Hallstatt time shows evidence of continuity. The Celts or people of Hallstatt were no invaders but descendants of the Urnfield people. John Haywood notes that “the Hallstatt culture

⁸⁵ Wells, P.S., *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians*, (London, Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 2001), p.15f

⁸⁶ Kuckenberg, M.; *Die Kelten*, (Darmstadt, wbg Theiss, 20919), p. 10

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 12

originated in the late Bronze Age as part of the Urnfield complex.”⁸⁸ He further argues that “Celtic languages were probably already widespread in west and central Europe when the [Hallstatt] culture developed in the Bronze Age”⁸⁹

Sherratt supports that claim by arguing Urnfield expansion caused the spread of languages from central Europe.⁹⁰ That would open the possibility to argue that the Urnfield epoch was the starting point of the development in material culture that was later identified as ‘Celtic. As Cunliffe’s argument goes :

[...] Many of the groupings which first appear at this time retain a degree of identity throughout the Urnfield period and into the Hallstatt Iron Age which follows. In other words, the social and economic process which can first be detected in the period 1300-1000 BC over much of central Europe create a structure which is largely maintained over the next half millennia or so, by which time Greek historians have identified ‘Celts’ as living within this region. [...] Within the Alpine and Transalpine zone of the Urnfield culture the evidence suggests a degree of social and economic stability.⁹¹

It is even possible to argue that if the Urnfield people spoke a Celtic language, then they were Celts, as some scholars in fact do as they regard the Urnfield people as *Proto-Celts* and that in retrospect would push the origins of the development of Celtic culture further back in time.

Such a line of argument should demonstrate the fact that without archaeological evidence such changes and categorisations are not possible to debate in the first place. Urnfield, Hallstatt, La Tène are all definitions based on

⁸⁸ Haywood, J., *Atlas Of The Celtic World*, (London, Thames & Hudson, 2001), p. 32

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 32

⁹⁰ Sherratt, A., ‘The Archaeology of Indo-European: An Alternative View’; in: Sherratt, A., *Economy and Society in Prehistoric Europe*, (Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 471-485, pp. 481ff

⁹¹ Cunliffe, B., *The Ancient Celts* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1999), p.43f

archaeological evidence and the changes differentiating such cultures can only be examined through archaeology. Language alone cannot fulfill the task of defining the Celts. Archaeological evidence shows that the people defined as Celts were in Germany. But both sources seen separate would also be an incomplete picture of evidence. Sherratt links archaeology and linguistics together by arguing:

The study of linguistic prehistory is an important but inherently frustrating exercise: linguistic evidence is by definition the product of later, literate cultures, while languages have no direct correlates in the record of prehistoric archaeology. Any attempt at writing the prehistory of languages must therefore attempt to build a bridge between the detailed, technical reconstruction of linguistic relationships on the one hand and more generalised, archaeologically-based models of cultural change on the other.⁹²

He goes on to label both subject 'incomplete sources of evidence' and highlights

The advantage of archaeology is that it can range much further backwards in time to address questions not yet asked by linguistics, while linguistic arguments may force on the attention of archaeologists some features of later periods which prehistorians are prone to ignore. [...] linguistic comparison is intended to throw light on the relationships between *known* languages; it cannot reconstruct the *totality* of an earlier linguistic situation, and in any case linguistic relationships differentially preserve more information about *recent* events than more ancient ones. [...]

Archaeology has the advantage of being able to work forward rather than backwards. We can therefore set out certain expectations about the long-term context of linguistic change, and see at what point they meet the retrospective models produced by linguistic comparison.⁹³

Sherratt's evaluation provides a good argument about the importance to connect the different evidences. In fact, that is echoed in the criticism of 'Celtoscepticism' by Raimund Karl in a text where the headline 'Celtoscepticism, a convenient excuse for

⁹² Sherratt, A., 'The Archaeology of Indo-European: An Alternative View'; in: Sherratt, A., *Economy and Society in Prehistoric Europe*, (Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 471-485, p. 471

⁹³ *ibid.*, pp. 473

ignoring non-archaeological evidence?’ already singles out the problem. He argues that Celtosceptics understood the subject of archaeology as superior and show a ‘general dislike of non-archaeological evidence’⁹⁴. Karl, for example, points to the mistake Collis makes when referring to Caesar’s *Gallic War*:

