THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

THE RISE OF THE CELTS
The History of Civilization is a landmark in early twentieth Century publishing. The aim of the general editor, C. K. Ogden, was to "summarise in one comprehensive synthesis the most recent findings and theories of historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, sociologists and all conscientious students of civilization." The History, which includes titles in the French series L'Évolution de l'Humanité, was published at a formative time in the development of the social sciences, and during a period of significant historical discoveries.

A list of the titles in the series can be found at the end of this book.
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THE DYING GAUL
Capitoline Museum, Rome
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FOREWORD

THE EXPANSION OF THE CELTS

WITH the Celts a very important factor enters into the history of civilization, and a much-expected work appears in this series—expected for the subject's sake and for the author's. About this racial group, and the capital part which it played in European history, it was known that the best-informed scholar, whose knowledge was both widest and most profoundly thought out, was Henri Hubert. Now Hubert died four years ago, and many despaired of ever seeing the work announced under his name.

It appears, with a long and grievous story behind it. "The main part of the work," in Hubert's own words, was done in 1914 (his letter of the 15th June, 1915). After the unavoidable interruption of the war—during which he did valued work chiefly with the Ministry of Armament—he hastened to pick up the threads, and on the 5th January, 1923, he wrote to me: "To-day I wrote the last line of my last chapter." He added: "Now I have to take up the whole thing again, to cut, patch together, and check." Various circumstances—a cruel loss, family concerns, and ill-health which gradually grew worse—delayed this work of revision, which he was carrying on at the same time as he was preparing his book on the Germans. In July, August, and October, 1925, he sent me news which was at once reassuring and saddening. "I am at work. I progress slowly but surely. I was kept in bed all May. I am gradually climbing up the hill... My work progresses steadily, but in very adverse circumstances. I have got rid of all my lectures. You can therefore count on me to the full extent of my will. But it seems that an evil fortune dogs me, and I do not know what it still has in store for me." On the 9th October, 1926, he again reassured me. "All intensive work upsets me, whatever it is. But I have done a little work, all the same, and I shall be able to do more. I cannot tell you when I shall have finished. It would be absurd. But it cannot be long now."

On Wednesday, the 18th May, 1927, he was once again telling
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me how his task had progressed, and concluded, “It is obviously not easy to write the history of the Celts to-day. But that is done. It is chiefly mechanical work which remains.” On Thursday, the 26th, a note from our common friend, Marcel Mauss, told me that he had just died of a heart attack. And Mauss added a detail which was very affecting for me: “The manuscript of the Celts was on his table; he had been working at it on Tuesday.”

Three devoted friends undertook to prepare the manuscript for publication. For four years they have in turn given up to this duty all the time which they could afford. One of them, in pages which you will read later, tells the exact share of each. That this work should appear, representing Hubert’s scientific testament and giving an idea of his knowledge and his talents to a large public which was not reached by his learned treatises, is a great satisfaction to all his friends. But that it should appear after his death, and that he should not reap the harvest of success and esteem which he may not have sought, but had at least slowly earned, is a great grief to those who had grown attached both to the scholar and thinker and to the man—the man of heart, the man of taste, the rare and most attractive personality.

From his youth onwards Hubert had won many strong friendships. One of the close intimates of his years at the Ecole Normale has told how far his ability rose above the lessons which he was doing at that time, how much more mature he was than his fellows, being already “sure of his vocation and his methods”. Another chosen brother has related his life—too short, but so full of work and thought.1 The beginnings, the achievement of ancient or primitive peoples, both of an intellectual and of a material kind—languages, categories of thought, religions, arts, tools—were what gradually came to compel his interest, which was at once very wide and very penetrating. Much travel, including a voyage round the world which enabled him to see various types of man and to become acquainted with the chief institutes and museums of ethnography, prehistory, and archaeology, brought him and kept him in touch with the realities of mankind, past and present. His mind was thereby enriched and stimulated. Work on the Semitic religions,

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a class in the history of the primitive religions of Europe at the École des Hautes-Études, a class in national archaeology at the École du Louvre, Celtic research connected with his post as Keeper at the Saint-Germain Museum, active collaboration on the Année sociologique, were the expression of his keenness to know and to understand. Hubert was a historian in the strongest sense of the word. His whole career was inspired by the spirit of synthesis. He was a born collaborator for this series, and he was one of the first to promise me his whole-hearted assistance.

When I published Marcel Granet’s Chinese Civilization and announced a second volume, Chinese Thought, I justified the division into two volumes and declared that there was no intention of making it a precedent. On the whole, it is better, in conducting a series on a very large scale, to avoid definite statements and over-absolute principles. The manuscript handed to me by Hubert’s friend amounted, with the illustrations and the usual additional matter, to seven or eight hundred pages of type. It would have been inconvenient to offer such a compact volume and one so unlike the others in size. On the other hand, it was impossible, after all the reductions which Hubert had either made himself or allowed for,¹ to cut any more out of a work which is so valuable in every respect.

What Hubert conceived, and has been the first to carry out, is a history of all the Celts, a picture of every part of the Celtic world. From the most distant origins to which we can in the present state of our knowledge go back, to the last submergences or survivals, he embraces the whole of Celticism, with incomparable knowledge and a sympathy which does not blind him, but rather gives him vision. This wealth of material, fortunately, was of a nature to be divided without difficulty into two volumes of about the same size.²

The present volume tells of the Celtic world down to the La Tène period, that is to the second Iron Age. The second will treat of the three phases of that period, and, after a picture of

¹ See the Note by Marcel Mauss.
² The second part of the work, on the movements of the Celtic peoples, which contained twelve long chapters, fairly logically falls into three divisions—Celtic expansion to the La Tène period (second part of the first volume), Celtic expansion in the La Tène period, and the end of the Celtic world (first and second parts of the second volume).
the decline of the Celts, it will describe the essential features of their civilisation. There we shall see them more and more appearing as a factor in the history of the world, and more particularly in Roman history, until at last they are incorporated in the Empire.

In accordance with the principle which we have adopted of placing human groups in our general scheme at the moment when their activities visibly enter into the great stream of historical evolution, we have placed the Celts in the Roman section, before the formation of the Empire; but it was desirable at this point to look backwards, to show what the Celts were, whence they came, and what they did in the obscure times of their life as barbarians. These questions are exactly what this present volume covers, so far as it is possible to answer them at all. It links up with the works of J. de Morgan on Prehistoric Man and Eugène Pittard on Race and History, and, in general, it comes as a completion to all those which, in this first section, have dealt with the great movements of mankind and the peopling of the earth.

In this volume, then, we have to do with barbarians, not in the ancient sense of barbarus, “foreign to Greece or Rome” (for we do not regard the Egyptians and Persians as barbarians), but in the sense of peoples incompletely stabilized and civilized, of masses in process of moving and changing. We are dealing with barbarians whom the Greeks and Romans doubtless knew, but knew very little at first, and about whom the ancients, in their writings, give us information which at first is very vague or disputable. There are human groups which, as we know, came only very late into the ken of “civilized men”.

How, then, are we at this day to come to know that protohistoric Europe, which lay on the borders of a Mediterranean Europe already rich in history? How, in particular, are we to know those Celts and Germans, who were to play such a great part one day in the Roman Empire, the former strengthening it and the latter overthrowing it? How are we to know them, save from

1 See V. Chapot, The Roman Empire, in this series, pp. 293 ff.
2 We had a glimpse of them in Homo, Primitive Italy, in this series, pp. 165 ff.
3 See Lot, The End of the Ancient World, Foreword, p. xii, n. 3.
4 “A great part of ancient ethnology has come down to us in the form of fables and myths through the epic or lyric poets and the polygraphers” (p. 299).
what they themselves tell us, gathering up the only evidence which survives of their racial personality and their doings—linguistic facts and archaeological facts?

Hubert in the first part of this volume has laid stress on the methods which he uses to determine, to isolate, the Celtic element, to know "what the Celts were".

