Redefining Ethnically Derived Conceptions of Nationalism:
Ireland's Celtic Identity and the Future[1]

Timothy J. White

Recent publications by geneticists have posited that Irish civilization originated from emigrants in what is today southern France and northern Spain several thousand years before Christ. This scholarship echoes recent debate spawned by archaeologists that the Irish were not, in fact, Celts. Combined, these arguments demonstrate that the Celtic basis of Irish identity is not fixed but, instead, a matter of continuing challenge and debate. Postcolonial scholarship suggests that efforts to define and redefine Irish identity need to be built on theories that recognize the social construction of identities. The effort to define and redefine Irish identity has been accelerated by the Celtic Tiger experience. This economic growth has had significant effects on Irish society in terms of secularization, immigration rather than emigration, and the integration of a global culture that goes far beyond the parochial confines of Irish nationalism's Celtic Twilight or mythical Gaelic past. The newest challenges to the Celtic identity of the Irish do not just come from geneticists questioning the origins of the Irish but the incorporation of thousands of foreign nationals who now live, work, and go to school in Ireland. This article attempts to historicize current challenges to cultural incorporation—most notably, the newest wave of immigration—by exploring the larger effort to define Celtic identity in the contemporary Irish context. By focusing on the constructed nature of identity, we can gain a better understanding of the way in which the Irish have defined their identity based on a national conceptualization of their archaeological, historical, and cultural past.

Professor Timothy J. White, white@xavier.edu,
Department of Political Science and Sociology, Xavier University, Cincinnati

1.   Genetic challenges to the Celtic identity of the Irish

A flurry of recent publications by geneticists has made many question the assumption that those who live in Ireland today have ancestors that came from the central European capital of Celtic civilization in the millennia before Christ. The findings of these geneticists indicate that the origins of the Irish today are not associated with the arrival of Central European Celts; rather, the Irish share a common genetic code with others on the Atlantic periphery of Europe whose ancestors inhabited this part of Europe after the last Ice Age (Hill, Jobling, and Bradley 2000; McEvoy, Richards, Forster, and Bradley 2004; Oppenheimer 2006; Sykes 2006). Based on analysis of the Y chromosome that is passed on from male ancestors and mitochondrial DNA that is transferred from female ancestors, Sykes (2006, 147-164) finds that the DNA of those in Ireland can be linked to several maternal clans and primarily one male line he labels Oisin. While Sykes (2006, 281) identifies the Irish as primarily Celtic in terms of their genetic origins, these Celts do not share common ancestry with those Celts who occupied central Europe and who were thought to have come to Ireland beginning around 500 BC. Instead, the Irish have a much longer ancestry on the island with its major genetic markers established probably at the end of the last ice age, somewhere around 6000 to 8000 BC.

Oppenheimer (2006) similarly emphasizes that the genetic origins of the contemporary Irish can be found in Iberia and the French Atlantic coast. He traces the confusion over the geographical origins of the Celts to an error in the writings of Herodotus who misplaced the Celts as being near the Danube rather than the Pyrenees where they were actually located (Oppenheimer 2006, 27-29). This analysis conforms to Collis' (2003) contention that the origins of Celtic civilization have been geographically misplaced and that Celtic civilization was farther west in Europe, centered in modern day France. While Oppenheimer (2006) identifies waves of later immigrants to Ireland since the Neolithic period who have clearly contributed to the genetic make-up of those who live in Ireland today, he fails to emphasize how these later migrations may have contributed as much or more to contemporary Irish identity than those who were the first to settle after the last Ice Age. This research, while admitting genetic variability and later contributions to the contemporary composition of the Irish, discounts the layered sense of identity present in Ireland today that we know is based on more recent waves of migration that have come to the island. It is just as likely that waves of migrants who made their way to Ireland during the Neolithic period challenged, altered, and redefined the identity of those who lived in Ireland as much as the Anglo-Normans and English and Scottish plantation settlers did when they arrived centuries later.