Blatant errors, like misquoting Caesar as mentioning bards where he actually speaks of *druids*, clearly show that Collis didn’t bother to consult Caesar’s excursus on the Gauls, to look up the two short paragraphs in *De Bello Gallico* (VI, 13-14), let alone read the whole text, which contains a lot more information on Gaulish social structures than Collis would have us believe.⁹⁵

Karl’s assessment leads to the point that literature evidence, as the third major source of information has to be included in an evaluation as well. It is essential to examine what the ancient people who lived alongside the Celts wrote about them. To quote Wells:

As the only written sources of information about these Iron Age peoples, the Classical texts are important and, interpreted critically in light of recent research on representation in imperial and colonial contexts, they can provide significant information.⁹⁶

Of course, it is equally important to be critically in that examination and to be aware of the pitfalls ancient sources present. Wells argues:

We must approach the surviving texts not as statements of objective fact, but as culturally constituted representations. Our task is to develop

⁹⁴Karl, R., ‘Celtoscepticism, A convenient excuse for ignoring non-archaeological evidence?’, in: Sauer, E., W., *Archaeology and ancient history breaking down the boundaries*, (London, Routledge, 2004), pp.185-199, p.187

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p.187

⁹⁶ Wells, P.S., *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians*, (London, Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 2001), p. 14

critically-informed ways to understand what the texts can tell us - both about the Iron Age peoples and about the writers who described them.⁹⁷

Caesar's account, for example, is biased in order to serve his political ambitions. He stresses the threat Celts present for Rome so that he can justify his invasion and he further emphasizes their military strengths in order to glorify his triumph. To use the Rhine as the border between Celts and Germans, though he acknowledges that Celts also lived east and Germans west of it, is due to the fact that rivers are important strategic points military campaigns and that Caesar can claim to have achieved a complete conquest. Poseidonius, as a Stoic philosopher, for example, portrays the Celts 'in accordance with his philosophical convictions'⁹⁸ and Cunliffe explains that authors like Polybius or Livy were

all attempting to project particular images of history. Their individual presentations of the Celt were necessarily conditioned by this, but the common thread which all wished to communicate was of their own systems triumphing over forces from without - the rational, civilized order of state control contrasted with the wild, savage, chaos of the primitive barbarians. It is, therefore, the antithesis to the ideals of Graeco-Roman civilization that were emphasized in the classical accounts of the Celts.⁹⁹

Wells argues for caution in the use of ancient sources and warns for a tendency to treat them 'as if they were objective descriptions by writers in modern western society'.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless the value of literal evidence is not to be underestimated. In

⁹⁷ Wells, P.S., *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians*, (London, Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 2001), p.14

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.8

⁹⁹ Cunliffe, B., *The Ancient Celts* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1999), p. 6

¹⁰⁰ Wells, P.S., *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians*, (London, Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 2001), p. 15f

fact the ancient sources were the first to give the people in question a name. With the words of Miranda J. Green:

Classical commentators on the Celts reflected a school of thought in the Graeco-Roman world, which appears to have recognized a group of peoples to their north as possessing sufficient cultural features in common to justify their endowment with a common name, the 'Celts'.¹⁰¹

To summarize that discussion about the available evidence it is clear that each subject has its strengths and weaknesses. In order to utilize them with maximal effectiveness it is necessary to acknowledge all available evidence and to deploy it together. In such a way strengths of one subject can counter weaknesses of another. To take the Celtic countries like Wales, Ireland or Scotland for example where a scarcity of archaeological evidence is supplemented by the survival of a Celtic language.

Now, as the previous text has shown, Germany has a Celtic past. Archaeological, literature and linguistic evidence, clearly in very different relations, show that Celts played an important part in the history of the country. That implicates that it is necessary to discuss the actual definition of a Celtic country. But before doing that, some words have to be said about the term 'Celts'

Iron Age people were illiterate and thus it impossible to know how they thought about themselves, as Collis argues: "We know virtually nothing of the internal implications of being a Celt or Gaul in the ancient world."¹⁰² T.P. Brigdman discusses several ancient sources and their references in order to get a clear view

¹⁰¹ Green, M. (ed.), *The Celtic World*, (London/New York, Routledge, 1996), p. 4

¹⁰² Collis, J., *The Celts. Origins, Myths & Inventions*, (Gloucestershire, The History Press, 2011), p. 195

about relations of the different terms for the people. He concludes that ‘based on the above evidence, [...] *Keltoi* or *Celts* is the correct general name for the peoples we refer today as Celts.’¹⁰³

