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'The last of the bardic poets'

Joyce's Multiple Mangans

John McCourt

James Clarence Mangan was one of a handful of nineteenth-century Irish writers to have held Joyce's attention over time, serving both as an emblem of the Ireland from whose clutches he wished, as a young man, to escape, and as a personification and a victim of what he called in 1906 'my poor impoverished country'.¹ Considered by many to be the first modern Irish poet, that Mangan was Catholic, poor, an ambivalent nationalist, a conscious European and a good Dubliner cannot have been lost on Joyce.

Within the paradox of Mangan's symbolic importance within the Irish cultural pantheon and his still uncertain place in wider literary history, Joyce's two visions of Mangan, written in 1902 and 1907 respectively, provide revealing, significant, and sometimes contradictory, early twentieth century images both of Mangan himself and of Joyce as critic and developing artist. Joyce's first Mangan lecture was delivered on 15 February 1902 as his second invited paper given to the Literary and Historical Society at University College Dublin and it shows him largely swerve clear of contemporary nationalist issues and of John Mitchel's canonical rendering of Mangan as an Irish patriot poet. As Joyce's college contemporary, Sarsfield Kerrigan, recalled, 'the notable thing was that Mangan was to him, Joyce, then nineteen years old, more European than merely Irish.'² Furthermore, and perhaps even more emphatically than Joyce himself, Mangan spurned the English literary world and sought to connect his country's literature to writers and ideas circulating globally.

Joyce emphasized Mangan's status as a romantic, declaring that he was 'little of a patriot', and partially deflected attention away

1 from the national issue by embarking on a lengthy discussion of the
 2 conflict between classicism and romanticism – two ‘constant states
 3 of mind’ that should interest the poet and critic more than any con-
 4 temporary events, political or otherwise. Identifying himself within
 5 the classical tradition, Joyce states that ‘the highest praise must be
 6 withheld from the romantic school’ – excepting only Blake and
 7 presumably, to some extent at least, Coleridge, Shelley and Mangan
 8 himself, whom Joyce describes as ‘one of the greatest romantic poets
 9 among those who use the lyrical form’:

10
 11 Though even in the best of Mangan the presence of alien
 12 emotions is sometimes felt the presence of an imaginative per-
 13 sonality reflecting the light of imaginative beauty is more vividly
 14 felt. East and West meet in that personality (we know how);
 15 images interweave there like soft, luminous scarves and words
 16 ring like brilliant mail, and whether the song is of Ireland or of
 17 Istambul it has the same refrain, a prayer that peace may come
 18 again to her who has lost her peace, the moonwhite pearl of his
 19 soul, Ameen.³

20
 21 Mangan, identified as a romantic for his emphasis on the power of
 22 the imagination, for his reaching into himself as a source for his
 23 poetry, appealed to Joyce for his being isolated for his art, for his
 24 being an inner exile and the antithesis of the more popular and
 25 profitable Thomas Moore, who, in William Hazlitt’s words, turned
 26 the wild harp of Erin into a musical snuffbox (although Joyce would
 27 draw extensively on Moore’s melodies in his works):

28
 29 But the best of what he has written makes its appeal surely,
 30 because it was conceived by the imagination which he called,
 31 I think, the mother of things, whose dream are we, who imageth
 32 us to herself, and to ourselves, and imageth herself in us - the
 33 power before whose breath the mind in creation is (to use
 34 Shelley’s image) as a fading coal.⁴

35
 36 In 1903, in a controversial review of Stephen Gwynn’s *Today and*
 37 *To-morrow in Ireland*, Joyce dismissed most contemporary Irish poetry
 38 (except Yeats) and compared it negatively with what he felt was
 39 Mangan’s neglected output.

1 It is a work which has an interest of the day, but collectively it has
 2 not a third part of the value of the work of a man like Mangan, that
 3 creature of lightning, who has been, and is, a stranger among the
 4 people he ennobled, but who may yet come by his own as one of
 5 the greatest romantic poets among those who use the lyrical form.⁵
 6

7 Often in his 1902 lecture, Joyce played up the power of Mangan's
 8 imagination and defined his Irishness as his 'chief literary liability'.
 9 A 'type of his race', Mangan has allowed his imagination to become
 10 trapped by Ireland's terrible history, and thus his poetry is often lit-
 11 tle more than a series of melancholy protests 'against the injustice of
 12 despoilers' written for 'a public which cared for matters of the day, and
 13 for poetry only so far as it might illustrate these'.⁶ At the same time
 14 Joyce partially exonerates Mangan in a comment that is as revealing of
 15 Joyce's own plight as a budding Irish novelist in progress as it is about
 16 Mangan, who 'wrote with no native literary tradition to guide him'.⁷
 17 Even if this paper was not to the liking of the University College Dublin
 18 revivalists who hoped to summon Mangan's inheritance to their cause,
 19 its showy, Pateresque prose was still appreciated sufficiently for the
 20 University magazine, *St Stephen's*, to publish it in May 1902.