Without excluding anthropology, he carefully limits its rôle. "One must not resort to that inexhaustible source of error and contradictions, save with great moderation and in a very critical spirit; it must not be forgotten that peoples and races, being different things, do not necessarily coincide, and, in fact, never coincide exactly." The Celts "are not a race"; it is the name of a people or of a group of peoples, and that group is an aggregate of anthropological types.

It is, then, the ethnography of the Celts that Hubert endeavours to constitute, by studying the surviving traces of their civilization. If the history of civilization as a whole is something quite other than ethnography, and, as I believe, requires to be clearly differentiated from it, we must recognize that the various civilizations, when their special characteristics are studied, "represent and distinguish peoples." And, for civilizations which have "left their remnants in the ground", it is largely archaeology that, finding in them "legitimate indications of vanished peoples", "brings together the scattered data of their ethnography" (p. 80). There is, in Hubert's words, an archaeological ethnography (p. 129). Once again we note, as J. de Morgan, Pittard, Moret, and yet others have given us occasion to do, the marvellous range of that militant history which burrows in the ground and reconstructs the past with documents of stone and metal, or recreates life from fossil skeletons. And we must lay weight on Hubert's appeal when

1 "Every group of men living together forms a physical, social, and moral unit" (p. 21). Anthropological study is at the foundation.
2 p. 31; cf. pp. 28, 32, and Pittard, Race and History, passim.
Cf. M. Boule, Les Hommes fossiles, p. 320: the word "Celtic" means to some a language, to others a special civilization; it is often used as a synonym for Gallic; in the mind of some writers, it represents the fair, tall, long-headed type of the North; others say that it should be applied to a dark, short, round-headed type from the Central Plateau or the Alps. "The best thing for anthropologists to do is to leave the word to archaeologists and historians."
3 See, among the publications of the Centre International de Synthèse, Civilisation: le mot et l'idée, 1930; and, in the Revue de Synthèse, June, 1931, p. 195, "Ethnographie et ethnologie," a draft of an article for the Vocabulaire historique.
4 On this subject, see Revue de Synthèse, Dec., 1931.
he asks for more intense activity (for exploration is still singularly incomplete), and wishes that, instead of the chance which usually directs archaeological discoveries, there may be more and more methodical and certain exploitation of these material records.1

Secondly there is a linguistic ethnography (p. 33). If the study of speech belongs to the history of civilization, languages are facts of civilization which count among "the most typical or most apparent" of such facts, among "the clearest and truest" characteristics of peoples (p. 33). Perhaps the greatest achievement of Hubert, that complete historian, has been to make such extensive and original use of European philology of which he had a vast knowledge. "Nothing else could take the place of this kind of information. That is why," he says, "we must spend some time in examining the Celtic languages and their affinities" (p. 34). And he shows that one of the most valuable achievements of philology has been to compare the remains of Celtic supplied by names of places and people and a few inscriptions with the Celtic languages which are still spoken. "The unity of the Celtic languages is plain. There were very close similarities between them, such as did not exist between any of them and any other language" (p. 42). In general, the study of the island Celts, which is almost always left to the philologists, seems to Hubert to be indispensable to a knowledge of "Celticness"; for there are deep strata of the past which can be reached through their literature.

Hubert's effort to utilize both kinds of evidence and to make the combination of them fruitful is truly admirable. It is conducted with exemplary caution, with "the sternest and most austere method" (p. 17). "It is, of course, true," he says, "that phonetic facts, like archaeological, have no absolute racial significance." Often delicate interpretation is called for (pp. 132, 144). "I am inclined to think, without being quite sure" (p. 31)—phrases of the kind constantly fall from that ingenious but prudent pen.

There are, however, objects, forms of tombs, manners of speech, which allow us to classify the Celts as Indo-Europeans, to place them among the Europeans, to distinguish them from the Graeco-Latinins, Germans, and Balto-Slavs, to contrast them with the Iberians and Ligurians, to determine the Celtic world

1 p. 81 and the following volume, pt. i, chaps. i, v.
and its boundaries. Hubert clearly brings out the racial unity of the Celts; it may not be anthropological, but "common life produced a kind of unification of physical types in a sort of habitus common to all" (p. 82). He perceives diversity within the unity, but reduces that diversity to a division into four groups—Goidels, Picts, Brythons (including the Gauls), and Belgæ.

There are in this preliminary essay in Celtic ethnography two points on which especial weight should be laid: Hubert's indications on the Goidels and those on the relations of the Celts and the Germans, in which he touches on the subject of the volume which he has devoted to this last people.

Neither archæologists nor historians distinguish, at any rate clearly enough, between the two groups of Celts, the Brythons of the Continent and Britain and the Goidels of Ireland and Scotland, "who had advanced furthest west of the Celts" (p. 187). By an extremely ingenious demonstration Hubert establishes an important fact—that the Goidelic group broke off at a very early date (pp. 188–9, 169). By an equally convincing demonstration he reveals the close contact which subsisted between Germans and Celts, and the influence exerted by Celtic culture on Germanic, extending, indeed, beyond the Germans to the Balto-Slavs and Finns (p. 68). This influence is manifest in linguistic and material borrowings. "The Celts seem to have been for long ages the schoolmasters of the Germanic peoples." The facts adduced by Hubert and the conclusions which he draws from them conflict curiously with the theories of the rôle of Germanentum which have inspired so many modern German books. If, as seems to have been the case, there were intimate relations, phenomena of "reception" and even of intermingling, and if the Celts appeared as the preponderant people, we must, at the least, regard this as one of those cases of contamination and racial fusion which have been for the good of mankind.¹

The same archaeological and linguistic facts which first enable Hubert, by collecting them all together, to describe Celticism as a whole, afterwards enable him, by setting them in their proper place and time, "to find out whence the Celts came,

¹ pp. 67–8, 224; cf. pp. 64 ff., 156, 182, and second volume, pt. i, ch. iv, and pt. iii, ch. i.
where they went, how they expanded, and where they stopped—in short, to trace their history” (p. 181).

So, taking as his starting-point the Indo-European unity of which he sees signs in the East (pp. 75–6), he follows the group as it breaks off into what will long be its habitat, the centre of Europe, the future Germany—for the Rhine is Celtic and the Danube, too (pp. 148–152). Before the first millennium before Christ, he sees the Goidels breaking off, and the Italici, and then the Picts. Beginning in the Bronze Age, this expansion goes on in the first Iron Age, in what is known as the Hallstatt period, and a homogeneous civilization extends, down to the fifth century, over Western Germany, Upper Austria, Switzerland, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, and Burgundy. And beyond that domain the Celtic drive will reach to the British Isles and Italy and Spain, to go on, as we shall see in the next volume, through the La Tène period; so, by the absorption of borrowed elements into the culture of Hallstatt, it will help to make the civilisation of the new period.

This history of Celtic expansion, the migrations, the settlements, the daring advances of smaller bodies in every direction, the contacts and conflicts with various peoples, need not be repeated here in its complex detail; what I wish to do, rather, is to emphasize the marvellously vivid and picturesque manner in which Hubert has described it.

Imagination is a dangerous thing when it lets itself go on insufficient evidence; but, as I have often said, it plays a legitimate part when it comes in to crown a long piece of analysis, when it is inspired by a wealth of learning, when it completes and vivifies a synthesis by a sort of spontaneous generation of images which have arisen to the inward eye. Here, precisely, is the great historian’s gift of recreating; he is, as he has been called, “the seer of the past.”

Now a man who for many years has handled the weapons, helmets, shields, brooches, and torques of his Celts, who has looked into their tumuli and seen, not only objects, but skulls and skeletons (grandiique effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris—Hubert himself quotes Virgil’s line somewhere), although historical discipline and critical sense restrain and govern his imagination, cannot help picturing all that past in which he has lived in spirit.