Kim McCone argues that the term *Keltoi* is no Greek name but indeed an indigenous term used by the Celts to describe themselves.¹⁰⁴ Personal names contained references like Celticus and ancient authors like Poseidonius who had contact with the people use the term as a fact and not an invention. Caesar strengthens this when he writes about the people “[...] who in their own languages are called ‘Celts’, but in ours, ‘Gauls’.”¹⁰⁵

Mc Cone is able to derive the term *Galátai* from several Celtic words and can argue that is a native term, too, describing a “typically young warrior prone [...] to onsets of strength-enhancing battle frenzy.”¹⁰⁶ He concludes “that *Galátai/Galli* was indeed not an ethnic designation in origin and that Greek *Galātes* was a straightforward direct adaption of the Gaulish word.”¹⁰⁷

Sims-Williams argues “the term ‘Celtic’ is used in different and often conflicting ways by linguists, historians, archaeologists, art historians, and others.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Bridgman, T.P., ‘Keltoi, Galatai, Galli: Were They All One People?’, *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, Vol. 24/25, 2004/2005, pp. 155-162, p. 162

¹⁰⁴ McCone, K., *The Celtic Question: Modern Constructs and Ancient Realities*, (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2008), pp. 2ff

¹⁰⁵ Caesar, *The Gallic War*, translated by Carolyn Hammond, (Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 3

¹⁰⁶ McCone, K., *The Celtic Question: Modern Constructs and Ancient Realities*, (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2008), p. 5

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p.5

¹⁰⁸ Sims-Williams, P., ‘Celtomania and Celtoscepticism’, *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, No. 36, (1998), pp.1-35, p. 17

Linguistics often claim priority for the linguistic use of the term and that is defensible to a certain degree, but as Sims-Williams argues:

there is no doubt that the term ‘Celt’ was originally an ethnic one and that the derived adjective ‘Celtic’ was only secondarily used to refer to the language of the ethnic ‘Celts’; it would therefore be presumptuous for linguists to try to stop historians and archaeologists talking about ‘Celts’ except when these can be proved to have been ‘Celtic-speaking peoples’¹⁰⁹

Sims-Williams suggests “it is more practical to emphasize how differently it has been used in different disciplines.”¹¹⁰ Barry Cunliffe provides an appropriate statement when he writes: “The concept of the Celts has many realities born of different disciplines.”¹¹¹

It is now scholarly consensus that the Celts were no unified nation and Raimund Karl for example argues that ‘the Celts’ never existed but, nevertheless, the term ‘Celts’ presents an useful term for “

a *cognitive construct* [...] through which more or less characteristic self-similarities in the cultural continuum in the area of Europe (mainly West- and Central Europe) between at least the Iron Age and the early Middle Ages could be described.”¹¹²

That the Celts in his view existed only as a construct, a field of study, presents no problem as “we are, by our definition, creating the object of our study, which only

¹⁰⁹ Sims-Williams, P., ‘Celtomania and Celtoscepticism’, *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, No. 36, (1998), pp.1-35, p. 18

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.18

¹¹¹ Cunliffe, B., *The Ancient Celts* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1999), p. 20

¹¹² Karl, R., *Alteltische Sozialstrukturen*, (Budapest, Archaeolingua, 2006) , p.16

exists because we as observers say so.”¹¹³ Karl further argues for a “new, inclusive and associative definition”:

a Celt is someone who *either* speaks a Celtic language *or* produces or uses Celtic art *or* material culture *or* has been referred to as one in historical records *or* has identified himself *or* been identified by others as such &c.¹¹⁴

This definition would end all discussions of the subject, as

a Celt continues to be somebody who was or is speaking a Celtic language as defined by agreed observable linguistic features; [...] a Celt continues to be somebody who uses or produces Celtic material culture as defined by observable archaeological features; [...] a Celt continues to be somebody who has been identified as one in ancient writings; [...] a Celt continues to be someone who identifies himself as being a Celt.¹¹⁵

That definition would enlarge the list of Celtic countries because the defining factors do not have to occur together. More importantly, such a definition would recognize the past without focusing on present day evidence only. The flaw with the actual definition lies in the fact that a modern factor, the actual spoken language, as the sole factor, defines a country and links it to its past. It thus uses a form of ‘backwards continuity’. But the past should be able to stand in its own, too. In that context, Karl’s proposal of a definition of a Celt opens the door to argue that the actual definition of a Celtic country needs to be reconsidered as well.

