Perceiving the ‘Celtic’

The Celtic Revival and its ‘Nachleben’ in Selected Exhibitions, 1900-present

Universiteit Leiden
The Netherlands

J.M. Harder

s2327651

History: Archival Studies

Begeleider: Dr. Fenneke Sysling

Tweede lezer: Dr. Mícheál Ó Flaithearta

10/12/2019 - 20/04/2020

"To many, perhaps most people..."Celtic" of any sort is...a magic bag into which anything may be put, and out of which almost anything may come...Anything is possible in the fabulous Celtic twilight, which is not so much a twilight of the Gods as of the reason."

-J.R.R. Tolkien

Table of Contents

'Who were the Celts?' is an intricate yet necessary question to pose and answer within this thesis. Discussions about the term 'Celt' are still prevalent today. While modern men might perceive them as heroic barbarians, this has not always been the case. Together with socio-cultural movements, the perception of the Celts and 'Celtic' developed over time; a turning point for this was the Celtic Revival. This is reflected in the way the Celts are and were presented within museums. This thesis aims to look at these developments and their *Nachleben* into the 20th century by studying selected exhibits about the Celts and the 'Celtic', from 1900 and onwards.

Before the exhibits are examined, we have to know who the Celts were. What is their identity; is it a construct, or are we looking at peoples of ages past? The definition of this term will be examined through display and reflection of the scholarly debate surrounding the subject. However, before the Celts and the 'Celtic' are defined, general trends within museum studies, together with a brief history of the Celtic Revival, will be explored to better understand the developments within the perception of the Celts.

Museum Studies

Museums have been houses of culture for over decades. They are viewed as knowledge institutions, or houses of knowledge.[1] Its collections and exhibitions display artefacts related to a certain theme or period. The modern perception of the Celts is tied to the spread of information through media and knowledge institutions alike. Exhibitions, while not being part of the regular collections, often draw public due to their limited showings and specific focus. Put together through careful thought and selection, they entice different subjects, periods, and ideas for the public eye to consume. While the function of a museum is debated amongst scholars, they can be viewed as object archives, in the sense that both institutes are home to knowledge, information, objects, and evidence of the past.[2] Both institutions deal with selection and appraisal, and are open to the public. Important ideas from archival thinkers such as Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault are echoed in Museum Studies.

The idea that museums are houses of knowledge is not a new one. Michel Foucault, a great archival and museology thinker, argued that 'truth is not to be emancipated from power'.[3] Within these 'regimes of truth', the museum plays a central part.[4] Museums relate things and text, through which their statements are organised. These things then, as sociologist Tony Bennett writes, contain

[1] Tony Bennett, 'Museums, Power, Knowledge,' *Museum Worlds: Advances in Research* 6 (2018): 1.
[2] Ibidem, 1.
[3] Ibidem, 1.
[4] Ibidem, 1.

different regimes of truth: archaeological, anthropological, aesthetic, historical, and geological.[5] By rearranging those, new truths are produced. These rearrangements have been shaped by ideas outside of the museums, and social movements. Through its changes and knowledge, museums or 'modernity's citadels of truth', invite analysis in terms proposed by Foucault's ideas.[6] Museums can then be considered 'educational engines', an idea that became apparent in the second half of the nineteenth century. With the idea of the museum as a public, educational space, modern public museums were founded.[7] These museums, however, developed over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[8] First, they served as a curiosity cabinet, displaying wonderful and mysterious things designed to either educate or inspire visitors. This line of museum design sprung from the eighteenth-century Enlightenment ideals, and are expressed as such.[9] Over the course of the eighteenth century a more scientific approach arose, which focused on specialized collections.[10] The idea of the 'museum' shifted from privately owned rarity cabinets to public institutions centred around the arts and sciences. This new type of museum had a more educational function and was encyclopaedic in its character.[11] The nineteenth century, generally seen as 'the century of the museum', came with international exhibitions, fairs, and department stores, which all influenced the organization and display of museum material in the later nineteenth century.[12] Defined by Brown Goode as 'the modern Museum idea', museums strived towards the advancement of learning, systematic arrangement, and public accessibility. The same Goode stated that 'a finished museum is a dead museum, and a dead museum is a useless museum.'[13] The number of national museums grew, and became increasingly important to the nineteenth century society.[14]

From there on, thinking about the functionality and design of museums has been evolved and debated further.[15] New Museology[16] critiqued the traditional museum in its focus on the objects in museum displays. According to it, museums should instead build their displays around ideas, and

[5] Ibidem, 2.
[6] Ibidem, 2.
[7] Ibidem, 4.
[8] Catherine J. Frieman, and Neil Wilkin, 'The Changing of the Guards? British Prehistoric Collections and Archaeology in the Museums of the Future', *Museum Worlds: Advances in Research* 4 (2016): 33.
[9] Frieman and Wilkin 'The Changing of the Guards?' 33.
[10] Debora J. Meijers, "Het 'encyclopedische' museum van de achttiende eeuw" in *Kabinetten, Galerijen en Musea: het verzamelen en presenteren van naturalia en kunst van 1500 tot heden* (Heerlen/Zwolle, Open Universiteit, 2009), 153.
[11]Debora J. Meijers, 'Naar een systematische presentatie' in *Kabinetten, Galerijen en Musea: het verzamelen en presenteren van naturalia en kunst van 1500 tot heden* (Heerlen/Zwolle, Open Universiteit, 2009), 263.
[12] Randolph Starn, 'A Historian's Brief Guide to New Museum Studies' *The American Historical Review* vol.110 no.1 (2005) 77.
[13] Starn 'A Historian's Brief Guide to New Museum Studies' 77.
[14] Ibidem, 78; for a detailed overview of the history of museums and museology, see Starn 'A Historian's Brief Guide to New Museum Studies'.
[15] for a detailed overview and more information about thinking within museology, see Bennett 'Museums, Power, Knowledge'.
[16] for more information about museology, see Shelton, Anthony, 'Critical Museology: A Manifesto' *Museum Worlds: Advances in Research* 1 (2013): 7-23.

give a less biased view, thus encouraging multiple interpretations of the objects on display.[17] As a result, less objects were on display, while multiple forms of presentation and interpretation were available to the public, trying to engage a broader audience. Objects re-materialized in social, political, and economic contexts.[18] This led to new forms of exhibiting, which centred around the display of new values, stories, and audiences, and which stepped away from traditional ties with researchers.[19] Such approaches may also be seen in the selected exhibits.

The Celtic Revival

The nineteenth century was marked by a growing sense of national identity.[20] This was particularly centred at the countries who considered themselves to be descended from Celtic peoples in pre-Christian and early Christian Europe, i.e. Ireland, Scotland, Wales, England, and Brittany. This change in national identity brought forth a movement within literature, art, and social practice, which came to be known as the Celtic Revival.[21] This Celtic Revival was a socio-cultural movement in the 19th and 20th century that led to a new-found appreciation for the ancient past of the Celtic peoples, which was reflected in literature, literary studies, music, art, and various other subjects. Depending on context, the same movement is called the Celtic Twilight or the Irish Revival. Born from a desire for political freedom, an interest in both literature, drama, art, music, and language grew.[22] An ancient past was revealed, and used in many tales, poems, and imagery. Music, storytelling and customs of native population held vestiges of such ancient culture, and thus those were studied as well. This particular interest was already visible in the eighteenth century, with the growth of the Romantic movement which focused on individualism and the glorification of past and nature, but developed further in the following centuries.[23] At the beginning, it was mostly scholars who studied such subjects, but gradually, more people got involved. The literary culture of the Celts, a centuries old people,[24] came into focus, as it had survived throughout centuries through conquests and hardship.[25] The identity of the Celt shifted from 'barbarian' in the Classical world, to 'violent, proud, undisciplined and superstitious', some kind of noble savage.[26] This was one of the more important ideas to come from the Celtic Revival: the 'Noble Savage' was a pure figure with

[17] Frieman and Wilkin 'The Changing of the Guards?' 34.
[18] Starn 'A Historian's Brief Guide to New Museum Studies' 80.
[19] Frieman and Wilkin 'The Changing of the Guards?' 35.
[20] Jeanne Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival 1830-1930'* (Thames and Hudson, London, 1980) 7.
[21] Joep Leerssen, 'Celticism' in *Celticism* ed. Terence Brown (Amsterdam 1996): 6; Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past,* 7.
[22] Joep Leerssen, 'Celticism' 6; Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past,* 7.
[23] John Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World* (2009): 128; Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past,* 7.
[24] for more information about the definition of the word 'Celts' see *'the Celts: Terminology and Debate'.*
[25] Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past,* 8.
[26] Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World,* 128-129.

virtues of primitive simplicity, such as bravery, loyalty, and honour.[27] Whilst Irish art flourished in the eighteenth century, it was strongly influenced by English art, [28] and did not continue into the nineteenth century, as the aristocratic patrons retired and middle-class patrons emerged with different tastes. The expression of identity therefore became more dependent on a return to language and written culture of the early Irish.[29] Nationalism went hand in hand with this movement, with its strong focus of 'cultural self' or the position of the individual within its own culture, together with origin stories and interest in national history and civilization.[30]

At the front of this shift stood William Butler Yeats, who, in writing *The Celtic Twilight*, contributed to the romanticism of that time. It is from the same book that the alternate name of the Celtic Revival is derived. W.B. Yeats, noble-prize winner for his literature, was a poet born in Ireland, 1865. Through his upbringing and education, he developed an interest for Irish mythology and legends, together with the occult, which inspired him to write the first of his poems, of which the first collection was published in 1889.[31] Although his style was in line with the Pre-Raphaelites at the start of his career, this changed over time into a more realistic style. Where he had first based himself upon the works of Percy Bysshe Shelley, he later depended more on William Blake, and eventually also got influenced by Oscar Wilde, which is visible in both his theory about aesthetics and various later plays.[32] In 1890 the poet joined the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, a secret society which was devoted to both study and practice of the occult, metaphysics, and paranormal activities, and became a member of paranormal research organisation The Ghost Club in 1911.[33] His interests and ideas were clear in his works, and his fame has contributed towards the continuation of the Celtic Revival of sorts.

The work of *The Celtic Twilight* in itself was part chronicle, part autobiography, in which Yeats drew on his early memories of west Ireland. The first version mainly recorded Yeats' conversations and experiments in magic, instead of his collecting of folklore.[34] However, he was never a folklorist. While he simply had the intention to strengthen his poetry at first, his focus shifted and his intentions became to create 'an Irish literature which, though made by many minds, would seem the work of a single mind, and turn our places of beauty or legendary association into

[27] Murray Pittock, 'Introduction: defining terms' in *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester 1999): 4.
[28] Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past,* 8.
[29] Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past,* 8.
[30] Ibidem, 7.
[31] William Butler Yeats, *The Celtic Twilight,* (London 1981), Introduction; the first print of *The Celtic Twilight* appeared 1893.
[32] Edward Hirsch, 'Coming out into the Light: W.B. Yeats's "The Celtic Twilight" (1893, 1902)', *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 18 (1981): 2; Yeats, *The Celtic Twilight*, Introduction.
[33] Ibidem, Introduction.
[34] Ibidem, Introduction.

holy symbols'.[35] He wrote that he had to build a new tradition, as his country was 'not born at all'.[36] Through his works, he managed to unite the culture of the Anglo-Irish and others, resulting in the Celtic Twilight as a movement.

However, the Celtic Revival did not merely start in the 19th century. The movement consisted of 'waves', which were periods in which the movement peaked. While it was only after the 1920s that the real revival started to take off, a lot of the revival was due thanks to the construction of the 'Celt', which roughly took place from 1650 to 1850.[37] Since then, the connotations of Celticism have remained operative; Celticism being, as Joep Leerssen shows:

> 'the study, not of Celtic peoples themselves, but of the reputation and [...] meanings and connotations ascribed to the word "Celtic" in different historical periods [...] Celticism is more than the sum of Gaelic, Welsh and Breton stereotypes and nationalism, more than the sum of the peripheries' relations with their respective centres: it is also the story of these regions' sense of ethnic interrelatedness as 'Celts', and the contacts between these peripheries mutually'.[38]

Within Celticism, peripherality is often a theme,[39] as Celticism was born out of a desire for political freedom, which did not limit itself to Ireland, but was visible in Wales, Scotland, and Brittany as well. The upsurge of Celtic interest first took place in Wales, where native antiquarians' activities went together with poems to revive the extinct institution of the *eisteffod* or *eisteddfod*, a Welsh literature and music festival, which resulted in an increase in text-editions and historical research. In Scotland, James Macpherson published his Ossianic writings, "translations" of early Medieval poems by the semi-legendary bard Ossian. Walter Scott followed, romanticizing Highland traditions. The Celtic Revival, also known as Celtomania, was on the rise, and the romanticising of the ancient Celts became more prominent.[40] In the nineteenth century, in all regions, this new appreciation and study of the Celts and Celtic was treated with both tolerance and condescension by their peoples. Ireland formed the exception to the rule, where within political and cultural nationalism, Celticism maintained a more political potential.[41]

It was this appreciation that was one of the characteristics of the Celtic Revival, together with the awareness of the 'cultural self' and the romanticising of the past. The idea that Celts were

[35] Ibidem, Introduction.
[36] Ibidem, Introduction.
[37] Leerssen, 'Celticism', 5.
[38] Ibidem, 17-18.
[39] Ibidem, 8.
[40] Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World,* 129.
[41] Leerssen, 'Celticism', 12.

noble savages instead of barbarians was born in the Celtic Revival, and was reflected in art, literature, and even socio-political aspects of society.[42]

Research Question and Methodology

Uniting both museum studies and the Celtic Revival, this thesis will deal with the cultural heritage politics within the cataloguing and display of (artefacts of) the Celts. Here, the main question is:

Which elements of the Celtic Revival are visible within exhibitions about the Celts or the 'Celtic' in the 20th and 21st century?

This will be examined by, firstly, studying the characteristics of the Celtic Revival. Its influence will be looked at, together with the sentiments: what ideas live on? The Twilight's influences on the perception of the Celts in today's society will be a central part of this topic as well. From that, a set of questions will follow that will be used in analysis of three exhibitions, which will be described. This approach will contribute to the social-scientific field, as it de-isolates the Celtic Twilight as Yeats' movement, and applies it to recent events. The academic debate about the term 'Celt' will be discussed and explained. Terminology will be clarified, debated, and established. Furthermore, by researching the *Nachleben*, or afterlife, of the Celtic Revival within exhibitions, an interdisciplinary approach is used, and the Celtic Revival is viewed from a different perspective.