1 See p. 139 for certain hypotheses on which this work is based.
"One may try to imagine"—"We can form a fairly true picture"—"I imagine"—such are the phrases which continually express that effort, or, rather, that achievement of the imagination. As a result of following, on the ground or on the map, the migrations of archaeological and linguistic forms, and of observing all those human footprints, he comes to see the groups themselves migrating, settling, advancing, and receding. In this volume, and in the second, in which he follows the Gauls and the Galatians on their epic inroads, you will find pictures of great power. Hubert sees, and he makes you see.

Between the North Sea and Switzerland, the Meuse and the Oder, there was a population, not very dense, very mobile, partly pastoral and partly agricultural (and therefore attracted and held for some time by good land), intermingled with warlike tribes, hunters, fishers, and brigands, who were attracted by forests and hills or rivers (pp. 180–1). "We must not imagine these prehistoric peoples as keeping strictly within neat frontiers" (p. 186), and we must not imagine them as being always unmixed, "divided racially into clearly defined watertight compartments." It was amid diffusion and interspersion in the "racial hotchpotch" of Western Germany that "those Celtic societies came into being, round which the whole population finally crystallized" and a "single civilization of their own" was built up (pp. 157, 182, 241). But it was not until the Bronze Age that the Celts were numerous and homogeneous enough to go and found huge settlements at a distance. For we must distinguish migrations in mass, the movements of "the great hordes which periodically descended on the good lands of Europe; sometimes shy, sometimes raging, laden with baggage and loot... sometimes led by chiefs of astonishing clearness of mind, sometimes seeming to be guided by chance and instinct" ² from the forays of daring bands of adventurers and fortune-seekers (p. 217); the sea is a "great road" (p. 200) favourable to this latter kind of incursion. So the "vagabondage" of the Celts took many forms; and small bands often went before or after the great masses, social units and more or less composite groups of social units.

Once the great Celtic migrations had started they continued

¹ He is always cautious: "When one starts pricking out routes on a map, one is too easily led into imagining movements and directions" (p. 143).
in successive waves. It seems that each wave, "exactly following its predecessors and tending to spread on the top of them, went as far as it could, until it was forced to stop" (p. 229); and as each left a deposit, each altered the racial structure and the domain of the Celtic world. Hubert sees Goïdais, Picts, Brythons, and Belgæ spreading out in turn; he traces the routes by which they went; he pictures, in the Hallstatt period, "the warriors, with shaven faces (they took their razors with them into their graves), long, broad iron swords with heavy conical pommels and wooden sheaths, seldom wearing helmets . . . seldom having breastplates, and carrying round shields" (p. 256).

When Hubert comes to the invasions of the second and first centuries, for which we have literary evidence, he finds in the contemporary accounts details and features which seem to him to have a retrospective interest outside the period with which they deal. Thus Caesar's story of the last migration of the Continental Celts—the Helvætii and Boii—gives, he says, "a very vivid picture, and certainly an idea of the very typical fashion in which the great migrations were prepared and took place, of the conditions, the objects, the collective phantoms which rose up, the pow-wows in which the programme was settled, and the start organized."¹ All through his work, to give strength and precision to the picture called up by the vestiges of the past, he takes inspiration from the "model" offered by the last invasions; they have supplied him with a transposable image.²

But outside the movements of the Celtic peoples, the image which Hubert gives of them is equally transposable. We are indebted to him for a better idea, in general, of all those phenomena of migration which are one of the most characteristic and most interesting aspects of the early history of mankind. At the beginning of the Bronze Age and at the beginning of the Iron Age there were movements on a huge scale, which went beyond the confines of the Celtic world. And in prehistory as in protohistory there were periods of unrest, in which "demographic laws", "general facts in the history of civilization," produced great movements of the masses of mankind (pp. 138, 263).

The expressions which I have just quoted would be sufficient to show that Hubert does not give merely the transposable image. The very intensity of his vision makes his understanding of the

¹ Next volume, pt. i, chap. i. ² Ibid.
phenomenon more natural and surer. So he makes one understand at the same time as he makes one see; in his work one can glean sober but suggestive remarks on the general causes of migrations. Their causes, like the ways in which they were carried out, vary greatly.

There are physical causes. Changes in climate create vacancies and new attractions; cold and abundant rain drive the population to a more favoured region. Sudden cataclysms produce the same effect; the Celts soon found that it was useless to advance, arms in hand, against high tides or floods.1

There are social causes, economic or political. Increase of the population leads to a search for better soil or a wider field of activity. And the progress of political institutions may have a similar result.2

There are moral causes. Here the love of adventure, the “desire for room”, play an obvious part, and the charm of the unknown is only surpassed by the attraction of the lands of civilization.

There are technical causes. It is plain that inventions in the matter of navigation, the possession of bronze tools, and then of iron, and progress in wagon-building and armament helped in various ways to make peoples more mobile and more enterprising.3 M. Boule has observed that from Neolithic times onwards, “thanks to the development of his crafts, man freed himself much more easily from physical circumstances”; “his migrations in mass,” he adds, “now depended almost entirely on his own will or on that of his leaders” 4—let us say, on social and logical causes.

But we must not omit, among the contingent and persistent causes of migrations, the effect which an initial movement has on the neighbouring peoples, or those met on the way by direct attack, or by rubbing shoulders, and, in general, by “setting free to move or encouraging to follow”.5 That, too, contributes to the “tremendous commotion” of the times of great migrations.

So in Hubert’s work, while the study of primitive man on the move is continued, what was suggested by other volumes in

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2 Ibid.
3 See pp. 188, 263.
4 Les Hommes fossiles, p. 321.
5 pp. 262–3; next volume, pt. 1, chap. iv.
FOREWORD

this section about the essence of the phenomenon of migration is confirmed or completed.¹

The degree of social organization reached by the Celts, and the culture which they spread over the top of that of the megaliths and the pile-villages, will be shown expressly in the next volume. There I shall lay stress on their character and on the part which they have played in the making of France. Here I shall make only one more remark, or, rather, I shall repeat what has already been said elsewhere.² We sometimes hear of a Celtic Empire and also of a Ligurian Empire and an Indo-European Empire.³ In all three cases, like Hubert, I consider the term improper.⁴ There can be no empire without political unity, central power, domination intended and carried into effect. Unity of racial character and unity of civilization do not necessarily imply the existence of an empire. And it was because they could not create one by themselves that the Celts rallied, without much resistance, to the imperial idea which animated Rome in her conquests.⁵

HENRI BERR.

(Owing to the death of M. Hubert before the publication of this work, the French text contained a certain number of errors. Many of these have been corrected in this English edition, but in the circumstances it has not been possible to check all references.—Trs.)

¹ Cf. F. Hertz, "Die Wanderungen: ihre Typen und ihre geschichtliche Bedeutung," in Kölner Vierteljahrshefte für Soziologie, 1929, i, p. 36. I have previously distinguished migration and invasion. Migration is when the mass moves on to free ground or among non-sedentary populations; invasion is when it comes among settled populations (Race and History, Foreword, p. xiii). On conquest, colonization, emigration, and nomadism, see Forewords to Prehistoric Man, A Geographical Introduction to History, From Tribe to Empire, Israel, and The End of the Ancient World.
² See H01no, Primitive Italy, Foreword, p. ix.
³ See e.g. A Grenier, in an excellent little book, Les Gaulois, pp. 27, 29, 35–6, 88, 49, 83.
⁴ "Nothing in the prehistoric archaeology of the Celtic world or the Ligurian world gives the least suggestion of an empire, even in the nature of the Aztec Empire" (p. 143).
⁵ See next volume, pt. iii, chap. ii.
NOTE

By Marcel Mauss

THIS work is the last which Henri Hubert expressly prepared for printing. He had promised it to M. Berr long before the War.¹

He had worked long at it. He had lectured on the subject twice in his class of Celtic Archaeology at the Ecole du Louvre. He did so a third time in two years, in 1923-4 and 1924-5. We have the complete draft of these courses.