A definition of a Celtic country needs to be abstract, sophisticated and complex. There have to be several sub-categories included in order to do justice to all the evidence. There is no case where all evidence is represented to the same

¹¹³ Cunliffe, B.& Koch, J. (ed.) *Celtic from the West* (Oxford, Oxbow Books, 2012),p. 46

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 47

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 47

amount. Linguistic evidence is the main evidence for Celts on the British Isles whereas on the continent the main evidence is of archaeological nature. But in each case evidence of at least one other discipline supports the main evidence. There is Celtic material culture on the British Isles, albeit not to the same extent as on the continent, where Celtic languages survived only in place names and several loan words, but, still, it is there. Ancient sources further support the archaeological evidence for Celts on the continent.

In the argument about Germany it is to say that regardless what side of a scholarly debate one supports, the area of Germany is indisputable connected to the Celts, either as people or as a scientific construct. The traditional view places Germany in the heartland of the Celts. It does not matter if one sees the origins of the Celts in the Urnfield people, regards the Hallstatt period to be Celtic or argues for the La Tène culture be representative for the Celts, all of these had their centre at least partly in Germany. Further, the arguments of Celtosceptics why the people in Britain are no Celts, in fact support the presence of Celts on the continent and Germany in particular, as Celtosceptics accept the term ‘Celts’ for the Iron Age people on the continent. They describe them as the historical Celts. Even Karl’s assessment that ‘Celts’ is only a scientific term, a construct, presents no problem as he willingly accepts the use of it. McCone’s argument that *Keltoi* is in fact a native Celtic word, and so argues completely opposite to Karl because he suggests a common self-consciousness of that people, strengthens Celtic connection to Germany because, regardless what scholarly attitude, Germany cannot be excluded from belonging to a Celtic sphere. Thus it is not possible to ignore the Celtic past of Germany, but the

actual definition of a Celtic does indeed not recognise that past. In order to change that and acknowledge as well as present the Celtic influence, not only in Germany, but in all countries with an important connection to the Celts, a new definition of a Celtic country needs to be formulated. The context for such a definition is in fact argued by Cunliffe who, to present the quote again, writes that “the concept of the Celts has many realities born of different disciplines.”¹¹⁶

A new definition needs to reflect every evidence which is responsible to serve as a defining factor. That argues for a more complex and abstract definition, which needs to be sub-divided according to the defining factors. The first sub-division is clearly to divide the Celts in insular and continental Celts. This simply reflects the geographic situation. A next category would be a division regarding time. People speaking a Celtic language today would be defined as modern Celts whereas those people in the past who spoke a Celtic language or produced Celtic material culture would then be defined as ancient Celts. Ignoring the time, people who spoke or speak a Celtic language are to be defined as linguistic Celts because of the linguistic evidence. Likewise, people who produced Celtic material culture and thus can be defined via archaeological evidence were archaeological Celts. Clearly, archaeological Celts are also ancient Celts, but linguistic Celts can be both ancient and modern Celts. So a country can be defined according to different categories.

With such categories it is possible to be more precise about a Celtic country and it would be more transparent how the definition is constructed. Such an abstract definition would be interdisciplinary and would cover weaknesses of evidence. For