21 The rather less stilted 1907 Trieste version of the lecture would
 22 probably have appealed more to Joyce's college companions. It was
 23 prepared as one of three lectures to be delivered in Italian on Ireland at
 24 the Università Popolare – a cultural institution whose chief role was to
 25 promote Triestine *irredentismo*. Stanislaus Joyce remembered that Joyce
 26 was to give 'three lectures in the Università del Popolo. I suggested the
 27 subjects. The history of Ireland, his essay of Mangan (which I have)
 28 and the Celtic Renaissance'.⁸ He went on to outline Joyce's reading of
 29 'Duffy's edition of Mangan'⁹ before summarizing Joyce's views:

30
 31 He said it was useless to compare Yeats to him. Yeats came next to
 32 him as an Irish poet but he hadn't half the personality or power of
 33 the other. Mangan was beyond the shadow of doubt the national
 34 poet of Ireland (this is a claim that Jim has been first to make
 35 for him, or to make with any insistence). Who is there to put up
 36 against him? Moore, Darcy? Besides he had the whole part of the
 37 country at the back of his head.¹⁰
 38

39 Joyce's antagonistic and, at the time, unwarranted and absurd rivalry
 with Yeats, who had already published, among other things, *The*

1 *Wanderings of Oisín and Other Poems, The Countess Kathleen, The Land*
 2 *of Heart's Desire, The Wind Among the Reeds, Diarmuid and Grania,*
 3 *Cathleen Ni Houlihan, On Baile's Strand* and founded the Irish Literary
 4 Theatre, evidently got in the way of his better critical judgement,
 5 which relegated Yeats to a poor second best to Mangan, judged to be
 6 'beyond doubt the national poet of Ireland'. Stanislaus is, of course,
 7 incorrect in claiming that Joyce is the first to make such claims for
 8 Mangan. Yeats publicly held Mangan in the highest esteem and it is
 9 more correct to see Joyce's voice as one of a chorus beginning to col-
 10 lectively make a substantial claim for Mangan. Not for nothing, in
 11 1913, in an appreciative essay in his *Irish Literary and Musical Studies*,
 12 would Alfred Percival Graves go so far as to write of the 'growing cult
 13 of James Mangan, or James Clarence Mangan, as he renamed him-
 14 self'.¹¹ Yeats, in fact, had publicly declared Mangan 'the master of Irish
 15 song', 'our one poet raised to the first rank by intensity' (quoted in
 16 *CW1*, p. xiii), a 'strange visionary ... who wrought ... lyrics of inde-
 17 scribable, vehement beauty'¹² and described his best work 'as near
 18 perfection as anything that has ever been written'.¹³ At the same
 19 time, however, Yeats more often favoured Samuel Ferguson whom
 20 he termed 'the greatest poet Ireland ever produced' and whose poetry
 21 he judged to be 'truly bardic, appealing to all natures alike, to the
 22 great concourse of the people'.¹⁴ Mangan, on the other hand, like
 23 'those who had gone before him ... was the slave of life, for he had
 24 nothing of the self-knowledge, the power of selection, the harmony
 25 of mind, which enables the poet to be its master, and to mould the
 26 world to a trumpet for his lips'.¹⁵

27 So Joyce was far from alone among his contemporaries in holding
 28 Mangan, 'the last of the bardic poets', in high esteem.¹⁶ It also suited
 29 his purposes to see the poet as Mangan had seen himself, that is, as
 30 a *poète maudit*, as an abandoned and forgotten figure, another Irish
 31 genius spurned. Joyce chose to fashion Mangan as yet another figure
 32 betrayed by his people so he could have him take his place in the
 33 pantheon of such Irishmen that he assembled in his Italian journal-
 34 ism and which included Parnell and Wilde. Not for nothing would
 35 Joyce, at this point in literary limbo, appreciate Mangan's poem 'The
 36 Nameless One' with its strong autobiographical meditation on the
 37 themes of waste and betrayal:

38
 39 Go on to tell how, with genius wasted
 Betray'd in friendship, befool'd in lov

1 With spirit shipwreck'd, and young hopes blasted,
 2 still, still strove.

3
 4 It is not hard to imagine Joyce seeing himself in these lines. Like
 5 Mangan, all too often Joyce would feel the indifference of his fellow
 6 Irishman with regard to his own literary talent and would resent the
 7 acclaim given to contemporaries he considered mediocre.