Even though Sykes and other scholars may pay some deference to the historical and mythical origins of national groupings, their search for a genetic basis of understanding, appreciating, or identifying a nation is fruitless. As Nash (2006, 13) argues, the search for ancient origins has to be understood in the context of the 'development of Irish cultural nationalism and political challenges to colonialism.' Those who insist that the Irish are not Celts are engaging in 'an internal postcolonial process of rethinking history, belonging and identity … in which the former colonial power works through its relationship to the former colony through a mixture of comedy, caricature and condescension' (Nash 2006, 27). Since much of the recent genetic work has been completed by British geneticists, the desire to somehow rationalize or justify an imperial past appears to be an important motivation for this research from an Irish nationalist perspective.

Those who seek to use genetics to assert an individual or group's identity fail to appreciate the social construction of identity. People learn who they are. Identity is not instinctive. While individuals born into families and groups may have little to say about how previous generations defined their identity, they have at least some latitude to modify existing conceptions of collective self especially in times of dramatic social change. Given the tremendous demographic and social change that has occurred in Ireland since the earliest ancestors of the Irish arrived and the numerous waves of migration that have come since, the far more important reality is that Irish identity as it exists today is not based on a single common ancestral father or some small number of women who were the ancestral mothers of the Irish today. Irish identity exists based on the accumulated legacy of previous generations and how they are interpreted today by the inhabitants of the island. Thus, the search for blood origins is as fruitless in the Irish context as it is in other historical analyses of the origins of nations (Smith 1994, 6).

2. Archaeological debates about Celtic origins

Those who emphasize the genetic basis of contemporary Celtic identity often build on the work of archaeologists, primarily Simon James (1999). James argued that those who have inhabited Ireland for the last three millennia do not share a common heritage with the Central European Celts of the *Hallstatt or La Tène* civilizations. The traditional nationalist interpretation of Irish archaeology emphasized the archaeology found in Ireland was from the *La Tène* and early Christian period (Jones 1997, 7-8; Woodman 1995, 286-288). This traditional approach to Irish archaeology has been challenged by recent scholarship, which emphasized the nexus between archaeology and nationalist discourse (Jones 1997, 6-9; Rowlands

1994; Trigger 1984 and 1995). Colin Renfrew (1987) was the first to confront the nationalist archaeological tradition in Ireland by arguing that prehistoric Celts did not exist in Ireland because their language and artifacts did not conform to a modern conception of a nation or ethnic group. James (1999) agrees that there is not enough continuity in the relics and other archaeological evidence found in Ireland to call those who lived there Celts because they did not share enough similarity to those who had emigrated to Ireland from Central Europe. By the time descendents of the Celts of Central Europe, the *Hallstatt* Civilization, made it to Ireland, they had lost whatever historical claim they had to be Celts. James (1999) contends that the Irish never claimed a Celtic identity until late in the eighteenth century when political ambition and a desire for independence from British colonialism created the political need for its creation. James is not alone in critiquing contemporary claims of Celtic identity due to a lack of continuity in the cultures and history of those who now claim to be Celtic (Chapman 1992; Fitzpatrick 1996). Because James (1999) fails to find archaeological evidence to support the claim of a Celtic civilization in Ireland, he believes the Irish should now forsake this fabricated identity.

Though James (1999) and more recently Collis (2003) criticize the Irish claim to Celtic origins, both fail to appreciate the significant scholarly literature that explains how integral archeology has come to be seen in the construction of the Irish national identity (Comerford 2003, 236-265; Cooney 1996; Hutchinson 2001). The Irish nationalist movement that began in earnest in the nineteenth century included a desire to find an archaeological basis of a mythical Gaelic or Celtic past. This pursuit accelerated as might be expected under of the aegis of the newly independent Irish Free State. The Irish government has spent and continues to spend considerable resources on archaeological work that preserves if not reinvents Irish heritage and identity. This perspective helps us understand that the motives and interests of archaeologists are based on the needs and interests of the era in which they live. Their work is part of the process by which the nation, especially its past is created, remembered, and revered. It is difficult to visit historic sites such as Newgrange and not appreciate the effort of Professor O'Kelly to identify the architectural feat of those who lived in Ireland in 3200 BCE. His recreation is not an attempt to discover or find history for history's sake but is part of a national project to demonstrate a group's achievement in the past and thereby give credence to contemporary claims of nationhood.

