

INTRODUCTION: NEW DIALOGUES WITH BRETON LITERATURE AND CULTURE

HEATHER WILLIAMS AND DAVID EVANS

The century of nation building that followed the French Revolution made Frenchmen of so many peasants, and taught the language of Paris to so many provincials, that literary scholars in French studies may be forgiven for having focused for so long on a national literature.¹ The cult of a single national language as a symbol of political unity, along with the industrialization which drove the rural exodus, seemed by the late nineteenth century to spell the end for internal variation within the Hexagon. However, this threat to regional identities inspired folklorists, tourists and writers to visit, inventory, document and conserve any ‘relics’ still to be found at the peripheries of France before their demise in the name of progress.² These conservationist activities shaped new forms of local pride, cultural and linguistic revivals, and even expressions of defiance in the face of French state policy. As such, by the turn of the twentieth century the *patrie* was far from homogenized: the first Basque nationalist party, Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea, was founded in 1895; Brittany formed the Union régionaliste bretonne in 1898 and the neo-druidic body Goursez Vreizh in 1900; a nationwide Fédération régionaliste française was created in 1900, calling for administrative decentralization across the Hexagon; and Occitan had a poet, Frédéric Mistral, who won the Nobel prize for literature in 1904 and whose status as incarnation of Provence earned him a visit from President Poincaré in 1913.

The cultural outputs of Brittany from 1789 to the present day, which are inhabited by these questions of difference and belonging, form the case studies featured in this special issue, covering a broad range of genres and media from poetry, prose and theatre to fine art and *bande dessinée*. Collectively these articles raise questions such as: can regional difference find a place within the nation only if it expresses itself in the form of local colour? Are regional languages only to be heard behind closed doors? How might we find new ways of engaging with ethnic

and cultural identities indigenous to the national territory which call into question subordinating relational tropes such as writing against, within or across the nation?

Our readings of Breton cultural expression, in contrast to the influential Weberian view of the nineteenth century as a gradual elimination of regional pride and difference, recognize that the relationship between centre and periphery was more complex. As Stéphane Gerson observed in a landmark study, ‘the local and modernity were interlaced rather than inimical in France’.³ He explains how the *petite patrie* evolved in ‘a vertical relationship between France and its *pays* that made it possible to celebrate the latter’s diversity and specificity within the nation’, so that ‘all local elements retained their particularity, but as contributions to a broader entity that transcended them’ (p. 230). In his recent book *Nos petites patries*, Olivier Grenouilleau proposes a similar model of regional identity formation as a symbiotic process carried out both against and by the state.⁴ The centre thus harnessed localism, but did so cautiously, fostering apolitical regional identities which posed no serious threat to national unity – as Sudhir Hazareesingh puts it, ‘the major intellectual breakthrough of the second half of the nineteenth century was the idea of the complementarity of France’s different territorial components’.⁵ It was less a case of the state attempting to eradicate local differences (after all, this could result in riots, as it did in Brittany in 1903).⁶ Instead, the state assimilated the provinces by championing what Brett C. Bowles has called ‘une identité française syncrétique’.⁷ Internal diversity thus became a contributor to the pride of France, as long as it remained on the level of the tourist-friendly picturesque.⁸

Important work by Anne-Marie Thiesse and Jean-François Chanet on the incorporation of the regions into the national discourse has, in Gerson’s words, helped to ‘situate the local at the centre, rather than the margins, of French political and cultural modernity’.⁹ How, then, might we approach Breton cultural expression not from a subordinate position within the national disciplinary narrative of French studies, but as an active agent in constant, dynamic