The primary sources used for this thesis will be the three exhibition catalogues. Apart from this, various secondary sources about the Celtic Twilight and its influence will be consulted, like Edward Hirsch's *Coming out into the Light: W.B. Yeats's "The Celtic Twilight"*,[43] and Jeanne Sheehy's *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past.*[44] For the theoretical background, Colin Renfrew's *Archaeology and Language* will be referenced,[45] together with Joep Leerssen's *Celticism*.[46] Other sources will be used as well to give a complete overview of the debate about the Celts.

The selected exhibitions are:

- The Irish International Exhibition of 1907 (Dublin, 1907)
- Early Celtic Art (Edinburgh, 1970)
- Celts: Art and Identity (Edinburgh and London, 2015)

More information about the selection will be found in the appropriate section.

[42] Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World,* 129-130.
[43] Hirsch, 'Coming out into the Light', 1-22.
[44] Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past.*
[45] Colin Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language* (London 1987).
[46] Leerssen, 'Celticism'.

Part of the research will be comparative, as comparisons between the display of the Celts and the 'Celtic' will be made through looking at different exhibitions; this thesis will analyse developments within the approach towards the Celts and the 'Celtic'. The case studies will be a mix of qualitative research and contextual analysis. The qualitative research will take the form of content analysis, as will be visible within the exhibition analyses. The contextual analysis will take into account the historical background onto which the exhibitions are set. It focuses on historical and cultural setting, as well as textuality, and considers e.g. political, social, economic, and aesthetic conditions. Because of the interdisciplinary nature of this research, contextual analysis cannot be avoided. Comparative research can be done within the chosen parameters, i.e. within the exhibits. As the subject of this thesis deals with exhibitions and the presentation of a peoples, aspects of museum studies come into play.

The structure of this thesis will be both thematical and chronological, as far as possible. It will be chronological in the sense that the developments within the Celtic Revival and the terminology debate will be described, and thematic because the subjects are grouped. Finally, they will be brought together in the case study, out of which a chronological order of developments will possibly show. The first chapter will deal with theoretical background; what makes a Celt a Celt? Furthermore, this chapter will explore various academic debates, setting them apart and clarifying the different aspects. The second part of this thesis will look at various exhibitions, describing the contents and context. Thereafter, the exhibitions will be analysed. By doing so, influences of the Celtic Revival are to be distinguished. The main matter will be the *Nachleben* of the Revival: how are the Celts perceived? Is there a development in the approach towards the Celts and 'Celtic'? Questions such as ‘what is being displayed?’ and ‘what are the similarities?’ will be answered. A concluding chapter will end this thesis, drawing on knowledge gathered throughout its creation.

Stereotypes

In today's society, certain preconceptions about the Celts exist. This is largely due to stereotypes, which in their turn were born out of Classical Greek and Roman sources, such as Tacitus and Caesar.[47] While the views they present are consistent, they are also biased. For example, classical sources stated that the Celts were extremely superstitious and had inhumane practices and rituals like human sacrifice. The druids were mystical wisemen or sorcerers speaking in the mysterious and ancient tongue of Ogham. They worshipped in groves, prayed by the *Nemeton* or oak trees, loved wordsmiths and thought that poets and bards should be respected. They were violent, yet handled laws of hospitality strictly. Honour was everything to a Celt- it had to be defended to death. They were aggressive, unreliable, impetuous, and easily discouraged. Traits such as those are often found in what Classical writers expected of barbarians,[48] but convey a vision nonetheless. However, as these sources were written from the conqueror's perspective, they are not objective, and thus less reliable.[49] Emphasis was put on the differences between Mediterranean civilizations and the Celts, ignoring the similarities and instead pointing out how much worse they were. Although there is some truth in the stereotype, there are also great falsehoods, such as the perpetual aggressive image of the Celts. It is thus important to handle Classical sources critically, should they not be misinterpreted.

Apart from this coloured view of the Celts, the term 'Celtic' also causes some complications, because the word alone has several meanings which all ring true for the term itself. It can refer to people whom the Romans designated by that name, it can refer to people who call themselves by it, it can designate a language group as defined by contemporary linguistics, it labels an archaeological complex in west central Europe, it refers to an art style, it refers to an independent 'warlike' spirit which is reflected in the works of classical authors, it refers to the elaborate art of the first millennium AD, it can be a church; it can be heritage.[50] This thesis concerns itself with the peoples, but it is good to be aware of the multifaceted reality of this term.

Historically, little is known for certain about the Celts. Surely they were perceived as warlike people, similar to early German and Norse people, and their society was structured around

[47] P. Champion, 'The Celt in Archaeology' in *Celticism* ed. Terence Brown (Amsterdam 1996): 67; Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 17.
[48] Champion 'The Celt in Archaeology', 67; Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World,* 16-17; Renfrew, Colin, *Archaeology and Language* (London 1987), 212.
[49] Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 20.
[50] Leerssen, 'Celticism', 3; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language,* 214.

honour and status.[51] Although their religion is highly debated and comes with a few stereotypes on its own, there is not much that can be said with certainty other than that there were multiple deities in their pantheon, and that they varied strongly from region to region. Druidism was an apprenticeship in law, history, medicine, poetry, astronomy and other subjects, which would take up to twenty years to complete. Because the druids were learned men, they enjoyed a higher status within society.[52] Archaeology shows us that the Celts were part of a material culture in possession of various functional and decorative objects, and that they possessed some innovative ingenuity.

It is clear that the Classical stereotype is not supposed to be a positive one. Even though perceptions sometimes have been challenged, the image of the Celts in modern society still lies close to the Classical stereotype. Romanticism aided the positive reception of this stereotype; the Celts now could be a noble people, untouched by the corrupt civilisation.[53] There is a certain attraction to the mysticism surrounding these peoples that is appealing to modern men.

Defining a Definition

There are several angles to consider when defining the word 'Celt'. The nomenclature in itself is both ethnic and linguistic.[54] One might expect the definition of the term 'Celt' to differ from one area of expertise to another: an art-historian might define it as something other than an archaeologist, historian, or a linguist. Looking at what a people might have called themselves will result in a different answer than looking at language groups and speakers of those languages. To get a clear overview of the discussion and definitions, the next paragraph will elaborate on these different approaches.

The Celt's First Appearance

The word 'Celt' was, as far as we know, first used in 6th century writing to describe the peoples living north of Massalia (modern Marseille), a Greek colony. This word (Celt or *keltoi*) was then later on used more freely to describe barbarian people North of the Alpes. From that it grew to become a word generally used for barbarian, and ended up describing peoples who are now regarded Germanic.[55] While Caesar writes that the Gauls called themselves *Celtae*, it is important to be critical of the source material; Caesar was writing propaganda in *De Bello Gallico*, and thus his

[51] Merriman questions the warlike nature of the Celts due to the emphasis on the supposed 'Celtic spirit' which often clouds the perception of the Celts; Renfrew, Archaeology and Language, 'Celticism', 235.
[52] Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World,* 19-20.
[53] Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 18; Renfrew, Archaeology and Language 212; the 19th century Celtic revival brought new awareness of Celticity.
[54] Leerssen, 'Celticism' 1.
[55] Champion, 'The Celt in Archaeology', 63; Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 16; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language,* 218.

depictions of the peoples he conquered might not always be truthful.[56] However, it seems like the term 'Celt' was also used by some Celtic-speaking peoples themselves.

The topic of self-identification is a difficult one anyway, as the Classic identity differs from the modern one. For example, up until the 18th century AD, the Celtic-speaking[57] inhabitants of the British Isles did not identify themselves as Celts, nor had they been identified as.[58] They were viewed as separate people by both the Roman writers and Britons, even though there were many similarities between their language and culture and that of the Gauls. However, after the 18th century, these people did start to identify themselves as Celtic people, which poses the question: should they only be considered Celts after the 18th century? Because of this, the approach is a complicated one to vindicate.

Another word first used was 'Galatians' (*galatoi*) to describe the Celtic-speaking peoples invading Greece and Anatolia from the 3rd century BC. Romans similarly used the word 'Gaul' (*galli*) to refer to Continental Celtic-speaking peoples.[59] It is unclear whether these terms originated from the Greeks and Romans themselves, or if they were derived from one of the words used by Celtic-speaking peoples to describe themselves. In modern use, 'Celt' includes all the Celtic-speaking peoples, both Continental and on the British Isles. This notion was only established in the 18th century, and is thus of recent conception, although as early as the late 16th century suggestions for the connections between Britons and Gauls had been made.

The Linguistic Proposition

In his book *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, John Haywood proposes that the most satisfactory way to define the Celts is in linguistic terms. Colin Renfrew seems to agree, as he writes: "archaeologists have, with a few notable exceptions, failed in recent years to take adequate account of the linguistic evidence in building up our picture of the past".[60] Hereby the term 'Celt' refers to one of the groups of people speaking Celtic Languages. By doing so, both Continental Celts and the Celtic-speaking inhabitants of the British Isles, e.g. Ireland and Britain, are included. This definition is widely accepted amongst modern Celtic-speaking peoples, and emphasises the survival of the languages rather than identity, which varies from time to time. However, while the notion of identity changes at a different pace, identity and language are still interconnected. According to Colin Renfrew "there are few things more personal than the language one speaks".[61]

[56] Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language,* 212.
[57] For details on 'Celtic-speaking' see the paragraph *a linguistic proposition*; simply put 'people who spoke on of the Celtic languages'.
[58] Leerssen, 'Celticism', 4.
[59] Champion, 'The Celt in Archaeology'63-64; Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 16.
[60] Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language,* 3.
[61] Ibidem, 2.

Questions of national or ethnic identity (and thus of linguistic identity) are an important element in social reality.

Linguists have considered the origins of the Celts for quite some time. In the 17th century, efforts were being made to record the languages. One of the key scholars herein was Edward Lhwyd, who realized that the languages spoken by the Celts and Gauls in classical times were related to more languages in those lands, and each other. He concluded that they formed a language group together. Following that, the origins of the Celts were sought, but, in combination with the archaeological evidence, this posed a problem, due to the migrationist nature in the model for cultural change.[62]

However, the languages have a strong continuity from pre-historic times up until this day. There are six modern Celtic languages, of which four are spoken on a day-to-day basis:[63] Irish Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic, Welsh, and Breton, and both Cornish and Manx Gaelic of whom the last native speaker has died in relatively recent times, but whose revival has been unsuccessful up until now. There is a divide between these modern languages: q-Celtic or Goidelic, and p-Celtic or Brithonic. The former category includes Irish, Scottish, and Manx Gaelic, while the latter includes Welsh, Breton and Manx.[64] The name of these two categories is based on phonological differences, meaning the differences in organisation of sounds within a language. This difference is for example displayed in the word for *son* in both Gaelic ('mac') and Welsh ('map'), but can of course be found in other instances as well.

Before these modern languages existed, other forms of the Celtic languages were around. These Celtic languages were all part of the Celtic branch of the *Indo-European language family.[65] The oldest recorded form of those was Lepontic, which could be found in the Italian Po valley around the 6th century BC. Other languages such as Gallic, Eastern Celtic, Brithonic, Hispano-Celtic, and Pictish were around too. The earliest dated instances of Gaelic in Ireland are placed at the early Middle Ages, but there is evidence of the existence of the language earlier on. Because these languages are extinct, relationships are uncertain. Modern knowledge of the languages and their relations is limited due to the limited source material. Haywood writes that it was probable that Lepontic, Eastern Celtic, and Gallic were related to p-Celtic, and Hispano-Celtic was more closely related to q-Celtic, leaving Pictish to be a form of Brithonic deriving from an unknown non-Indo-

[62] Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 15.
[63] Ibidem, 15.
[64] M. Chapman, *The Celts: a Construction of a Myth,* (London 1992) 8-9; Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 15; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language,* 212-213.
[65] This language family is reconstructed. It displays possible relationships between various languages and its branches through similarities in grammar and vocabulary. This linkage between languages is widely accepted. Among its siblings, all born from the *Indo-European family are Anatolian, Hellenic, Italic, Illyrian, Slavonic, Baltic, Germanic, Celtic, Armenian, Indo-Iranian and Tocharian; see also Chapman, *The Celts,* 7; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language.*

European language.[66] Almost all these languages derived from the proto-Celtic branch of Indo-European languages, thus one might argue that Pictish might be seen as an exception of sorts.

Under Roman rule most of these languages went extinct and were replaced with dialects of Latin, which ultimately grew out to be our modern Romance languages.[67] Because the British Isles were less bent under the Roman rule than the continent, it is easy to assume independent Celts remained in both Britain and Ireland. Although the British language was influenced by Latin, which is inevitable regarding the rule of the Romans, it survived to develop into Welsh and Cornish. It even influenced the Breton language through British missionaries in the Middle Ages. When Irish Gaelic was introduced to northern Britain and the Isle of Man, Scottish Gaelic and Manx developed. However, the Pictish language died out after the conquering done by Gaelic-speaking Scots in the 9th century AD.[68]

The Archaeological Approach

Considering who the Celts were might also be done by looking at archaeological evidence. The difficulty is then not to unify peoples just by common art styles, but by grouping materials, building techniques, commonly used tools, diet and similar things.

There are two (material) cultures within Europe that are often linked to the presence of the Celts. The term 'culture' here is used in an archaeological sense; it is meant as a 'constantly recurring assemblage of artefacts'.[69] These were the La Tène culture in Central Europe, and the Hallstatt culture in Central Europe. Both were used as evidence for the migrations into Italy, eastern Europe and Anatolia. This is because the origin of the 'Celts' was sought, while at that time they were both identified by both archaeological culture, art style, and language (as described by classical writers). Because there was an assumption that the culture, art style, and language group, together with the ethnic group, would be the same, the idea of migrating Celts arose. It was generally accepted that the Hallstatt culture preceded the La Tène culture, and that this represented the Celtic-speaking peoples. The debate then shifted to the era before the Hallstatt culture, the late bronze age Urnfield culture: was this an immigrant one, or a separate archaeological culture?[70] Increasing evidence of genetic and cultural continuity within western Europe is at odds with this migration-based interpretation of Celtic history. The origins of the languages and the origins of the material culture and the origins of art are not necessarily the same.[71] Instead of taking migration as a

[66] Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 15; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 86.
[67] Ibidem, 16.
[68] Ibidem, 15-16; see also Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language,* 225-233 for the transmission and survival of the Celtic languages.
[69] For a discussion on the 'Celtic' nature of the Bronze Age and Iron Age finds, see Leerssen, 'Celticism', 2; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 215.
[70] Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 27-28.
[71] Ibidem, 234.

base, the spread of cultures is more likely to have been cultural, through contact between peoples rather than migration.[72]

Nevertheless, it is important to know about these two cultures, because they are so closely linked to the Celts. Although there is no specific evidence that all was created by Celtic-speaking people, it is, according to Renfrew, still permissible to call it 'Celtic'.[73] The two phases were coined in 1872 by Swedish archaeologist Hildebrand, who used the finds in the north Alpine area to make a divide, both named after important archaeological sites.[74]

It is the Hallstatt Celts that Greek writers were referring to when writing about them.[75] The Hallstatt period covers about 700 BC up until 450 BC. It originated in the late Bronze Age as part of the Urnfield complex. There is a division of four periods, of which the first two A (1200-1000 BC) and B (1000-800 BC) of the Bronze age, and the two others C (800-600 BC) and D (600-450 BC) of the early Iron Age.[76] This culture, although identifiable with the Celts, is not identical to them. The culture is marked by a similarity to Bronze Age Europe, in that it was a society consisting of chiefdoms, independent farms, and small forts. The introduction of iron caused a wave of change in the 8th century; hillforts now became common structures, and surrounding them burial grounds appeared.[77] Barrow burials became prevalent, and the rite of the burial began playing an important role. Riches were buried with patrons, indicating status and wealth. Around 600 BC, the focus of the culture shifted towards the west, spreading to the upper Danube, Rhine, and eastern France. While smaller hillforts were left, a number of larger hillforts appeared in more prominent centres. This brought about a shift, in which powerful chiefs came to be buried with luxury. New trades were established with Etruria and the Greek colony of Massilia, introducing wine and other luxuries.[78] The Hallstatt era is marked by its geometrical decorative style.