8 In his Trieste Mangan lecture, Joyce follows fairly standard Catholic
 9 nationalist orthodoxy and makes his claim for the Catholic Mangan
 10 as *the* poet of the Irish Nation rather than, for example, two other
 11 founding fathers of the Revival, Samuel Ferguson (1810–1886) or
 12 Standish O'Grady (1846–1928). The only other poets Joyce consid-
 13 ered discussing with his Triestine audience were both Catholics –
 14 Thomas D'Arcy McGee (1825–1868) and the Trinity educated Thomas
 15 Moore (1779–1852). To some extent at least, Joyce believed that
 16 in order to understand the Irish psyche and the Irish experience,
 17 a Catholic background was necessary. He did, after all, criticize James
 18 Stephens years later on the grounds that his 'knowledge of Irish life
 19 was 'non-Catholic and therefore non-existent'.¹⁷

20 What Joyce's second lecture shows is his enduring interest in
 21 Mangan and his significant familiarity with his individual works.
 22 Stanislaus' recollection provides a moving portrait of Joyce the exile
 23 in Trieste reading Mangan's laments for the Irish Wild Geese:

24
 25 He still stuck to the opinion he expressed in the College magazine
 26 that Mangan could be compared only with Shelley as a romantic
 27 poet. He read the poem 'On the ruins of Donegal Castle', which he
 28 said never weakens for forty verses, and his face sharpened with
 29 excitement at the way in which Mangan pours out the history of
 30 the castle. He read also the poem 'To my native land'.¹⁸

31
 32 For his Trieste lecture, Joyce cut quotations from 'To Mihri' and refer-
 33 ences to 'Dark Rosaleen' and the 'Lament for Sir Maurice FitzGerald',
 34 which he had used in 1902 and inserted instead two four-line stanzas
 35 from 'O'Husseys Ode to the MacGuire' (which he mistakenly describes
 36 as the 'lamento per i principe di Tirone e di Tirconnell' [the *Lament*
 37 *for the Princes of Tir-Owen and Tirconnell*]¹⁹ while praising their 'forza tre-
 38 menda' [tremendous power].²⁰ Despite this slip, Joyce put considerable
 39 effort into engaging with Mangan's works for this second talk. However

1 the Università Popolare hesitated about how much Joyce was to be paid
2 and eventually offered him a lower fee than had been originally prom-
3 ised. In the end Joyce decided to deliver just one, rather general lecture,
4 which was entitled 'L'Irlanda: isola dei santi e dei savi' ('Ireland: Island of
5 Saints and Sages'). Before he came to this decision, he had already fairly
6 extensively reworked the Mangan piece, and translated a great deal of
7 it. He still hoped to be invited back in the autumn to finally deliver it at
8 the Università Popolare and even told Stanislaus that if he managed to
9 deliver the Mangan talk and then one more, he would then prepare the
10 three lectures for publication. Again, his brother's diary gives a sense of
11 how intensely they discussed Mangan, although their opinions were
12 not in accord. Both were summarily dismissive of Mangan's prose which
13 is, in Stanislaus's words 'frankly intolerable'.²¹ In his 1902 lecture, Joyce
14 termed Mangan's prose works 'pretty fooling' while admitting 'a fierce
15 energy beneath the banter'.²² By 1907, they are downgraded to 'insipid
16 efforts ... their style is conceited ... contorted and banal, their argument
17 crude and inflated'.²³ Joyce enjoyed Mangan's humorous poetry and
18 was deeply appreciative of the emotional power that emanated from his
19 strongest poetical works and forgave him the occasional poor rhymes
20 that Stanislaus felt were disruptive. While Stanislaus 'disliked his way of
21 using words – generally difficult big sounding words – his very Irish way'
22 and complained about rhymes like 'Calm burgh' and 'Hamburgh' and
23 lines like "At home in your emerald bowers" or even "again in golden
24 sheen", Joyce saw the bigger picture and praised Mangan as 'the last of
25 the old bardic poets who sang of the deeds of their chieftains'.²⁴

26 The textual changes and amendments made between 'James Clarence
27 Mangan' and its Italian double 'Giacomo Clarenzio Mangan' provide
28 us, as Eric Bulson has shown, with a rare moment in which to observe
29 the young Joyce, budding translator and literary critic, laboriously trans-
30 lating himself and Mangan into Italian as well as revising his stance on
31 the author to better suit his different audience. Much of the stylistic
32 showing-off that almost occluded any real assessment of Mangan in the
33 earlier version is replaced by a clearer approach. The biographical colour
34 associated with all contemporary visions of Mangan is present in Joyce's
35 second lecture as it was in the first. Thus we find again the baggy pants,
36 the high conical hat, the old umbrella shaped like a torch, the alleged
37 love-affair with a student, the penury, the alcoholism, and, of course,
38 the opium consumption. Particular attention is given to a dramatic
39 detailing of Mangan's health.

