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Dissertation Summary

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Revivalist Movements in Brittany, Ireland, Scotland and Wales around 1900: Discursive Strategies of Self-representation and Relationship to Celtic Identity

Obrozenecká hnutí v Bretani, Irsku, Skotsku a Walesu kolem roku 1900: Diskurzivní strategie sebereprezentací a vztah ke keltské identitě

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Abstract

This thesis explores the formation of collective representation in the revivalist movements of Brittany, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales at the turn of the twentieth century. The study examines the self-representation of these movements by analysing their discursive and representational strategies. These findings are framed within a comparative context, exploring mutual influences and inspirations between the movements and identifying the factors that shaped their collective representations. Additionally, the research explores the role of Celtic identity in revivalist self-representation, focusing on the period when Pan-Celtic activities intensified around 1900.

The movements are examined through the periodicals of their leading societies: *Union régionaliste bretonne* (1898), the Gaelic League (*Conradh na Gaeilge*; 1893), the Highland Association (*An Comunn Gàidhealach*; 1891), and for Wales, the Welsh Language Society (*Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg*; 1885) alongside *Wales* and *Cymru* magazines edited by O.M. Edwards. The research employs qualitative discourse analysis, conducted using Atlas.ti software, and is complemented by relevant correspondence and archival materials.

The analysis identifies six key aspects of self-representation common to the movements: language, education, popular culture, history, an apolitical and loyalist stance, and the revivalist association's agenda. The research reveals that none of the movements placed Celticism at the centre of their self-representation, with attitudes towards Celtic identity varying on a spectrum, from negative in Ireland to more positive in Brittany. The comparative analysis highlights commonalities, differences, and key influences on these patterns, including the level of development of each movement, external inspirations, efforts to address deficiencies, state dynamics, and the presence of rival associations. Notably, the Welsh and Breton movements displayed stronger affinities than expected, while the Irish case often diverged. These findings underscore the need to move beyond state-centred analyses and embrace a more nuanced understanding of broader identity frameworks.

Keywords

Abstrakt

Tato disertační práce zkoumá formování kolektivní reprezentace v obrozeneckých hnutích v Bretani, Irsku, Skotsku a Walesu na přelomu 19. a 20. století. Výzkum se zaměřuje na studium sebereprezentací těchto hnutí prostřednictvím analýzy jejich diskurzivních a reprezentačních strategií. Výsledky analýzy jsou pak zasazeny do komparativního rámce, který zkoumá vzájemné vlivy a inspirace mezi jednotlivými hnutími a určuje faktory, jež ovlivnily podobu kolektivní reprezentace. Kromě toho práce zkoumá roli keltské identity v sebereprezentaci obrozeneckých hnutí, přičemž se zaměřuje na období zesílení pan-keltských aktivit v odbobí kolem roku 1900.

Hnutí jsou zkoumána prostřednictvím diskurzivní analýzy periodik jejich hlavních obrozeneckých organizací: *Union régionaliste bretonne* (1898), Gaelic League (*Conradh na Gaeilge*; 1893), Highland Association (*An Comunn Gàidhealach*; 1891) a ve Walesu Welsh Language Society (*Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg*; 1885), spolu s časopisy *Wales* a *Cymru*, jejichž editorem byl O. M. Edwards. Výzkum je založen na kvalitativní analýze diskurzu provedené s pomocí softwaru Atlas.ti a je doplněn o analýzu korespondence a dalších relevantních archivních pramenů.

Výsledkem analýzy je šest hlavních aspektů sebereprezentace společných pro všechna zkoumaná hnutí: jazyk, vzdělávání, lidová kultura, historie, apolitický a loajalistický postoj a agenda obrozenecké organizace. Výzkum odhalil, že žádné z hnutí nemělo keltismus v popředí své sebereprezentace, přičemž jejich postoj vůči keltské identitě se pohyboval na škále od negativního v Irsku po pozitivní v Bretani. Komparativní analýza poukázala na hlavní společné rysy, rozdíly a klíčové faktory ovlivňující vzorce reprezentací, zahrnující úroveň rozvoje hnutí, vnější inspiraci, snahu vyrovnat se s nedostatky, postoj státu a přítomnost konkurenčních organizací. Zejména hnutí ve Walesu a Bretani vykazovala silnější vzájemné vazby, než by se očekávalo, zatímco irské hnutí často vybočovalo. Tato zjištění zdůrazňují potřebu překročit stát jako rámec výzkumu a citlivěji přistupovat k pochopení širších identitotvorných struktur.

Klíčová slova

Diskurzivní strategie; sebereprezentace; keltská identita; keltismus; pan-keltismus; obrozenecké hnutí; Bretaň; Irsko; Skotsko; Wales; diskurzivní analýza; komparativní studie; transnacionální přístup; devatenácté století.