The La Tène Culture covers the period directly after the Hallstatt Period, from circa 450 BC up until 50 BC. [79] By 300, this culture had become dominant across Europe. The 1st century BC brought the culture to the British Isles, allowing its characteristic art style to develop, which include influence of animal art of the steppe lands of the east.[80] While the Roman conquest left a La Tène-sized hole, the style survived in Ireland, and returned to England in the Middle ages. The La Tène culture is noticeable because of its distinct art style, which is described as 'curvilinear'. This was

[72] Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 24.
[73] Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 234.
[74] Ibidem, 26-27.
[75] Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 32; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 27.
[76] Chapman, 'The Celts', 7; Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 32; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 27.
[77] Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 32; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 234.
[78] Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 32-33; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 234.
[79] Champion, 'The Celt in Archaeology', 70; Chapman, 'The Celts', 7; Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 34-35.
[80] Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 34-35; Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 235.

used on metalwork, like weapons or jewellery. It was a mixture of the geometrical style of the Hallstatt period, and the vegetal decorative style of the Greeks and Etruscans. The latter reached the area through trade; it was often found on drinking vessels, which found their way due to the import of wine.[81] The La Tène culture developed on the northern and western margins of the heartland of Hallstatt. Apart from the wealth-displaying burials, warrior burials came into being as well. At times, whole chariots were buried with its warrior. Together with the rise of the La Tène culture, the Hallstatt chiefdoms declined.[82]

As we have seen, there are various approaches to be taken. Several factors weigh in when defining the term 'Celt'. The term itself is very much a construct.[83] Generally, the term is more applied to those speaking a Celtic language, rather than groups migrating between areas, or peoples with a shared art style. Renfrew writes:

> "The Celtic languages are seen to emerge, by a process of differentiation or crystallization, from an undifferentiated early Indo-European language which was spoken in Europe north and west of the Alps, and may still be preserved in certain river names. Insular and Continental Celtic will have developed in the areas where they were spoken […]. The earliest Indo-European speakers will have reached these areas by 4000 BC […]. But in a very real sense, the undertaking of becoming Celtic began then, and continued through the workings of the process of cumulative Celticity."

The definition, then, is taken to be the group of peoples who were speakers of a Celtic language. However, it is important to realize the term Celtic can be applied in a broader sense: customs, material culture, and art of these Celtic speaking communities should not be overlooked. As this thesis researches exhibitions, it is not self-evident that each author of catalogue or each curator retains the same definition. It is probable that, at times, peoples from the Hallstatt or La Tène culture are defined as Celts. Because the origins of the Celtic peoples are not as narrow, this is a somewhat faulty definition;[84] although there the first aristocratic chieftains are seen, it has no specific claim to be the only and first homeland of the Celts. Therefore, a close reading of all source material will be maintained.

The Celt and the Celtic

Having discussed the various constructions of the Celts, the difference between 'Celt' and 'Celtic' now will be discussed. Much like the term 'Celt', the definition of what Celtic is depends on

[81] Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 34-35.
[82] Ibidem, 34-35.
[83] Leerssen, 'Celticism', 4-5.
[84] Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language*, 249.

the scholar you ask, and in which context it is placed. It is a broader term than Celt, as it is clear that when talking about a Celt or the Celts, one is referring to a member of or the group of people, be it linguistically or archaeologically determined. However, Celtic is a descriptor, applicable to multiple concepts. As MacGregor writes in the introduction to the exhibition catalogues of *The Celts: Art and Identity:* " 'Celtic' is a cultural construct that has changed its meaning many times."[85]

Thus, a distinction needs to be made. Depending on context, albeit historical, political, or sociological, its definition might change. The term Celtic can be applied to art, architecture, archaeology, religion, style of decoration, music, history, folklore, countries, or languages. Of course, it can also be applied to peoples, as described and discussed above. It is both a politico-cultural, ethno-cultural and linguistic label.[86] In ethno-cultural sense, Celtic would be applied to art, music, design, jewellery, and sometimes even poetry or literature, of a certain people. Usually, its association lies with the inhabitants of modern Celtic language areas. These would then be Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany, although the emphasis might be solely put on Ireland. Ethno-cultural Celticism is often displayed in stereotypical artefacts, such as kilts, tartan, Celtic lettering, and other objects typically associated with the Celts.[87] This type of stereotypically Celtic paraphernalia finds its root in the 1960s and 1970s, when there was a resurge in interest for the Celts also known as the second wave of Celtomania, as they were seen as having anti-materialist values. This, then, stems from the Romantic presentation which rose during the time of the Celtic Twilight, in which nostalgia and primitivism was dominant and expressed itself in the idea of the 'Noble Savage'.[88] In this image, both majesty and horror are dominant behind a mirage of mystique and antiquity, and came with a set of 'primitive' virtues: simplicity, rurality, bravery, loyalty, elemental courtesy and honour.[89] When regarding the politico-cultural aspect, Celtic often refers to the cultures of peoples of Scotland, Ireland and Wales, often in contrast with the British. In this respect, nationalism plays a bigger part. Self-definition emphasized the civic and territorial, whilst the ethnic appeared emphasized.[90] The linguistic label has been extensively discussed above. However, in the late nineteenth century phase of Celtomania which followed the first wave or Celtic Revival, Irish imagery tried to discredit 'the Celtic' as a coherent historical identity before AD 1700, which was adopted by native Celtic speakers. Contemporary sources now often define Celtic as a tradition residing in language spaces tied to a certain geography, or by ancestry or territory.[91]

---

[85] Farley, Julia, and Hunter, Fraser, *Celts: Art and Identity* (British Museum Press, London, 2015) Foreword.
[86] Pittock, 'Introduction: defining terms', 1.
[87] Ibidem, 3.
[88] Ibidem, 3.
[89] Ibidem, 4.
[90] Ibidem, 7.
[91] John G. Robb, 'A Geography of Celtic Appropriations' in *Celtic Geographies: Old Culture, New Times* ed. David C. Havey, ed al. (Routledge London 2002), 231.

However, when talking about Celtic art, definitions change. Even within art, discussions about the exact definition of the term are existent.[92] Dennis W. Harding, for example, argues for a broader interpretation; instead of defining Celtic art as art of the Celts, the ethnic entity, Harding argues that the Iron Age communities within Europe, historically identified as Celts, should be considered too. He states that those people also regarded themselves as Celtic,[93] even though this is up for debate, as little evidence for this lies in sources.[94] He is prepared to accept the term 'Celtic' as referencing to a language group, of which variants were widely spoken by Iron Age communities in Central and Western Europe. But, accepting that specific definition, Harding wonders what Celtic should mean in the context of Celtic art.[95]

Iron Age metal-work has been identified as Celtic since the mid-nineteenth century.[96] Other art styles often considered Celtic are tied together with the abovementioned archaeological eras and areas: La Tène and Hallstatt, of which the first is more widely recognized. Apart from that, Celtic art has been defined as 'an art of ornament, masks and beasts, without the image of Man',[97] making the La Tène style not an art style, but an ornamental style. This observation was made by Jacobsthal, after whom historians mostly were concerned with interrelationships between sequential styles.[98] Vincent Megaw, however, then put the study of Celtic art back into the context of Celtic society, contributing to the debate through his new approach. Nevertheless, there does not seem to be a uniformity about the definition of Celtic art, apart for the Iron age and La Tène components. While at times, a somewhat vague definition is given (i.e. Megaw and Megaw: 'art' is "elaboration that goes beyond what is required for simple function"), there still is no clear answer to the question 'what is Celtic art'.[99] Its definition, thus, will be dependent on the description given by either author, academic, or curator.

[92] see also: Dennis W. Harding, 'Definitions, Material and Context' in *The Archaeology of Celtic Art* ed. D.W. Harding (Routledge London 2007); Cunliffe, Barry, 'In the Fabulous Celtic Twilight', in *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions* (Cambridge 2011).
[93] Harding, 'Definitions, Material and Context', xiii.
[94] see also: Chapman, 'The Celts'.
[95] Harding, 'Definitions, Material and Context', 7.
[96] Ibidem, 1.
[97] Ibidem, 2.
[98] Ibidem, 3.
[99] for a more detailed discussion of the matter, see Duncan Garrow, 'The space and time of Celtic Art: interrogating the 'Technologies of Enchantment' Database' in *Rethinking Celtic Art* ed. D. Garrow (Oxford 2008), 15-39.

Knowing who the Celts were, we now move on to the next part: the exhibitions. As can be seen in the addendum, there have been various exhibitions displaying the Celts over the years, both in art and culture. In this section, a selection of exhibits will be researched, described, and analysed. I will look at how the Celts are presented, and if there is any noticeable nationalist sentiment; are there any traceable ideas from the Celtic Revival? By looking at the similarities and differences between the exhibitions, a continuity might be shown. Through analysis, the *Nachleben* of the Celtic Revival will be discussed. This analysis focuses both on description, depiction, and presentation. Characteristics of the exhibitions will be compared to characteristics of the Celtic Revival. Apart from that, development within the exhibits are examined as well. By comparing each of the selected exhibits, differences and similarities will become clear. This will be both in form and presentation of the exhibits themselves. This, then, will reveal whether a linear development is in place, and whether the perception of the Celts has shifted over time.

Notes on the Selection

For this thesis, three exhibits have been selected. These are spread over time, to examine a possible development within the perception of the Celts. By selecting three exhibits within specific timeframes, the *Nachleben* of the Celtic Revival will become apparent.

The selection is limited to the United Kingdom and Ireland, i.e. England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and Ireland. This is done because this is the area most affected by the Celtic Revival; as it originated there, it is presumable that this is the area where the *Nachleben* would be most visible. Apart from that, the continental exhibitions about the Celts seem to focus on the archaeological Celt, which is not the focus of this thesis. Therefore, this research focuses on exhibitions formerly on display throughout the UK and Ireland.

The three selected exhibits all take place after the 1900s. While the Celtic Revival took place in both the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the exhibitions displaying the Celts and their history and/or culture are only found mid-20th century. This is visible in *Addendum: A Chronology of Exhibitions*. This may be because several work and works vital to the movement were produced late 19th century, whilst its effects only came into focus afterwards.

However, *Ireland's World Fair of 1907* has been selected first to research. Because this exhibit was borne into the Revival, it will be interesting to see what viewpoints are visible in presentation, and whether they are representative for the movement.

The second exhibition that will be examined is *Early Celtic Arts*, which was on display in the Royal Scottish Museum in 1970. Whereas the first exhibition was staged before both wars, i.e.

World War I and the Second World War, this example is set in post-war Europe. As there were many socio-cultural changes in the years during and after the war, it is presumable that ideas about the past and perception of national culture changed over that period.

The last example is a modern example, which was presented in 2015. This exhibition, titled *Celts: Art and Identity*, was on display in both London and Edinburgh in The British Museum and the National Museum of Scotland respectively.

Notes on the Analysis

Within this thesis, the continuation of ideas born within the Celtic Revival are examined. Through analysis, its *Nachleben* is explored. In this Revival, a new focus on Celtic history, culture, and art emerged. People tried to reconnect with an ancient past, reclaiming the history and approaching it with pride and admiration. A new appreciation for a cultural past emerged, and the Celts were studied more frequently. This appreciation was one of the characteristics of the Celtic Revival. Together with new interests, a new perspective formed: instead of barbarians, the Celts were now seen as noble savages. The Celtic Revival symbolised the reclamation of a mystic, ancient past, in which the Celts were a mysterious but strong people. It marked a change in cultural perspective. Thus, the question remains: is there still a perception of the Celts similar to that of the Celtic Revival? Did any ideas or concepts get transmitted?

To analyse the exhibitions, a set of questions is drawn on the basis of the re-emerged ideas within the Celtic Revival, which are previously explored.[100] These were the ideas of political freedom and a growing sense of national identity, with a focus on the 'cultural self' within the Celtic Revival. This brought forth an interest in the ancient past, literature, social practice, art, theatre, music, and language. There was a belief that music, storytelling, and customs of the native population held vestiges of an ancient culture; the national movement focused on the greatness of the past, and thus romanticized and glorified it.[101] The identity of the Celt shifted from 'barbarian' in the Classical world, to 'violent, proud, undisciplined and superstitious'.[102] This was reflected in art, literature, and even socio-political aspects of society.[103]

The questions will be used and answered for each of the exhibitions, after which a comparison between the exhibitions will be made to see whether this perception changed over time. Apart from that, the analysis includes similarities or differences in display and approach.

To create a fair analysis, these are the questions used:

- What is the goal of the exhibition?

[100] see Introduction: Celtic Revival for a more complete overview of the trends and ideas behind the Celtic Revival.
[101] Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World*, 128; Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past,* 7.
[102] Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World,* 128-129.
[103] Ibidem, 129-130.

- What is emphasized within the exhibition?
- Does the exhibition have a focus on the Celts or the 'Celtic' ?[104]
- How is the exhibited material displayed, and what is the tone of the supplementary description?
- Does the exhibition display a positive bias regarding Celtic material?
- Does the exhibition connect the present with the past?

After the exhibition-specific analysis, there will be an internal comparison. Developments within the exhibitions will be examined, both regarding perception and presentation of the exhibition material. There will also be looked at the exhibition catalogues: how were they fashioned, and does this change over the course of time? After the discussion and analysis, a short conclusion will be drawn for each exhibition.