Some archaeologists, such as Cunliffe (2003, 139), understand that human groups such as the Irish have 'a need that requires the constant restatement and reinterpretation of the many symbols of their perceived ethnicity. The concept of the Celt is ever evolving.' Cunliffe (2001) has emphasized the commonality of Atlantic peoples and thereby minimized the connections of those who lived on the periphery of Europe, including Ireland, from those who lived in the middle of the

continent. More important than the origins of those who now live in Ireland is the relationship that those who now live in Ireland have with those they identify as Celts. Megaw and Megaw (1996) concur that perceptions of ethnicity and identity are influenced by the context in which they are formed. They contend that the continuity of Celtic civilization from the Iron Age to the present is not based on a continuity of genetic lineage, culture, or language but the effort of those living on the fringes of a defining power (first the Romans and more recently the British empire) to oppose this central power and maintain a unique identity. Dietler (1994, 597) contends that it is this ambiguity regarding who the original Celts were that allows for the continuing process of redefinition of Celtic identity. The Irish have clearly defined their nation in terms of their difference from those who never conquered them (the Romans) or those that strove to conquer them (the British). Thus, the critical factor to understand the construction of Irish identity is to understand how it was created in oppositional terms to others, especially those who threatened their collective sense of self.

Collis (2003, 12) recognized that discovering the meaning of 'Celtic' required an appreciation of genetics, archaeology, linguistics, and sociology. This multidisciplinary approach challenges those who are trained in one specialty but must confront evidence and approaches by those who have very different skills, sources, and measurements. Archaeologists and geneticists are not particularly well-suited to explain identity in general and modern conceptions of Celtic identity in particular, but some scholars have attempted to link various disciplinary approaches to build the strongest case for or usually against the Celtic basis of Irish identity. Scholars like Sims-Williams (1998) who strive to find the connections between language and genetics find that there is not necessarily any connection between the two. The search for identity is better served by theories and approaches that emanate from the social sciences, for these disciplines are by definition more focused on the creation and nature of contemporary identity.

3. The social construction of identity

While one can choose to define identity in terms of a genetic or archaeological past, many believe that modern identities are formed by social constructions. Some argue that a common language has been the key to defining national identity in the recent past (Deutsch 1966; Hayes 1960; Shafer 1955; Snyder 1954). Indeed, most who study Celtic civilizations do so based on the assumption of a common linguistic tradition that has survived in a variety of national contexts. Oppenheimer (2006, 57), for example, finds evidence that the origins of later Celtic languages

can be traced back to southern France. Even if we can ascertain that a Celtic language arrived in Ireland from the same geographic region that gave birth to some of the genetic ancestry, this does not mean that linguistic, cultural, and racial migration occurred at the same time (Oppenheimer 2006, 98). It is clear that the Irish language played an important part in promoting the nationalist project in the late nineteenth century and thus coincided with the larger Celtic revival of that period (Comerford 2003, 121-152).

Although some might believe that language defines identity, most social scientists and theorists contend that modern identities are social constructs, not defined or limited by language, race, ethnicity, or any other concrete criteria. Alexander Wendt (1993) has been the leading figure in this new paradigm of constructivism in international relations. Others such as Benedict Anderson (1991), Partha Chatterjee (1993), and Ashis Nandy (1983) have been critical in developing this constructivist approach to the study of ethnic and national groups. It is upon this work that I will evaluate the constructed Celtic nature of contemporary Irish national identity. In terms of studying national groups and their identity, constructivism suggests that people belong to groups because they believe they do so. National identity is imagined or invented by those who seek a common identity (Anderson 1991; Hobsbawn and Ranger 1983; White, G. 2004). This is especially the case in postcolonial contexts where groups who seek independence need to develop a national myth that will motivate the public to defy the imperial power. The increased number and types of identities represents the dehegemonization of the Western dominated world and the dehomogenization of identities (Friedman 1992, 837).