and plural dialogue with that narrative? The rise of postcolonial studies and translation studies has challenged the very notion of a national literature, shifting our focus towards contact zones and translation zones.¹⁰ Indeed, the process of transforming Modern Languages into a transnational, translingual and postmonolingual discipline is well underway.¹¹ It is striking, however, that much current work which aims to demonstrate that ‘national literatures are far from monocultural, monolingual or monoethnic identities’ focuses on contact zones which fall into two broad categories.¹² Firstly, postcolonial, global contexts offer ‘encounters beyond the metropolitan space’ which, as Leslie Barnes and Dominic Thomas argue, demand a decentred approach, putting ‘border crossings and the other – its language, culture, politics, and traditions at the centre of the story’.¹³ Secondly, encounters between incomers to France and the host nation challenge the perceived unity of its linguistic-cultural identity – Charles Forsdick for example, identifies ‘the need for French and Arabic for the conduct of serious work in certain cities in contemporary France’.¹⁴ He points out that ‘literature in French is itself always already culturally diverse’, urging French studies never to lose sight of ‘the frames of cultural diversity and multilingualism in which cultural artefacts – even within a single language tradition – emerge and evolve’.¹⁵

While this vital work opens up exciting new avenues for re-examining the very notion of French literature and culture, there is a third context which has so far been neglected, and which has much to contribute to these debates, namely the spaces within the Hexagon in which such encounters have been taking place for centuries, encounters with the other indigenous languages and cultures with which metropolitan France’s surface veneer of homogeneity has had to, and must continue to, negotiate. Natalie Edwards and Christopher Hogarth argue that translingual writing produces ‘disruptive texts that destabilize our understanding of French literary history’.¹⁶ Yet the vast majority of texts studied through this lens are the product of movement out of, or into, France. As the current volume aims to demonstrate in the case of

Brittany, the infra-national spaces of the Hexagon itself abound with disruptive, destabilizing texts which have much to contribute to current disciplinary interrogations of French studies by reminding us how fragile, and how precarious, the monolith of French literature and culture has always been on its home territory. As Valentina Gosetti has recently observed, while the postmonolingual condition is already present in nineteenth-century French literature, it has constituted a critical ‘blind spot’ which her reading of Adolphe van Bever’s *Les Poètes du terroir* (1909–18) aims to help rectify.¹⁷ Thanks to van Bever’s inclusion of texts in regional languages and dialects alongside French originals and translations, Gosetti argues, ‘each reader is [...] faced with a more or less unexpected encounter with the “diversity within”’ that requires us to recognize the ‘silent negotiations’ which regional writers, othered by the nation while simultaneously belonging and contributing to it, have to perform.¹⁸ These negotiations are central to every article in this volume, which seeks to contribute to this broadening of disciplinary horizons by exploring some of the new dialogues in which the cultural productions of Brittany can participate, both with other geographical spaces and with a range of theoretical frameworks from postcolonial and ecocritical to postnational, transregional and postmonolingual. We want to read Brittany not as a static provincial Other to the Parisian centre, but as a dynamic site of multiple dialogues within and beyond the nation, within and beyond French studies.

All the articles highlight expressions of Breton identity which challenge the outsider’s tendency to impose an inaccurate and caricatural singularity on the heterogeneity of regional or marginal identities. The cultural marker ‘Breton’ encompasses a remarkably diverse range of voices, each of which constructs its own identity in dialogue with other voices from different parts of the same region, from the dominant nation-state, and from other stateless cultures both within France and across the world. Far from being mono-dimensional, local cultures are internationalist in outlook and demand to be read as such, exemplifying what Michael Cronin

has called ‘micro-cosmopolitanism’.¹⁹ The articles which follow counter the simplistic dichotomous notion of regional subordination or opposition to vertical authority by highlighting the multiplicity of voices and contexts at play. They introduce new primary texts to mainstream French studies, many of which are hardly known, have long been forgotten, remain out of print or are no longer performed. The tensions inherent within this dynamic, dialogic mode of self-definition emerge across all the case studies, which explore how different visions of Bretonness are negotiated through complex processes of selection and projection.