The Exhibitions

The Irish International Exhibition of 1907 (Dublin, 1907)

Situated between the villages of Ballsbridge and Donnybrook, one of the first international exhibitions of the early 20th century took place in the south of Dublin. The first international exhibition was actually displayed in 1849, Dublin, and followed by the 'Crystal Palace' in London 1851.[105] At that point, the 1853 exhibition of the Royal Dublin Society had been the largest to date.[106] The three events had showcased both trade, fair and industrial prowess, together with a side of entertainment. Their popularity increased over the years, and resulted in about 2.75 million people attending the 1907 Exhibition. [107]

However, the exhibits had changed tone by 1882; an 'Artisan's Exhibition' was created to promote solely Ireland and the Irish. Machinery and materials were at display, together with painting, sculpture, and works of art produced by the Irish.[108] In the same vein, an industrial Exhibition was organised in Cork 1902. Both historic arts, crafts, and Celtic designs were exhibited.

---

[104] i.e. does it regard migration, music, art, literature, architecture, civilization, history of the Celts?
[105] Brian McCabe, 'Irish International Exhibition of 1907', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* vol. 237 (2007): 149; for more information about the presentation and representation of Ireland within the 1851 Exhibition see Elizabeth Allen, 'The 'Sister Kingdom' on Display: Ireland in the Space of the British Exhibition, 1851-1911', *History Honors Project* no.18 (2013) and Purbrick, Louise, 'Defining nation: Ireland at the Great Exhibition of 1851' in *Britain, the Empire, and the world at the Great Exhibition of 1851* ed. Auerbach, Jeffrey and Hoffenberg, Peter (2008).
[106] Patricia J. Fanning, 'Research Note: The Irish National Exhibition of 1907- Ireland's World Fair', *Bridgewater Review* vol.26 no.1 (2007): 24.
[107] Caroline R. Malloy, 'Irish Villages, Pavilions, Cottages, and Castles in International Exhibitions, 1853-1939', *ProQuest Dissertations Publishing* (2013): 119; McCabe, 'Irish International Exhibition of 1907', 149; John Turpin, 'Exhibitions of Art and Industries in Victorian Ireland: Part II: Dublin Exhibition and Industries 1865-1885', *Dublin Historical Record* vol.35 no.2 (1982) 51.
[108] Malloy, 'Irish Villages, Pavilions, Cottages, and Castles in International Exhibitions, 1853-1939', 120; Fanning, 'Research Note', 24.

Balancing both industrialisation and handcrafts, this exhibition implied increased awareness of Celtic heritage.[109]

The Irish International Exhibition of 1907 was initiated by businessman William Martin Murphy in the year 1904.[110] As Murphy was a moderate Nationalist,[111] the Exhibition shaped up to be more focused on International ties rather than Irish. By displaying industrial designs, he aimed to demonstrate Ireland's strength and strengthen the increase in trade of Irish goods.[112] Together with the Marquess of Ormonde, President of the event, and various subcommittees, the Exhibition was prepared over the following three years. The buildings took the shape of iron girder frames, covered with white-painted wood and plaster. Whilst the iron was imported from England due to it not being manufactured in Ireland at the time, according to Brian McCabe, the wood and workers were locally sourced.[113] Patricia J. Fanning, however, states the opposite: although initially employing 'as many native Irish as possible', much of these people were let go of in favour of foreigners.[114] Only one death occurred during construction.

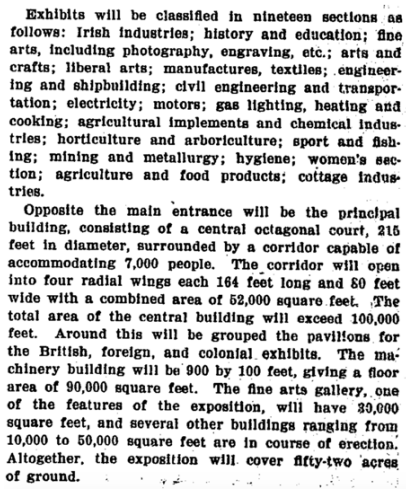
On the 4th of May the Exhibition was opened by the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Aberdeen, and closed on the 4th of November.[115] The exhibition immediately proved to be a success, attracting more than 28.000 people on the following Saturday.[116] The exhibit, staged in the peak years of the second wave of the Celtic Revival, was the biggest international exhibition witnessed in Ireland.[117]

The exhibition was divided into separate pavilions. According to the Official Catalogue, these were the following: Main Entrance Hall; Grand Central Palace; [118] Palace of Industries;[119] Palace of Mechanical Arts;[120] Foreign Countries;[121] Cultivated Plots;[122] Experimental Plots.[123] Apart from that, there was also a section for 'Amusements and Entertainments'.[124] The Irish had their own pavilion, called 'The Celtic Court' in guidebooks and catalogues, while the British had

[109] Fanning, 'Research Note', 24; Turpin, 'Exhibitions of Art and Industries in Victorian Ireland: Part II', 51.
[110] Allen, 'The 'Sister Kingdom' on Display', 60; Coleman, Zoë, 'The Representation of Ireland at long nineteenth-century exhibitions', *Irish Architechtural and Decorative Studies, The Journal of the Irish Georgian Society* vol.XVII (2015) 150; McCabe, 'Irish International Exhibition of 1907', 149.
[111] Allen, 'The 'Sister Kingdom' on Display', 60; Coleman, 'The Representation of Ireland at long nineteenth-century exhibitions', 151; Fanning, 'Research Note', 24.
[112] Allen, 'The 'Sister Kingdom' on Display', 60; Fanning, 'Research Note', 24.
[113] McCabe, 'Irish International Exhibition of 1907', 149.
[114] Allen, 'The 'Sister Kingdom' on Display', 62; Fanning, 'Research Note', 25.
[115] Fanning, 'Research Note', 24; McCabe, 'Irish International Exhibition of 1907', 152.
[116] McCabe, 'Irish International Exhibition of 1907', 149.
[117] Coleman, 'The Representation of Ireland at long nineteenth-century exhibitions', 150.
[118] divided into the following wings: Grand Central Hall, North Wing, West Wing, South Wing, East Wing.
[119] divided into the following halls: No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, New Zealand, No.4, No. 5.
[120] divided into halls: No.1, No.2, No.3, No.4, Gas Pavillion, Dominion of Canada, Home Industries Section.
[121] divided into: Japan, Austria, Holland, Italy, Algiers, France, and Denmark.
[122] divided into: Ashbourne Company, Hugh Dickson, Wm. Watson & Sons, Ltd.-, Wm. Power & Co, Chas. Ramsay & Son, Alex. Dickson & Sons, Hogg & Robertson, Ltd.-.
[123] consisting of: Sulphate of Ammonia Committee, Potash Syndicate.
[124] Irish International Exhibition, 1907: Official Catalogue xvi-xvii (Dublin: Hely's Limited 1907).

another pavilion.[125] From the Celtic Court, one was led into the Grand Central Palace, containing exhibits related to both Ireland's industry, history, and economy, together with various symbols referencing cultural and economic renewal.[126] The main hall of the event displayed a reproduction of the Monasterboice High Cross, which was a seventeen feet tall sculpture carved out a single piece of rock. Apart from this High Cross, various railway and ferry companies were presented. [127]

In a corner, Ballymaclinton Cottage was on display. This cottage served as an example of the industrious Irish home, and expanded to a whole village in the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition.[128] The Exhibition was divided into various halls, which included a grand central palace, a palace of mechanical arts, a palace of fine arts, and a palace of industries. The palace of fine arts consisted of 33,000 square feet, housing 1500 paintings, sculptures, prints and drawings, together with 400 photographs and Historical Collection of 1,243 artefacts.[129] While the show displayed a clear image of Ireland, this was directly contradicted within the show itself:[130] with the Celtic Court as main focus, the stress was put on Irish industry and Irish manufacturing. Taken together with emphasis on Irish national symbols, a narrative of modern Irish independence was created. However, the exhibition was not solely pro-unionist or pro-independence. Instead, both narratives are visible within the 1907 exhibition.[131]



Exhibits will be classified in nineteen sections as follows: Irish industries; history and education; fine arts, including photography, engraving, etc.; arts and crafts; liberal arts; manufactures, textiles; engineering and shipbuilding; civil engineering and transportation; electricity; motors; gas lighting, heating and cooking; agricultural implements and chemical industries; horticulture and arboriculture; sport and fishing; mining and metallurgy; hygiene; women's section; agriculture and food products; cottage industries.

Opposite the main entrance will be the principal building, consisting of a central octagonal court, 215 feet in diameter, surrounded by a corridor capable of accommodating 7,000 people. The corridor will open into four radial wings each 164 feet long and 80 feet wide with a combined area of 52,000 square feet. The total area of the central building will exceed 100,000 feet. Around this will be grouped the pavilions for the British, foreign, and colonial exhibits. The machinery building will be 900 by 100 feet, giving a floor area of 90,000 square feet. The fine arts gallery, one of the features of the exposition, will have 39,000 square feet, and several other buildings ranging from 10,000 to 50,000 square feet are in course of erection. Altogether, the exposition will cover fifty-two acres of ground.

Fig. I: Description of the Irish International Exhibition, *Scientific American (1845-1908)*; Dec 15, 1906; Vol. XCV., No.24.; ProQuest pg. 453

[125] Allen, 'The 'Sister Kingdom' on Display', 60.
[126] Allen, 'The 'Sister Kingdom' on Display', 6; Malloy, 'Irish Villages, Pavilions, Cottages, and Castles in International Exhibitions, 1853-1939', 127.
[127] McCabe, 'Irish International Exhibition of 1907', 149; The Lancet (July 27, 1907).
[128] for more information about the Ballymaclinton Village, see also: Greenhalgh, P., 'Art, Politics and Society at the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908', *Art History* vo.8 no.4 (1985); Rains, Stephanie, 'The Ideal Home (Rule) Exhibition: Ballymaclinton and the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition', *Field Day Review* no.7 (2011); and Rembold, Elfie, 'Exhibitions and National Identity', *National Identities* vol.1 no.3 (1999).
[129] Fanning, 'Research Note', 24; McCabe, 'Irish International Exhibition of 1907', 150; see also the Official Catalogue of the Irish International Exhibition, 1907.
[130] Allen, 'The 'Sister Kingdom' on Display', 63.
[131] Allen, 'The 'Sister Kingdom' on Display', 65, Turpin, 'Exhibitions of Art and Industries in Victorian Ireland: Part II', 52.

Interestingly, at the time the 1907 exhibition was set up and produced, there was a lack of industrial movement within Ireland. With stagnant labour, its industry was small-scale and mostly based upon the agricultural economy.[132] Although craft unions existed, they were often small, and the availability of non-union Irish labour required no labour organisation.

In contrast to the stagnant Irish labour, the cultural awareness within Ireland changed rapidly. In 1893, the Gaelic League was founded, with its goals to revive the use of Irish language and 'de-Anglicize' the Irish people. Through this revival, rural Irish lifestyle was idealized and romanticized, and worked hand in hand anti-modernism. This idea of anti-modernism focused on the value of handcrafted items- they were believed to be superior to ones that were manufactured.[133] A definite artistic tradition had emerged: the Dun Emer Guild, founded by Evelyn Gleeson and the Yeats sisters in 1902, was on the rise.[134] They aimed to 'find work for Irish hands in the making of beautiful things'. The Guild also created a pamphlet to go alongside the exhibition, educating them about the exhibition, Dublin, and developments within Ireland within industries, art, and science. Together with this, nationalist political groups were on the rise as well. In 1907, the *Cumann na nGaedhal* turned into the *Sinn Fein* League, which eventually merged with the National Council to become *Sinn Fein*. Their purpose was to re-establish an independent Ireland. Thus, while Murphy aimed to present an international exhibition, this was not particularly desired within society.[135] This is reflected in reports about the International Exhibition:[136] "though the Dublin exhibition is called the Irish International Exhibition, the international element is very small and unimportant." The *Sinn Fein* even were reported advocating its boycotting.

Analysis

The Dublin exhibition of 1907 was one of the biggest International Exhibitions. With its focus on International ties, this exhibition was a varied one, with multiple objects from various countries on display. The exhibition thus did not have one set subject, but showed various national prides. Its goal was to showcase the best of each country; every part would be set up in such way that it clearly displayed strengths. The Irish part of the exhibition took place at a pavilion called 'the Celtic Court'. This was a court separate from the British one. It led into a Grand Central Palace, which held exhibits about both Ireland's history, industry, and economy. It focused on the cultural and economic renewal, and displayed industrial prowess, ferry and railway companies, together

[132] Fanning, 'Research Note', 25.
[133] Ibidem, 25.
[134] Coleman, 'The Representation of Ireland at long nineteenth-century exhibitions', 150-151.
[135] Allen, 'The 'Sister Kingdom' on Display', 62; Fanning, 'Research Note', 25.
[136] Fanning, 'Research Note', 25; The Lancet 1907.

with Ballymaclinton Cottage which served as the pinnacle of industrious Irish homes. What is interesting, is that the exhibition also fashioned a life-size reproduction of the Monasterboice High Cross, once again stressing Irish history, and emphasizing art. This imagery of the High Cross or Celtic Cross, popularized during the Celtic Revival, is still known today, and forms a part of monumental and funerary art.

The emphasis of the Irish International Exhibition of 1907 within the Celtic Court was not only put on artefacts, but on modern accomplishments as well. It combined elements of the past, e.g. the Monasterboice High Cross, with elements of the present. However, looking at the division within the Celtic Court, most recognition went out towards modern improvements; the mechanical arts and industries had their own palaces, and whilst there was a palace of fine arts, it was not so much concerned with Celtic pieces as it was with contemporary art, and the historical collection of 1,243 artefacts was housed within this palace. Apart from Irish industry, the section also focused on national symbols, creating a narrative of Irish independence. Because of the lack of industrial movement within Ireland and the same time, this was an interesting emphasis.

The exhibited material within the exhibition is difficult to analyse, due to limited availability of sources on it. Most of the sources which concerned with the exhibition describe how it was set up, and the official catalogue of the 1907 Exhibition lists the guarantors, various advertisements, an index of exhibitors, and an index of advertisers.[137] Some, but not all exhibitor entries, feature short descriptions of what was on display. This differs from entry to entry, and mostly seems to concern the more important objects, such as a model of a compound engine.[138] At the start of each section, such as the Home Industries Section, a brief description of the section is written by the committee. For this particular section, for instance, it was written:

> "It was realized that all branches of rural economy should, as far as possible, be included, and accordingly there have been added a series of working exhibits representative of such industries as are carried on with commercial success in Ireland, together with others which might be introduced, and afford a living wage should they be hereafter adopted. [...] A display is made of Pottery, which could be manufactured from Clays existing in various Irish counties, and which have been tested and proved suitable for such wears.
> Leather, Skins, and Fur are shown, with possible manufactures therefrom [...] A series of photographs, showing Home workers in other countries manufacturing goods for the markets of the world, are displayed, with a view to drawing attention to possibilities in Ireland. [...]