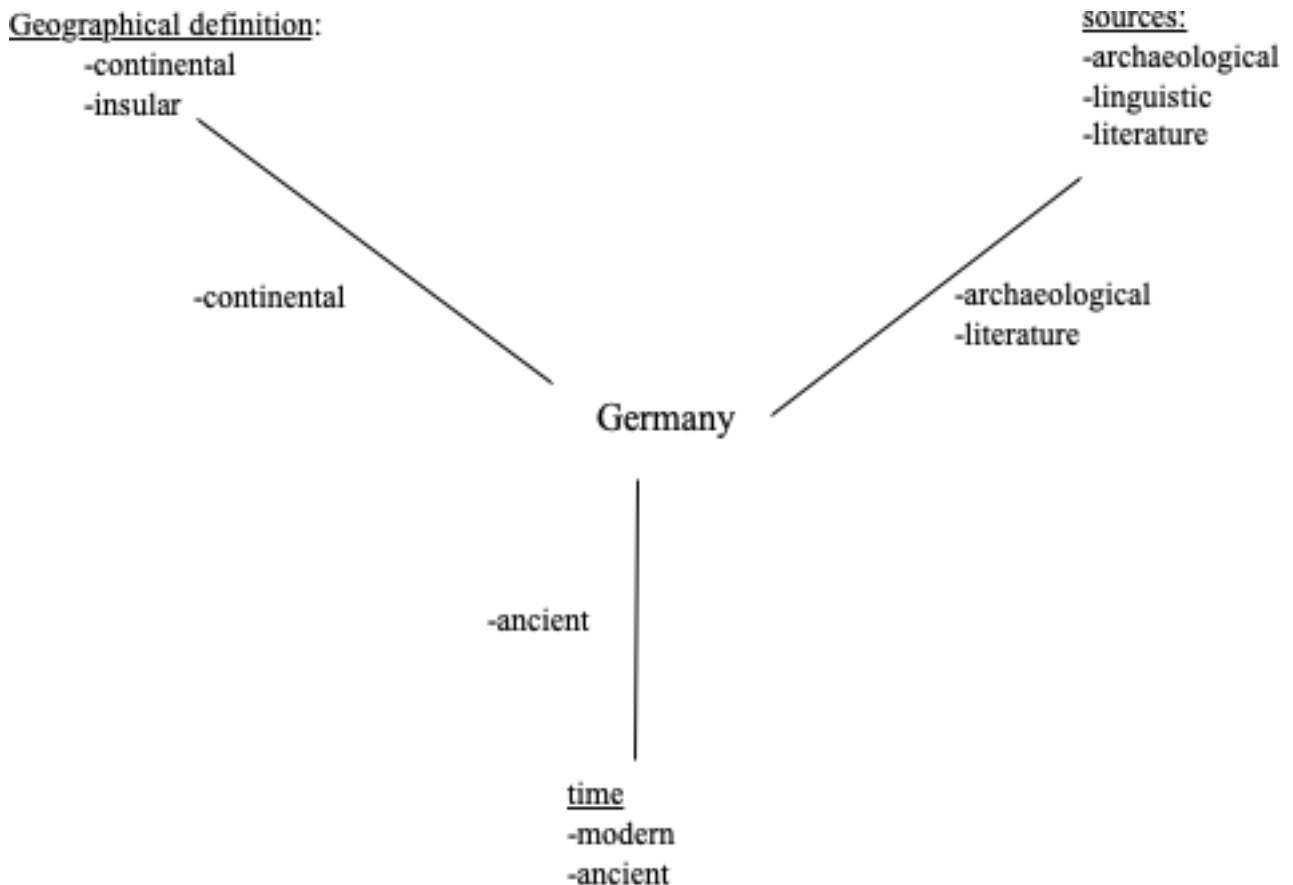
¹¹⁶ Cunliffe, B., *The Ancient Celts* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1999), p. 20

example, the scarcity of archaeological evidence on the British Isles would be covered because the Celtic countries there would be classified as linguistic Celtic countries. That definition would, very simplified, produce two types of Celtic countries, ancient and modern, just like the definition of the Oxford dictionary indeed does for the Celt.

Germany, in that context, would be defined as an ancient Celtic country because the ancient people defined as Celts have lived there. It would further be defined as an archaeological Celtic country due to the fact that archaeological evidence is the main evidence for Celtic settlement in Germany. To put all together, and formulate it generally, Germany would be defined as a Celtic country.

After the examination of all available evidence, such a definition is justified because all subjects concerning the people defined as Celts put Germany in the context with them. In literature, the ancient sources explicitly place the Celts in the area of modern Germany. Archaeology has produced an immense amount of material culture and sites which not only present the Celts, but which actually defined the Celts in the first place. In that respect it is possible to say that the definition of the Celts originated in Germany. The origins and centres of all important epochs in that regard, Urnfield, Hallstatt and La Tène were all located at least partially in Germany and the majority of the sites which are exemplarily for the Celts are situated in Germany. Additionally, linguistic evidence can prove that Celtic languages were spoken in Germany, too.

If the defining factors would be defined and consequently applied, it would be possible to systematically define a country according to its Celtic context. To illustrate it, for Germany that would mean:



That graphic illustrates that Germany is an ancient Celtic country, on the continent, defined through archaeological and literate sources, supported by linguistic evidence as well.