The highly charged question of language is central to this enterprise. Forsdick writes, ‘Thinking about global France and global French [...] requires the recognition and acquisition of new languages, or at the very least initiation of collaborative activity and a multilingual consciousness’, but this is equally true of the indigenous diversity on French home soil.²⁰ It is well known that the architects of the post-Revolutionary national project attempted to eradicate France’s regional languages and *patois*, initiating a rapid decline from which they have never recovered.²¹ Yet the Breton language is a persistent presence in these articles, if not the main focus of analysis then a powerful symbol around which cultural difference may be articulated. Despite important precursors such as Chateaubriand and Jacques Cambry, whose travelogue *Voyage dans le Finistère* (1799) is a founding moment, the very idea of a self-consciously Breton literature in French only dates from the publication of Auguste Brizeux’s *Marie* in 1831, a volume which, at francophone Brittany’s inception, already packaged regional clichés for consumption by the centre, casting the Breton language in the role of guarantor of authenticity.²² In the present issue, the language assumes various symbolic roles such as marker of otherness or mode of resistance, from the multilingual volumes of poetry which emerge from the pan-Celticism movement circa 1900 (Heather Williams), and the bilingual publications calling for decolonization in the 1970s (David Evans), to examples of twenty-first-century

bande dessinée such as Christelle Le Guen's account of Anjela Duval, the twentieth-century poet who wrote only in Breton (Armelle Blin-Roland).

Inevitably, questions of translation and multilingualism underpin all of the cultural activities covered in these articles. As Nelly Blanchard points out in her analysis of literary translation into and out of Breton over the last six centuries, translations do not necessarily respond to a practical purpose or an economically viable publishing model. Rather, translation into lesser used, or stateless, languages can function as a political statement, as a defence of the language's right to exist, or as an important contributor to networks of exchange between minoritized cultures, acting in Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi's words as 'part of an ongoing process of intercultural transfer'.²³ Moreover, the literary works examined in this special issue are inseparable from the question of translation because of the sociolinguistic situation they have in common: two coexisting, if politically unequal, languages. Many of the authors studied here are bi- or multilingual, and so the relationship between literary expression and the choice of language is fundamental to their literary identity, an essential part of the creative process, as well as an unavoidable reality of existing between Bretonness and Frenchness. This is demonstrated by Mannaig Thomas in her discussion of how Charles Le Goffic negotiated between contributing to the cultural life of Brittany and gaining acceptance from the Parisian centre. His entry to the Académie française in 1931, Thomas argues, may be seen as a crucial moment in the redefinition of the boundaries of French literature, building on the taste for regionalist writing which had been growing since the 1890s, before it fell out of favour after 1945, tainted by association with Pétain's politics of provincialism. The challenges faced by Le Goffic and his contemporaries Anatole Le Braz and Auguste Dupouy are common to all the writers featured here, who have to negotiate a set of questions which the writers of the centre, of the nation, of the universal do not: what does it mean to be a Breton writer? What makes a work of literature Breton? How does one weigh expectations of authenticity, of cliché,

with the desire to innovate, to experiment? Does contributing to broader literary conversations require sacrificing one's regional voice? These tensions can also be seen in the writing of Taldir-Jaffrennou, who published in French, Breton and Welsh (Williams), in Breton *bande dessinée*, a constantly evolving mosaic with a potential to fissure (Blin-Rolland), and in poetic anthologies, which foreground subjective processes of selection, omission, definition and presentation, curating the regional for an external gaze (Evans). Rather than seeing the postmonolingual condition as simply a characteristic of a text, or an awareness of the close co-existence of different texts in different languages, we need to understand it as a mode of reading which interrogates the social, political and cultural dimension of artistic choices and the contexts within which they are made.