Introduction

The primary objective of this research is to explicate the process of forming collective representation in the Celtic countries at the turn of the twentieth century, with a focus on revivalist movements. Specifically, it analyses and compares the discourse produced by their leading and most representative associations in the respective countries. The case studies of Breton, Irish, Scottish and Welsh revivalist societies and their representational strategies are placed within a comparative framework, thereby revealing the factors that influenced forms of collective representation. The research methodology comprises qualitative discourse analysis of revivalist publications, followed by a comparison of the results to deepen the understanding of the findings. Additionally, correspondence and other relevant sources have been taken into account. The main research questions can be summarized as follows: What kind of discursive and representative strategies did the revivalist societies use? What were the key differences and similarities among the societies in this respect? How did these representational strategies relate to their goals? To what extent did the revivalists influence each other, and what were the sources of inspiration?

The time frame of the study aligns with the foundation of the Pan-Celtic Congress and the Celtic Association in 1900, both of which cultivated mutual relations between the Celtic countries by organizing shared activities and gatherings. The differing attitudes of revivalist groups in these countries towards the Pan-Celtic institutions served as a primary motivation for the research. The questions surrounding whether, and for what reasons, the revivalists employed Celtic identity in their self-representation stood at the very beginning of the project and guided the formulation of the central research questions. This research's connection to the topic of Celtic identity helps uncover the decision-making processes of the revivalist societies when confronted with the broader concept of Celticism, thereby complementing the results of the analysis. The onset of the Pan-Celtic activities in 1890s marks the approximate beginning of the studied period, although the exact coverage varies in the particular cases, according to the availability of sources for each revivalist movement. The period of study ends roughly with the outbreak of the First World War, when most revivalist activities were interrupted.

The object of the research are the revivalist societies themselves–associations of the revivalists–and the main sources are their periodicals. For each country, the aim was to select the most representative, hence most prominent or influential revivalist society of the period. Additional selection criteria included their involvement in Pan-Celtic institutions, whether positive or negative, and the existence of mutual relations between the societies or their members. For Brittany, Ireland and Scottish Highlands, this selection process was straightforward, as each country had one leading society

concerned with revivalist matters. The *Union régionaliste bretonne* (*Kevrediget Broaduz Breiz*; URB), founded in 1898, was the most important and influential revivalist society in pre-war Brittany. The society got split in 1911 and the *Fédération régionaliste de Bretagne* (*Unvaniez Arvor*; FRB) was created. In Ireland, the Gaelic League (*Conradh na Gaeilge*; CNG), founded in 1893, was the leading organisation for the revival of Irish language and culture. In Scotland, the revival of Gaelic in the Highlands was led by the Highland Association (*An Comunn Gàidhealach*; ACG), established in 1891. The decision-making process for selecting the most representative society in Wales was more complex due to the advanced and diversified nature of the Welsh revivalist movement compared to the other Celtic countries. The members of the Welsh *Gorsedd* and participants in the *Eisteddfod* were central figures in the cultural life of Welsh speaking population; however, they were not all united under one centralized body with a significant periodical. Consequently, it was decided to combine two subjects to provide the most representative sample of the revivalist discourse in Wales at the time. The first society selected was the Welsh Language Society (*Cymdeithas Yr Iaith Gymraeg*; CIG, originally the Society for Utilization of Welsh language), founded in 1885. This organisation was the leading advocate for Welsh language promotion, preservation and education in Welsh-speaking areas, as well as the official representative of Wales in the Pan-Celtic institutions. A collection of its annual reports was selected for analysis. As a periodical read by the general public, the second subject chosen for discourse analysis was *Wales* and *Cymru* magazines, edited by O.M. Edwards. These publications had a significant impact on the patriotic discourse of the time, and Edwards himself is regarded as a pivotal Welsh cultural figure of the early twentieth century.

The Pan-Celtic institutions serve as a framework for this research. Although their foundation was initiated by individuals–Lord Castletown and E.E. Fournier d'Albe, both of whom resided in Ireland–they received support from revivalist enthusiasts across the Celtic countries. The Pan-Celtic Congresses marked the peak of cross-Celtic relations and offered opportunities for the exchange of ideas, as well as for the emergence of differing perspectives and rivalries. The existence of similar yet distinct bodies prompted members of revivalist societies to articulate their perceptions of themselves, their countries, and how they wished to be perceived by others. Hence, this period of increased inter-Celtic relations provides an important context for the study.

As for the overall structure of the dissertation, next to the introduction, which contains detailed information on methodology, sources and applied concepts, the work is divided into three main chapters.