1 If, in his 1907 *Mangan*, Joyce seeks a less ornate and more
 2 immediate form with which to portray the drama of Mangan's life,
 3 he also consciously provides a more conventionally nationalistic
 4 reading of the poet's work (and this is in keeping with Joyce's overall
 5 outlook during this, his most outspokenly pro-Irish period). If Joyce's
 6 1902 was something of a rebuttal of the views of Fenian rebel John
 7 Mitchel (who made Mangan into an Irish hero who opposed British
 8 imperialism), and of other nationalist readings of Mangan, his second
 9 version sought to engage more fully with that more political reading.
 10 While never approaching Mitchel's stridently militant tones, Joyce
 11 assembles a range of bombastically nationalist references with which
 12 to magnify Mangan and Ireland. He calls Mangan 'the national poet',
 13 'the most significant poet of the modern Celtic world', refers to 'the
 14 sterile stage of modern England', praises the Young Ireland move-
 15 ment (with which Mangan had a wavering relationship), and boasts
 16 of the 'great library of Trinity College, Dublin, a rich treasure of
 17 books three times as large as the Victor Emmanuel Library in Rome',
 18 quite a contrast, this to the evocation of Trinity in the final chapter
 19 of *A Portrait*: 'The grey block of Trinity on his left, set heavily in the
 20 city's ignorance like a dull stone set in a cumbrous ring'.²⁵

21 Some of this enthusiasm can be explained by Joyce's intensifying
 22 national sense (a common enough phenomenon in recent expatriates
 23 not quite yet resigned to their fate), and by the fact that he is writing
 24 for an Irredentist audience in Trieste, which was always keen to see
 25 the parallels between Ireland's situation within the British empire
 26 and its own within Austro-Hungary. Joyce's 'nationalistic' reading
 27 of Mangan, indeed his nationalism in general, peaked in this year,
 28 1907, the year of his 'Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages' lecture, the
 29 year he was reading Yeats and Synge with his Triestine students and
 30 composing the 'The Dead', which consciously revises much of the
 31 negativity and gloom of the earlier stories of *Dubliners*. At the same
 32 time, Joyce was very much aware of how Mangan's belatedly assigned
 33 status as a national symbol was not the consequence of any clearly
 34 articulated and consistent political stance. More simply it was the
 35 result of a somewhat forced conflation of poet and nation in which
 36 those works that fitted that particular agenda were read as chapters
 37 in the struggling nation's autobiography. In Bulson's words: 'The
 38 belated honors of being a "prototipo di una nazione mancata," does
 39

1 not equate with having a politics: the political dimension is hung on
2 the poet posthumously like a bequeathed albatross'.²⁶

3 Significantly, Joyce chose to return to his original 1902 Mangan
4 lecture and not the 1907 version, when, in 1930, he planned to have
5 a 'deluxe edition' of the text printed by an American publisher.²⁷ If
6 nothing else, this is a sign that Joyce essentially stood over his earlier
7 'romantic' reading rather than his rather more strident 1907 'patri-
8 otic' version (although it might well also be argued that he could
9 not have been bothered taking the trouble to re-translate the 1907
10 version into English or because the original manuscript copy was still
11 in Stanislaus' keeping in Trieste).

12 Whatever about Joyce's identification of Mangan as a national
13 poet, in Lloyd's words as 'explicitly the image of an Ireland outwardly
14 oppressed but secretly, spiritually alive'²⁸ and in his own subsequent
15 attempt to convey the inner life of his people as a step towards 'the
16 spiritual liberation of my country',²⁹ Joyce saw Mangan as ultimately
17 being oppressed by a tragic paradigm of Irish history, a version of what
18 Joyce, in describing Stephen Dedalus's nationalist friend, Davin, in
19 *A Portrait*, refers to as 'the sorrowful legend of Ireland'.³⁰ Joyce paints
20 the haunted figure of Stephen Dedalus of the opening chapters of
21 *Ulysses* in the gothic shadow of Mangan's restless ghost. Stephen,
22 as Gibson has commented, is a 'limited vehicle for liberation and
23 revenge' because 'antagonism traps him in particular structures of
24 thought and feeling; and melancholy, sullen hatred, spiritual vio-
25 lence, a Mangesque despair of soul, the intimate complicity born of
26 polar opposition'.³¹ After the first three chapters, Joyce thus turns to
27 Bloom instead and is careful to conceive of strategies that will allow
28 him to avoid being similarly ingested into a Mangesque dead end.
29 Mangan's error is to remain trapped as the increasingly feeble writer of
30 mournful verses and obsessive lamentations and the error is as much
31 his as his country's:

32
33 The history of his country encloses him so straitly that even in
34 his moments of high passion he can but barely breach its walls.
35 He, too, cries out, in his life and in his mournful verses, against
36 the injustices of despoilers, but never laments a deeper loss than
37 the loss of plaids and ornaments. He inherits the latest and worst
38 part of a tradition upon which no divine hand has drawn out
39

1 the line of demarcation, a tradition which dissolves and divides
 2 against itself as it moves down the cycles. And because this
 3 tradition has become an obsession for him, he has accepted it
 4 with all its failures and regrets which he would bequeath just as
 5 it is: the poet who hurls his anger against tyrants would establish
 6 upon the future an intimate and far more cruel tyranny. In the
 7 final view the figure which he worships is seen to be an abject
 8 queen upon whom, because of the bloody crimes that she has
 9 done and of those as bloody that were done to her at the hands
 10 of others, madness is come and death is coming, but who will not
 11 believe that she is near to die and remembers only the rumours
 12 of voices challenging her sacred gardens and her fair flowers that
 13 have become *pabulum aprorum*, the food of boars. Love of sorrow,
 14 desperation, high-sounding threats, these are the great tradi-
 15 tions of James Clarence Mangan's race; and, in that miserable,
 16 reedy, and feeble figure, a hysteric nationalism receives its final
 17 justification.³²