Postcolonial frameworks have been particularly useful in reframing discussions of Brittany, and they inform articles by Maura Coughlin, Williams, Blin-Rolland and in particular Annie de Saussure, who looks at the decolonial theatre of Paol Keineg. During the 1970s, regional voices were heard, both in Brittany and across France, denouncing 'internal colonization', inspired notably by the Algerian war. The Fédération anarchiste-communiste d'Occitanie (FACO) was founded in 1969, with the aim of creating 'un front révolutionnaire des peuples colonisés de l'hexagone', and the language of anti-colonialism began to permeate poetic manifestos and history books in both Brittany and Occitania.²⁴ Marie Rouanet, for example, opens her anthology of decolonial poetry, *Occitanie 1970*, by stating: 'le peuple occitan et la terre d'Occitanie sont encore dans une situation coloniale. Colonisation mentale, économique'.²⁵ Combative political tracts contributed to changing public discourse, such as *Main basse sur une île* (1971) by the Front régionaliste corse, and *Bretagne = colonie* (1972), the 100-page mission statement of the Union démocratique bretonne.²⁶ While such provocations were an effective rhetorical tool, Thiesse has shown that this purely antagonistic model takes insufficient account of how state education from the 1870s onwards encouraged

expressions of regional identity as a mode of belonging to the nation, a process which took place in similar ways across Europe.²⁷

Postcolonial readings, such as those proposed by Williams and Marc Gontard, develop this more nuanced picture by highlighting the necessarily hybrid nature of Breton cultural productions since, as Gontard argues, ‘La littérature bretonne de langue française, à travers la question récurrente de l’identité, pose les mêmes problèmes que l’ensemble des littératures francophones’.²⁸ De Saussure shows how Keineg, inspired by Aimé Césaire’s discourse of *négritude* and the theatre of decolonization, explores in his plays a Breton subjectivity which is not essentialist, nationalist or nostalgic. Rather, Keineg’s conflicted Bretonness is full of ambivalence, alienation and malaise. Unable to articulate its essential identity, it resists the return to mythical origins through strategies of transnational displacement, de-territorializing Breton consciousness in ways similar to Édouard Glissant’s *détour*. Thus, she argues, the chapters of Breton and Irish history represented in these plays do not serve simply to memorialize struggles between discrete, antagonistic forces, each with clear outlines, but rather, dramatize hauntologies of nationhood in which questions of identity and belonging are seen as difficult, dynamic processes in a fraught relationship with history. In a rare interview from 2017, published for the first time in this issue, Keineg reflects on his work and the political forces that shaped it, the relationship between poetry and politics, as well as the ways in which identity shifts according to the different contexts in which the subject feels seen. Indeed, thanks to recent work on Brittany from a postcolonial perspective, it is possible to figure the region neither as obedient *petite patrie*, nor as a colony in the widely understood sense of the term, but rather as a multifaceted entity which generates new meanings through multiple dialogues.

One of the most persistent clichés in visual or literary representations of Brittany is the natural environment, or what we might call a poetics of nature. The landscape does not simply offer a beautiful vista – rather, the soul of the Breton people is presented, by insiders and

outsiders alike, as being intimately bound up in the natural world. Marie de France's famous dictum 'Bretagne est poésie' has been repeated by countless authors, and the beauty of the region has been central to the exoticizing tendency of the colonial gaze, exemplified by Renan's essay 'La Poésie des races celtiques' in which he relegates Celtic peoples to the sentimental spheres of nature and nostalgia.²⁹ The extractivist attitude of the French centre towards cultural riches in Brittany and other regions is inseparable from the ecocide that has taken place there in the name of progress. Travel writing offers numerous examples from agricultural history of the land's being seen only for its utility, while more recently, Graham Robb has called the flattening of the *bocage* in Brittany 'the most dramatic act of colonization in the west', and 'ecological vandalism on a grand scale'.³⁰ Maura Coughlin's article shows how the iconic Breton *landes* were dismissed by French administrators as ugly, unproductive wastelands in need of clearance and redevelopment. Drawing from a wide variety of ecocritical sources, she looks at paintings by artists working in Brittany who offer a compelling counter-narrative, a unique 'dwelling perspective' highlighting the beauty of the landscape in non-nostalgic ways which encourage responsible environmental stewardship. Indeed, the moors and seascapes of Brittany may be a cliché of outsider perspectives, but they nonetheless play a central role in the relationship of insiders, be they ethnic Bretons or incomers, to their Breton identity. Citing Ronan Le Coadic's sociological study *L'Identité bretonne* (1998), Lenora Timm suggests that for twenty-first century Bretons, a crucial contributor to their sense of self is not a mythologized past, but rather, 'a powerful sense of attachment to a physical territory and its looks'.³¹ The natural imagery which figures prominently in the poetic and graphic texts studied by Evans and Blin-Rolland thus invites us to consider the plurality of its multi-directional significations at a time when the notion of ecoregions is coming to the forefront of environmental discourses. Gosetti and Daniel Finch-Race devoted a recent special issue of *Dix-Neuf* to exploring 'how regional cultures fit into nationwide sociopolitical initiatives' across visual arts, prose fiction,