The second chapter (**2. Historical Context of the Research**) provides essential historical background information for the research. It focuses on context information of all the studied subjects, the revivalist

societies and their cultural production. More specifically, it pays attention to the circumstances of their foundation, their goals, and contextualise their activities. In addition, it provides historical context to the development of the language and of the native culture. The last subchapter (2.5 Construction of Celtic Identity and Celticism) outlines the history of usage of Celtic terminology and its construction and adoption in the Celtic countries from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries.

The third chapter (**3. Analysis. Results and Comparison**) presents the main analytical findings and compares aspects of self-representation and discursive strategies across the movements. The introductory part of this chapter provides overall representation of the results of textual analysis and their comparison in the form of two tables. The main body of the chapter is organised into subchapters based on the six most important aspects of movements' self-representation – language, education, popular culture, history, apolitism, movement (3.1 – 3.6) – with an additional subchapter devoted to Celticism and Celtic identity as reflected in revivalist publications (3.7). Each subchapter discusses the movements individually, depending on whether the topic in question was part of their top four aspects of self-representation.

The fourth and final chapter (**4. Formation of group representation and collective discursive strategies**) identifies five main factors responsible for forming group representation and collective discursive strategies. Based on a comparison and synthesis of the results presented in the second chapter, this chapter offers an interpretation and explanation of the movements' discursive strategies and self-representation.

Methodology and Analysis of Sources

The general methodology applied to the set of sources is based on a comparative approach, combined with transnational methods of research. In the comparative aspect, it draws inspiration from Miroslav Hroch's typology of national movements and his recent work on comparative methods in historical research.[1] Following the basics of his approach, I selected four objects of comparison, key associations of revivalist movements in Brittany, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, focusing on their representational strategies. These objects were selected based on two main criteria: first, their involvement or interaction with Pan-Celtic institutions, and second, their similarity in terms of goals, structure and size.[2] Detailed information on the analytical procedure is provided below. While acknowledging the mutual relations and inspirations between the objects of comparison, it remains important to incorporate the transnational perspective and consider the influence of cultural transfer within the comparison. Joep Leerssen's approach to the comparative history of cultural nationalism was a significant influence on the conceptual framework of this research.

Leerssen challenges Hroch's teleological approach to studying national movements and advocates for focusing on the cultural phase of national movements as an independent, open-ended phenomenon, rather than subsuming it to the idea of an ultimately political movement aiming for a clear outcome, such as the successful formation of a nation or the achievement of independence.[3] More importantly, Leerssen emphasises the significance of close and dynamic cultural exchanges between cultural nationalisms in Europe during the nineteenth century, arguing that these movements can only be fully understood when viewed in a broader context, beyond the socio-political framework of their home country.[4] In other words, Leerssen asserts that European nationalist movements can only be properly studied through their mutual contacts.[5] The Celtic revivalist movements exemplify this idea, as their mutual relations must be considered for an accurate analysis. By applying a transnational historical perspective, rather than merely comparing and detaching the objects of study from their context, it becomes possible to uncover the factors that shaped the self-representation of social groups and to gain a better understanding of their motivations. Furthermore, this approach enables an exploration of

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[1] Hroch, Miroslav. *Hledání souvislostí: eseje z komparativních dějin Evropy*. Slon, 2018.
[2] Cornish and Manx movements were also to some extent participating in Pan-Celtic activities, they, however, were much smaller in size, less ambitious regarding their goals, and the language situation was very different in Cornwall and Isle of Man in comparison with the other Celtic countries. Also, it was necessary to limit the objects of comparison considering feasibility of the research within PhD studies.
[3] Leerssen, Joep. 'Nationalism and the Cultivation of Culture'. *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 12, no. 4, 2006, p. 563.
[4] Leerssen, Joep. 'Viral Nationalism: Romantic Intellectuals on the Move in Nineteenth-Century Europe'. *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2011, pp. 257–71.
[5] Leerssen (2006), p. 566.

not only the differences and similarities but also the influences and inspirations that circulated between the movements and from external sources.

The methodology for source analysis is informed by Ruth Amossy's research on representations and Catherine Bertho's study of stereotypical representations. Amossy uses discourse analysis, combining sociological and rhetorical analytical tools, as described in her book *La presentation de soi*.[6] Her method focuses on the analysis of speeches or texts, aiming to reveal how a speaker (either orally or in writing) conducts a more or less planned presentation of themselves, and how they use language to achieve various purposes. Additionally, Amossy highlights the argumentative aspect of this presentation, wherein the speaker inevitably constructs an identity and positions themselves within the social space.[7] In her sixth chapter, " 'We': The Question of Group Identities or the Construction of a Collective Ethos", Amossy explores collective self-representation. She argues that forms of argumentation are critical for studying presentation of self, and she draws on Aristotle's rhetorical theory to show that a successful argument must be logical, reasonable, and credible to persuade an audience.[8] Another key element is the relationship between stereotypes and identity claims, as every social group forms a certain image of themselves, often in contrast to how they perceive other groups.[9] Lastly, Amossy notes that social movements need to create a collective representation that resonates with potential new members, making it essential for the movement to present itself in a way that potential supporters can identify with.[10]

Catherine Bertho, in her study on the social genesis of stereotypical images of Brittany, uses the term 'representation' in a way that helped shape the notion of self-representation used in this research.[11] For Bertho, representations are the collective images attributed to an object by external observers. In this context, studying representations involves analysing how an object—in this case, revivalist movements—is perceived by outsiders. Following this linguistic logic, the term 'self-representation' here refers to the images and representations that revivalist movements express about themselves, their country, or their inhabitants.

