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CONTENTS

MTA KÖNYVTÁR ÉS
INFORMÁCIÓS KÖZPONT

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Editor's Notes

The *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* (*HJEAS*) begins its twenty-first year of continuous publication with this issue—an event worth celebrating in itself but also in recognition that not all of those years have been easy or assured. During those years the journal, while maintaining the high quality expected of an international scholarly journal, grew substantially in readership and, thanks to being invited to join JSTOR and ProQuest, became available world-wide. *HJEAS* also endeavored to become worthy of its predecessor, *Hungarian Studies in English* (*HSE*), edited by the polymath László Országh. *HSE* underwent a refounding by Professor Zoltán Abádi-Nagy as *HJEAS* with a new format, many more essays and reviews per issue, and a clearer emphasis on international scholarship. *Hungarian Studies in English* was an annual that published twenty-three issues under extraordinarily difficult circumstances. *HSE* remains the only periodical in post-WWII Hungary that was devoted exclusively to English and American Studies and which was published without interruption (Abádi-Nagy 3). Thanks to the foresight and extraordinary dedication of the Re-Founding Editor *HJEAS* has become recognized as a leading journal in both American and Irish Studies and as an important voice in English, Australian, and Canadian Studies with all these fields well represented over that twenty-year period. In the first issue of *HJEAS* published in 1995 shortly after the implosion of dictatorial Communism, among the eight contributors were one Canadian and two American scholars with a strong Hungarian contingent including four scholars from the University of Debrecen and one from the University of Budapest (see the reprinted cover and Table of Contents for that initial issue following these Editor's Notes). Topics covered in that first issue ranged from modern fantasy to English historical drama criticism, from Renaissance to contemporary art, from the fiction of Freud to Anglophone Quebec writers, and, of course, theory. Subsequent issues built on this solid beginning and continually maintained a broad range of scholarly interests, while drawing on contributions from around the world, as may be seen in any issue. Essays have originated, for example, in Canada, the Czech Republic, China, England, France, Germany, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Scotland, Spain, and the United States as well as from many different Hungarian universities.

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This issue reinforces *HJEAS*'s commitment to a broad interpretation of English and American Studies both in the range of contents and the variety of contributors with an initial miscellaneous section on Rudolfo A. Anaya, "Popular and Critical Taste," and Samuel Beckett. The writers include contributors from the US and Romania, Don Gifford and Erika Mihálycsa, who have appeared in *HJEAS* several times over the past years, plus the Hungarian re-founding editor of *HJEAS*, Zoltán Abádi-Nagy.

With "Positioning Analysis of Intercultural Information Processing in a Multicultural Borderland's *Bless Me, Ultima*" Zoltán Abádi-Nagy continues his in-depth discussion of narrative techniques. In Abádi-Nagy's analysis, Anaya's novel presents a "narrator mentally processing a cultural borderland; which is a land of both conflicting and interlocking border-zones rather than simply a 'borderland.'" This is the *Frontera* region of the American Southwest and Northern Mexico marked by both a unique culture and "a constellation of border-crosscutting social networks." Combining this borderlands-focus with a cognitive approach, Abádi-Nagy draws upon positioning analysis to more closely analyze the narrator's thought processes discerning how he chunks and/or prioritizes information through his various intercultural encounters. The result is a new reading plentiful of this rich Bildungsroman that so cogently "addresses the problematic of the *development* [emphasis added] of Chicano identity."

The development of the cheap book in 1792 and an increase in literacy combined to create the impression of a considerable divide between popular and critical taste in nineteenth-century America. The late Don Gifford, who frequently contributed to *HJEAS* (8.1, 8.2, and 14.2), in "Popular and Critical Taste" investigates the gap between the two as reflected in the reception of the domestic and sentimental novel compared with that of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* and Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* and *An American Tragedy*. Both Hawthorne and Dreiser drew extensively on and even exploited the popular taste and expectations created by commercially successful sentimental and domestic novels. But both also undermined these same expectations: Hawthorne begins *The Scarlet Letter* "where the standard seduction novel ends . . . [and] explicitly revers[es] the standard formula" while retracing "the overall pattern of the conventional story." What Gifford discerns in this "retracing" is, however, Hawthorne's manipulating such expectations "for his own artistic purposes." Unlike Hawthorne, who may have been annoyed and frustrated by popular

fiction's commercial success but "did not directly attack its titillating prudery and moral vacuity," Dreiser mounted a "frontal assault" against the sentimental-domestic novel in *Sister Carrie* and then against the Horatio Alger success novel in *An American Tragedy*.