travel writing and poetry, and it is striking how, in a journal devoted to nineteenth-century France, the focus of the contributions ranges from Brittany, Occitania and the Alps to Wales, Polynesia and the Caribbean.³²

In a recent special issue of *Romantisme*, Cécile Roudeau argues that local literature is no longer to be understood solely in relation to the nation state(s) within which it is situated, but should, rather, be read on a global scale.³³ For Joseba Gabilondo, this postnational perspective allows the field of Basque literature to move away from ‘minor’ status, looking beyond a narrow philological definition – ‘texts written in Basque’ – to include texts by Basque authors in the Spanish, French, Argentinian or North American literary traditions as well as by non-Basque authors who engage with Basque questions.³⁴ According to this paradigm, a writer can occupy several different identities (p. 7) and Basque literature must be approached as a multilingual reality representing ‘the historical intersection, the uneasy lack of fit, between states and languages, a fit that only state-languages can entertain as their nationalist ideology and fantasy’ (p. 10). Significant momentum has been building from postcolonial studies and world literature over the last twenty years which suggests that French studies, too, has reached this moment of disciplinary reckoning with nationalist ideology.³⁵ As Mireille Rosello has put it: ‘Hexagonal literature is a branch of Francophone studies’.³⁶ A substantial engagement with the neglected stateless cultures of the Hexagon, we would argue, has much to contribute to these debates, moving towards active engagement with what Forsdick has called a model of ‘non-hierarchical interdependency’ between cultural producers at global, national and local levels.³⁷ This is the model adopted by Gosetti and Paul Howard in their study of Italian ‘dialect’ poets: ‘a *transregional* approach, comparing these poets’ productions in their hybrid interconnections, without settling on a stable cultural centre, but focussing on intertextuality and possible networks’.³⁸ It is not a question of doing away with the centre entirely, but rather, as Heike Scharm and Natalia Matta-Jara argue in their study of postnational Hispanic literature,

of identifying ‘the interrelations between the local and the global, while recognizing the continuing ties to the nation’, of reading in a way which encourages ‘a questioning of the nation as a defining category’.³⁹

This rethinking of our approach to French literature and French studies as a discipline reconnects with multilingual and multicultural realities which were a fact of everyday life across the modern national territory for centuries before the Revolution. A recent article by William D. Paden, calling for Occitan studies to open itself up to dialogues similar to those that we are proposing here, reminds us for example of the presence of Muslim communities in the Midi from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, and urges ‘that we free medieval Occitan poetry from its historical, geographical, and disciplinary box, and relate it to helpful parallels of many kinds’.⁴⁰ Similarly, Courtney Joseph Wells has argued that ‘Occitan *is* a language of Catalan literature in the Middle Ages’, raising a question which is highly pertinent to our Breton context: ‘If a medieval Catalan author writes in Occitan, is this no longer Catalan literature? What precisely makes Catalan literature Catalan?’⁴¹ The problem, of course, lies not with the centuries-old, pre-national reality of hybrid cultural practices, but rather, with the rigid disciplinary labels which came to dominate thinking about the nation post-1789. Indeed, from this perspective, the nineteenth century, and much of the twentieth, may be thought of as the exception, a long and painful period of denial and mass forgetting.