Identity is learned or socially transmitted, not by genetic codes or even archaeological fragments that, in time, may become important relics or monuments and foster devotion to a national myth. Thus, the nexus between archaeology and identity is not based on a continuous tradition traced back to a unique origin but is rooted on the evolution of self-identification based on historical experience (Jones 1997, 13-14). Most now accept the mythical or contrived nature of social and political identity. Myths of meaning and remembrance provide the necessary framework for those who seek to understand who they are and how they are different from others (Flood 2002; Mali 2003; Tilly 2002). While the effort to find a genetic basis to contemporary identity may be a fascinating exercise for geneticists, it will do little to help explain the contour of contemporary national identities. It cannot remove the socially constructed differences that exist among those who occupy the islands off of mainland Europe.

In the Irish context I have argued that nationalists employed Gaelic or Celtic myths in order to construct the Irish nation (White, T. 2004). Garvin (2001, 1) contends that the myths associated with Irish nationalism are no more powerful or destructive

than those found in other nations. As those engaged in a struggle for independence from British rule sought to justify their claims for statehood, they looked back to a past that they thought was being denied or destroyed as a source of justification for their contemporary claims. History had to be rediscovered or reconstructed so that nationalist aspirations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century could be fulfilled. The myths that were either created or reinvented were critical to the effort to create a national story worthy of the sacrifice necessary to remove colonial rule. The Irish needed to prove to themselves as much as the British that they were a people, a nation, that was distinct in its history, identity, and aspirations. Myths played a powerful role in motivating the Irish nationalist movement and allowed it to be successful. Ultimately, this sense of identity incorporated a Celtic sense of self (Comerford 2003, 10-11).

4.   Postcolonial conceptions of Celtic identity

Since the 1990s postcolonial literary critics have played a prominent role in helping us understand the narrative or story created by Irish nationalists. The most important figure in this postcolonial approach to Irish nationalism is Edward Said (1993), whose work emphasized the contrapuntal nature of the relationship between colonizer and the colonized. This approach became one of the most popular means of analyzing Irish literature (Deane 1997; Kiberd 1996; Lloyd 1993; McCarthy 2007). Postcolonial literary critics primarily relied on reading the great and sometimes lesser known works of Irish drama, poetry, and prose as a means of identifying the underlying narrative of the conflict between the colonizer and the colonized in the British and Irish context. Not all agree with this postcolonial approach to Irish history and literature (Howe 2000; Mays 2007). Critics of postcolonial theory contend that there is too much continuity based on the colonial legacy that demonstrates that Irish history is not just an effort to rid society of British influence. Instead, the Irish consciously and freely chose to incorporate those elements of British culture and identity that suited their purposes. In fact, these choices allowed the Irish to become part of, or perhaps a subset of British culture. Despite criticisms of the postcolonial approach, I, like Nash (2006), will seek to explain the recent archaeological and genetic debate regarding the Celtic basis of Irish identity by focusing on how both Irish national identity and the recent debate regarding Celtic identity must be understood from a colonial and postcolonial perspective.

   This perspective allows us to understand the creation of Irish nationalism that built upon Celtic myths and identity in order to forge a nation and achieve

independence. The Irish nationalism project required a narrative, a story that would resonate with the Irish public. Irish elites, whether they be literary figures like Yeats, leaders in the Irish language movement such as Hyde, those involved in various aspects of the Irish cultural revival like Cusack with the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), or political leaders like Pearse sought to utilize those elements of a Celtic past that would help achieve their goal, an Irish nation (Comerford 2003; O'Kelly 2004, 510; White, T. 2004). Ireland's emergence as an independent state followed a very common pattern whereby former colonies gained their freedom and became a sovereign state by utilizing grievances against the metropolitan power to mobilize a mass movement for an idealized national identity (Roeder 2007, 6-9). After independence, Irish political life was characterized by an initial effort to demonstrate the virtues of the idealized Celt. De Valera's tenure as *taoiseach* can clearly be seen as one in which the postcolonial leader seeks to attain the aspirations of those who fought and achieved independence under the banner of anti-colonial nationalism (White 2006). Ireland's shift away from policies associated with this era of autarky and isolation has meant that the inherited Celtic basis of identity had to be redefined and adapted to Ireland's rapid socioeconomic change. This process is continuing as will be discussed in the wake of the Celtic Tiger phenomena of the last decade.