[137] see also: the Irish International Exhibition, 1907: the official catalogue.
[138] Irish International Exhibition, 1907: the official catalogue (1907) 94.

> A Village Hall, a Village Hospital, two Model Labourers' Cottages with a Village Green, complete the Section. The village Hall has been built and equipped to meet requirements in the rural districts, and is intended to act as a model for those seeking suggestions."[139]

This shows, to some extent, the intent with which this section was set up. The exhibition did not only show off, but it also simply showed, taking inventions and crafts and similar things, and making an example out of them.

An interesting thing to come out of the exhibition was 'the Celtic Court' as a name for the Irish court. Although Celtic is generally assumed to include other peoples or languages, this is specifically used to specify the Irish section. Here, the term Celtic thus references a group of peoples from a specific location and/or language group, setting them apart from the British and other nations. It uses the modern sense of the word, implying tradition and locality. This might have played into a narrative of independence, although its naming did not appear to have come from within, but rather was a result of outward reception of the material. Although there was no extensive focus on anything considered historically Celtic, there still was a positive bias towards the material, as the International Exhibition centred around demonstrating one's prowess and innovation. The goal was intertwined with the presentation within the exhibition. This, however, then was true for all countries. There was not a specific lens through which the material was looked at apart from a promoting one. The Irish International Exhibition of 1907 did not try to display one single thing; instead, it aimed to promote as many subjects as possible, of which their history was one part. Despite having a Celtic Court, the exhibition narrowed the 'Celt' down to the Irish peoples. By interweaving history into their section, a connection to the past was made.

The goal of the 1907 exhibition was the display of national pride. Its focus on international ties was a part of this. While the Irish section was named 'the Celtic Court', it put emphasis on Ireland's industrious advancements. While the exhibition did not focus on the Celt or the Celtic in a manner that is expected, it did focus on the construct of Celtic as an ethno-cultural term for peoples of modern Celtic-speaking areas, which was Ireland in this specific case. The exhibition approaches the modern Celt rather than the historic one, focusing on tradition and locality. The display of nationalism through national pride cannot be dismissed as well, as it is a direct result of the prevalent line of thinking within its Zeitgeist of the Celtic Revival.

[139] Irish International Exhibition, 1907: the official catalogue (1907) 123-124.

Early Celtic Art (Royal Scottish Museum, 1970)

In 1970, the exhibition 'Early Celtic Art' was on display in the Royal Scottish Museum. The exhibition was sponsored by the Edinburgh Festival Society, and arranged by the Arts Council of Great Britain in association with the Royal Scottish Museum.[140] It was said to be 'the first major exhibition of Early Celtic Art' that was held within England. Professor Stuart Piggott was the person to assemble the exhibition.[141]

Stuart Piggott was born on the 28th of May 1910 in Berkshire. In 1927, he founded the journal *Antiquity*.[142] After presenting 'the relative chronology of British Long Barrows', Pigott started to specialize in prehistoric archaeology. He studied Neolithic pottery, helped with the excavation of one of the Thickthorn Down Long Barrows, British Neolithic ceramics, the progress of early man (which was also produced as a book), Avebury, and various other subjects. After the war, he took up his old line of work; in 1948 he once again was operational in the excavational environment.[143] For several years, he was member of both English and Scottish Ancient Monument Boards. He had also been a Trustee of the British Museum and the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.[144] In 1958, he published *Scotland before History*, a survey of the same country's prehistory. He analysed the Beaker culture in Britain after that. His 1965 publication 'Ancient Europe- from the beginnings of Agriculture to Classical Antiquity' set out to 'place barbarian Europe in [...] its rightful place'. [145] After several more years of research and publication, Stuart Piggott died in 1996.

Although assembled by the archaeologist, it was Derek Allen who had catalogued the coins within the exhibition. The whole of the catalogue was produced by the University of Edinburgh, in particular Press Secretary A.R. Turnbull, Walter Cairns, and George Mackie.[146]

The exhibition *Early Celtic Art* was planned 'to show the part played by Early Celtic Art in the life of the people for whom it was created and by whom it was accepted as a valid vision.' [147] It was divided into different sections, of which the first, according to Piggott, only contained one or two pieces which antedate the beginning of the true early style. Thereafter, the following categories were presented: Origins and Beginnings, Warriors, Horses and Chariots, Religion and Magic, Hearth and Feast, Adornment and Display, Aftermath, and Coins.[148] The warrior section focused

[140] Royal Scottish Museum, *Early Celtic Art*, (Edinburgh University Press, Scotland, 1970).
[141] Royal Scottish Museum, *Early Celtic Art,* foreword.
[142] Roger Mercer, 'Stuart Piggott 1910-1996', *The British Academy* (1998), 413-415.
[143] Ibidem, 431.
[144] Ibidem, 433, for more information about his further career see Mercer, 'Stuart Piggott 1910-1996'.
[145] Ibidem, 433-435.
[146] Royal Scottish Museum, *Early Celtic Art*, Foreword.
[147] Ibidem, Introduction.
[148] Ibidem, Introduction.

mainly on equipment, while ornaments and objects of display are mostly visible within the Hearth and Feast section. The Aftermath section contained early Middle Ages Celtic ornaments, and components of the new art styles of both late paganism and the early British church.[149]

The sections vary in the number of objects displayed: the section of origins only displayed seven objects, varying from the end of VI BC to ca. 300 BC. The statues and figures, plaque, amphora and oenochoe were displayed in a chronological order, starting with a stone statue replica from Hirschlanden in Germany, one of the earliest monumental stone sculptures in the Early Celtic world and classified as a transitional piece between the final Hallstatt phase and the earliest La Tène period; and finishing with a South Italian (Gnathian) oenochoe, a jug with a relief of a satyr-mask, which is said to have inspired barbarian craftsmen of Europe to a variety of adaptations.[150] Three entries were being identified as originating in one of the Hallstatt periods.

The section of Warriors consists of twenty-eight pieces, starting with a French late IV BC century bronze and iron helmet, and ending with a gold figure of a Celtic warrior on a brooch. Unsurprisingly, this part of the exhibition mainly covers iron or bronze weapons and armour, with a variation of helmets (five), shields and shield bosses (two), belt-plates and -hooks (two), daggers and sheaths (three), swords and sword-sheaths (twelve), and miscellaneous objects (four).[151] These miscellaneous objects are perhaps most interesting to look at. The first of them is number 16 in the exhibition catalogue, a gold-plated plaque, dated IV BC, from Weiskirchen in Germany. It was found in Barrow II, a grave from which a scabbarded iron sword also originated. The plaque displays a symmetrical motif based on four human masks.[152] The other three miscellaneous objects follow each other in the catalogue, and starts with the bronze flame-shaped object of catalogue number 33. It originated from the La Tène era, and closely resembles a similar object found in a grave near Birkenfeld. Its purpose is unknown, although it has been suggested that it was an ornamental piece on either a helmet or a chariot.[153] Number 34 consists of a bronze boar-headed trumpet-bell from Deskford, Scotland. It is assumed to be a part of a *carnyx*. It is incomplete, but due to its relation to the war-trumpet at home in this category.[154] The last, a mentioned before, is a gold figure of a Celtic warrior on a brooch. Its origins are unknown, and the object appears a composite, with the warrior figure a clear separate sculpture. It shows a naked warrior wearing a helmet and carrying a sword and shield, typical for the style of the 3rd century B.C. [155]

[149] Royal Scottish Museum, *Early Celtic Art*, Foreword.
[150] Ibidem, 1-2.
[151] Ibidem, 2-8.
[152] Ibidem, 4.
[153] Ibidem, 8.
[154] Ibidem, 8.
[155] Ibidem, 8.

The following part titled 'Horses and Chariots' had twenty-three sections, of which number 40 and 41 were divided in sub-sections. This is because they are both collections of harness-trappings, and display variations together. The majority of the items is related to horses rather than chariots, although the entire section is related to equipment used for the horses.[156] The youngest objects in this category originate mid 1st century A.D.

The category of 'Religion and Magic'[157] was headed by a quote, like the previous section. For this subject, the following is chosen:

'And there were many
Dark springs running there, and grim-faced
figures of gods
Uncouthly hewn by the axe from the untrimmed
tree-trunk,
Rotted to whiteness'.[158]

The addition of this citation seems interesting as it is a rather impressionistic one, but might be considered as the section is one of greater uncertainty than the ones preceding. Both 'Warriors' and 'Horses and Chariots' are sections which are clear-cut, with objects that can be identified having a certain purpose. However, as was with 'Origins and Beginnings', the section 'Religion and Magic' has less source material to support their function; religion within Celtic culture is a subject which has been debated by many.[159] The quote, then, sets the tone for the rest of the chapter.

The objects on display are various heads and figures, sometimes of wood, but mostly made of stone, together with several masks and statues. The first of thirty-five entries is the replica of an architectural composition, making it the odd one out. The composition originated in Roquepertuse, France, and displays a sanctuary with remains of architectural fragments and sculptures made of limestone. There were votive heads or skulls, which is believed to refer to the cult of the severed head. Apart from that, horse motifs are clearly visible, which was also believed to be a common theme.[160] The other entries consist of either figures or heads, often with an animal motif. There are thirteen variations of human heads, and nine animal figures; four of which contain animal imagery. Noticeable is exhibition catalogue entry number 85, titled 'Silver ritual cauldron'. This entry describes the cauldron found in Gundestrup, Denmark, a piece that is known today as 'the Gundestrup Cauldron'. In comparison to the others, its entry is rather lengthy, and explains that the complex iconography is only partially understood. The cauldron displays various male and female

[156] Royal Scottish Museum, *Early Celtic Art*, 8-13.
[157] Ibidem, 13-19.
[158] Ibidem, 13.
[159] for more information about Celtic religious culture see Proinsias Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* (Feltham Middlesex: Hamlyn, 1970) and J.A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Morrison & Gibb Limited, Edinburgh, 1911).
[160] Royal Scottish Museum, *Early Celtic Art*, 13.

bust with attributes, whilst the inner plates display a series of scenes such as the procession of military forces, and compositions of mythical figures.[161]

The next section 'The hearth and the feast', describes a dining-scene, with the fire and hearths alight. This section, then, centres around domestic traditions. It includes bowls, flagons, terminals, and various mounts, and displays objects which would be found and used throughout establishments. There are eighteen objects on display, of which four are so-called firedogs. These firedogs were used to place wood for fires upon, and were often extensively decorated.[162]

'Adornment and Display' shows a variety of jewellery. The citating of Posidonius at the start of the section displays the value and purpose of such objects:

'To the frankness and high-spiritedness of their temperament must be added the traits of childish boastfulness and love of decoration. They wear ornaments of gold, torcs on their necks, and bracelets on their arms and wrists, while people of high rank wear dyed garments besprinkled with gold.'

This part of the exhibition is filled with fifty-three objects, often made of gold. This may be explained by the amount of jewellery found at burial sites and mounds. One of the most common objects in this part of the exposition is the torc, 'a neck ornament consisting of a band of twisted metal, worn especially by the ancient Gauls and Britons'. There are fifteen variations of them on display. Bracelets and armlets, and brooches take up another majority of the exhibit. Most of the objects are dated around the first century AD.[163]

The last segment of the exhibition displays the 'Aftermath'.[164] It centres around mounds and hoards, often indicative of battle and death, found at foreign (i.e. non-Celtic) sites. These hoards are identifiable by their Celtic motifs and origins. Catalogue number 165, an Iron cauldron-chain, is the opening number for this section. It was found in a Roman town, and bears marks of the pre-Roman Celtic world.[165]

The closing segment consists of a dedicated introduction to the world of coinage. It is states that 'any exhibition devoted to the Celts would be incomplete without examples of their coins'.[166] While they were intended for locality, they did follow well-constructed formulae, and display a wide variety in their designs. The records on the coins are scarce, leaving much up to the imagination in terms of usage and purpose. At the start, the coins were mere imitations of the Greek coins. The earliest ones are dated to the late fourth century BC, in the hinterland of Macedon. From there on, the coin-production started to spread, until second century BC Roman influences appear.

[161] Royal Scottish Museum, *Early Celtic Art*, 17.
[162] Ibidem, 19-22.
[163] Ibidem, 22-31.
[164] Ibidem, 31-34.
[165] Ibidem, 31.
[166] Ibidem, 35.

In the early first century BC, the coinage had a full extension to almost all the territory occupied by Celts.[167] The coins were brought to new areas by travellers, and varied in design and weight determined by the availability of resources. Although it did not have a clear origin, its fall appears clear: coinage survived until an area fell to Rome.[168]

Most of the coins were decorated with animal motifs, as various other objects ascribed to the Celts and their art style were. On the other side of the coins, human heads would be on display, probably originating from the Roman and Greek coins they copied. These heads varied in appearance: bearded, male, female, or even tattooed. The animals on the flipside, too, were varied. Horses, boars, lions, bears, cattle, goats, and eagles were only few of the animals that can be found on the coins. Within the exhibitions, the coins are divided in various categories: silver coins of the Eastern Celts, silver coins of Cisalpine Gaul, South West Gaul, West Central Gaul, gold coins of Central and North Gaul, and subsidiary coinages of Central and North Gaul, together with gold coins of Germany and Bohemia, Belgic Gaul and Britain, Britain, and British Dynasties: Suffolk, Essex and Kent, coins of outlying tribes of Britain, and, finally, 'Potin' coinage of Kent and the Thames Valley.

With that section, the exhibition closed. It displayed various material objects, most of which were dated B.C. The exhibition catalogue gives a description of each object on display, listing name, finding place, origin, and characteristics of the object or objects. Often, but not always, they mention it displaying Celtic art style or motif, without explaining the exact details about it in its descriptions. Some information about that can be found in the introduction, but for an extended knowledge about the motifs and characteristics, more research is needed.

Analysis

Claiming to be the first major exhibition of Early Celtic Art, the 1970 exhibition of the Royal Scottish Museum was arranged by the Arts Council of Great Britain in association with the Royal Scottish Museum. Its intentions are stated within the introduction: 'to show the part played by Early Celtic art in the life of the people for whom it was created, and by whom it was accepted as a valid vision'.[169] They said that the structure of society was bound up with art, and could thus be seen as a social artefact. The exhibition then establishes the role of Early Celtic art within its target society, emphasizing the importance of material culture.