Since we are now entering an era in which literature will be approached from a postnational, multilingual perspective, the cultural productions of Brittany and the other regions of France can be in the vanguard of attempts to denationalize the discipline of French studies. Ideally, this would involve active engagement with the regional languages of France, an acceptance of Alison Phipps’ call, in *Decolonising Multilingualism*, to ‘co-create new, multilingual ecologies of the postdecolony’.⁴² It would also be productive to explore the possibilities for collaborative multilingual research projects with colleagues working within

clusters such as the Centre de recherche bretonne et celtique (Brest/Rennes), the Institut franco-catalan transfrontalier (Perpignan), and the Centre de recherche sur la langue et les textes basques (Bordeaux). At the very least, substantial and critical use of translations would help to develop a more nuanced discipline-wide awareness of the linguistic complexities of the cultures of French, and to broaden significantly the range of texts studied and voices heard within French studies.⁴³ What, then, might French studies look like if awareness of its minority cultures were rethought along the lines of the *esprit cosmopolite* proposed by poet and critic Kenneth White, Scottish by birth, resident of Brittany: ‘au-delà du débat qui oppose universalisme abstrait et localisme bourbeux, il y a place pour autre chose’?⁴⁴ We hope that the articles which follow will go some way towards exploring the multiple forms which this ‘autre chose’ might take.⁴⁵

¹ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976).

² Brittany is singled out as a particularly popular ‘relic region’ in David M. Hopkin, *Voices of the People in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 33.

³ Stéphane Gerson, *The Pride of Place: Local Memories and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (London: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 3.

⁴ Olivier Grenouilleau, *Nos petites patries: identités régionales et état central, en France, des origines à nos jours* (Paris: Gallimard, 2019).

⁵ Sudhir Hazareesingh, *How the French Think: An Affectionate Portrait of an Intellectual People* (London: Penguin, 2015), p. 188.

⁶ On the reaction in Brittany to the state’s ban on regional languages in religious instruction, see Caroline Ford, *Creating the Nation in Provincial France: Religion and Political Identity in Brittany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), especially p. 138.

⁷ ‘La République régionale: stade occulté de la “synthèse républicaine”’, *French Review*, 69:1 (1995), 103–17 (p. 104).

⁸ In *Enacting Brittany: Tourism and Culture in Provincial France, 1871–1939* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), Patrick Young shows how tourism ‘enabled new demarcations and deployments of the local’ (p. 5).

⁹ Stéphane Gerson, ‘Une France locale: The Local Past in Recent French Scholarship’, *French Historical Studies*, 26:3 (2003), 539–59 (p. 558). See Anne-Marie Thiesse, *Ils apprenaient la France: l’exaltation des régions dans le discours patriotique* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1997), *Écrire la France: le mouvement littéraire régionaliste de la Belle Époque à la Libération* (Paris : Presses universitaires de France, 1991) and Jean-François Chanet, *L’École républicaine et les petites patries* (Paris: Aubier, 1996).

¹⁰ See Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992) and Emily Apter, *The Translation Zone: A New Comparative Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

¹¹ Françoise Lionnet and Dominic Thomas (eds), *Francophone Studies: New Landscapes* (*Modern Language Notes*, 118:4 (2003)), Jacqueline Dutton, *état présent*, ‘World literature in French, *Littérature-Monde*, and the Translingual Turn’, *French Studies*, 70:3 (2016), 404–18, Yasemin Yildiz, *Beyond the Mother Tongue: The Postmonolingual Condition* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), David Gramling, *The Invention of Monolingualism* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016) and the forthcoming *Transnational Modern Languages* series (Liverpool University Press, 2021).