By almost any measure, one of the most productive periods in an artist's or writer's life must belong to Samuel Beckett, who from age 42 in 1948 to 50 in 1956 produced plays that helped define post-war theatre in *Waiting for Godot* and *Endgame*, the acclaimed and brooded-over trilogy of *Molloy*, *Malone Dies,* and *The Unnamable*, short fiction; and several important translations of both his own and others' work. Long-time contributor Erika Mihálycsa in ""The no doubt calm language of the no': Samuel Beckett's Poetics in Light of his Published Correspondence" analyzes Beckett's accomplishments of this period against the background of the milieu in which he worked, the fellow artists with whom he corresponded, and some of the books he read. Beckett tried reading Kafka's *The Castle*, for instance, but stopped as he felt that it was too familiar. He claimed "to have read [*The Castle*] in German, losing a great deal: 'I felt at home, too much so—perhaps that is what stopped me from reading on . . .'" Upon further reflection Beckett changed his mind concluding that there are, indeed, crucial differences between his writing and Kafka's. The resulting two sentences that encapsulate his thought Mihálycsa rightly calls his "compressed poetics": "The trouble about my little world is that there is no outside to it. Aesthetically the adventure is of the failed form (no achieved statement of the inability to be)" (*Letters II* 596). Beckett spent his writing life trying to bring that "failed form" into being.

Special Section
Meet the *HJEAS* Editors

With this issue *HJEAS* introduces its new editors but rather than merely list their accomplishments each was asked to contribute reflections on their research. The result is a lively, varied section that ranges widely, employs several different theoretical tools, and tackles a host of issues in English and American studies, such as documentary film and the environment, aesthetics and *To the Lighthouse*, *Ulysses* and translation, American race relations recorded in contemporary drama, American-Hungarian relations between the World Wars, women travelers to the

US and Mexico, and Kurt Vonnegut as *the* representative American novelist of the second half of the twentieth century.

The section begins with Associate Editor Zsolt Győri's multifaceted look at *Grizzly Man*, Werner Herzog's documentary on Timothy Treadwell, who died in a misconceived attempt to co-exist with Alaskan Grizzly Bears. In "'Animals rule! Timothy Conquered!' Escape, Capture, and Liminality in Werner Herzog's *Grizzly Man*," Győri shows that supremely confident in his idealized vision of the bears and ignoring their very nature, their indifference to humans, Treadwell rejects all advice and restrictions preferring his own insight and prejudices and, as Benjamin Noys argues, may well have died "unaware of what he has done" (42). Alaskan native Sven Haakanson recalled that where he "grew up, the bears avoid us and we avoid them. . . . If I look at it from my culture, Timothy Treadwell crossed a boundary that we have lived with for 7,000 years." Thoreau respected the wildness in nature and sought not to disturb it unlike Treadwell, who became so enamored of his own exploits that he treated the bears as humans in bear skins—a dangerous false perception.

Performativity, Győri also argues, "is a key feature of *Grizzly Man*, already present in Treadwell's footage": "Come here and try to do what I do," he boasts at one point. "They [the bears] will get you. I found a way to survive with them." He adopts the persona of the tough guy of gangster films. People also most emphatically perform in the film's interview scenes, such as the coroner who even glances at the camera. The genius of Herzog's documentary may well lie in his ability to avoid passing judgment on Treadwell, but, as Győri persuasively argues, Herzog considers "Treadwell's dream as a symptom of both social marginality and metaphysical liminality," while also acknowledging that he himself shares much of Treadwell's "inner contradictions, ecstatic visions, and liminal experiences." Herzog's film raises intriguing questions not only about humans and the wilderness, humans and wild animals, but also about what kind of film genre is appropriate for his subject. Whatever his focus, however, it will be, as always, the frame that determines the film. No camera can be neutral, but each presents a unique perspective on the film's subject, as Győri convincingly contends.