Further, it would also be possible to construct a comparison table which covers the geographical situation, the main and supporting sources of evidence as well as the

possibility to interpret classical sources that way that Celts were in the country and subsequently the time in relation to the Celts:

Defining factors	Wales	Scotland	Isle of Man	Ireland	Cornwall	Brittany	Germany
Geopgraphical	insular	insular	insular	insular	insular	continental	continental
Sources-main	linguistic	linguistic	linguistic	linguistic	linguistic	linguistic	Archaeology
Sources-supporting	archaeology	archaeology	archaeology	archaeology	archaeology	archaeology	Linguistic
Classical sources	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time	ancient & modern	ancient & modern	ancient & modern	ancient & modern	ancient & modern	ancient & modern	ancient

The table shows that the modern Celtic countries would also be regarded as ancient Celtic countries as there is at least some archaeological evidence in support as well there is a possibility to interpret the classical sources that the people in question were regarded as Celts. Even if it is debatable with regard to the British Isles, works of Caesar, Phytheas or Tacitus can be interpreted in that way. As for Germany, it would only be considered an ancient Celtic country due to the fact the the language did not survive till today as a spoken language.

To conclude, after examination of all available sources, as well as an examination of the definition of a Celtic country, it is fair to say that such definition does not cover all aspects of the topic ‘the Celts’ and thus should be reviewed in order to be more precise. Under a new definition, that includes all available sources and differentiates according to those, Germany should be considered to be an ancient Celtic country where the people which were recorded by ancient literate sources and

defined through archaeological evidence as Celts had lived, had a lasting influence which is still apparent in some aspects like surviving names and loanwords, provided the country with an important Celtic past and played a significant role for the whole of Celtic studies. Thus, to answer the question: Yes, Germany should be considered a Celtic country.

Bibliography

All translations from German works into English are made by the author of this dissertation. Apologies for any mistakes made in that process.

Tables and graphics in the text were produced by the authr.

Primary sources

Caesar, *The Gallic War*, translated by Carolyn Hammond, (Oxford University Press, 1996)

Herodotus, *The Histories*, translated by Robin Waterfield, (Oxford University Press, 1998)

Lhuyd, E., *Archaeologica Britannica*, Vol 1, Glossography, (reproduction via Lightnings source UK Ltd., 2017)

Polybius, *The Histories*, translated by Robin Waterfield, (Oxford University Press, 2010)

Ptolemy, C., *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, (New York, Cosimo Classics, 2011)

Strabo, *Geography*,

- Book 1& 2, translated by Horace Leonard Jones, (Harvard University Press, 1917)
- Book7; available at: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0239%3Abook%3D7%3Achapter%3D1%3Asection%3D5>

Tacitus, *Agricola and Germania*, translated by Harold Mattingly, (Penguin Books, 2009)

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, (ed. Carleton L. Brownson),

available at: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0206>

Secondary sources

Bachmann, R.; Kossack, G., Kuhn, H., *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten*, (Neumünster, Karl Wacholtz Verlag, 1962)

Balzer, I. ‘Burial Mounds and Settlements. Their Relations in the Hallstatt and Early La Tène - Period (6th-4th century BC)’ , in: Knopf, Steinhaus, Fukunaka (ed.), *Burial Mounds in Europe and Japan*, (Archaeopress, 2018)

Bartel, A./Frey, O./ a.o., *Ein frühkeltischer Fürstengrabhügel am Glauberg im Wetteraukreis, Hessen*, (Wiesbaden, 1998)

Behm-Blancke (ed.), *Alt-Thüringen*, Band X, (Weimar, 1969)

Bridgman, T.P., 'Keltoi, Galatai, Galli: Were They All One People?', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, Vol. 24/25, 2004/2005, pp. 155-162

Chadwick, N., *The Celts*, (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1971)

Chapman, M., *The Celts. The Construction of a Myth*, (London, The Macmillan Press, 1992)

Collis, J., *Oppida: Earliest Towns North of the Alps* (Sheffield : Dept. of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield, 1984)

Collis.J., *The Celts. Origins, Myths & Inventions*, (Gloucestershire, The History Press, 2011)

Collis, J., *The European Iron Age*, (London, Routledge, 1998)

Collis, J., 'The Origin and Spread of the Celts', *Studia Celtica*, Vol. XXX (1996), pp. 17-34

Cunliffe, B., *Europe between the Oceans*, (Yale University Press, 2008)

Cunliffe, B., *The Ancient Celts*, (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1999)

Cunliffe, B., *The Celts. A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford University Press, 2003)

Cunliffe, B., *The Extraordinary Voyage of Pytheas the Greek*, (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 2003)