¹² Natalie Edwards and Christopher Hogarth, ‘Translingual Writing in French, Beyond the Language of Adoption’, introduction to *Translingual Writing in French and Francophone Literature* (*L’Esprit Créateur*, 59:4 (Winter 2019)), 1–11 (p. 1).

¹³ Leslie Barnes and Dominic Thomas, 'Global France, Global French', *Contemporary French Civilization*, 42:1 (2017), 1–11 (p. 2).

¹⁴ Charles Forsdick, 'Global France, Global French: Beyond the Monolingual', *Modern French Civilization*, 42:1 (2017), 13–29 (p. 17).

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 19.

¹⁶ Edwards and Hogarth, 'Translingual Writing in French', p. 5.

¹⁷ Valentina Gosetti, 'Poetry Anthologists as Translingual Mediators: The Example of Adolphe van Bever's *Les Poètes du terroir*', *L'Esprit Créateur*, 59:4 (2019), 40–53 (p. 41).

¹⁸ Ibid. pp. 44 and 50.

¹⁹ Michael Cronin, 'Global Questions and Local Visions: A Microcosmopolitan Perspective', in *Beyond the Difference: Welsh Literature in Comparative Contexts*, ed. by Alyce von Rothkirch and Daniel Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), pp. 186–202.

²⁰ Forsdick, 'Global France, Global French', p. 17.

²¹ Ian J. Press suggests that 'more than half the population of France may be asserted to have changed language, to French, since 1789'. See 'Breton Speakers in Brittany, France and Europe: Constraints on the Search for an Identity', in *The Changing Voices of Europe: Social and Political Changes and their Linguistic Repercussions, Past, Present and Future*, ed. by M. Mair Parry, Winifred V. Davies and Rosalind A. M. Temple (Cardiff: University of Wales Press and MHRA, 1994), pp. 213–26 (p. 215). See also R. Balibar and D. Laporte, *Le Français national: politique et pratique de la langue nationale sous la Révolution* (Paris: Hachette, 1974), Michel De Certeau, Dominique Julia and Jacques Revel, *Une politique de la langue: la révolution française et les patois* (Paris: Gallimard 1975) and Dennis Ager, *Identity, Insecurity and Image: France and Language* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1999).

²² See Catherine Bertho, 'L'Invention de la Bretagne: genèse sociale d'un stéréotype', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 35 (1980), 45–62, and Heather Williams, 'Writing to Paris:

Poets, Nobles and Savages in Nineteenth-Century Brittany’, *French Studies*, 57:4 (2003), 475–90.

²³ Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (eds), *Postcolonial Translation: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 2.

²⁴ Cited in Henri Jeanjean, *De l’utopie au pragmatisme? (Le mouvement occitan, 1976–1990)* (Perpignan: Trabucaire, 1992), p. 58. See also Robert Laffont, *La Révolution régionaliste* (Paris: Gallimard, 1967) and for a history of the Occitan movement, Laurent Abrate, *Occitanie 1900–1968: des idées et des hommes: l’émergence et l’histoire de la revendication occitane* (Puylaurens: Institut d’Estudis Occitans, 2001).

²⁵ *Occitanie 1970: les poètes de la décolonisation/Occitania 1970: los poetas de la descolonizacion: anthologie bilingue*, ed. by Marie Rouanet (Paris: Oswald, 1971), p. 9.

²⁶ *Main basse sur une île* (Paris: Jérôme Martineau, 1971) and *Bretagne = colonie* (Rennes: UDB, 1972).

²⁷ *Ils apprenaient la France* and *La Création des identités nationales: Europe, XVIII^e–XX^e siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 1999).

²⁸ Heather Williams, *Postcolonial Brittany: Literature between Languages* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007) and Marc Gontard, *La Langue muette: littérature bretonne de langue française* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2008), p. 10.