Within this presentation, a part of perception and origin of Celtic Art is also discussed. It sets apart recognition of Early Celtic art as art of barbarians, drawing on Classical sources, and

[167] Royal Scottish Museum, *Early Celtic Art*, 35.
[168] Ibidem, 35.
[169] Ibidem, Introduction.

states that modern peoples do not recognise the form of society that is visible from the art and material culture left to us, much like the Romans and Greeks. This art was one of warrior aristocracy living in a heroic society, where courts, head-hunting, and human sacrifice were not uncommon.[170] This society possessed over an art style which was refined, captured in the smallest of objects. The Early Celtic art that is on display, thus, is fifth-century Celtic art. The art style is both native and 'exotic', influenced from the outside.[171] The exhibition itself is divided into eight sections, which each deal with a part or category of objects within Early Celtic art. It is clear that the exhibition has a focus and emphasis on Early Celtic art, which is both stated in the introduction of the exhibition catalogue, and visible within the exhibition itself. This is approached by dividing the art into categories based on function, rather than time period. This is done because they wanted to show the role that Early Celtic art played in the society that created, accepted, and used it. As a result, there is a clear overview in objects used in Early Celtic society. Through cohesion, this gives a clear view of who the Celts were. However, as there is a lack of chronological consistency within the exhibition, with exception of the first section that functions as an indicator of the start of Early Celtic art, this view is not completely accurate. The exhibition, through the display of art and objects, gives more so an impression of who the Celts were, rather than fleshing them out. Apart from that, it does not detail the changes within Celtic art, and limits itself to one time period, which then would be justified by both exhibition title and catalogue.

While the exhibition does not directly focus on the Celts, there still is an indirect focus: through the display and description of Early Celtic art, the Early Celts are approached. This is reflected in the goal named, so while it technically does not focus on the Celts, it actually does. The 'Celtic' is also featured here, as the exhibition concerns Celtic art. What is interesting is that there is no extensive definition of what is either Celt or Celtic, and instead, there is focussed on art without giving more than a two-line explanation. The objects in the exhibition catalogue get a more extensive description, which details its dating, finding place, material, and dimensions. The description text starts with stating what the object is, and then usually tells to which period it belongs. Then, it details where it was found, what is found on it, i.e. decorations, scenes, and similar things, and among which other things it was found. The latter is not always mentioned, as some objects were found on their own. This description style is true for all pieces, although some have a more extensive description due to their decorations or available additional knowledge. Although the description tent to strain from personal judgement or implications, the descriptions are not exempt of phrases such as 'this remarkable composition'. However, such phrases are found in small

[170] Royal Scottish Museum, *Early Celtic Art*, Introduction.
[171] Ibidem, Introduction.

numbers and only implement a limited amount of judgement. The descriptions are technical, describing form, function, and materials, together with decorations.

Within the exhibition, there is no clear positive or negative bias towards the Celts.[172] This is partly due to the way the materials are exhibited; their description is not imbedded with judgement, and thus there is a simple overview of objects on display, organised by function. The exhibition and its catalogue simply display what is there. One could argue that a form of bias can be found in the citations that head each section within the catalogue; the citation of Diodorus Sicilius V about the terrifying Gauls is clearly meant to portray some emotion. It could also be that this is merely to implement the tone of the exhibition section, to give more context to the materials on display. It, in itself, is not displaying a bias, rather than setting the scene.

Throughout the exhibition *Early Celtic Art* there is no attempt to connect the past to the present. Rather, a connection from present to past is made, by giving insight in the material culture fifth century BC in Central Europe. By connecting art to objects and their function, an attempt is made to explain this strange and unknown culture. As it does not set apart changes or developments within art, this connection is a rather short one to a fixed point, but it is a connection nonetheless.

The goal of the 1970 exhibition was to display Early Celtic art in its original context. It emphasized the role of the art in its society, simply presenting the objects and their function. This neutral display focused on a fixed period within history, and thus did not connect the past to the present, rather isolating it. Through its structure and description, the exhibition showed no clear bias towards either the Celt or Celtic. This was in line with the ideas prevalent within museum studies at the time: traditional museums focused on the display of objects rather than ideas and thus were built around their objects, something which was critiqued by New Museology.

Celts: Art and Identity (Edinburgh, 2015)

The exhibition 'Celts: Art and Identity', organised by both The British Museum and the National Museums Scotland, was on display September 24th 2015 until January 21st, 2016. The exhibition itself was a result of a partnership between the two museums, and a fruitful relationship that lasted over many years. The idea for such exhibition was proposed in 2003, whence the National Museum Wales and the National Museum of Ireland were involved as well, as a result of the question of the relationship between modern Celtic identity and the ancient Celts.[173] In 2010, this proposal was revived and revised, resulting in the following exhibition.[174] Both expertise and

[172] Royal Scottish Museum, *Early Celtic Art*.
[173] Farley, and Hunter, *Celts: Art and Identity*, Editors' Preface and Acknowledgements.
[174] Ibidem, Editors' Preface and Acknowledgements.

knowledge were exchanged between the two institutions, resulting in a varied and informed exhibition. Apart from The British Museum and the National Museums of Scotland, seventeen UK institutions and ten international museums and art galleries supplemented pieces from their collections to be on display in the exhibition.[175]

Dr. Gordon Rintoul, Director of the National Museums of Scotland, stated that the exhibition aimed to explore the 'complex question of the Celts'.[176] The questions asked within the Foreword, such as why the identity and art style of the Celts still resonates today, are answered by the book complementary to the exhibition.[177] Specifically mentioned is the 1970 exhibition, which is described as 'the last British exhibition to consider Celts on a European scale'. This project, which was a collaboration between Edinburgh and London, however, focused more on the Iron Age. In contrast, the 2015 exhibition aimed to include new research and cover the medieval period, which "for many people today provided the epitome of Celtic art".[178] Apart from that, the exhibition also considered the new views on the Celts and their influence from the sixteenth century onwards. With this, a broad perspective was kept in mind creating the projects, and intended to challenge 'easy assumptions about a simple Celtic past'.[179] Neil MacGregor, director of the British Museum, notes that 'Celts: Art and Identity' marks 'the first time that any exhibition has attempted to tell the story of the Celts from 500 BC to present day'.[180] Still, it is not so much about the label as it is about the name has been used and perceived over the previous 2,500 years. MacGregor writes that:

" 'Celtic' is a cultural construct that has changed its meaning many times."[181] The word, however, still resonates in our modern society. The reason given is that it has been used and redefined to echo politics, religion, and identity. This development, then, is what was examined in the exhibition.[182]

'Celts: Art and Identity' consists of highlights from both Celtic-related collections from Edinburgh and London, combined with various major finds from other European museums.[183] The exhibition, as the book accompanying it, was divided into eleven parts. The first, 'In Search of the Celts', written by Fraser Hunter, Martin Goldberg, Julia Farley, and Ian Leins, displays various imagery typically associated with the Celts, such as 'The Dying Gaul', a Roman statue dated 50-1 BC, now on display in the Capitoline Museum, and the Book of Kells, a 8th century manuscript

[175] Farley, and Hunter, *Celts: Art and Identity*, Foreword; Farley, and Hunter, *Celts: Art and Identity,* Editors' Preface and Acknowledgements.
[176] Farley, and Hunter, *Celts: Art and Identity*, Foreword.
[177] Ibidem, Foreword.
[178] Ibidem, Foreword.
[179] Ibidem, Foreword.
[180] Ibidem, Foreword.
[181] Ibidem, Foreword.
[182] Ibidem, Foreword.
[183] Farley, and Hunter, *Celts: Art and Identity*, Foreword.

famous for its Chi-Rho page, now on display at Trinity College Dublin. The chapter in the catalogue is extensive in its knowledge, discussing both the modern perception of what is 'Celtic', and, much like the Theoretical Background in this thesis, discusses both ancient and modern views of the Celts, and how they are defined; either by language, locality, migration, or art style.[184] Then, the history of the art style is set apart. Five key periods are appointed: the later Iron Age (c.450-150 BC), the end of the Iron Age (c. 150 BC- 50 AD), later Celtic art (c. AD 250-800), Viking and Scandinavian settlement (AD 800 onwards), and the Celtic revival.[185]

The second part, 'Approaching Celtic Art',[186] deals with the style and patterns within objects considered Celtic art. Next to that, its usage and audience is discussed as well. It is stated that, although their meanings are mostly lost to us, we can still appreciate the power and complexity. Celtic art does not consist of one particular style, but a range of styles which can be found over a period of approximately 1,500 years. This period started with the Iron Age, and lasted throughout the Roman and early Medieval periods up until present day.[187] Although not having one set style, the Celtic arts do form a homogenous group. Through the establishing of connections, similarities and patterns can be found. This section of the exhibition displayed objects that showed this range of art styles; from an openwork bronze belt-clasp from Weiskirchen, Germany, dated 450-400 BC, to torcs, shields, hoards, combs, and the Brooches from the St. Ninian's Isle treasure, found in Shetland, and dated AD 750-825.[188] The chapter concludes:

"*It is more correct to understand it as a series of 'Celtic arts' rather than a single, homogenous tradition. But together they give us glimpses into how people saw their world in Iron Age and early medieval Europe, and how they used decoration to reflect beliefs and ideas about that world, and to show off their status and connections. These ideas run through the rest of the book.*"[189]

'A Connected Europe, c.500-150 BC' leads us into the next part of the exhibition.[190] This section discusses various objects considered Celtic, and their geographical location. It explicates the spread of the art objects throughout Europe, and how those arose. Within this part, various subsections were displayed: stylistic variation in Early Celtic Art, the fifth century BC- a time of change, back to Basse-Yutz, exploring the earliest Celtic art, meanings, changing styles, art across Europe, histories and alternatives, Britain in Europe, and complex art for complex times.[191] It is explained that Celtic art, an innovative art style, had no single point of creation; several regions

[184] Ibidem, 20-29.
[185] Ibidem, 32-33.
[186] Joy, *Celts: Art and Identity*, 38-52.
[187] Ibidem, 38.
[188] Ibidem, 52.
[189] Ibidem, 51.
[190] Hunter, and Joy, *Celts: Art and Identity*, 54-80.
[191] Ibidem, 54-80.

across Europe developed versions of it.[192] Whilst shared ideas were visible, each region had their own variation. One of the noticeable objects on display here was 'A Celtic menagerie', a decorated flagon found in Basse-Yutz, dated 400-360 BC. The bronze, coral, and red glass flagon displays the scene of a duck fleeing fierce beasts. When pouring wine from the flagon, the duck would appear swimming along the stream.[193]

The section 'Powerful Objects: Uses of Art in the Iron Age' displays various items which were used in war or battle.[194] Much like the 'Warrior' section in the 1970 display, various shields, swords, helmets and sheaths can be seen here, together with two carnyx. The 'Dressing Up', subheading displays various types of jewellery, but focuses on torcs for the most part. Other sections within this part of the exhibition focus on both magic and ritual, feasting, hoards, and buried treasure. There is a clear focus on the function of the objects, discussing their uses throughout the whole segment. Various objects stand out in this section; for example, A horned helmet from the Thames, found in London, dated 200-100 BC. This helmet would not have been of much use on the battle-field, but displayed prestige nonetheless. Another special object is the Tintignac carnyx find, found in France, and dated 250-50 BC. The larynx, a sort of war trumpet, has massive ears which would function as loudspeakers whenever the bronze instrument was blown. The full height of the object is an astounding 180 cm.

'A Changing World, c.150 BC- AD 50' moves into a more domestic territory.[195] Within the chapter, coinage is explored. Both coins as offerings and art is discussed, displaying various designs and their possible meanings. This starts with the production and adoption of coinage, and the rise of *oppida* (hillforts) alongside it. These defended sites, also coined 'proto-urban centres' were settlements that included spaces dedicated to religious an economic activity, as well as agricultural and domestic spaces. Some hillforts also included areas which were dedicated to craft and industry, such as workshops for blacksmiths. By the first century BC, the producing of coinage on a larger scale could be found at various sites.[196]

Apart from the coinage, the increase of animal symbolism in the first century BC to the first century AD is discussed as well. This goes hand in hand with the coin-production, but was also seen in and on other objects. The boar was an animal often featured on battle-related objects, such as shields and carnyx. In domestic circles, cattle, sheep, and birds would be displayed, found on firedogs, cups, and other 'common-day objects'. Alongside this symbolism, new burial materials are discussed, such as a bucket fitting in the form of a human head. This is done because Late Iron Age

[192] Ibidem, 59.
[193] Ibidem, 60.
[194] Hunter, *Celts: Art and Identity*, 82-108.
[195] Leins, and Farley, *Celts: Art and Identity*, 110-128.
[196] Leins, and Farley, *Celts: Art and Identity*, 110-115.

burials differed from those of earlier times; food and drink burials started appearing more, together with other objects that might have indicated one's wealth and status.[197] Then, Rome's influence through contact with the Celtic world is examined. The resulting changes in art style are discussed in the closing of this chapter.

Picking up on Rome's influence, 'The Impact of Rome, c. AD 50-250' discusses the ways in which Rome made its way into Celtic art and society.[198] This is reflected in the increase in weaponry within the first century AD; societies were under threat of the steadily growing Roman empire. Contact and conflict resulted in rather rapid changes, and art was used in response to Rome. Art was used to reshape ideas of identity and belief.[199] In this segment, various swords and hoards are on display. Notorious is 'The Seven Sister hoard', a hoard found in Glamorgan, dated AD 50-75, consisting of chariot gear with diverging art styles. Some objects used local styles, while others took from Roman tradition.[200] Throughout the display, the Roman and Iron Age worlds become more entangled, and the developments are demonstrated through careful selection of objects. These objects, such as the Carmarthen Brooch, found in Dyfed, dated AD 50-100, show the merging of two styles; the mixing of certain materials and decoration styles, the colouring of objects, and the reinvention of the torc. Next to the emergence of a hybrid style, there is also touched upon religion; almost all archaeological evidence of Celtic religion is Roman in date. Modern knowledge, thus, is related to, and intertwined with, Roman sources. Both in depiction and the equating of gods from different cultures, the impact of Rome is seen.[201]

Moving 'Out of a Roman World, c. AD 250-650', the exhibition moves onto the next period.[202] Here, the focus is on new material: silver, but ogham inscriptions onto stone tablets or slabs too, as seen on the Trecastle stone, found at Pentre Poeth, Powys, Wales, dated AD 450-550. Stones displaying Pictish symbols were included as well. Early medieval Celtic art was examined and characterized; mostly found on cast bronze objects, a curvilinear and abstract style used multiple techniques in one decorated piece. Roman influence was seen in simpler motifs, and penannular brooches, mostly used in northern and western Britain and Ireland, became highly decorated.[203] Within the Roman province of Britannia, many objects, styles and motifs developed and flourished. However, these were not the only things to come out of Rome's power: Christianity, too, began to find its place, changing the usage of art.[204]

[197] Ibidem, 116-122.
[198] Fraser, *Celts: Art and Identity*, 129-151.
[199] Ibidem, 150.
[200] Ibidem, 134.
[201] Ibidem, 143-151.
[202] Goldberg, *Celts: Art and Identity*, 152-172.
[203] Goldberg, *Celts: Art and Identity*, 164.
[204] Ibidem, 171.