Based on these theoretical frameworks, four main analytical approaches were applied to the set of revivalist journals. First, the content and the topics were identified and tagged to highlight the most prominent themes covered in the journals. This process helped reveal the issues the revivalists

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[6] Amossy, Ruth. *La Présentation de Soi: Ethos et Identité Verbale*. Presses universitaires de France, 2010.
[7] Idem, p. 9.
[8] Idem, p. 17-19.
[9] Idem, p. 46.
[10] Idem, p. 160.
[11] Bertho, Catherine. 'L'invention de la Bretagne [Genèse sociale d'un stéréotype]: Genèse sociale d'un stéréotype'. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, vol. 35, no. 1, 1980.

considered essential in relation to their goals. Next, the argumentation strategies employed by the revivalists were examined to uncover their discursive techniques. Finally, I studied the attributes the revivalists associated with their country and its inhabitants, how they referred to themselves, and the qualities they ascribed to their group. Similarly, I analysed how they perceived their opponents and identified those they considered enemies of their movement or country.

Therefore, the analytical terms used for this research are: self-representation (representation and images), and discursive strategies (argumentation techniques and choice of topics). These terms complement each other and, at times, are interchangeable Thus, the term 'representational strategies' is also used as an analytical term. Discursive strategies refer to rhetorical or practical (more or less intentional) methods or tools employed to achieve specific goals, such as cultural independence or political autonomy.

The analysis was conducted using *Atlas.ti* software, which facilitates detailed text coding. It aids in qualitative analysis and allows for quantitative interpretation of the data. Drawing on my prior experience with similar research,[12] I created a set of tags (codes, in *Atlas.ti* terminology) to code the journal texts comprehensively while reading them. As the process evolved, additional tags were added as necessary.[13] Tagging the journals allowed for tracking the most prominent topics and subsequently comparing the frequency of tags across journals. Using Excel reports for each tag (or combinations of tags), I selected illustrative examples and quotations for use in the analytical section.

The research is based on a discourse analysis of revivalist publications. For each movement, I selected a representative sample of journals and magazines, either published directly by the revivalist bodies or featuring contributions from key revivalist figures. The analysis of these journals is complemented by additional sources, primarily personal documents such as correspondence and lectures, found in archival collections of the relevant revivalist societies or individuals. For Irish and Scottish Gaelic texts, machine translation tools (in conjunction with a basic knowledge of both languages) were used.[14] To ensure the feasibility of the research, artistic texts published in the journals (such as stories, novel excerpts, poetry, and songs) were excluded from the analysis.

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[12] Reiterová, Martina. *L'auto-représentation des Bretons dans le discours régionaliste entre la fin du XIXe siècle et la Première Guerre mondiale*. 2016. EHESS Paris, Master thesis.

[13] For example, the tag 'Law' was introduced during the analysis of the Welsh journals, as legal matters and an independent legal system were far more prominent in the Welsh revivalist discourse compared to the other movements.

[14] The machine translation of Celtic languages is an important topic in the field, discussed most recently at the 4th Celtic Language Technology Workshop. See Proceedings of the 4th Celtic Language Technology Workshop at LREC 2022, ed. Theodorus Fransen, William Lamb and Delyth Prys (Marseille: European Language Resources Association, 2022).