18
 19 Thus, as Seamus Deane has commented, Mangan suffers

20
 21 oblivion in his own land because he is, on the one hand, not
 22 national enough, and, on the other hand, too national ever to be
 23 appreciated for his own individual and remarkable qualities as a
 24 poet. ... The history of Mangan, his miserable life and the oblivion
 25 Joyce claimed had descended upon him after his death, was a
 26 carefully construed cautionary tale for the Irish artist who wished
 27 to elude the fickle acclaim of his treacherous countrymen. The
 28 portrait of Mangan is one of Joyce's early fictions. It is his portrait
 29 of the artist as a Young Ireland man.³³

30
 31 The concluding lines of Joyce's 1907 Mangan essay would discourage
 32 most critics from seeing Mangan as a model for Joyce and indeed it
 33 is true that the issue of Mangan's inheritance is a complex one. If
 34 Mangan can be considered in any real sense, as a model for Joyce,
 35 it is not in any clear-cut way but in a manner which necessarily
 36 involves a selection of the various aspects of Mangan's personal and
 37 creative identity which provided a shadowy mirror in which Joyce
 38 could see himself and could see the difficulties for an Irish author
 39

1 attempting to give voice to his country without running the risk of
2 being enlisted as part of any political agenda. Deane describes Joyce
3 sharing the common view 'that Mangan was a nationalist poet' while
4 at the same time recognizing

5
6 that the poetry would not be seen for what it truly was as long as
7 two imperialisms, British and Roman Catholic, prevailed. Nor did
8 he believe that nationalism was anything other than an extension
9 of those imperialisms, despite its apparent antagonism to them.
10 Like Mangan, he could find no alternative to imperialisms and
11 nationalism other than an attitude of fierce repudiation.³⁴
12

13 There were many other elements of Mangan's poetic output that
14 would have appealed to a more mature Joyce and that attempted to
15 subvert the essentialist stranglehold of the two imperialisms, even if
16 Joyce, like most contemporary critics, does not give adequate voice to
17 these elements in his two early assessments. Joyce would surely also
18 have warmed to Mangan's spirited description of himself not as 'a
19 singular man' but as 'a plural one' – 'a Proteus', one who wrote under
20 such a myriad of pseudonyms, such as 'A Mourne-r', 'Clarence',
21 'A Yankee', 'Drechsler', 'Hi-Hum', 'Selber', 'Terra Filii', 'The Man
22 in the Cloak', 'The Out and Outer', 'Peter Puff', 'Herr Hoppandgoön
23 Baugstrauter', 'Herr Popandoön Tutchemupp' and 'Vacuus' that his
24 assumed names alone had an adulterating effect and were a subver-
25 sive rebuttal of any narrow Irish enclosing of his works (put together,
26 they read like an interpolation in Joyce's 'Cyclops'). Mangan wrote
27 under so many counterfeit names that he managed to dilute the very
28 notion of original authorhood itself. All these names, together with
29 so many real or invented translations, emphasize the idea of hybrid-
30 ity, mixing, a denial of racial or linguistic fixity, as well as a generic
31 instability. Time after time Mangan flaunts the spuriousness of his
32 sources, especially his 'oriental' ones, thus undermining the idea of
33 originality and laying bare the facetiousness of the desire to return
34 to some pure source. In so doing with regard to oriental poetry,
35 he was also undermining the notion that it was still possible, in
36 the mid-nineteenth century, to recapture some lost, pure, primitive
37 Gaelic Ireland and in this, he clearly pre-empted the work of Joyce,
38 Flann O'Brien and many others that followed him. In his 1907 essay,
39

1 Joyce draws attention to his knowledge of many literatures as means
 2 to circumscribe his occasional contributions to the political cause
 3 propagated by the *Nation*:

4
 5 He was well familiar with the Italian, Spanish, French and German
 6 languages and literatures, besides those of Ireland and England,
 7 and, it would seem, had some knowledge of oriental languages,
 8 probably Sanskrit and Arabic. From time to time he would leave
 9 this studious peace to contribute some song to the revolutionary
 10 journal.³⁵