All that remained to be done was to give it the form of a book. Two-thirds of this task was done when Hubert died. The manuscript was in almost perfect condition, notes included, down to the end of the second part (the chapter on the Celts of the Danube).² Beyond that point the executors of Hubert's wishes had only his course of lectures, which, it is true, was in an admirable state. The illustrations were almost entirely arranged.

It was our duty to make good the promise which he had made to our friend M. Berr. With the lectures, we have finished the book. For that there were three of us co-operating.

It was only right that M. P. Lantier, Hubert's successor at Saint-Germain and one of the men whom he had trained in archaeology, should draw up the text of what was lacking in the second part of the book.³ Here the lectures are in excellent condition. I myself have dealt with one chapter (second volume, Part II, Chapter I).

The third part of the book, that which treats of the social life and civilization of the Celts,⁴ has a different history. It had formed the subject of a very long course, lasting a year. But the present work, although published in two volumes, would have been too long for this series if Hubert had published without alteration the admirable matter which he had prepared with this intention. To come into line with the instructions of the director

¹ Together with another on the Germans, which, we hope, will appear shortly, with the aid of M. Janse.
² Second volume, pt. i, chap. ii.
³ Second volume, pts. i and ii.
⁴ Second volume, pt. iii.
and editors of the series, he had promised to summarize it in two chapters. In his place we have ventured, as we were bound to do, to fulfill this undertaking. For that purpose we have attempted the barbarous task of condensing into a few pages the matter of a large book. But, using only sentences taken from Hubert’s own text, and being authorized to abridge sometimes by his own notes, we are sure that we have never been untrue to his ideas, to his manner of expressing himself and proving his case. In this work M. Jean Marx, another pupil, historian and Celticist, has taken on most of the chapters. M. Lantier has written the summary of the lectures condensed in the paragraphs concerning the crafts and arts of the Celts. The chapter of Conclusions alone is rather patchy, since we had several versions to choose from.

We hope elsewhere to publish in full in another volume in Hubert’s name, this Course in the Descriptive Sociology of the Celts of which we here give only the fundamental idea.

M. Vendryès, who was a friend of Hubert, and from whom Hubert took lessons in Celtic, has revised the text and the proof-sheets of the chapters on language. His great authority guarantees the value of this part of the work.

In over thirty years of friendly collaboration Henri Hubert had satisfied himself that I was a faithful depositary of his ideas, and that I knew the secrets of his style well enough to be a conscientious editor of those parts of his work which had not been published and could be published. I have therefore assumed the responsibility for this book.

But it is fair to say that my part has chiefly consisted in associating myself with the work of Hubert’s two posthumous collaborators. Both, in addition to the labour of bringing the book out, have seen to it that it included all information received down to 1980. Moreover, M. Lantier has checked all Hubert’s references, added his own, and adapted them to the bibliographical methods of the series. He has also perfected and completed the illustrative material for which Hubert had provided.

The good things, then, which will be found here are Hubert’s and theirs; any mistakes which I have left in are mine. They are certainly not the doing of Henri Hubert. I sincerely believe that they will not be many, compared with the size and the
learning of a work like this. If we have been so daring as to expose ourselves to the risk of making them, it was to save the rest from oblivion.

Pie factum est.

To this note, which I owed to the reader, I may be allowed to add some scientific considerations regarding facts and method.

First as to method. Hubert would, no doubt, have explained somewhere the methods of archaeology and ethnographic history which he followed and perfected from year to year in the immense work which he did as Keeper at the Museum of National Antiquities at Saint-Germain. Being no lover of adjectives, he would not have expatiated on their excellence, but he would certainly have explained their principles. I merely ask the reader to pay attention to them. I must tell him that this work, like the forthcoming book on the Germans, and all Hubert’s courses in prehistory, formed part of an ethnographic history of Europe and mankind which he had in view. And I may permit myself, being myself a sociologist and ethnologist, as Hubert was, to emphasize the agreement of history, so understood in this book, with the other branches of learning on which Hubert left his mark—sociology and prehistoric archaeology. There is no opposition between these branches of knowledge, in Hubert’s mind, or in the facts, or in logic, neither for us nor for anyone, in the case of a complete account of human events such as is attempted here.

There is another consideration, of facts this time. One must feel how completely some of Hubert’s fundamental ideas, historical ideas regarding the origins of the Celts, have been justified. Our friend was not a man to glory when the facts confirmed hypotheses which he had put forward. For one thing, as you will see, he offers very few hypotheses. It was not that he was not capable of inventing many, and those very just. But he made it a strict rule never to formulate one prematurely. In this matter he showed a delicate and scrupulous modesty. In the expression of his personal beliefs in history, he always came far short of his conviction of their truth. Those who are experts in these matters will see clearly that he accepted very few of the orthodox assumptions which, often without foundation, make the texture of almost all our current knowledge of the Celtic world. He recognized none as valid and reasonable until he had
tested it himself; he used his criticism on himself, and never offered anything as certain except facts.

Yet this strict method led him to the most distant truths. I may justifiably extol the excellence of his reasoning, and call attention to the brilliant confirmation which some of his leading ideas on the early homes of the Celts and their contacts with other civilizations have received from recent discoveries. I am speaking of the great number of works which have revived the question, since the discoveries of Winckler and the decipherment of inscriptions by Hrozny, Forrer, and others threw new light on the languages of Asia Minor and Hither Asia, commonly classed together as Hittite, and since we obtained a clear notion of the archaeology of the civilizations—very mixed in origin, but fairly uniform—of the whole area in which those languages were spoken for nearly a thousand years. This new knowledge led M. Meillet and others to conceive in a new fashion, no longer only linguistic, but historical, clear, probable, and proved (by the best of all proofs, that of the document, written or otherwise, found in situ), something which they had not previously been able to conceive with the same definiteness—the antiquity, the kinship, and even the certain contacts of the two groups of languages, Italo-Celtic and Indo-Iranian, and their relations with this Hittite group. So, to-day, we no longer suppose; we are beginning to know when and where things happened, if nothing more.

At the end of his life Henri Hubert was fully acquainted with all this new material in history, archaeology, and historical philology, which was beginning to accumulate, even if order and clarity were not brought into it until after his death. In any case, he knew that it agreed with what he had written here of the very early breaking-off of the first Goidelic branch and the contact, direct and indirect, which the Celts had had and maintained with the East, the Near East and even further countries. And he knew that he himself contributed to these researches by remarking on the almost Celtic character of the torques and bracelets of Byblos and the tombs of Kutais. He only suggested

these connections, without any emphasis. Let me say outright that he always believed in them, and that they lay at the bottom of his oral teaching.

The recent discoveries would have led him on to further discoveries yet. On this point he had unique knowledge. He had the double competence of a Celticist and an Assyriologist. And what an archaeologist he was! He stood at a point where history and archaeology met, and he could survey the whole question.

It was worth while to note here the historical value of his general theories. And I shall be forgiven the melancholy pleasure which I take in saying here what a discoverer we have lost.

M. M.
INTRODUCTION

I

THE BARBARIANS

THE European borders of the Graeco-Roman world were inhabited by barbarians, some of whom have earned a place in history. There were the Scythians in the east, the Iberians and Ligurians in the west, and the Thracians, Illyrians, Germans, and Celts in the centre. Classical authors took the trouble to write down their names, and some inquired with curiosity into their life and manners. Mediterranean merchants visited them, and may have penetrated among the very remotest, in search of amber, tin, furs, and slaves. Barbarians appeared in Greek and Italian cities as slaves or travellers. There were certainly some among them who were prophets of civilization, and some were cited as models of wisdom.

As Greece and Italy expanded, the nearest of these barbarians were absorbed by them. Others, later, appearing on the horizon like a hurricane, waged furious war on Greece and Rome. In any case, they entered into various kinds of relations with classical civilization and with the Roman Empire, which became its base, and thereby were to some extent incorporated in that civilization and with it helped to make the civilization of the future.