Most from the postcolonial school of analysis believe that the colonial experience is potent enough to explain the dynamic of modern nationalism as the means of resistance to imperialism. Some, however, argue that a nationalist theory based on race or ethnicity provides the continuity that this postcolonial understanding of nationalism lacks (Morash 1998, 213; Roosens 1989, 15). Racial or genetic theories then become more 'real' in the minds of some because of the continuity in the transmission of genetic codes from one generation to the next. This research is important in explaining physical characteristics and genetically based diseases and therefore has important potential contributions to medicine, but Irish identity is not transferred genetically. It has been created in the past and is constantly being modified and changed by those who identify themselves as Irish today.

Luke Gibbons (1996, 179) has contended that the greatest challenge to an understanding of Irish identity from a postcolonial perspective is the 'realization that there is no possibility of undoing history, of removing all the accretions of conquest.' Despite their effort since the nineteenth century to repudiate those things English in Irish society and replace them with an idealized and romanticized Celtic past, Irish nationalists have been at best partially successful in achieving a Celtic or Gaelic Ireland. More important than the language spoken by most or the other aspects of contemporary Irish culture that demonstrate the impact of British imperialism is the reality of a Celtic identity that does not have to be based on any Celtic practice or form that can be continually traced throughout history to some

ancestor. Kiberd (1996) has critiqued the lack of imagination of those who sought to revive a Celtic way of life for the Irish in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but perhaps more than imagination was required. Perhaps all that was achievable by Irish nationalists was to create an identity and realize that the impact of colonization was far too great to leave anything other than a hybrid culture that Said (1993) identifies as inevitable in the wake of imperialism.

5.   Multiculturalism and the future of Ireland's Celtic identity

As the Irish come to respect and acknowledge that which was incorporated into Irish culture from the centuries of British efforts to control the island, they will recognize that they can retain their Celtic identity even if their culture has integrated many elements of that which came from England. Today and in the future, the most important challenge to the Celtic basis of Irish identity will not be claims made by geneticists or archaeologists but the changes that have come to Irish culture as a result of the Celtic Tiger. This economic success has transformed Ireland and thereby challenged some of the assumptions associated with Irish identity (Spring 2006). Some critics of globalization depict the process as not beneficial and not meaningful. They cite more continuities than challenges in contemporary Irish identity and society as a result of globalization (Fagan 2003). Nevertheless, I contend that the changes that have come to Ireland are fundamental. This does not mean that all aspects of tradition have been forsaken, but it is obvious that many important aspects of Irish historical experience are no longer influencing nationalist discourse as they once did. The Irish nationalist claim on a Celtic past is increasingly challenged by a profound demographic shift that has moved Ireland away from a historic pattern of emigration that kept the parochial conception of the mythical Celtic origins of the modern Irish nation intact (Daly 2006). In the past decade immigration has replaced emigration, and this has meant that not only have many Irish returned to their homeland after decades living abroad but that many new arrivals have migrated to Ireland from a variety of national territories. This transition has created a multicultural Ireland for the first time since the Anglo-Norman and English and Scottish Plantation settlements centuries ago. Survey evidence from the last decade indicates that the Irish have become more exclusive in their attitudes toward the new arrivals to Ireland, and there is a correlation between nationalism and anti-immigrant sentiment (Watson, Phádraig, Kennedy and Rock-Huspatel 2007).