11
 12 Joyce was intrigued by Mangan partly because he identified with a
 13 fellow Irish writer whose life only made sense when seen in terms of
 14 his own art, partly because he appreciated him as a uniquely Irish
 15 Romantic poet, a nomadic, gothic, homeless, outsider; a hybrid
 16 melancholic. He admired him as a linguist of considerable talent
 17 although one who was also capable of admitting that he had exag-
 18 gerated his knowledge of oriental languages and who was never
 19 troubled by the fact that his knowledge of the Irish and the other
 20 languages from which he was supposed to translate was patchy at
 21 best (he worked from paraphrase). Not for nothing did he refer to
 22 his translations as melancholy perversions.³⁶ Mangan is celebrated
 23 by Joyce for his very strangeness, for his personality – what Arthur
 24 Power describes as ‘his almost morbid singleness of purpose’,³⁷ for
 25 his cosmopolitan reach, which combines with the almost primitive
 26 poetry he writes as one of the last of ‘the old Celtic bards’, for the
 27 multilingual and multicultural reach of his verse that attempted to
 28 unite Orient and Occident, East and West in poems translated not
 29 only from Irish, German, Italy, but also ‘from the Ottoman’, and
 30 ‘from the Coptic’. Like the prose of Joyce’s *Finnegans Wake*, which
 31 draws so liberally on other writers, Mangan’s own technique was
 32 very often an equally audacious example of linguistic pilfering and
 33 playfulness, a revelling in multilingual intertextuality and transla-
 34 tion, in writing and rewriting, in what he terms ‘the antithesis of
 35 plagiarism’ and Joyce calls ‘stolentelling’, that is, in the *jouissance*
 36 to be enjoyed from limitless raids on a vast variety of texts, sometimes
 37 real, sometimes invented, to be weaved into new patterns in poetry
 38 or prose, or, as was so often the case with Mangan, poetry written
 39 side by side with its own prose commentary.

1 This protean figure's influence on Joyce is itself protean too.
 2 Sometimes Joyce treats him reverentially, sometimes he parodies
 3 him, sometimes he lifts directly from him. Many critics have seen
 4 the Mangan piece in the *Vindicator*, which uses the complex multi-
 5 worded term 'transmagnificandubandanciality' (*Vindicator*, 8 August
 6 1840), and his coinage of a similar 'transmagnificanbandancial' in a
 7 letter to Charles Gavan Duffy (15 September 1840)³⁸ describing his
 8 translation of Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bháird's elegy 'A bhean fuair faill
 9 ar an bhfeart' as the source for Joyce's coinage of the 36-letter word
 10 'Contrasmagnificandjewbangtantiality', which gives an interesting
 11 twist to Joyce's treatment of the father-son theme, with Mangan and
 12 Stephen (and, by refraction, Joyce himself) consubstantial.

13 Joyce would have seen these usages in C.P. Meehan in his *Poets*
 14 *and Poetry of Munster* and probably imagined they were invented by
 15 Mangan. The fact that we now know that the term was not originally
 16 Mangan's is of little import. It was here that Joyce found it as he did
 17 'The Man in the Cloak', a version of which he later incorporated
 18 in *Ulysses* as the 'Man in the Mackintosh', the thirteenth mourner
 19 at Paddy Dignam's funeral in Glasnevin cemetery where Mangan
 20 himself rests, his tombstone describing him as 'Ireland National
 21 Poet'. What better example of the metempsychosis (also the title of
 22 a humorous poem by Mangan) and of the transubstantiation, which
 23 is so effectively explained by Bloom in *Ulysses*.

24 In his lecture, Mangan's poem 'Dark Rosaleen', which both Joyce
 25 and Nora sang at home and which was successfully recorded by John
 26 McCormack in 1907, is celebrated as being 'tremulous with all the
 27 changing harmonies of Shelley's verse'; in 'Cyclops' this judgement is
 28 undermined when we find poem's title perched in a list between Peter
 29 the Packer and Patrick W Shakespeare. It later reappears, suitably dis-
 30 torted in *Finnegans Wake*, as 'dark Rasa Lane a sigh and a weep'.³⁹ Joyce's
 31 Mangan is always caught between the melancholic and the comic and
 32 the two are always interconnected. Of most immediate use to the
 33 young Joyce was Mangan's linking of East and West. The early focus
 34 of this interest was in the *Dubliners* story, 'Araby', but it would later
 35 return with more prominence in *Ulysses*. In 'Araby', we find a reference
 36 to 'Mangan's sister' yet as no Mangan family lived in North Richmond
 37 Street it is hard not to read this as an allusion to Mangan himself. In
 38 so far as 'Araby' is a partly autobiographical piece for Joyce — at least
 39 in the sense that the sensitive young boy seems to be, at least in part,

1 yet another Joycean self-image – it owes something to Mangan's own
 2 fictionalized autobiographical sketches, which are set in Dublin and
 3 portray the poet himself as a sensitive young boy. Stanislaus recorded
 4 his brother's interest in reading about Mangan's life in the biography
 5 contained at the beginning of Duffy's edition of his poetry.