We shall attempt to draw a historical outline for the best-known of these peoples, the Celts and the Germans. Some of the others will come into the story incidentally. Those not mentioned in this history of the Celts, nor in that of the Germans, nor in previous volumes of this series dealing with Greece and Rome, belong to the domain of prehistoric archaeology.

II

THE CELTS AND THE GREEKS

This is what the Greek writers tell us of their advance. We are given two dates which enable us to judge from the
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Greek point of view: one by the Hesiodic poems, and the other by the historian Ephoros who lived in the second half of the fourth century before Christ. The former suppose that there is in the north-west of the "world" a great Ligurian region; the latter imagines a great Celtic region.

At the time when the Hesiodic poems were written the Ligurians were one of the three great peoples which dwelt at the ends of the world known to the Greeks:

Ἀθλοπάσ τε Λίγυς τε ἵδε Σκύθας ἵππημολυνός.

This line in the Catalogues (fr. 132) must date from the beginning of the sixth century. A hundred years later the first Greek historian, Hecataëos of Miletos, in his Europe talks of a Celtic part of this Liguria; the lexicographer Stephanos of Byzantion quotes the Europe when speaking of Marseilles, which, like Hecataëos, he describes as "a city in the Ligystic country, near the Celtic country". Hecataëos also mentioned a Celtic city named Nyrax, which cannot be identified. Marseilles had been founded by Phocæan settlers about 600, a century before.

What exactly was the extent of this Ligystic country? There is an old periplus, or account of a voyage, perhaps written by a Marseilles man and probably at the end of the sixth century, which, after being refashioned several times, has come down to us in a Latin verse translation from the pen of one Rufus Festus Avienus, a person of consular rank who fancied himself as a man of letters. According to this account, the Ligurians had once extended as far as the North Sea, but had been driven back to the Alps by the Celts. But the peoples mentioned in the Ora Maritima of Avienus as dwelling near the Lake of Geneva bear names which have disappeared from geographical literature, and when, later than the original periplus, Aristotle speaks in his Meteorologica of the Perte du Rhône at Bellegarde, he still places it in Liguria, περὶ τῆν Λιγυστικὴν. Was this information out of date?

1 In Strabo, vii, 3, 7. "Ethiopians and Ligysans and mare-milking Scythians." Cf. d'Arbois de Jubainville, CCLVIII, xii, passim.
2 Stephanos, s.v.; for Narbonne, see Dottin, COXXII, p. 288. E. Philipon, in DXVI, p. 121, rejects the other passages from Hecataëos, in allegiance to his theory regarding the relative positions of the Ligurians and the Iberians, whom he places in the Marseilles district.
3 190-145.
4 637-640.
5 674-6.
6 i, 18.
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There was a time when the southern limits of the Celts lay there. Apollonios of Rhodes, who used the earlier geographers conscientiously, describes, in his Book IV, the Argonauts going up the Rhone, which they reached by way of the Po, and being tossed by storms on the Swiss lakes, under the Hercynian Mountains, which extend into the midst of the country of the Celts.\(^1\) In the time of Herodotos, whose information was far more up-to-date, the Celts were separated from the Mediterranean not only by the Ligurians but by the Sigynnes. These latter occupied the country inland from the Veneti on the Adriatic side.\(^2\) But their name was also to be found near Marseilles. "The Ligyes," says Herodotos, "dwelling in the heights above Marseilles, call small traders 'Sigynnes'." There was not one people, but a whole succession of peoples, between the Celts and the inhabitants of the Mediterranean coast, and these peoples practised a prosperous trade, as excavations bear witness. As late as about 350 that valuable geographical document, the *Periplus* attributed to Scylax of Caryanda, makes no mention of Celts on the coasts of the Western Mediterranean, and yet they were already very near.

Long before, they had come into contact on the Atlantic coast with mariners of Tartessus, who had eventually spoken of them to the people of Marseilles. The old *periplus* which Avienus translated mentioned them as being on the shores of the North Sea, from which they had driven the Ligurians.\(^3\) It designated Brittany, and also Spain, by the name of Óestrýmnis,\(^4\) in which we may perhaps see the name of the Osismii or the Ostieii, who still occupied Finistère in Cæsar's day. At the beginning of the fifth century Herodotos mentions them as being south of the Pyrenees, and probably on the Ocean. "The Danube," he says, "starts from the country of the Celts and the city of Pyrene, and flows all through Europe, which it divides in two. Now the Celts are outside the Pillars of Heracles, and march with the Cynesii, who are the westernmost people of Europe"\(^5\); and, indeed, Cape St. Vincent was in their territory.

\(^1\) *Argon.*, 627–647. The (probably late) author of the *Orphic Argonautica* likewise takes the Argonauts through the country of the Celts, and even to Ireland (1. 161).
\(^2\) *v.*, 9.  \(^3\) Avien., 130–145.  \(^4\) Avien., 91 ff., 152–5.  \(^5\) ii, 33; iv, 49.  Aristotle, in *Meteorologica*, i, 18, 19, repeats Herodotos's mistake about the sources of the Danube.
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The first Greek who was in a position to give more definite and circumstantial information about the Celts of the Ocean was a traveller of Marseilles named Pytheas.1 Unfortunately his account of his voyage, Of the Ocean, was severely mishandled by erudite persons, like Polybios and Strabo, for whose critical spirit it was too much. He was a strange individual, no doubt, but he knew as much of mathematics and astronomy as anyone of his time, and he had the spirit of the explorer. He embarked twice with a few companions in Phœnician vessels, and sailed from Spain to Britain, to distant Thule, and eastwards to Denmark, perhaps further. He saw the sea icebound, and days which lasted twenty-four hours. He came across the Osismii at the end of Finistère. He knew the Celtic name of the Isle of Ushant, "Uxisama," 2 that of Kent, "Cantion," 3 and also the name by which Britain was to be henceforth always called, "the Pretanic Isles," which superseded its Ligurian or Iberian name of Albion.4 Pytheas lived in the fourth century. Some decades after his time the Sicilian historian Timæos stated that the rivers which flow into the Atlantic went through the Celtic country.5

So the Greeks knew that the Celts had arrived on the coasts of the western seas before 600 B.C. and on the Atlantic seaboard of Spain before 500, and that those of them whom we now call the Brythons had reached Britain and Brittany and occupied the whole of the Gallic coast of the Ocean before 800. By that time they had at last come down on to the Mediterranean, but only within the last few decades. On the whole, it was on the Atlantic side that the Celts first came into direct contact with the Mediterranean mariner. Behind Pytheas lay a long past of seafaring—Ægean, Mycenæan, and Tartessian—in the course of which Northern Europe had received much of Mediterranean civilization. The navigators of the West knew the Celts, the names of their countries and of their peoples; things on the Celtic coast were familiar to them and, so far as the Greeks were concerned,

1 D'Arbois, CCXLVIII, xii, pp. 68 ff.; Müllenhoff, CCLXII, i, pp. 327 ff.; Jullian, CCXLVII, i, pp. 415 ff.; A. Blazquez, in XXXVI, Jan.–Mar., 1913.
2 Loth in CXL, x, p. 352.
3 Strabo, i, 4, 3; Rhys, CXXX, p. 22; Irish côté, market.
4 E. Philipon, CCLXI, pp. 294 ff.
5 Fr. 36, in Plutarch, De Plac. Phil., iii, 17, 2.
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could be brought into the domain of Greek legend, whereas, hidden behind misty mountains, the Celts of the Continent were still something mysterious and remote. No doubt the mariners of that time could keep their discoveries secret. There were, too, catastrophes in the Mediterranean world in which local traditions were lost. Nevertheless, a writer who about 150 B.C. could say that the discovery of the countries on the Great Ocean was quite recent was displaying lamentable ignorance. But the great majority of the Greeks were no wiser. Meanwhile, the whole interior of the Celtic region and the movements of the Celts remained quite unknown to the mass of Greeks and Romans until Cæsar conquered Gaul.