For the study of Breton regionalism, the primary sources are the bulletins published by the *Union régionaliste bretonne* (URB) and the *Fédération régionaliste de Bretagne* (FRB) between 1898 and 1913. Sixteen volumes were produced during this period, with each volume consisting of several hundred pages. The analysis of the Irish movement focuses on the *An Claidheamh Soluis* (ACS), the primary publication of *Conradh na Gaeilge*. As indicated by its subtitle, 'the Gaelic League Weekly,' it was published weekly, with each issue containing up to 20 pages (reduced to 10 pages when it changed to a newspaper tabloid format in 1904). The analysis covers issues from 1899 to 1913. The Scottish part of the research rests on a discourse analysis of *An Deo-Gréine* (ADG), the official magazine of *An Comunn Gaidhealach*. The analysis covers the magazine from its foundation in 1905 to 1914 (a total of ten volumes). Published monthly, each issue contained up to 15 pages (approximately 200 pages per volume). The selection of primary sources for the Welsh case was the most challenging due to the more advanced and diversified nature of the Welsh revivalist movement compared to its counterparts in other Celtic countries. To provide a comprehensive view of the Welsh revivalist discourse, three publication collections were selected. The first source comprises reports and programming documents from *Cymdeitas Yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Welsh Language Society, originally the Society for Utilization of Welsh language). A collection of Cymdeithas publications from 1888 to 1912, stored at the National Library of Wales (NLW), consisting of 10 volumes, was used for analysis. Secondly, the periodicals *Cymru* and *Wales*, edited by O. M. Edwards, were selected due to their significant influence on the Welsh public discourse of the time.[15] Both language variants were chosen to provide a representative sample in both Welsh and English. A limited number of issues were analysed for feasibility. For *Wales* magazine, a collection of 35 issues, dating from 1894 to 1896, was systematically analysed.[16] As for *Cymru*, a total of 15 volumes, dating from 1900 to 1906 and complemented by the first volume (1891), were also systematically analysed.[17] The time range was divided between the two to avoid overlap, although the availability of digitized sources also influenced this decision.

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[15] See 2.4 Welsh Revivalist Culture and its History.

[16] Available in a digitized form on the website of NLW, "Welsh Journals." *National Library Of Wales*, online, https://journals.library.wales/browse/2187889.

[17] Available in a digitized form on the website of NLW, "Welsh Journals." *National Library Of Wales*, online, https://journals.library.wales/browse/1356250, and the first issue on "Cymru." *Internet Archive*, online, https://archive.org/details/cymru___00caer.

Results and Conclusions

The primary research questions pertain to 1) the key aspects of self-representation within the revivalist movements, and 2) the types of argumentation employed by the revivalists, thereby revealing the representative and discursive strategies of the movements. Table 1. below provides a simplified grid displaying the four most prominent topics (those with the highest frequency) for each of the revivalist movements. The outcome identifies six principal topics shared among the movements. These are discussed, explained and compared in detail within this chapter, forming its structure (subchapters 3.1. until 3.6.).

Language emerges as the most significant topic for three of the four movements (Breton, Irish and Scottish), and as the fourth most important for the Welsh. Unsurprisingly, language is the most important aspect of self-representation for the revivalist movements, as it often serves as the primary catalyst for initiating a revivalist movement. Education, closely linked to language issues, represents the second most important topic for Scottish and Welsh movement, and the third most significant for the Irish revivalists. In the Breton case, education is partially addressed alongside language. Popular culture, understood in its broadest sense, is another significant topic within the revivalist journals, being of highest importance for Welsh journals, followed by second place for Breton regionalists, third for the Scottish and fourth for the Irish. Language and popular culture are the only two aspects that appear among the top four aspects of self-representation across all the studied movements. History belongs to the top four topics in the Breton and Welsh revivalist publications. Similarly, a claimed apolitical stance and loyalist position are most significant in Breton and Scottish revivalist discourses, both ranking as the fourth most important aspect. The only aspect that is prominent in just one case is the focus of the movement itself and its agenda. The Irish *Conradh na Gaeilge* discourse concentrated significantly on promoting its agenda and activities, emphasising the society itself rather than its broader goals.

	Most important aspects of self-representation (in order of significance)			
	1.	**2.**	**3.**	**4.**
Brittany	Language (+ Education)	Popular culture	History	Apolitical and loyal stance
Ireland	Language	Movement and its agenda	Education	Popular culture
Scotland	Language	Education	Popular culture	Apolitical and loyal stance
Wales	Popular culture (+ Literature)	Education	History	Language

Table 1. Four main aspects of self-representation for each of the revivalist movements

The analysis revealed that language was the main aspect of self-representation for all the studied movements, with the notable exception of the Welsh revival. This exception can be attributed to the earlier development of the Welsh movement, which began before the other Celtic revivals. Unlike Breton, Irish, and Scottish Gaelic, the Welsh language was not facing an imminent threat of extinction. During the 1880s and 1890s, the status of Welsh, particularly in education, had significantly improved, reducing the urgency for Welsh revivalists to prioritise language preservation.