6
 7 Jim spoke of the Mangans here in Dublin, living alone in the
 8 Liberties, his companions there, none of the Irishmen of that day
 9 seems to have known him intimately or to have troubled himself
 10 about him, his death, the birthplace unmarked, without a monu-
 11 ment, his name almost unknown, no good life of him and a few
 12 paltry and very incomplete editions of his works. No one knows
 13 what became of his family.⁴⁰

14
 15 In Mangan's autobiography, the Ballad episode takes place after his
 16 adored older sister dies and seems to be a particular source for Joyce.
 17 In Mangan, the heartbroken young boy idealizes his sister as a 'blue-
 18 eyed cherub, her image haunting him in his dreams' but later she
 19 is replaced in his affections by the slightly older girl next door – a
 20 'little girl of curling sunny locks, a couple of summers his senior'.⁴¹
 21 A childhood romance, this, not unlike the childhood romance of
 22 'Araby': we find the same older neighbour girl, who is also identified
 23 as a surrogate sister in another tale of juvenile quest (Mangan goes
 24 out to look for a ballad and this ill-advised attempt results in eight
 25 years of almost blindness; the boy in 'Araby' goes out for a present
 26 at the fair and when he returns his 'eyes burned with anguish and
 27 anger'). For good reason then, Ellen Shannon-Mangan claims that
 28 Joyce in 'Araby' is essentially repeating the formula of Mangan's
 29 own story while Heyward Erhlich sees Joyce's story as 'another
 30 fictional biography of Mangan, the Irish Orientalist, or perhaps an
 31 early fictional autobiography of Joyce in the process of reinventing
 32 himself', reinventing himself, we might say, in Mangan's image.⁴²

33 Mangan's autobiography is 'a cunning fabrication which invents
 34 his life far more than it reflects it,' to cite Terry Eagleton's phrase,⁴³
 35 itself perhaps a reworking of Mangan's own description of his
 36 method, 'I take a few facts, not caring to be overwhelmed by too
 37 many proofs that they are facts'.⁴⁴ It also provides a precedent for
 38 Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, which is too often read
 39 as a reliable version of Joyce's own youth rather than the stylized

1 and carefully manipulated forgery that it actually is. In a very down-
2 to-earth way, Mangan provided the young Joyce with an indigenous
3 literary paradigm for his own family's decline into squalid poverty
4 at the end of the century. Like Joyce, Mangan was born into middle-
5 class Dublin respectability, as he himself recalls in the following
6 passage: 'My father was a merchant of this city, and ruined himself
7 by speculation. He had a princely soul but no prudence. It was when
8 I was about fifteen years old that I awoke to a sense of the changes
9 that had come over our household.'⁴⁵ All we would need to do
10 would be to insert 'idleness and drinking' in place of 'speculation'
11 and reduce 'fifteen' to 'eight' and the lines could well have been
12 written by Joyce himself about his own domestic situation. Mangan
13 also provided material for another Joyce partial self-portrait – that of
14 Shem in Chapter VII of *Finnegans Wake*. As he did earlier in 'Araby',
15 Joyce here seems to revisit the miserable circumstances of Mangan's
16 birth and youth as well as his childhood blindness: 'the pleb was
17 born a Quicklow and sank allowing till he stank out of sight'.⁴⁶
18 Mangan's memorable description of his own father as 'a human bo-
19 constrictor *without his alimentive properties*', is also clearly echoed by
20 Shem in the phrase: 'Mynfadher was a boer constructor'.⁴⁷

21 Mangan's autobiography also provided Joyce with an indigenous
22 point of entry into romanticism, as his was a native version of
23 the romantic tradition of spiritual biography that included major
24 works such as Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, Thomas De Quincey's
25 *Confessions of an English opium eater*, and Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor*
26 *Resartus*, three works Joyce admired, all of which portray solitary
27 figures engaged in a long, elusive quest. In this sense, David Lloyd's
28 claim, that the ultimate appeal of Mangan for Joyce lay in his hav-
29 ing made his life, or at least his own fictional accounts of his life,
30 into the first authentically Irish version of the myth of the romantic
31 hero, the Byronic self-inventing self, the wanderer and outcast from
32 society who savours memories of his sinful and gloomy past⁴⁸,
33 seems all the more convincing. This romantic appeal served the
34 young Joyce of *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait* well but eventually
35 he would move beyond it and when he did, he could have found
36 precedents for his own increasingly accumulative, multilingual, sub-
37 versive techniques in the other Mangan, in the proto-post-modern
38 Mangan, a writer so ahead of his time that even Joyce struggled to
39 keep up with him.