Cunliffe, B.& Koch, J. (ed.) *Celtic from the West*, (Oxford, Oxbow Books, 2012)

Cunliffe, B.& Koch, J. (ed.) *Celtic from the West 2*, (Oxford, Oxbow Books, 2017)

Cunliffe, B.& Koch, J. (ed.) *Celtic from the West 3*, (Oxford, Oxbow Books, 2016)

Dietler, M., ““Our Ancestors the Gauls”: Archaeology, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Manipulation of Celtic Identity in Modern Europe’, *American Anthropologist*, Vol.96, No.3, (1994), pp. 584-605

Dušek, S.(ed.) *Alt-Thüringen*, Band XXXI (Stuttgart, Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1997)

Dušek, S, *Ur- und Frühgeschichte Thüringens*, (Stuttgart, Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1999)

Freeman, P., *The Philosopher and the Druids*, (New York, Simon & Schuster, 2006)

Green, D.H., 'From Germania to Europe: The Evidence of Language and History',
The Modern Language Review, Vol.92, No.4, (1997), pp. xxix-xxxviii

Green, M. (ed.), *The Celtic World*, (London/New York, Routledge, 1996)

Haywood, J., *Atlas Of The Celtic World*, (London, Thames & Hudson, 2001)

Hoops, J. (ed.) *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* (Strassburg, Trübner, 1911), Band I, p.156;

available at: (<https://archive.org/details/reallexikonder01hoop/page/156/mode/1up>)

James, S., *Exploring the World of the Celts*, (London, Thames & Hudson, 1993)

James, S., *The Atlantic Celts. Ancient People or Modern Invention?*, (Madison, The University. of Wisconsin Press, 1999)

Karl, R., ‘*butācos, *uossos, *geistlos, *ambaxtos Celtic Socio-economic Organization in the European Iron Age’, *Studia Celtica*, Vol.40, No.1, December 2006, pp. 23-41

Karl, R., *Altkeltische Sozialstrukturen*, (Budapest, Archaeolingua, 2006) ;
available at: https://www.academia.edu/520426/Altkeltische_Sozialstrukturen_Budapest_Archaeolingua_2006

Kleineberg, A; Marx, C.; Knobloch, E.; Lelgemann, D., *Germania und die Insel Thule*, (Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010)

Koch, J.T. *Celtic from the West*, lecture held at 2.December 2015;
available at: https://www.academia.edu/19895000/Celtic_from_the_West

Koch, J.T. ‘Celts from the West’, *O’Donnell Lectures 2008*, pp.270-280 [online].
Assessed via: https://moodlearchive.uwtsd.ac.uk/moodle1718/pluginfile.php/54532/mod_resource/content/0/JohnKochCeltsFromTheWestODonnell-Lectures-2008.pdf

Koch, J.T. *Tartessian*, (Aberystwyth, Celtic Studies Publications, 2013)

Koch, J.T. & Carey, J., *The Celtic Heroic Age*, (Aberystwyth, Celtic Studies Publications, 2003)

- Krause, A., *Die Welt der Kelten*, (Hamburg, Nikol Verlag, 2004)
- Krause, D.; Fernández-Götz, M.; Hansen, L.; Kretschmer, I., *The Heuneburg and the Early Iron Age Princely Seats*, (Budapest, Archaeolingua Publishing House, 2016)
- Kruta, V. (ed.), *The Celts*, New York, Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1999)
- Kuckenberg, M.; *Die Kelten*, (Darmstadt, wbg Theiss, 2019)
- Landesamt für Archäologie (ed.) *Archäologischer Wanderführer Thüringen*, 'Überblick zur Ur-und Frühgeschichte' (Weimar, 2004)
- Lane, G.S., 'The Germano-Celtic Vocabulary', *Language*, Vol.9, No.3, (1933), pp. 244-264
- Lotspeich, C.M., 'Celts and Teutons', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol.12, No.2, (1913), pp. 199-210
- Megaw, J.V.S., 'Style and Style Groupings in Continental Early La Tene Art', *World Archaeology*, Vol.3, No.3 (1972), pp. 276-292