In the Mediterranean region, on the other hand, the Celts advanced rapidly from the fourth century onwards. One fine day the Greeks, or rather the Macedonians, found themselves face to face with their military organization to the north of the Balkans. This was in the time of Alexander, in 335 B.C. Alexander, in the course of an expedition against the Getæ, was receiving the representatives of the Danubian peoples. "Some, too, came," says Arrian, "from the Celts established on the Ionic Gulf." Alexander received them amicably. This was the occasion on which he asked them, at a feast, what they feared most in the world. "That the sky should fall on our heads," is their alleged reply. The scene was described, so Strabo assures us, by Ptolemy, son of Lagos, who added that the Celts of the Adriatic coast (τοὺς περὶ τῆν Ἀδριατικὴν) had entered into bonds of friendship and hospitality with him.

If these Celts who came to Alexander really lived on the Adriatic, they came from the Italian coast of that sea. The story of the events which had brought them thither had already reached Greece. In his Life of Camillus Plutarch quotes a curious passage from Hecaleides Ponticos,

1 e.g., the legend of Geryon. Cf. Reich, CCCLXXII, pp. 121, 177; CCCLXXIV, i, p. 244.
2 Polybios, iii, 37–8. For Greek ignorance of geography, see Bertrand and Reich, DXLII, p. 4. Cf. Xenophon, Cyr., 2.
3 Cicero, Ep. clxii.
4 Anab., i, 4, 6.
5 vii, 3, 8.
6 The Periplus of Scylax (18–19) speaks of Celts on the Adriatic as early as 350.
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a philosopher of the fourth century. "Heracleides," he says, "relates in his Treatise on the Soul that news came to Pontus, simultaneously with the event, that an army from the land of the Hyperboreians had taken a Greek city named Rome, situated near the Great Sea." 1 He was astonished at the speed with which the news had travelled, and it seems to have created some excitement. It was a kind of cataclysm, and one could not foretell how far-reaching it might be; and it is plain that the world of the Greek cities of Italy, no longer at their best in military power, was alarmed.

The events which followed the fall of Rome brought the Celts into more direct contact with the Greeks, but lacked the sensational effect of the capture of Rome and the legendary glamour of the meeting with Alexander. After Rome was delivered, the Celts had returned and gone past it. In 367 they were in Apulia. In the previous year Dionysios I of Syracuse, having treated with them, took a band of them into his service and sent them to the aid of the Macedonians against the Thebans. 2 This was really the first occasion on which the Greeks as a whole came into contact with the Celts.

Just about this time the historian Ephoros substituted the Celts for the Ligurians among the three great peoples on the circumference of the world, and assigned to them the whole north-west of Europe as far as the borders of the Scythians. 3

Some years after the appearance of the Celts at the camp of Alexander, in 310, a sudden disaster fell on the Antariatae, a great Illyrian people living north of the Veneti. They started fleeing en masse. There was talk of plagues, of lands ravaged by invasive mice. 4 It was a great Celtic incursion, led by a chief named Molistomos. The flying Antariatae came up against the Macedonians, who defeated them and then settled them down. But the collapse of the Antariatae was like the breaking of a dike. Celtic bands invaded Greece and looted Delphi. They did not stop until they reached Asia Minor, where they founded Galatia. Others went on along the coast of the Black Sea to the Sea of Azov. There the ancient geographers place the extreme limit of their advance.

1 xxii, 2-3.
2 Justin, xx, 4, 9; Xen., Hell., vii, 1, 20, 31; Diod., xv, 70.
3 Fr. 38; Strabo, iv, 40; Diod., v, 25, 4; 32, 1.
4 Appian, Illyrica, 4.
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At the same time others were at last coming, through the midst of Iberians and Ligurians, to the shores of the Gulf of Lions, where Hannibal found them established in 218. Later the conquest of the Province, followed by that of Gaul, brought them into the orbit of a Mediterranean empire. Then they found someone to write about them in Poseidonios, who visited them as Pytheas had done their ancestors, but was happy in inspiring more confidence than his predecessor.

From this survey we see that the rise of the Celts, from their first appearance on the Greek horizon, was extremely rapid. For in three hundred years they attained the height of their power. Also we see that it occurred at the same time as that of the Latins and shortly after that of the Greeks, for the Celts entered into Greek history after that history had begun.

III

CELTIC MIGRATIONS AND THEIR DIRECTION

But we see something else: that the Celts whom the amber-traders encountered on their journeys up the Rhone and Danube, and the coasting vessels found again on the low shores of the North Sea, must have belonged to a people which came originally from Central Europe, gaining ground westwards at the expense of the Ligurians and Iberians, and had its first centre of gravity towards the east of the region which it occupied when it attained its greatest extension. A map of their present location gives quite a different picture. It is in the very west of Europe, in the islands and peninsulas, in the Finistères and Land’s Ends in fact (Map 1), that the Celtic languages are still spoken—in Ireland, in the Isle of Man, in Wales, in the north of Scotland and the neighbouring isles, and in the tip of Brittany west of a line drawn from Morbihan to Saint-Brieuc. Cornish was spoken in Cornwall down into the eighteenth century.

Which is the truer picture? Did Celticism survive in

1 Schulten, DXIX, i, p. 96. The Celts are said to have been reported on the shore of Provence in the time of Timæos, who wrote about 260, for the following passage in Polybios (xii, 28a) is ascribed to him: πολυπραγμονήν τά Λυγυρών ἡν καὶ Κελτῶν, ἄρα ἐκ τῶν ιβηρίων.

2 Ripley, OCCLXXVIII, p. 23.
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...the western end of its domain because it was most firmly established there, or because it was driven there? Is it not in these parts that we should look for the main mass of the Celts, their origin, and their purest type? Is it not an abuse and a faulty interpretation of a collection of historical texts.

MAP 1. The Movement of the Celts and their Present Habitat. (W. Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, p. 313.)
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to look elsewhere? Here, at the beginning of a story bristling with contradictions, is a first conflict.

The impression given by the map of to-day could be confirmed by traditions and facts. Livy regarded Gaul as the centre of the Celts and the starting-point of their migrations. Cæsar asserts that the institution of the Druids originated in Britain. When the Roman Empire declined bands of Irishmen came as adventurers to Gaul and as settlers to Britain; the kingdom of Scotland was their most lasting foundation. The Celts of Britain were not behindhand; they colonized Armorica, which they made into what we call Brittany.

But these are untrue traditions or mere individual facts. In the main the Celts, after advancing to the west of Europe, retreated in the same direction. If we look carefully at the map we shall see that the districts where they are found are refuges. The Celts came to a stop there at the sea, clinging to the rocks. Beyond the sea was their next world. They stayed on the shore, waiting for the ferry, like the dead in Procopios. One of the nicest stories in the collection of epic and mythical tales which forms the Welsh Mabinogion 1 relates the adventures of a Roman emperor, Macsen Wledig, who, having fallen asleep while hunting and dreamed of a wonderful princess, set out to seek her, and found her in Britain. She was called Elen Llyyddawg, “Leader of Hosts.” The emperor married her, and with her he raised Britain to its greatest power and glory. But Rome had forgotten him, and he had to reconquer it. Britain sent forth hosts which never came back, and the army of Elen Llyyddawg dwells in Llydaw, or Litavia, the country of the dead. Apart from the few facts of purely local significance mentioned above, none but phantom armies or armies of romance—like that of Arthur, who likewise conquered Gaul and Italy and Rome—ever went out from the British Isles to occupy the lands to which the Celtic name is attached. What now remains of the Celts, in the west of their ancient dominion, was driven there and confined there by other peoples arriving or growing up behind them. This general movement of

1 Loth, CCLXX, i, pp. 210 ff., “Le Songe de Maxen Wledig.” Macsen is simply the usurper Maximus, who commanded in Britain under Gratian, was proclaimed Augustus in A.D. 388, and was defeated and slain by Theodosius in August, 388.
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expansion and contraction taking the Celts to the west and
confining them there may be called the law of Celticism.
It must be studied as a capital fact of European history.