'At the Western Edge of the Christian World, c. AD 600-900' explores the various ways in which Christianity brought about changes in the Celtic world.[205] The book divides these in the following: The Insular Fusion, Interlace- new symbols for a timeless purpose, between beasts- new meanings for ancient symbols, Mobile Christianity: missionaries, metalwork and manuscript art, The St. Ninian's Isle treasure, jewellery and regional identities, local and international- exploring the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, spiral art as heritage motifs, the idea and realities of 'Celtic Arts', and back to Hunterston. This part of the exhibition displayed many well-known pieces, such as the carpet page of the Book of Durrow, the Initial page from the Gospel of St. Matthew in the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Tara Brooch, and various reliquaries. It displays the various new elements in a clear overview, and then gives an overview over the ideas and realities surrounding 'Celtic arts'. The idea surrounding it, and its definition, were a hot topic of the 1850s, and thus rapidly evolved. These views were heavily influenced by its Zeitgeist, which was often pushed by nationalist agendas and newly-created frameworks for understanding the past through material culture and remains. This then, reveals a central problem: the equating of art styles with peoples or languages. This also ties back into the discussion 'Who were the Celts?'.

The next period, c. AD 800-1600, is titled 'Tracing the Celts? Survival and Transformation' by the exhibition catalogue.[206] It discusses the tracing and inheriting of Celtic objects. While exhibitions and monographs on Celtic art typically ended with the invasion of the Vikings, much of the art produced during the high and late medieval periods reflect international styles which made use of Celtic styles. This is true for the combination of spirals*, peltae* and undulating lines with Mediterranean and Germanic motifs, but also for the hands within manuscripts. It expands into the Viking invasions, which, in sense of art style, resulted in various Scandinavian influences. Ninth- and tenth-century metalwork exaggerated traditional features, resulting in bolder and larger designs. The chapter further talks about the ninth and tenth centuries in southern Britain, the relics, recovery and resistance of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Hiberno-Norse style, and Gaelic revivals, the latter being the point where the international Gothic style took over, ending many Celtic motifs.[207] A noticeable addition to this part of the exhibition were various *Cathachs*, such as the *Cathach* of St. Columba, dated AD 550-600, now found in Dublin, together with a variation of manuscripts, of which the Book of Ballymote, AD 1300-1500, is the best known. However, the hero of this section is Queen Mary's harp, made in 1450, and displaying an 'expertly incorporation of multiple generations' interpretations of the early medieval Insular style'.[208]

[205] Ibidem, 173-205.
[206] Pulliam, *Celts: Art and Identity*, 206-233.
[207] Ibidem, 226.
[208] Ibidem, 232.

The second-last chapter of the exhibition catalogue is titled 'The Celtic Revival in Britain & Ireland: Reconstructing the Past, c. AD 1600-1920'.[209] Here, there is dealt with the rediscovery of the Celts, the so-called 'primitive origins of Britain' which was in focus for antiquarians from as early as the sixteenth century. New ancestors were recognised, drawn on classical sources. Throughout this section, the evolution of views about the Celts and ethnic origins are explained. It displays the ideas and art following the Celtic Revival, and sets apart copies and Celtomania as well. The chapter is further divided into the following sections: Celtic modernism in Scotland and Ireland, and Celtic heroes and British Nationalism. Here, the poems of Ossian, amongst other things, could be seen.

The closing section of the exhibition was titled 'Celtic Arts in the Long Term: Continuity, Change, and Connections'.[210] The course catalogue split this subject into the following headings: Silver from the bog, connections and variations, a view from Europe's edge, simplicity and complexity, and 'A Celtic spirit?'. It is in this part that the *piece de resistance* was displayed: the Gundestrup cauldron. This, then, is what the first section deals with; it describes the cauldron in detail, specifying each of the plates and their imagery, each scene on display, even calling it 'a visual feast'.[211] The chapter tries to capture various views on Celtic art, displaying them and comparing them with each other, whilst summarizing the previous chapters and the evolution, through changes and contact, of the Celtic art style. In answer to the questions posed earlier, it concludes:

"Popular views of the Celts and Celtic art today are often based on generalization and stereotype, creating an imagined, romantic past. But as knowledge has been developed and evidence has grown dramatically in recent decades, debate has sharpened and new ideas have appeared. We need to revise long-held ways of understanding the past, to comprehend some of the myths that have arisen about the Celts and to see what realities lie behind them."[212]

Analysis

Organised by both The British Museum and the National Museums Scotland, the 2015 exhibition 'Celts: Art and Identity' was result of a partnership that ended in the first major, collaborative exhibition centring around the Celts after the 1970 exhibition. The exhibition set out to explore the complexity of the Celts. Multiple questions were posed at the start of the exhibition, answered through displays. Named in the foreword, these were the following:[213]

[209] Fowle, *Celts: Art and Identity*, 233-259.
[210] Hunter, Goldberg, Farley, and Leins, *Celts: Art and Identity*, 260-279.
[211] Ibidem, 270.
[212] Ibidem, 278.
[213] Farley, and Hunter, *Celts: Art and Identity*, Editors' Preface and Acknowledgements.

- Who were the Celts?
- Why was this identity, this art style and this name such a persistent part of European history for over two millennia?
- Why does it still have such an enduring resonance today?

Throughout the exhibition, each of these were addressed. The goal, then, was to challenge assumptions about the Celts and Celtic past. This was done through the inclusion of new research, and the covering of multiple periods instead of just the Iron Age, as the 1970 exhibition had done. New ideas about the Celts were also included. The story of the Celts from 500 BC to present day was presented, together with the construct of what is 'Celtic'. With a broad perspective in mind, this goal proved to be rather ambitious.

This ambition is reflected in the exhibition catalogue, which consists of about 280 pages of text and imagery. Because they wanted to display varied aspects of the Celts and their art, multiple discussions are displayed in the catalogue. Throughout the exhibition, a linearity can be seen. The sections are generally placed in a chronological order, exceptions notwithstanding. One of such exceptions is the first section titled 'In search of the Celts', which discusses modern perceptions of the 'Celtic' and who the Celts were.

Within the exhibition, various things are emphasized, but above all the change of art throughout centuries, and its influence. It becomes clear that Celtic art does not solely consist of one style, but of multiple styles, which all reacted to some development or event. This is done by displaying a series of timeframes in which specific developments happened. By maintaining the different time periods, this becomes easier, i.e. it is clearer to show developments within a delimited set of time rather than a longer period. However, the sections do follow each other, and are connected through the referencing of events or changes discussed in the previous section. This results in a structured, linear overview of advancements. Once again, the exceptions are the first two and the last chapters, but one might argue that the first two serve as contextual information, while the last section simply proceeds in contemporary times, rather than the past.

From the start, the exhibition has a clear focus on both the Celts and the 'Celtic'. As this is stated in both forewords, there is not much room left for discussion. The materials, then, are also convincingly Celtic, with the only exceptions being the objects shown in the first and second-last section, in which the subject revolved around the perception of the Celts. There is no clear description of each of the objects that was on display in the exhibition, or at least not in the manner one would expect. While the exhibition does incorporate many of the objects exhibited, they get incorporated into the text of the selected section rather than listed one by one. However, when an image is printed within the catalogue, it does give the following: figure number, title, and a description. This description consists of a small paragraph of text, often four to ten lines, detailing

the imagery, object, and/or (possible) function. These small blurbs try to sometimes engage the reader or visitor by posing questions, but ultimately are succinct. After the description, in a smaller font, its finding place, dating, materials, dimensions, and holding place are mentioned. While various objects are featured within each section of the catalogue, the objects do not seem to be the main focus of the book. The information given is as important, if not more so. The exhibition catalogue thus seems to be aiming to give more context to the exhibition, rather than just display and explain the exhibited objects. In the back of this catalogue a list of exhibited objects can be found, sorted by time period, e.g. Iron Age, country (alphabetically ordered) and then their finding places (alphabetically ordered). This list is four pages long and does show the vast amount of materials that were available to behold within the exhibition. This material weaves through time, with their dates ranging from 500 BC to present day.

Through the displaying and connecting of various themes, this exhibition does connect the present with the past. This is especially visible in the latter two sections of the exhibition, where the reinvention and reconnection to the Celts and Celtic past is revealed. Also, by discussing the future of Celtic art, this exhibition shows that it still holds it place in today's society. These sections, then, also answer the questions posed in the foreword of the exhibitions catalogue; the first in the first section or chapter, and the second throughout the eight chronological sections. However, one might wonder whether the overlapping goal (to challenge assumptions about the Celts and the Celtic past by displaying multiple time periods and their developments with context) was too ambitious. While the exhibition itself does answer the questions it poses, the exhibition catalogue does provide a lot of additional information, in such manner that it might become overwhelming. This is because the catalogue does not only provide information on the progress and changes within art over time, but also all their contextual events: conquests, invasions, but also debates about terminology, perception of the Celts and Celtic, and the Celtic Revival. One might reason that this is *because* they wanted to give a complete overview to battle common misconceptions about the Celts and Celtic art. However, there is a possibility that this amount of information might have overwhelmed the visitor, and thus having the opposite effect. Therefore, some debate about the effectiveness of the exhibition might be opened.

The goal of the 2015 exhibition was to challenge assumptions about the Celts and their past. This was done through display of various subjects together with background information, the inclusion of research and different perspectives on the Celts, and the covering of ages past the Iron Age. Within the exhibition, the changes throughout the centuries were emphasized. The focus on the Celts and the 'Celtic' is undeniable within the exhibition, although the supplementary material might be considered overwhelming due to the vast amounts of it. Through the supplementary

materials, enough information is provided for the visitor to form its own opinions; although bias is visible in the shown debates surrounding the Celts, this is merely to encourage interpretations from visitors. This was in line with the ideas of New Museology: museums should build displays around ideas rather than objects, encouraging multiple interpretations of the objects through the supplying of supplemental knowledge and information. The objects then would be displayed in social, political, and economic contexts rather than solely in their historical context. This is reflected throughout the 2015 exhibition, where through additional information the past was connected with the present.

To a certain extent, the Celtic Revival lives on in our perception of the Celts. However, since then, ideas about the Celts and their display have changed as well. This is reflected in both the examined exhibitions and the analysis of contextual subjects, such as the academic discussion regarding the definition of the term 'Celt' and 'Celtic', starting with the Celtic Revival itself. Following the Romantic movement of the eighteenth century, the Revival was a result of a changing sense of national identity. This led to a renewed interest in the past, together with literature, drama, art, music, and language. Gradually, the interest in the Celts grew, and resulted in a shift from the 'barbarian Celt', a view from the Classical world, to the idea of the Celt as a 'noble savage'. This archetype was riddled with virtues such as primitive simplicity, loyalty, honour, and bravery. The reception of the Celts thus became more positive through the Celtic Revival, emphasising a 'cultural self' which was connected to an ancient past.

The exact definition of the terms 'Celt' and 'Celtic' remain vague. Depending on the scholar, either can be approached from an archaeological, historical, or linguistic angle. Through the display of debate, the complexity of terminology has been clarified. The importance of museums, then, is tied to their function as an educative institution. The way this importance is approached, then, has changed over time. Modern museology has critiqued traditional museums in its focus on objects, and states that instead displays should be built around ideas so that visitors are encouraged to form their own ideas, and so that multiple interpretations are encouraged. This sentiment is visible in the 2015 exhibition, as it did not solely focus on the objects. As the perception of the Celts within exhibitions are tied to the museum, their importance has been set apart.

The exhibitions showed varied goals, ideals, and approaches. The *Irish International Exhibition* of 1907 found its goal in displaying national pride, focusing on international ties. Of this display, the Irish section had been called 'the Celtic Court', and although it did display Irish history and the Monasterboice High Cross, an object that would be defined Celtic by many, it was a rather small part of the complete picture, which found its emphasis put on the industrious advancements Ireland was making at the time. However, this exhibition cannot be dismissed: although not focusing on the Celts and the Celtic in a manner that was expected, i.e. romanticizing the past, it still simply did that: focus on the Celt and Celtic. This, however, takes into account a modern definition of the Celtic: an ethno-cultural term for the peoples (and their traditions) of modern Celtic speaking areas, i.e. Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and Brittany, in this exhibition narrowed down to the Irish peoples. This exhibition thus approaches the modern Celt, implying tradition and locality. The display of Nationalism within the exhibition cannot be dismissed as well, for this sense

of National pride is a direct consequence of the Celtic Revival, matching up with the thoughts predominant within its Zeitgeist.

Early Celtic Art aimed to illustrate the role Early Celtic art played in its society. The structure of this society was bound up with art, making the art a social artefact. Defining the art of the fifth century BC in central Europe as origin of Early Celtic art, this exhibition presented the art of prehistoric Celtic peoples. Staying within one timeframe, the exhibition lacked chronology in their presentation, sorting and displaying objects by function rather than date. This resulted in eight sections, each with a different subject, varying from warrior culture to Celtic coinage. Unsurprisingly, this exhibition focused on Early Celtic art. Through display of objects and their function, the role of the objects within their society are exhibited. This resulted in a contextual impression of this society, i.e. the Celts. However, this exhibition did not aim to pursue the Celts, nor did they aim to produce an overview of changes within the Early Celtic art. The focus on Early Celtic art does result in the achievement of the goal described in the Introduction of the exhibition catalogue. Through unbiased descriptions of the materials on display, the audience got a clear overview of its origins, functions, and appearance. This exhibition truly displayed its material for their audience to judge, instead of implementing academic bias towards the Celts or the Celtic.

Produced in a more recent era, the exhibition *Celts: Art and Identity* took a different approach. Its aim was to explore the complexity of the Celts, and to challenge assumptions about the Celts and the Celtic past. Out of the three examined exhibitions, this is the one to not only present most artefacts, but most information alongside it. With an exhibition catalogue of about three-hundred pages, multiple historic periods were covered. This was done through inclusion of new research, discussions about terminology, themes, and contextual and contemporary events. Assumptions about the Celts were battled through the providing of information, which aimed to give the consumer an overview through which they could draw their own conclusions. Consisting of eleven sections, the exhibition displayed a range of subjects, consisting of a discussion on terminology in the first chapter, a discussion on their art in the second chapter, eight eras from 500 BC up until AD 1900, with its closing chapter discussing the present and future of Celtic art. With the exhibition sectioning its material by date rather than function, change of Celtic art throughout centuries was emphasized. Together with that, changes in perception of the Celts are discussed throughout the chapters as well. Through this linear setup, developments became apparent.