While some may fear the cultural challenges that these new immigrants pose (as Huntington (2004) is wary of the recent Hispanic migration to the United States),

the economic progress and hope that attracts many to its shores will allow the Irish to incorporate new ethnic groups into the nation. O'Kelly (2004, 520) fears that Irish identity was founded on cultural homogeneity and that this kind of identity will fail to protect the rights of those new arrivals in Irish society. I believe that the American experience offers hope that Irish society can successfully incorporate its new immigrants. In the United States the historic metaphor of melting pot has been replaced by the salad bowl, but the US remains a multicultural society redefining its identity based on the contribution and imagination of its recent immigrant populations. A recent US Secretary of State has written, '[n]ational identities are built on rose-colored memory and selected history' (Albright 2007, 302). If Americans can reimagine their identity as a nation of immigrants, the Irish can do the same if they come to appreciate the historic migration of peoples who have come to the island throughout the millennia. In the near term, recent immigrants to Ireland will feel estranged in this different land, but it is possible and perhaps even likely that, as their children are raised in Ireland and thereby join the Irish nation, these sons and daughters of Poland, Lithuania, the Philippines, China, and Nigeria will find that they can become Irish too. As invaders or settlers from previous generations found, they may become more Irish than the Irish themselves. If it is to survive, the Celtic basis of Irish identity will not be based on any common genetic codes that recent immigrants share with the extant Irish population. Instead, the future Irish identity will be based on how well contemporary Irish society can encourage recent immigrants to adopt the Celtic identity or another postnational conception of Irish citizenship (Delanty 2004). Clearly, this will require a significant reimagining of Celtic identity that goes beyond parochial conceptions that were the foundation of Irish nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Beyond the profound challenge of immigration to the inherited Celtic identity of the Irish is the challenge that comes from Ireland's rapid incorporation into the European and wider Western worlds. Ireland's postcolonial nationalism sought to isolate the Irish in a cultural sense from the challenge of those who lived beyond this island nation. As Ireland integrated through the media (television plays a very important role here), the Irish became more aware of what was available in the outside world. By the 1990s they had become one of the most materialist oriented national groups in the European Union (EU) (Inglehart 1997, 140). While the Irish have remained enthusiastic supporters of the EU, they have remained the second lowest among EU states in terms of self-identification as European (Green 2007, 59). Nevertheless, with the frenetic increase of economic activity and the concomitant technological improvements in transportation and communication, the Irish had become by 2002 the most globalized society (Kearney 2002, 39). The changes that have come to Ireland as the Irish increasingly travel and interact with

the world outside of Ireland are at least as profound in redefining the identity of the Irish as the recent influx of foreign born nationals.

Another important element of Irish national identity has been the close nexus between religion and nationalism. Growing secularization threatens to undermine this historic pillar of Irish identity. Some have cited the historical fusion of Celtic and Catholic identity (O'Brien 1994; White 2007). This fusion has meant that the Irish perceive the successful grafting of Christianity onto the Celtic culture at the time of Patrick's conversion resulted in a successful merger of pre-Christian and Christian spirituality in the Irish context (Walsh and Bradley 2003). Many of the recent immigrants that have come to Ireland are Catholic, so their religious traditions should not serve as an obstacle to their integration into Irish society. Like the Anglo-Normans of nearly a thousand years ago who came, conquered, and settled in Ireland, the common religious identity of these new migrants offers significant hope that over the next few generations these new arrivals will become Irish and incorporate those Celtic elements of culture and identity that remain in Irish society. More challenging to the Catholic basis of Irish identity is the growing secularization. This increasing concern for individual material self-satisfaction and gratification does not stress the otherworldliness that O'Faoláin (1949, 3) lists as a defining characteristic of the Celt. Perhaps future generations of more secular Irish will allow for this characteristic of Celtic identity that has been so closely linked to the Roman Catholic Church for the past 150 years to give way to a more pluralistic religious sense of self.

Ultimately, the long-term viability of the Celtic sense of Irish identity is up for future generations to decide. While it is possible that these generations will appreciate genetic and archaeological evidence that makes some historic claims regarding the Celtic basis of Irish questioned by some, they must decide how to interpret not only their understanding of the past but what of the past they seek to retain for the present and the future. The Irish, like others, will preserve their Celtic identity if they choose to do so. If nineteenth century Irish nationalists who lived in the Victorian era and under the British crown were able to identify with those who lived in ancient Ireland, twenty-first century Irish can, if they choose, reconfigure their Celtic sense of self to provide a viable identity for those who live in Ireland in the coming decades.