IV

WHAT REMAINS OF THE CELTS AND THEIR PART IN
HISTORY

The greatness of the Celts has gone, but what has it left
behind? A remnant of Celtic tongues, of which only one,
Irish, is endeavouring to-day to become once more the
speech of a nation; a fringe, of varying depth, in which
Celtic died out only recently and its long survival is attested
by place-names and folk-lore; and, lastly, in regions where
the Celts were subdued, assimilated, or wiped out in ancient
times, recognizable descendants, traces of their social
structure, the spirit of their civilization, or, at least, the dead
records of history and archæology. The Celts, who have
almost disappeared from Western Europe, are one of the chief
elements of which it is composed. In one place this element
reveals itself in individual characteristics; in another
in collective characteristics. This is particularly the case in
France, where the Celtic inheritance seems to be greatest
and least diffused.

The Celts were preceded in Gaul by Iberians and
Ligurians, who left indelible traces of their occupation in the
names of rivers and mountains ¹ and perhaps of a few towns.²
They have bequeathed to the French much of their blood,
but apparently nothing of their social structure. They were
clearly not mere hordes, but organized societies. Records of
that pre-Celtic past, such as the megalithic monuments,
bear witness to common effort and a social life. But all that
has survived of that is preserved only within the structure
of Gaulish society and under Gaulish names. While the
physical geography of France is dotted with Ibero-Ligurian
names, the oldest features of her political geography are
Gaulish, and these are the fundamental features.

¹ For the Ligurians, see d'Arbois, CCCII, ii, pp. 87 ff.; Dottin, CCCXXXI,
² For the Ligurians, see Philipon, op. cit., pp. 129 ff.; DXVI, p. 180.
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The large towns of modern France, save for some exceptions which are easily explained, were the capitals of Gallic peoples or of sub-groups which formed those peoples. Their boundaries are almost exactly followed by modern administrative divisions. Arras was the town of the Atrebates; Amiens, of the Ambiani; Rheims, of the Remi; Soissons, of the Suessiones; Senlis, of the Silvanectes; Paris, of the Parisii (the Silvanectes and Parisii were sub-groups of the Suessiones); Troyes, of the Tricasses; Langres, of the Lingones; Chartres, of the Carnutes. At the time of the Roman Conquest the peoples were in process of becoming cities. Their meeting-places or strongholds were developing into towns. That is why most French towns are called after the names of peoples. The old names of Rheims (Diviocortorum), Paris (Lutetia), and Soissons (Noviodunum, now Pommiers, near that city) have vanished. The territories of the Gallic peoples became those of the Roman civitates and pagi, the centres of Roman Gaul, and these became bishoprics and bailliwicks (the latter word being perhaps Celtic).¹

Of these Gallic peoples some may have previously been Iberian or Ligurian. But even in the south, in Aquitaine, where the foreign character of the communities was manifest to outsiders like Cæsar and his men, the political stamp of the Gauls was deeply impressed.² But it must not be thought that Gaul was mainly an Iberian or Ligurian society, politically assimilated by its conquerors and supplied by them with names with Celtic inflexions. It was not. In the greater part of Gaul the Celts chose their places of residence for themselves. Where they established themselves on the site of earlier settlements, these latter seem as a rule to have already disappeared when the Celts took possession. There were in Gaul cities or fortified villages of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. The Celts did not settle in them at once, or if they did they abandoned them and did not return till long afterwards. In short, they did not take over from the first inhabitants. They built their own houses and cities; they arranged the country to suit themselves, and as they arranged it so it still remains, for wherever the Celts

¹ Irish, baile, district, estate of a great family.
² See the following volume in this Series.
established themselves permanently, without exception the French have remained. They were the founders of the towns and villages of modern France. Doubtless, the Celts had neither the same needs nor the same methods of making use of the soil as their forerunners. That is why they settled in other places. They have bequeathed to France habits which have outlived the reasons for them. For example, they have left their system of land-measurement. The Gaul which Cæsar conquered was so well surveyed that the officials of the Roman fiscus had only to enrol the Gallic surveyors, from whom they took over some technical terms, and in any case their measures; the arpent and the lieue are Celtic.\(^1\) The face of France is still very much what the Celts made it.

In short, from the coming of the Celts to France, and from then only, the groups of men established there adopted a structure which is still to be seen in French society. The origins of the French nation go back to the Celts. Behind them there is a formless past, without a history or even a name.

Our societies—nations, as they now are—are complex things, composed of elements of different kinds, some physical and some moral. They are not formed by the mere adding on of features. Their growth may be compared to that of a crystal. In French society the first element to cause the mixture to crystallize was the Celtic element, and the process of crystallization has been so well defined that the crystal has preserved its bold edges and its clear facets.

It is more correct to say that Gaul first began to look like France when the main body of the Celtic peoples was settled west of the Rhine. At that time there were still Celts in Spain, in Italy, and in Asia Minor, but after that, as one section after another was conquered by alien races, they disappeared or lost their identity. These were not driven into Gaul. Those on the right bank of the Rhine were driven to the river after long wars. In Gaul they formed a more concentrated mass, and were able to assimilate everyone else. A fairly loose political organization was formed; a national consciousness, cloudy but capable of occasional flashes, came into being. The nation was in process of formation when the Romans conquered it. It did not sink

\(^1\) Arpent = arepennis, Irish airchenn; lieue (league) = leuca.
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in the wreck of the Roman Empire.¹ Like Poland, it survived conquest.

Thus I am inclined to think, without being quite sure, that the conflicts which ended with the Celtic peoples finding themselves west of the Rhine contributed to the making of the nation. I say that I am not sure because, among the information which has come down to us from the ancient writers, there is no sign that the Belgæ, who were the last to have to maintain these conflicts, were conscious of any opposition, racial or national, between themselves and the Germans. On the other hand, it is my belief that the invasion of the Cimbri had quite certain effects. We see from reading Cæsar that that of Ariovistus threatened to be followed by others.

But if a nation already existed it was because that which makes the deep-seated unity of a nation existed—a common ideal, the same ways of thinking and feeling, in short, everything that nations express by symbols and all the most intimate part of their civilization. For the Celts, like the Greeks, were more united, more consciously united, by their common ways of thinking and feeling than by their sense of nationality. In speaking of them one may, without paradox, use the word “civilization” in its widest sense. The Greeks and Romans regarded them as barbarians, but as barbarians of a superior kind. They held that the Druids preserved the Pythagorean tradition. Cicero makes the Druid Diviciacus (an Aeduæan who really existed, a combination of churchman and warrior) a speaker in one of his dialogues.²

The ancients credited the Druids with metaphysical speculations of which all trace has vanished. I should say, rather, that the Druids—judges, physicians, directors of consciences, and poets as they were—were moral observers and psychologists. It is true that they studied the metaphysics of death, but that borders on psychology. The Celts thought much about death; it was a familiar companion whose alarming character they liked to disguise. All that has come down to us from the Druids themselves is one of the tripartite maxims of which the Celts are known to have been fond. This is the form in which Diogenes Laertios gives it in the

¹ Jullian, CCCXLVI, pp. 154 ff. ² De Div.
preface to his Lives of the Philosophers: Σέβειν θεούς καὶ μηδὲν κακόν δρᾶν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἀσκεῖν—"To worship the gods, to do nothing base, and to practise manhood." ¹

It is a moral maxim of a fairly noble and manly kind.

But we catch a glimpse of the spirit of their doctrine and the soul of Celticism in the literatures of Ireland and Wales. These literatures, especially the Irish, are to a great extent sententious, or gnomic. Even in the narrative parts the gnomic spirit appears frequently. But these narratives are surprisingly successful in the creation of characters, especially for a literature which has left no trace of drama. In the epic of Ulster the hero Cuchulainn, King Conchobar, the Druid Cathbad, and Queen Medb are types whose individuality is all the more remarkable since the works in which they appear are not altogether works of art. The Celts of Gaul deliberately jettisoned the whole of their epic tradition for the sake of the more sophisticated culture which the Romans brought. But they must have kept its spirit; it is to that that I should attribute the dramatic character which the history of France spontaneously assumes in the writings of its chroniclers. For in what other history are social standpoints so happily expressed in the typical figures of heroes?