Regarding the presence of language in public discourse, a significant number of periodicals in Wales, including the *Cymru* magazine, were written in Welsh. This natural appearance of Welsh in public discourse implicitly underscored the language's importance, making it unnecessary to explicitly advocate for it. In contrast, other Celtic revivalist movements strategically employed language visibility as a means to advance their goals. For example, Irish revivalists ensured that the first several pages of *Claidheamh Soluis* were written exclusively in Irish. The journal not only gave the Irish language a more prominent place, but also showcased it in newsagents' stands, sending a message to the Irish public that the language and its use were entirely ordinary. Following this example, Scottish revivalists published the editorials of their journal in Scottish Gaelic on the front page. Other discursive strategies related to language promotion included bilingualism, practicality, and its antiquity. This approach was designed to counter stereotypes of irrelevance and accusations that the movements were merely antiquarian or disconnected from contemporary concerns. Still, Scottish and Breton revivalists frequently stressed the ancient origins of their languages. This emphasis on antiquity aimed to elevate the status of their native languages within public discourse, compensating for the scarcity of non-religious vernacular literature in these languages. Furthermore, Breton regionalists intentionally avoided addressing the linguistic divide between Breton and Gallo speakers (between Upper and Lower

Brittany) in their publications, particularly until around 1907. By omitting this topic, they aimed to present a unified Brittany, where the Breton language could serve as the primary argument for seeking autonomy. All these aspects of self-representation and the associated discursive strategies were designed to overcome the challenges faced by these movements in pursuing their goals.

Education emerged as another key aspect of the self-representation of the studied revivalist movements. Among the four, the Breton movement had limited scope to address educational concerns due to the rigid centralisation of the French state, particularly in the domain of education. Consequently, the role of education as a representational strategy was heavily influenced by the state's attitude towards the revivalist movements. This same factor shaped the movements' depiction of their adversaries in the educational domain. For Ireland and Brittany, the primary target identified as obstructing local education was state authority. In contrast, for Welsh and Scottish revivalists, the perceived opposition came from "ignorant" locals, particularly parents. Generally, Wales was the primary source of inspiration in educational matters. The Welsh bilingual system of education served as a model for other Celtic countries. Bilingualism was the central goal for the Celtic revivalists and a key strategy for promoting their native languages, cultures, and identities.

Popular culture, after language, was the next most significant aspect of revivalist self-representation across all the studied movements. For the Celtic revivalist movements, popular culture primarily centred around public celebrations and festivals featuring music, literature, and dance. This emphasis was largely due to the influence of the Welsh *Eisteddfod* festival, which served as inspiration for the Breton, Irish, and Scottish movements. All four movements concentrated their cultural activities on similar enterprises, representing a key example of shared inspiration among the Celtic revivalist movements. In Welsh publications, literature and popular culture were the most prominent aspects of self-representation. The success and development of the Welsh movement allowed its revivalists to focus on literature. Since Welsh was already widely spoken, the main task was to encourage Welsh people to read Welsh works by Welsh authors. In Brittany and Scotland, cultural celebrations also aimed to prevent emigration and combat social issues like alcoholism.

History writing, in general, was a powerful tool for identity-building, widely employed by nationalist movements throughout Europe. In this research, it stands among the top four aspects of self-representation for both Breton and Welsh revivalist movements. To clarify, while historical articles were also published in the journals of Irish *Conradh* and Scottish *An Comunn*, they occupied far less space compared to Welsh and Breton publications. This disparity can be attributed, among other factors, to *Conradh*'s concern about being perceived as mere antiquarians with no modern or serious goals. For both Brittany and Wales, historical writing was instrumental in promoting their movements and raising

awareness about the cultural diversity within their regions. For the Breton movement, history-writing functioned primarily as a compensatory tool to overcome the fragmented nature of their region. Similarly, Welsh revivalists used history to their advantage by portraying the Welsh as the indigenous people of Britain, living there long before the Anglo-Saxons came. This granted the Welsh a powerful position in the national historical narrative as the original inhabitants of the land.

Apolitical and loyalist stances emerged as prominent discursive strategies in the publications of both the Scottish and Breton revivalist movements. The rationale for adopting these strategies varied, but they all stemmed from the stance of state authorities towards the movements. Scottish *An Comunn* positioned itself as apolitical for two main reasons: firstly, to be seen primarily as a cultural organisation without separatist tendencies, and secondly, to be inclusive, welcoming members from all religious and political backgrounds. Breton regionalists employed a similar strategy to defend themselves against accusations of separatism. They used evidence of their loyalty to France, particularly referencing Brittany's military contributions to French wars, to argue for their natural right to some degree of regional autonomy. This strategy was meant to demonstrate that there was no legitimate reason to deny the Bretons cultural autonomy, as their revivalist efforts were neither anti-governmental nor anti-republican.

Irish revivalists were the only among the four movements that focused extensively on their own movement and its agenda, making this aspect of self-representation specific to the Irish revival. This was due to the presence of rival societies in Ireland. *Conradh na Gaeilge* used its journal primarily for propaganda, promoting its political goals and distinguishing itself from other groups with similar aims. As a result, the rhetoric of the journal was generally more aggressive, openly challenging and criticising its rivals.