Bibliography

Albright, M. 2007. *The Mighty and the Almighty: Reflections on America, God, and World Affairs*. New York: Harper Perennial.

Anderson, B. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (Rev. Ed.). New York: Verso.

Chapman, M. 1992. *The Celts: The Construction of a Myth*. New York: St. Martin's.

Chatterjee, P. 1993. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Collis, J. 2003. *The Celts: Origins, Myths, Inventions*. Stroud: Tempus.

Comerford, R. 2003. *Ireland: Inventing the Nation*. London: Arnold

Cooney, G. 1996. 'Building the Future on the Past: Archaeology and the Construction of National Identity in Ireland'. In M. D Díaz-Andreu & T. Champion (eds.) *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*. Boulder: Westview, 146-163.

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

Cunliffe, B. 2001. *Facing the Ocean: The Atlantic and its Peoples 8000 BC – AD 1500*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Daly, M. 2006. *The Slow Failure: Population Decline and Independent Ireland, 1920-1973*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Deane, S. 1997. *Strange Country: Modernity and Nationhood in Irish Writing since 1790*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Delanty, G. 2004. 'From Nationality to Citizenship: Cultural Identity and Cosmopolitan Challenges in Ireland'. In A. Finlay (ed.) *Nationalism and Multiculturalism: Irish Identity, Citizenship and the Peace Process*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 183-206.

Deutsch, K. 1966. *Nationalism and Social Communication* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: M.I.T. Press.

Dietler, M. 1994. '"Our Ancestors the Gauls": Archaeology, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Manipulation of Celtic Identity in Modern Europe'. *American Anthropologist* 96, 584-605.

Fagan, G. 2003. 'Globalised Ireland, or, Contemporary Transformations of National Identity?' In C. Coulter & S. Coleman (eds.), *The End of Irish History? Critical Reflections on the Celtic Tiger*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 110-121.

Fitzpatrick, A. 1996. '"Celtic" Iron Age Europe: The Theoretical Basis'. In P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones, & C. Gamble (eds.) *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Consequences of European Communities*. London: Routledge, 238-255.

Flood, C. 2002. *Political Myth: A Theoretical Introduction*. New York: Routledge.

Friedman, J. 1992. 'The Past in the Future: History and the Politics of Identity'. *American Anthropologist* 94, 837-859.

Garvin, T. 2001. *Mythical Thinking in Political Life: Reflections on Nationalism and Social Science*. Dublin: Maunsel & Company.

Gibbons, L. 1996. *Transformations in Irish Culture*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Green, D. 2007. *The Europeans: Political Identity in an Emerging Polity*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2007.

Hayes, C. 1960. *Nationalism: A Religion*. New York: Macmillan.

Hill, E., M. Jobling, & D. Bradley. 2000. 'Y-Chromosome Variation and Irish Origins'. *Nature* 404, 351-352.

Hobsbawn, E. & T. Ranger. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Howe, S. 2000. *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Huntington, S. 2004. *Who are We? The Challenge to America's National Identity*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Hutchinson, J. 2001. 'Archaeology and the Irish Rediscovery of the Celtic Past'. *Nations and Nationalism* 7, 505-519.

Inglehart, R. 1997. *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

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

Jones, S. 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and the Present*. London: Routledge.

Kearney, A. 2002. 'Globalization's Last Hurrah?' *Foreign Policy* 128, 38-51.

Kiberd, D. 1996. *Inventing Ireland*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Lloyd, D. 1993. *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and the Post-Colonial Moment*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Mali, J. 2003. *Mythistory: The Making of Modern Historiography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mays, M. 2007. *Nation States: The Cultures of Irish Nationalism*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

McCarthy, C. 2007. 'Edward Said and Irish Criticism'. *Éire-Ireland* 42, 311-335.