All three exhibitions discuss the Celts or the 'Celtic' in their own way. Within their presentation, thoughts that emerged within the Celtic Revival are visible, albeit not in the expected manner. Interest for the Celt and Celtic is present throughout each exhibition; it is merely the definition of either term that changes. For the 1907 exhibition, the Celtic found on display focuses

on a modern construct, while both the 1970 and 2015 exhibition focus on a socio-historical construct. This is even more so true for the 2015 exhibition, in which the perception and definition of the Celts are also included. Each choose their own approach: while the *Irish International Exhibition* divided its attention between multiple subjects, it did display Celtic tradition and vigour, whilst simultaneously displaying their industrial prowess. Here, the narrative of the Celt and Celtic is largely contextual: through display of industry and the emphasis on nationalist symbols, a narrative of modern Irish independence was insinuated. This contextuality could also be found in *Early Celtic Art*, where the function of Early Celtic art in its society were presented through the display and description of selected objects. As a result, indirect information about the named society, i.e. the Celts, was given throughout the exhibition. True to traditional museums, this exhibition focused on the display of objects, giving neutral descriptions and factual information per object. The art on display was simply presented as such, in contrast to *Celts: Art and Identity.* This exhibition, too, was the first of the three to explicitly mention the Celts, and discuss their origin in detail. The *Nachleben* of the Revival was found not only in the exhibition section about the Celtic Revival, but also in its aim to erase common, often stereotypical, conception about the Celts. This was also true in the Celtic Revival, where the shift of perception from the barbaric Celt to the noble savage took place. This same imagery was mentioned in the 1970 exhibition, which answered it by aiming to bring a better understanding through material culture. Through display of various subjects and textual pieces of information, *Celts: Art and Identity* encouraged its viewer to form their own opinion, and deviate from their preconceptions. This setup followed the ideas of modern museology, in which exhibitions are built around ideas rather than solely the objects. While the 1907 exhibition appeared an outlier from the start due to its form, of which the Celtic was only a small part, it lied closer to the 1970 exhibition in approach and presentation than the 2015 exhibition. However, this was also an exhibition that showed more bias indirectly, displaying strengths that validated national pride, bringing back power into the hands of self-sufficient countries, which can be considered a direct result of its *Zeitgeist*: the Celtic Revival. Although no love for the historic Celt was displayed, the love for the modern Celt was well presented.

Addendum: A Chronology of Exhibitions

Below is presented a list of exhibitions found or found referenced about the Celts from 1830 onwards. These will be displayed in a chronological order, and include title, dates, and location (if found). Exhibitions with an * mark possible display of the Celts or 'Celtic', but are uncertain.

1. * 1826. *Catalogues of Annual Exhibitions*, Dublin, Ireland. Royal Hibernian Academy.
2. *1861. *Official Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Fine Arts and Ornamental Art*, Dublin, Ireland. Royal Dublin Society.
3. * 1865. *Dublin International Exhibition,* Dublin, Ireland.
4. *1866. *Illustrated Record and Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin Exhibition of 1865*, London, England.
5. *1882. *Exhibition of Irish Arts and Manufactures*.
6. 1907. *The Irish International Exhibition of 1907 - Ireland's World Fair.*
7. 1957. Fischer, Franz. *Kunst und Kultur der Kelten: Ausstellung im Museum zu Allerheiligen, 1. August bis 3. November 1957*, Schaffhausen, Germany. Fischer, (exhibition catalogue)
8. 1963. Frans Hals Museum, *Bodemschatten uit Salzburg: Keltische Kunst*, Haarlem, the Netherlands (exhibition catalogue).
9. 1970. Royal Scottish Museum, *Early Celtic Art*, Edinburgh University Press, Scotland (exhibition catalogue).
10. 1977. National Museum of Ireland, *Treasures of Early Irish Art: 1500 B.C. to 1500 A.D.*
11. 1978. America. *Exhibit of Early Irish Art in the USA.*
12. 1980. Pauli, L. (ed.), *Die Kelten in Mitteleuropa: Kultur, Kunst, Wirtschaft. Salzburger Landesausstellung 1 Mai–30 September 1980 im Keltenmuseum, Hallein, Österreich.* Salzburg: Salzburger Landesregierung, Austria (exhibition catalogue)
13. 1983. Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, *Irish Silver,* Montgomery, AL.
14. 1985. Crawford Muncipal Art Gallery, *Celtic Vision.* Cork.
15. 1991. Cardiff, National Museum, *The Celts In Wales*, Cardiff.
16. 1991. Charpy, J.-J. & Roualet, P., *Les Celtes en Champagne: cinq siècles d'histoire.* Epernay: Musée d'Epernay, France (exhibition catalogue)
17. 1991. Müller, Felix, *Helvetian Gold: Celtic Treasures from Switzerland,* Switzerland (exhibition catalogue)
18. 1991. Moscati, Sabatino; Andreose, Mario, *I Celti*, Venice: Palazzo Grassi, Italy (exhibition Catalogue)

19. 1992. Pallottino, M. (ed.), *Les Etrusques et l'Europe*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, France (exhibition catalogue)
20. 1993. Dannheimer, Hermann. (ed al), *Das Keltische Jahrtausend*, München, Germany (exhibition catalogue)
21. 1995. Jiskoort, J., Toorians, L. & Fennemans, J.D., *Kelten in Nederland? Catalogus bij de gelijknamige tentoonstelling in het Allard Pierson Museum*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum, The Netherlands (exhibition catalogue)
22. 1997. Zemmer-Plank, L, *Kult der Vorzeit in den Alpen: Opfergaben - Opferplätze-Opferbrauchtum.* Innsbruck: Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Austria (exhibition catalogue)
23. 1998. Kruta, V. *Treasures of Celtic art: a European heritage.* Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, Japan (exhibition catalogue)
24. 1999. Kruta Poppi, L. (ed.), *Le arti del fuoco dei Celti: ceramica, ferro, bronzo e vetro nella Champagne dal V al I secolo a.C.* Paris: Kronos B. Y. Editions (exhibition catalogue)
25. 1999. Schädler, U. (ed.), *Die Picener - Ein Volk Europas.* Roma: De Lucca, Italy (exhibition catalogue)
26. 2000. Sestieri, A.M. et al., *Principi europei dell'età del ferro*. Roma: De Lucca, Italy (exhibition catalogue)
27. 2001. Landesmuseum, Schweizerisches, *Die Lepontier zwischen Kelten und Etrusken: Grabschätze eines mythischen Alpenvolkes* (Collectio Archaeologica 1/1) Zürich, Switzerland (exhibition catalogue).
28. CEDARC 2001. *Splendeurs celtes: armes et bijoux (Guides archéologiques du Malgré-Tout).* Treignes (Belgique): CEDARC, Belgium (exhibition catalogue)
29. 2002. Baitinger, H. & Pinsker, B., *Das Rätsel der Kelten vom Glauberg: Glaube -Mythos - Wirklichkeit*. Stuttgart: Theiss, Germany (exhibition catalogue)
30. 2002. Cain, H.-U. & Rieckhoff, S. (ed.), *Die Religion der Kelten: fromm - fremd - barbarisch.* Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, Germany (exhibition catalogue)
31. 2003. Čižmářová, Jana, *Die Kelten in Mähren : von Kriegern und Bernsteinfürsten : eine Sonderausstellung des Mährischen Landesmuseums Brünn im Museum für Urgeschichte des Landes Niederösterreich, Asparn a.d. Zaya von 30. März bis 30. November 2003*, St. Pölten, Austria (exhibition catalogue)
32. 2004. De Marinis, R.C. & Spadea, G., I *Liguri: un antico popolo europeo tra Alpi e Mediterraneo.* Geneva-Milan: Skira, Italy (exhibition catalogue)
33. 2004. Kruta, V., *Celti d'Insubria: Guerrieri del territorio di Varese = Celti dal cuore dell'Europa all'Insubria 2.* Paris:Kronos B. Y. Editions (exhibition catalogue)

34. 2004. Kruta, V. & Lička, M. (ed.), *Celti di Boemia e di Moravia = Celti dal cuore dell'Europa all'Insubria 1* Paris: Kronos B.Y. Editions (exhibition catalogue)
35. 2004. Marzatico, F. & Gleirscher, P. (ed.), *Guerrieri, principi ed eroi fra il Danubio et il Po dalla Peistoria all'Alto Medioevo.* Trento: Castello del Buonsonsiglio, Italy (exhibition catalogue)
36. 2006. Bayer-Niemeier, E. et al., *Donau, Fürsten und Druiden: Die Kelten entlang der Donau.* Asparn a.d. Zaya:Museum für Urgeschichte des Landes Niederösterreich, Austria (exhibition catalogue)
37. 2006. Exposition Bibracte, *Trésors de femmes: enquête archéologique sur les femmes celtes du VIè avant au Ier siècle après J.-C. Mont Beuvray: Musée de la Civilisation celtique*, France (exhibition catalogue)
38. 2006. Kruta, V., *Celtes: Belges, BoÏens, Rèmes, Volques.* Morlanwelz (Belgique): Musée royal de Mariemont, Belgium (exhibition catalogue)
39. 2006. Buist, G. et al. n.d., *Het geheim van der Kelten*. Venlo: Limburgs Museum/Leiden: Volksmuseum der Oudheden, the Netherlands (exhibition catalogue)
40. 2008-2009. Alt, Kurt, *La Tène: die Untersuchung - die Fragen - die Antworten.* Biel, Germany (exhibition catalogue)
41. 2015. Sligo Field Club, *Ramblings in the Irish Iron Age: Celts & Romans, leprechauns & ley-lines,* Sligo, Ireland.
42. 2015. Farley, J. & F. Hunter, *Celts: Art and Identity.* London and Edinburgh: The British Museum and National Museums, England and Scotland.
43. 2016. National Museum of Scotland, *Celts.* National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland.
44. 2019. National Museum Prague, *The Celts*. National Museum, Prague, Czechia.

Allen, Elizabeth, 'The 'Sister Kingdom' on Display: Ireland in the Space of the British Exhibition, 1851-1911', *History Honors Project* no.18 (2013)

Bennett, Tony, 'Museums, Power, Knowledge,' *Museum Worlds: Advances in Research* 6 (2018) pp.1-16

Champion, P. 'The Celt in Archaeology' in *Celticism* ed. Terence Brown (Amsterdam 1996)

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

Coleman, Zoë, 'The Representation of Ireland at long nineteenth-century exhibitions', *Irish Architechtural and Decorative Studies, The Journal of the Irish Georgian Society* vol.XVII (2015) pp.136-157

Cunliffe, Barry, 'In the Fabulous Celtic Twilight', in: *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions* (Cambridge 2011)

Fanning, Patricia J., 'Research Note: The Irish International Exhibition of 1907- Ireland's World Fair', *Bridgewater Review* vol.26 no.1 (2007) pp.24-27

Farley, Julia, and Hunter, Fraser, *Celts: Art and Identity* (British Museum Press, London, 2015)

Frieman, Catherine J., and Wilking, Neil, ' "The Changing of the Guards"? British Prehistoric Collections and Archaeology in the Museums of the Future', *Museum Worlds: Advances in Research* 4 (2016) pp.33-50

Garrow, Duncan, 'The space and time of Celtic Art: interrogating the 'Technologies of Enchantment' database', in *Rethinking Celtic Art*, Garrow, D. (Oxbow Books, Oxford 2008) pp.15-39

Greenhalgh, P. 'Art, Politics and Society at the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908', *Art History* vol.8 no.4 (1985) pp.434-452

Harding, Dennis W., 'Definitions, Material and Context' in *The Archaeology of Celtic Art*, Harding, D.W. (Routledge London 2007) pp.1-16

Hirsch, Edward, 'Coming out into the light: W.B. Yeats's *The Celtic Twilight* (1893, 1902)', *Journal of the Folklore Institute* vol.18 no.1 (1981) pp.1-22

Haywood, John, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World* (London 2009)

Irish International Exhibition, 1907: The Official Catalogue (Dublin: Hely's Limited 1907) https://library.villanova.edu/Find/Record/vudl%3A138208

Leerssen, Joep, 'Celticism' in *Celticism* ed. Terence Brown (Amsterdam 1996) pp.1-20

Mac Cana, Proinsias, *Celtic Mythology* (Feltham Middlesex: Hamlyn, 1970)

MacCulloch, J.A., *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* (Morrison & Gibb Limited, Edinburgh, 1911)

Malloy, Caroline R., 'Irish Villages, Pavilions, Cottages, and Castles in International Exhibitions, 1853-1939', *ProQuest Dissertations Publishing* (2013)

McCabe, Brian, 'Irish International Exhibition of 1907', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* v.237 (2007) pp.149-152

Meijers, Debora J., 'Het 'encyclopedische' museum van de achttiende eeuw' in Rijnders, Mieke, *Kabinetten, Galerijen en Musea: het verzamelen en presenteren van naturalia en kunst van 1500 tot heden* (2009) pp.153-178

Meijers, Debora J., 'Naar een systematische presentatie' in Rijnders, Mieke, *Kabinetten, Galerijen en Musea: het verzamelen en presenteren van naturalia en kunst van 1500 tot heden* (2009) pp.263-288

Mercer, Roger, 'Stuart Piggott 1910-1996', *The British Academy* (1998) pp.413-442

Pittock, Murray, 'Introduction: defining terms' in: *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester 1999) pp.1-19

Purbrick, Louise, 'Defining nation: Ireland at the Great Exhibition of 1851', in: Auerbach, Jeffrey and Hoffenberg, Peter, 'Britain, the Empire, and the world at the Great Exhibition of 1851' (2008) pp.47-76

Rains, Stephanie, 'The Ideal Home (Rule) Exhibition: Ballymaclinton and the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition', *Field Day Review* no.7 (2011) pp.5-21

Rembold, Elfie, 'Exhibitions and National Identity', *National Identities* vol.1 no.3 (1999) pp.221-225

Renfrew, Colin, *Archaeology and Language* (London 1987)

Robb, John G., 'A Geography of Celtic Appropriations', in: *Celtic Geographies: Old Culture, New Times* ed. Harvey, David C., Jones, Rhys, McInroy, Neil, and Milligan, Christine (Routledge London 2002) pp.229-233

Royal Scottish Museum, *Early Celtic Art* (Edinburgh University Press, Scotland, 1970)

Sheehy, Jeanne, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival 1830-1930* (Thames and Hudson, London, 1980)

Shelton, Anthony, 'Critical Museology: A Manifesto', *Museum Worlds: Advances in Research* 1 (2013) pp.7-23

Starn, Randolp, 'A Historian's Brief Guide to New Museum Studies', *The American Historical Review* vol.110 no.1 (2005) pp.68-98

Turpin, John, 'Exhibitions of Art and Industries in Victorian Ireland: Part II: Dublin Exhibition and Industries 1865-1885', *Dublin Historical Record* vol.35 no.2 (1982) pp.42-51

Yeats, William Butler, *The Celtic Twilight,* (London 1981)