The second set of research questions addresses the relationship of the revivalist movements to Celtic identity and Celticism. The section of this chapter dedicated to Celticism (3.7. *Celticism and Celtic Identity*) responds to questions such as 1) whether and to what extent the movements incorporated Celtic identity in their self-representation, while 2) uncovering the mutual relations and inspirations between the studied movements. Table 2. below outlines the criteria for comparison between the individual movements and offers simplified characterization of the analysis results.

	Criteria of comparison			
	Pan-Celticism	**Usage of Celtic terms**	**Inspiration from /contacts with other Celtic countries**	**Neo-druidism and neo-bardism**
Brittany	Positive. Regular reports from Pan-Celtic gatherings and other Celtic countries' events. Efforts for cooperation also in economic area.	As an alternative to the adjective 'Breton'. For unifying purposes of Brittany and for differentiating from the rest of France. Used for other Celtic countries as well.	Yes, in all areas. Most importantly from Wales.	Yes, Breton Gorsedd founded following the Welsh Gorsedd example.
Ireland	Negative. Hostile articles about Celtic Association and Pan-Celtic Congress.	No, in general avoids using Celtic terms or question them. Uses them only when quoting other sources.	Yes, inspiration from Wales in area of education and popular culture (*Oireachtas* from *Eisteddfod*). Some reports from Welsh and Scottish events.	No, hostile position towards it.
Scotland	Participating (official representative in Pan-Celtic institutions), but not extensively, only mentions.	Celtic terms used when encompassing cultures of the 'non-Saxon' areas of the United Kingdom.	Yes, inspiration from Ireland and Wales. Brittany almost absent.	No, indifferent position towards it.
Wales	Positive, but passive/indifferent. Regular contacts between *Gorsedd* members and Celtic Association.	Yes, often in the sense of ancient history. Used, but not systematically.	Wales as a role-model, not inspired by others.	Yes, founder of neo-druidic and neo-bardic activities.

Table 2. Relation to the Celtic identity and Celticism of each of the revivalist movements

The research revealed that in none of the revivalist movements studied placed Celticism at the forefront of their self-representation. This finding is particularly interesting, given how central the concept of Celtic identity appears today in these countries, as reflected in their cultural expressions and branding (from 'Celtic' music to 'Celtic' design), and how strongly the public reacts when its Celtic identity is questioned.[18] That said, the research also highlighted varied attitudes towards Celticism and Celtic identity across the movements, as well as differences in the relationships among the movements, including the transfer of ideas and mutual inspiration.

The attitudes of the revivalist movements towards Celtic identity can be seen as a spectrum, ranging from negative to positive, with the Irish and Breton movements representing the two extremes. The Irish *Conradh* used the terms 'Celtic' and 'Celt' when discussing the family of native languages across Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany. However, Irish revivalists generally avoided these terms in self-identification, preferring the labels 'Irish' or 'Gaelic,' with a strong preference for the former. This almost hostile stance towards the term stemmed from its earlier association with the Anglo-Irish literary movement around W. B. Yeats and the Celtic Twilight, which primarily operated in the English language—an affiliation the *Conradh* actively rejected. Thus, this discursive strategy emerged as a reaction against the appropriation of the term by a rival group. In Scotland, the term 'Celtic' was used to refer to the cultures of the non-Saxon regions of the United Kingdom, with only rare references extending to Brittany. The editors of the Scottish revivalist journal accepted the term for addressing other nations but opposed its use when referring solely to Scottish Gaelic. They also criticized its overuse in connection with the Celtic Revival as a fashionable aesthetic, likely influenced by the Irish example. In Welsh journals, the Celtic terms were not explicitly defined but, based on the discursive analysis, were most often associated with ancient history and ethnic origins. Given the low frequency of Celtic terms in Welsh publications, it is reasonable to conclude that Welsh revivalists had a relatively indifferent attitude towards Celtic identity. Conversely, the Breton regionalists displayed the most positive stance towards Celticism, using the term 'Celtic' as synonymous with 'Breton' in their publications and referencing it in relation to the other Celtic countries, implying a mutual affinity. Breton revivalists embraced Celtic identity for similar reasons as their use of Breton history—primarily to symbolically unite the Bretons and distinguish them from the rest of France.