Notes

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- 3 1. *Letters of James Joyce*, 3 vols (London: Faber and Faber, 1957–1966), II, p. 167.
- 4 2. Radio broadcast script of 'Portrait of James Joyce', ed. W.R. Rodgers, BBC Third Programme. February 1950, p. 8. This document is kept at the Harry Ransom Center (University of Texas at Austin), Box 7, folder 10.
- 5
- 6 3. *OCPW*, p. 52.
- 7 4. *Ibid.*, pp. 56–7.
- 8 5. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- 9 6. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
- 10 7. *Ibid.*
- 11 8. Stanislaus Joyce, 'Triestine Book of Days'. A copy of this unpublished manuscript is held at the McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa. *Triestine Book of Days*, 9–31 March 1907.
- 12
- 13 9. He is referring to Mangan's *Essays in Prose and Verse*, published in Dublin by James Duffy & Co., Ltd., in 1884. Joyce appears to have purchased this volume in 1902 and still had it with him in the Paris years.
- 14
- 15 10. *Triestine Book of Days*, 19 April 1907.
- 16 11. Alfred Perceval Graves, *Irish Literary and Musical Studies* (London: Elkin Mathews, 1913), p. 19.
- 17 12. Quoted in Kevin J.H. Dettmar, 'Martyr Without a Cause: James Clarence Mangan and the Ideology of Irish Nationalism', *Quarterly Journal of Ideology*, 10 (1986), p. 34.
- 18
- 19 13. Roy Foster, *W.B. Yeats: A Life*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), I, p. 90.
- 20 14. W.B. Yeats, *Uncollected Prose by W.B. Yeats*, ed. John P. Frayne, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1970), I, pp. 103, 101.
- 21 15. W.B. Yeats, 'Modern Irish Poetry', in *Irish Literature*, eds. Justin McCarthy et al. (Philadelphia: J. D. Morris & company, 1904), III, p. x.
- 22 16. *Triestine Book of Days*, 20 April 1907.
- 23 17. Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 333.
- 24 18. *Triestine Book of Days*, 19 April 1907.
- 25 19. See Eric Bulson, 'On Joyce's Figura: A Requiem for Giacomo Clarenzio Mangan', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 38 (Spring/Summer 2001), pp. 432–33, 437.
- 26 20. *OCPW*, pp. 266, 134.
- 27 21. *Triestine Book of Days*, 19 April.
- 28 22. *OCPW*, p. 56.
- 29 23. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
- 30 24. *Triestine Book of Days*, April 19.
- 31 25. James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (London: Penguin Classics, 2000), p. 194.
- 32 26. Eric Bulson, 'On Joyce's Figura', p. 437.
- 33 27. This was intended to compete with Jacob Schwartz's unauthorised Dublin edition of forty copies for private circulation. Schwarz's version was,
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- 1 in fact, the second printing of the lecture since it had already appeared
 2 in the unofficial college magazine, *St. Stephen's*, in 1902. See Joyce's letter
 3 to Harriet Shaw Weaver in which he briefly alludes to the possibility of
 4 publishing his Mangan lecture: *Letters*, III, p. 209.
- 5 28. *NML*, p. 32.
 6 29. *Letters*, I, p. 63.
 7 30. Joyce, *Portrait*, p. 195.
 8 31. Andrew Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge, History, Politics, and Aesthetics in Ulysses*
 9 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 13.
 10 32. *OCPW*, pp. 135–6.
 11 33. Seamus Deane, 'Joyce the Irishman', in *The Cambridge Companion to James*
 12 *Joyce*, Derek Attridge, ed. (2nd edn; Cambridge: Cambridge University
 13 Press, 2004), pp. 29–30.
 14 34. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
 15 35. *OCPW*, p. 129.
 16 36. Mangan is quoted in John Montague, *The Figure in the Cave and other*
 17 *essays* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1989), p. 120. The 1903 O'Donoghue edi-
 18 tion of Mangan's poem also contains a section entitled 'Oriental versions
 19 and perversions'.
 20 37. Arthur Power, *Conversations with James Joyce* (London, Millington, 1974),
 21 p. 52.
 22 38. See, for example, Peter van de Kamp's 'Hands Off! Joyce and the Mangan
 23 in the Mac' in *Configuring Romanticism: Essays Offered to C.C. Barfoot*,
 24 Theo d'Haen et al. eds. (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2003), p. 191.
 25 39. James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake* (London: Penguin Classics, 2000), p. 93.27.
 26 40. *Triestine Book of Days*, 19 April 1907.
 27 41. John McCall, *The Life of James Clarence Mangan*, facsimile edn. Introduction
 28 by Thomas Wall (Dublin: Carraig Books, 1975; orig. pub. 1882), pp. 4–5.
 29 42. Heyward Ehrlich, "'Araby" in Context: The "Splendid Bazaar," Irish
 30 Orientalism, and James Clarence Mangan', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 35
 31 (Winter-Spring 1998), p. 327.
 32 43. Terry Eagleton, *Crazy John and the Bishop and Other Essays in Irish Culture*
 33 (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), p. 184.
 34 44. D.J. O'Donoghue, *The Life and Writings of James Clarence Mangan*, ed.
 35 James Kilroy (1968. p. 226.
 36 45. This is in a letter of 22 September 1849 to James Price. The letter is quoted
 37 in *NML*, p. 36.
 38 46. *Finnegans Wake*, p. 175.3–4.
 39 47. ~~*Finnegans Wake*, p. 175.3–4.~~
 48. *NML*, p. 44.