- Maier, B. *The Celts. A History from Earliest Times To The Present*, translated by Kevin Windle, (Edinburgh, University Press, 2018)
- Maier, B., *Kleines Lexikon der Namen und Wörter keltischen Ursprungs*, (München, Verlag C.H. Beck oHG, 2003)
- McCone, K., *The Celtic Question: Modern Constructs and Ancient Realities*, (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2008)
- Müller, H., *Die Kelten in Süddeutschland*, (Darmstadt/Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Labern, 2012)
- Posluschny, A., ‘Hillforts and oppida: some thoughts on fortified settlements in southern Germany’; in: Lock, G., & Ralston, I. (ed.), *Hillforts: Britain, Ireland and the Nearer Continent*, (Archaeopress, 2017)
- Powell, T.G.E., ‘Celtic Origins: A Stage in the Enquiry’, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol.78, No.1/2, (1948) pp. 71-79
- Powell, T.G.E., *The Celts*, (London, Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980)

Prinz, F., *Kelten, Römer und Germanen- Deutschlands Frühgeschichte*, (München, Piper, 2004)

Rankin, D., *Celts and the Classical World*, (London, Routledge, 1996)

Rankin, D., 'The Celts Through Classical Eyes'; in: Atherton, M. *Celts and Christians*, (Cardiff University Press) pp. 21-33

Rawlinson, C., 'On the Ethnography of the Cimbri', *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol.6, (1877), pp. 150-158

Renfrew, C. 'The Origins of Indo-European Languages', *Scientific American*, Vol. 261, No. 4, (1989), pp. 106-115

Riekhoff, S./Biel, J., *Die Kelten in Deutschland*, (Stuttgart, Theiss Verlag, 2001)

Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier (ed.), *Trier, Augustusstadt der Treverer*, (Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 1984)

Ross, W.D. *The Works of Aristotle*, Volume III (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1931) *Metereologica*, Book I,13, 350b ; available at : <https://archive.org/details/workstranslatedi03arisuoft/page/n7/mode/2up>

Sauer, E.,W., *Archaeology and ancient history breaking down the boundaries*,
(London, Routledge, 2004);

available at: https://web-a-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/bmx1YmtfXzExNDkzNV9fQU41?sid=6bfd38b-224c-4f1e-90df-1cdcd870a10@sdc-v-sessmgr01&vid=0&format=EB&lpid=lp_v&rid=0

Schier, W., ‘Princes, Chiefs or Big Men? Burial Mounds as Reflections of Social Structure in the Hallstatt Period; in: Knopf, Steinhaus, Fukunaga (ed.), *Burial Mounds in Europe and Japan*, (Archaeopress, 2018)

Schlette, F., *Auf den Spuren unserer Vorfahren*, (Berlin, Verlag neues Leben, 1982)

Sherratt, A., ‘The Archaeology of Indo-European: An Alternative View’; in: Sherratt, A., *Economy and Society in Prehistoric Europe*, (Edinburgh University Press, 1997), pp. 471-485

Sievers, S., *Manching-Die Keltenstadt*, (Stuttgart, Konrad Theiss Verlag GmbH, 2003)

Sievers, S., ‘Manching, eine Keltenstadt: Die Entstehung eines Oppidums und sein Niedergang’, in: *Antike Welt*, No.5, (2012), pp.24-30

Sims-Williams, P., 'Celtomania and Celtoscepticism', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, No. 36, (1998), pp. 1-35

Thüringisches Landesamt für Archäologische Denkmalpflege (ed.), *Ausgrabungen und Funde im Freistaat Thüringen*, (Stuttgart, Konrad Theiss Verlag, 2001/2002)

Thüringisches Landesamt für Archäologische Denkmalpflege (ed.), *Südliches Thüringen*, (Stuttgart, Konrad Theis Verlag, 1994)

Todd, M., *Die Germanen*, (Stuttgart, Konrad Theiss Verlag, 2000)

Wieland, G. (ed.), *Keltische Viereckschanzen*, (Stuttgart, Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1999)

Wells, P.S., *Beyond Celts, Germans and Scythians*, (London, Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 2001)

Wells, P.S., *Farms, Villages, and Cities*, (Ithaca & London, Cornell University Press, 1984)

Wells, P.S., 'Iron Age Temperate Europe: Some Current Research Issues', *Journal of World Prehistory*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (1990), pp. 437-476

Woolf, G., 'RETHINKING THE OPPIDA', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 1993,
pp.223-234;
available at: https://www.academia.edu/554107/Rethinking_the_oppida

Links:

<https://www.uni-trier.de/index.php?id=23040>

http://fuerstensitze.de/1070_Publikationen.html#i__157445336_1376

<https://diercke.westermann.de/content/deutschland-physische-karte-978-3-14-100800-5-19-2-1?&stichwort=Deutschland>