The variations in the use and understanding of Celtic terms were also reflected in the movements' differing relationships with Pan-Celtic institutions. The Irish revivalists' negative view of the term 'Celtic'

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[18] A public debate has erupted following the exposition "Celtique?" in the Musée de Bretagne in Rennes (March-December 2022). For more information see Bouget, Hélène. 'Retour sur une exposition en débat, « Celtique ? » (Musée de Bretagne, 18 mars-4 décembre 2022)'. *La Bretagne et le grand public*, online, 25 August 2024, https://doi.org/10.58079/w9l3.

predisposed their opposition to the Pan-Celtic Congress and the Celtic Association. Their reasons for avoiding Pan-Celtic activities included concerns over impracticality, religious differences, and the diversion of attention and funds from *Conradh*'s achievable goals. Scottish *An Comunn Gaidhealach* officially represented Scottish Gaels at the Pan-Celtic Congress, but little attention paid to Pan-Celtic activities in their magazine suggests a relatively cold attitude. Welsh revivalists also gave little attention to Pan-Celtic activities, although they maintained a more positive view of Pan-Celticism, perhaps unsurprising given that the Pan-Celtic Congress borrowed many elements of its festivities from the Welsh *Eisteddfod* and *Gorsedd*. Breton regionalists were the most enthusiastic about Pan-Celtic activities, using the platform to highlight specific Breton issues. They also advocated for collaboration between the Celtic nations not only in cultural spheres but in economic and commercial areas as well.

The contacts and mutual inspiration among the Celtic countries' movements offer a significant example of cultural transfer during the period and represent another factor influencing their self-representation. Wales, in particular, served as a role model for other movements across several domains (as elaborated in previous paragraphs). The Breton movement, often overlooked by movements from the Islands, received only sporadic attention in Irish *Conradh*'s journal and primarily during the later period, under the editorship of Patrick Pearse. Scottish revivalists maintained their closest connections with Ireland, devoting much space in their journal to comparisons between the two movements. Irish *Conradh*'s president and founder, Douglas Hyde, was frequently praised as a model leader. Besides education and the *Eisteddfod*, Scottish revivalists were especially inspired by Welsh choir singing. Subsequently, Gaelic-language choirs became a key feature of Scottish cultural promotion, despite choral singing not being native to Scotland. Breton regionalists regularly published reports on congresses and festivals of other movements, especially emphasising their relationship with Wales. In Breton bulletins, Wales was often portrayed as a brotherly nation, reinforcing the Bretons' differentiation from France. Neo-druidic and neo-bardic activities, symbolically linked to Celtic identity, were also adopted by Breton revivalists, inspired by Wales. These 'pagan' activities were practised by a significant portion of Breton regionalists, especially during annual congresses, and were described in detail in the bulletins. Irish revivalists, by contrast, condemned Welsh *Gorsedd* activities and vehemently opposed any attempts to establish an Irish *Gorsedd*.

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Publication, Academic and Teaching Activities

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Grants

Charles University Grant Agency (GAUK)

- project *Revivalist movements in Brittany, Ireland, Scotland and Wales at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries: Celticism as a tool of collective identification and its transnational scope*.
- Project duration: 1/1/2020 - 31/12/2021

Conferences and Workshops (selected)

2022

3rd World Congress of Scottish Literatures

- Paper: *An Comunn Gaidhealach* and Pan-Celticism at the turn of the 19th century

Mapping the Scenes: Digital Humanities in Cultural Studies in Central and Central Eastern Europe, Prague and Vienna (supported by Visegrad Fund)

- organiser and participant

2020

Minority Languages in a Globalized World, FA CU

- Paper: "Une arme de premier ordre": Representation of Breton and Welsh Languages in Revivalist Discourse around 1900

2019

The XVIth International Congress of Celtic Studies at Bangor University

- Paper: The Czech national revival: a source of inspiration for Gaelic revivalists?

7th GRAINES Summer School "Experts and Expertise in Motion", FA CU

- organiser and participant

2018

St Magnus Conference at the University of the Highlands and Islands, Kirkwall

- Poster: Self-representation and Identification Strategies of Breton Regionalists

3rd Poznań Conference of Celtic Studies at the University of Adam Mickiewicz in Poznań

- Paper: The Discourse Strategies of the Breton Regionalists around 1900

6th GRAINES Summer School, "European Culture and Identity", Sciences Po, Reims

- Paper: European Culture and Identity: A Perspective from Breton and Scottish Celtic Cultural Movements around 1900

2017

11th Congress of Czech Historians in Olomouc

- Paper: The role of cultural heritage in the regional representation on the example of Brittany at the beginning of the 20th century.

Academic Internships and Stays Abroad

July, August 2021

- research internship at the National Library of Ireland, Dublin

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- two-month research internship at the School of History, Classics and Archeology at the University of Edinburgh with the financial support of the Anglo-Czech Educational Fund

May 2019

- archival research at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth

October, November 2018

- research internship at the *Centre de recherche bretonne et celtique* at *Université de Bretagne occidentale* in Brest (France) with the financial support of Campus France

Teaching Experience

2024

Teaching a course *Introduction to Digital Humanities*, FA CU

2022, 2021

Teaching a course *Construction of Czech National Identity and its Symbols*, ECES program, FA CU

2020

Teaching a semester-long seminar *Modern Social and Intellectual Framework*, FA CU