The archaeology of Roman Gaul is deceptive as to the kinship of the French people. The Gallo-Romans mostly continued to be disguised Celts. So much was this the case that after the Germanic invasions we find modes and tastes which had been those of the Celts reappearing in Gaul. They survived the impress of Rome. Romanesque art often recalls Gallic art, or that of the Gallic stone-masons working in the Roman manner, so that one is sometimes misled.² But that is only one sign. Language is another. The Romans slowly imposed their speech on Gaul. But French is Latin pronounced by Celts and applied to the needs of Celtic minds. The analytical character of the verb, the use of demonstratives and demonstrative particles, the turn of the spoken sentence, are common to French and the Celtic languages.³

In short, the civilization of the Celts lies at the bottom of

¹ 6.
² e.g. the monument at Virecourt, sometimes regarded as Romanesque, sometimes as Gallic.
³ Dottin, CXVII, pp. 77–9.
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French civilization, just as the nation into which the Celts of Gaul were beginning to form is at the bottom of the French nation. It is a commonplace to tell the French how Gallic they are. Much of the Celts, then, remains where the Celtic name is lost.

But so far as Celtic social organization is concerned, all the upper parts have gone. The state in France is not Celtic; it is Germanic or Roman. No Celtic state has survived; Scotland is the ghost of one, and Ireland is a new creation. Celticism has left only possibilities of nations. It survives only in the foundations of our Western Europe and has made hardly any contribution to its superstructures. It failed through defects of organization which we shall have to examine.

The part played by the Celts in history was not political, for their political formations were unsound. But it was the part of civilizers. One especially characteristic thing happened when they absorbed Roman civilization—the wonderful development of Roman schools, which succeeded the Celtic schools of the Druids. Gaul got her classical culture from Gallic teachers, trained by the Druids, and, what is more, some of them were fit to teach in Rome. Naturally they could interpret Mediterranean civilization—science, art, philosophy, and moral culture—to the Gauls better than foreigners could have done. But it is an interesting fact that they did so act as interpreters. Later, in the Middle Ages, Irish monks brought Europe back to the cultivation of letters and Greek and Latin philosophy. Earlier the Celts had been the middlemen who brought Greek civilization to Central Europe, where they had not failed to propagate their own culture.

The Celts were torch-bearers in the ancient world, and the French have succeeded them. With their love of beauty and general ideas the French have acted in Europe as the middlemen through whom it has received the lofty, mellow civilizations of antiquity which they have helped to make into the civilization of the world. The Celts contributed certain forms of sensibility and humanity which are still the possession of Western Europeans and of the French.

1 e.g. the school of Autun (Tac., Ann., iii, 43).
When ancient historians speak of the Celts, they usually confine themselves to those of the Continent; in other words, to the Celts of Gaul, the Gauls, whose progress can be followed with the aid of those writers and whose antecedents have been indicated above. The Celts of the British Isles are left to the Celtic student, and we have to turn to the philologist and other specialists. In this work we shall deal both with the Celts of the Continent and with those of the islands, and we shall most certainly find that we cannot possibly understand the history of the former if we ignore the latter.

The Celts of the islands have a literature which, except for a few Gallic inscriptions, constitutes the whole written tradition of the race. It is true that that literature all belongs to a time later than our period, and that the oldest of the manuscripts in which it is preserved is not earlier than the twelfth century. The languages in which it is presented are already a long way from the stage at which Gaulish stopped. At first sight, it seems rash to connect data which appear so far removed from each other and so unrelated in time or place.

Nevertheless, the very difference between the dialects, Irish on the one hand and Welsh or British on the other, brings us face to face with a really fundamental fact in the history of the Celts—with a kind of prehistoric cleavage of the Celtic body, parallel to a similar cleavage of the Italic peoples, to which I call attention at this early stage of my work, because archaeologists who study the Celts do not take it into account, or not sufficiently.

As for their literature, it is already generally accepted that it represents a tradition much older than the earliest date at which the surviving works were set down in writing. In the descriptions of objects of which the ancient literature of Ireland is so full, attempts have been made to identify weapons and jewels of the Hallstatt period, but this is,
in my opinion, a mistake. In any case, it contains traces of things belonging to a time three or four hundred years before Christ, of which we shall have to take note in our survey. I believe that its origins are still older and that it contains large remnants of a Pan-Celtic tradition, going back beyond the time when the Celts reached the British Isles. By analysis and comparison one may distinguish the different strata of this literary tradition. Even if its antiquity were less likely it would be unscientific to ignore it and deny its existence.

For the history of Celtic civilization, be it that of technical processes, trades, and domestic life, or that of social organization, clans, tribes, kingdoms, confederations, and the way in which they changed the face of the land, or, again, that of art and religion, the actual materials will be supplied chiefly by the literature and the law of the island Celts. But whether we consider institutions or characters—for it is very tempting to look to the Celtic epics and tales for psychological illustrations to a rather dry history—we must never forget that the Gauls whom Cæsar conquered had already advanced far beyond the type of civilization represented by the laws and epics of Ireland.

Lastly the island Celts are of interest to us in their development of the Celtic tradition, which, on the Continent, was diverted from its original course by the Roman conquest.

There are, moreover, several ways of utilizing literary or linguistic data to reconstruct the history of the Celts. Some very dubious methods have been employed—with some good result, to tell the truth, for it was the wild imaginings of the Celtic Academy that opened the way to prehistory. I shall try to adopt the sternest and most austere method.

VI

PLAN OF THIS WORK

First of all, we must try to define what we mean by "Celts". There is no real obscurity about the matter, but obscurities have arisen from the differences of the various
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groups of students which have dealt with the Celts, each from its own point of view. The elements from which we have to make up our picture do not agree exactly. We must interpret, select, and give each element its true and proportionate value. That which is least subject to controversy is the linguistic element. Celtic speech is the chief sign of Celtianness, if one may use the word. Anyone who spoke Celtic was a Celt, wherever he came from. Those who ceased to speak it disappeared among the peoples who absorbed them, and ceased to be Celts. But the smallest trace of Celtic speech, in names of men or places, in inscriptions or in later languages, proves beyond doubt the presence of the Celts at a certain place and at a certain date. We may accept it that the boundaries of the Celtic tongues correspond roughly to those of the Celtic communities and civilizations.

Secondly, we have to determine their changing boundaries, and for that purpose to discover the facts which make up the internal and external history of their communities, which have no history properly so called, so that we may see how they grew, how their tribes were grouped and how subdivided, and follow their wanderings, their colonizations, the concentric waves of their successive advances, their new settlements, the states which were created, and the nations which accumulated at the end of their journey to their Chosen Land.

Our evidence will be names—place-names, personal names, names of peoples attached to places. On the way, we shall come upon archaeological facts. These will take their place among the other evidence, and we shall see how fruitful that assemblage of different kinds of evidence can be.

In the course of this inquiry it will be necessary to venture outside our limits and to attempt a systematic account of Celtic civilization. We shall have to anticipate, and to define the civilization of La Tène, that is to describe the series of characteristic objects which the term covers, because those characteristic objects are just what we have to use as indications of race. For the same reason we shall have to note their chronological classification and the different forms which objects have in different periods.
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The last part of this work will be a study of Celtic civilization. Here some of the archaeological facts will come in again to bear witness to the industrial capacity of the Celts, their wealth, their trade, their way of life, and their dress. But we shall above all consider the structure of Celtic communities, the units of various sizes—family, tribe, nation—and the social activities—religion, art, etc.—which developed in those communities.
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<td>L'Impérialisme macédonien et l'hellénisation de l'Orient</td>
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