²⁹ ‘La Poésie des races celtiques’, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 5 (1854), 473–506 (p. 505). Patrick Sims-Williams studies how Renan exaggerates the Celt’s closeness to nature in ‘The Invention of Celtic Nature Poetry’, in *Celticism*, ed. by Tony Brown (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), pp. 97–124.

³⁰ Graham Robb, *The Discovery of France* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2007), p. 258.

³¹ Ronan Le Coadic, *L’Identité bretonne* (Rennes: Terre de Brume/Presses universitaires de Rennes, 1998), and Lenora Timm, ‘Ethnic Identity and Minority Language Survival in

Brittany’, in *Language, Ethnicity and the State*, I, ed. by Camille O’Reilly (London: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 104–27 (p. 119).

³² Daniel Finch-Race and Valentina Gosetti, ‘Editorial: Discovering Industrial-Era Francophone Ecoregions’, *Dix-Neuf*, 23:3–4 (2019), 151–62 (p. 153).

³³ Cécile Roudeau, ‘Écritures régionalistes (1800–1914): nouvelles échelles, nouveaux enjeux critiques’, *Romantisme*, 18:3 (2018), 5–15.

³⁴ Joseba Gabilondo, *Introduction to a Postnational History of Contemporary Basque Literature (1978–2000): Remnants of the Nation* (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2019), pp. 297 and 4.

³⁵ See David Murphy, ‘French Studies and the Postcolonial: The Demise of the Rebirth of the French Department?’, in *French Studies in and for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Philippe Lane and Michael Worton (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), pp. 207–19.

³⁶ Mireille Rosello, ‘Unhoming Francophone Studies: A Home in the Middle of the Current’, *Yale French Studies*, 103 (2003), 123–32 (p. 131).

³⁷ Charles Forsdick, ‘Beyond Francophone Postcolonial Studies: Exploring the Ends of Comparison’, *Modern Languages Open* (2015), p. 11.

³⁸ Valentina Gosetti and Paul Howard, ‘Poetry and Literary Language Barriers in Nineteenth-Century Italy: The Case of Three “Dialect Poets”’, in *Mapping Multilingualism in Nineteenth-Century European Literatures/Le Plurilinguisme dans les littératures européennes du XIX^e siècle*, ed. by Olga Anokhina, Till Dembeck and Dirk Weissmann (Berlin: LIT-Verlag, 2019), pp. 75–98 (p. 80, original italics).

³⁹ *Postnational Perspectives on Contemporary Hispanic Literature*, ed. by Heike Scharm and Natalia Matta-Jara (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017), pp. 1 and 8.

⁴⁰ William. D. Paden, ‘Future Directions for Occitan Studies: 2020 and Beyond’, *Tenso*, 35:1–2 (Spring-Fall 2020), 87–95 (p. 92).

⁴¹ Courtney Joseph Wells, ‘The Multilingualism of the Occitan-Catalan Cultural Space’, *Tenso*, 33: 1–2 (Spring-Fall 2018), iv–xxvii, (pp. v and ix, original italics).

⁴² Alison Phipps, *Decolonising Multilingualism: Struggles to Decreate* (Bristol/Blue Ridge Summit: Multilingual Matters, 2019), p. 93.

⁴³ See, for example, English translations available in *A Modern Breton Political Poet Anjela Duval: A Biography and an Anthology*, ed. and transl. by Lenora Timm (Lampeter: Mellen, 1990), *Breton Ballads*, ed. by Mary-Ann Constantine (Aberystwyth: CMCS, 1996) and *Miracles and Murders: An Introductory Anthology of Breton Ballads*, ed. by Mary-Ann Constantine and Eva Guillourel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), as well as the numerous works of analysis and translation published in French by Presses universitaires de Rennes and the Centre de Recherche Bretonne et Celtique.

⁴⁴ Kenneth White, *Une stratégie paradoxale: essais de résistance culturelle* (Talence: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 1998), pp. 218–19.

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