McEvoy, B., M. Richards, P. Forster, & D. Bradley. 2004. 'The *Longue Durée* of Genetic Ancestry: Multiple Genetic Marker Systems and Celtic Origins on the Atlantic Facade of Europe'. *American Journal of Human Genetics* 75, 693-702.

Megaw, J. & M. Megaw 1996. 'Ancient Celts and Modern Ethnicity'. *Antiquity* 70, 175-182.

Morash, C. 1998. 'Celticism: Between Race and Nation'. In T. Foley & S. Ryder (eds.) *Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 206-220.

Nandy, A. 1983. *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Nash, C. 2006. 'Irish Origins, Celtic Origins: Population Genetics, Cultural Politics'. *Irish Studies Review* 14, 11-37.

O'Brien, C. 1994. *Ancestral Voices: Religion and Nationalism in Ireland*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

O'Faoláin, S. 1949. *The Irish: A Character Study*. New York: Devin-Adair.

O'Kelly, C. 2004. 'The Politics of Identity—V: Being Irish'. *Government and Opposition* 39, 504-520.

Oppenheimer, S. 2006. *The Origins of the British: A Genetic Detective Story of the English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers.

Renfrew, C. 1987. *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*. London: Jonathan Cape.

Roeder, P. 2007. *Where Nation-States Come From: Institutional Change in the Age of Nationalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Roosens, E. 1989. *Creating Ethnicity: The Process of Ethnogenesis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Rowlands, M. 1994. 'The Politics of Identity in Archaeology'. In G. Bond & A. Gilliam (eds.) *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as Power*. London: Routledge, 129-143.

Said, E. 1993. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage.

Shafer, B. 1955. *Nationalism: Myth and Reality*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.

Sims-Williams, P. 1998. 'Genetics, Linguistics, and Prehistory: Thinking Big and Thinking Straight'. *Antiquity* 72, 303-328.

Smith, Anthony. 2004. *The Antiquity of Nations*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004.

Snyder, L. 1954. *The Meaning of Nationalism*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Spring, D. 2006. 'Ireland as the Celtic Tiger: How Did It Happen?' In L. Harrison & P. Berger (eds.) *Developing Cultures: Case Studies*. New York: Routledge, 419-424.

Sykes, B. 2006. *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts: The Genetic Roots of Britain and Ireland*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Tilly, C. 2002. *Stories, Identities, and Political Change*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Trigger, B. 1995. 'Romanticism, Nationalism, and Archaeology'. In P. Kohl & C. Fawcett (eds.) *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univesity Press, 263-279.

Trigger, B. 1984. 'Alternative Archaeologies: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist'. *Man* 19(3), 355-370.

Walsh, J. & T. Bradley 2003. *A History of the Irish Church 400-700 AD*. Dublin: Columba Press.

Watson, I., M. Nic Ghiolla Phádraig, F. Kennedy, & B. Rock-Huspatel 2007. 'National Identity and Anti-Immigrant Attitudes'. In B. Hilliard and M. Nic Ghiolla Phádraig (eds.) *Changing Ireland in International Comparison*. Dublin: The Liffey Press, 217-242.

Wendt, A. 1992. 'Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics'. *International Organization* 46(2), 391-425.

White, G. 2004. *Nation, State, and Territory: Origins, Evolutions, and Relationships* (Vol. 1). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

White, T. 2007. 'Catholicism and Nationalism in Ireland: From Fusion in the 19th Century to Separation in the 20th Century'. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 4(1), 47-64.

White, T. 2006. 'Elite Construction of Identity: Comparing Nehru and de Valera as National Founders'. In T. Foley & M. O'Connor (eds.) *India and Ireland: Colonies, Culture, and Empire*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 256-267.

White, T. 2004. 'Mythmaking and the Creation of Irish Nationalism in the 19th Century'. *Studi Celtici* 3, 325-339.

Woodman, P. 1995. 'Who Possesses Tara? Politics and Archaeology in Ireland'. P. Ucko (ed.) In *Theory in Archaeology: A World Perspective*. London: Routledge, 278-297.