Associate Editor Gabriella Moise's "Engulfing Mirroring in *To the Lighthouse*" delves into the paradox of "seeing as reflection," which she believes is "the pre-requisite of human consciousness, the means of subject formation."

Acknowledging that Virgina Woolf's novel is a paragon of modernism, Moise then shifts her focus onto how Woolf views people, their relationships, and their interaction with their world. Her reading of the novel assumes "the inverted functioning of the verbal and visual instances of mise en abyme" that helps reveal the novel's principle characters, their inter-relationships through its many mirrorings, duplications, doubles, and repetitions. Perhaps the most significant of these many doubles lies in "Time Passes," whose structural role appears analogous to that of "the mechanism of verbal and visual mises en abyme." "Both serve as the repository of the verbal/visual interplay and subsequently the reciprocal relationship of categories such as the temporal and the spatial, the visible and the invisible, the seer and the seen."

Associate Editor Marianna Gula, our resident Joyce scholar, spent several years deeply involved in preparing a new critical edition of the Hungarian translation of *Ulysses*. This project involved paying scrupulous attention to the novel's smallest textual detail as well as utilizing the latest Joyce scholarship to renegotiate, among others, "the representation of Ireland as a geographical place and as a historical, cultural, and linguistic space" in the Hungarian translation. While I do not expect our readers to read Hungarian, I do expect that most have an interest in the process and problems of translation, plus, for those of us devoted to *Ulysses*, the issues raised by the translation process often prove central to our own reading of the original. As Gula reveals, for instance, translators' treatment of the cultural specificity of Joyce's text "often reflect[s] methodological/interpretive considerations." Her essay, "'The spirit has been well caught': The Irish Dimension of the Canonical Hungarian Translation of *Ulysses* (1974) and Its Remake (2012)," includes a fascinating catalogue of highly specific problems related to how the cultural otherness of *Ulysses* has been negotiated and renegotiated by Hungarian translators.

The 2000 American census for the first time in its history offered people a new choice of a *multiracial* category when it came to their declaring their race. That year some 7.3 million Americans, or 2.6% of the population, identified themselves as multiracial whereas ten years later, in 2010, that number grew to over nine million, and some sociologists and statisticians predict that by the year 2050 *multiracial* could be checked by, perhaps, as much as twenty percent of the US population. Associate Editor Lenke Németh argues in "Self–Respect Restored: The Cultural Mulatto And Postethnic American Drama" that the

famous American melting pot that became an American boiling pot towards the end of the 1980s has, in the second decade of the twenty-first century, been "replaced by the cult of the cultural mulatto." Further, she contends that this "new type of American identity helps break down the arbitrary barriers erected between mainstream and minority cultures," which given the conspicuous failure of the US to deal adequately with racism may offer some grounds for hope in America's future. This new multiracial mulatto identity is reflected in American art and literature, especially in such late twenty-first century plays as Susan Lori-Parks's *TopDog/UnderDog* and Henry David Huang's *Yellow Face*. Drawing on the concept of the mulatto, Németh analyzes each play in turn relating their subjects back to her central thesis of the great change in America's racial make-up.

Associate Editor Éva Mathey contributes a case study, "Senator William Edgar Borah and the Question of Treaty Revision" on Senator Borah of Idaho, who was an exception to American indifference over the plight of Hungary after World War I, when the infamous treaty of Trianon (negotiated parallel to that of Versailles) "dismembered historic Hungary by distributing 71% of its territory and 63% of its people to neighboring states with Rumania receiving Transylvania, the by-far largest part." Obviously such a monumental severing of a nation-state produced national and personal traumatic shock and was rightly viewed as a "severe national tragedy." All other issues were dwarfed by this event and given the Hungarian perception of the USA as "the guardian of the [sic] laws and humanity," Hungarians looked to the United States for sympathy and help in restoring the lost territory and population. They believed they had a significant ally in Senator Borah; Borah's focus, however, was not on Trianon but on the Versailles Treaty with Germany, which he viewed as "repugnant" because motivated almost completely by revenge. The terms of both Versailles and Trianon "shocked him" and the more he looked into them, the worse he found them. What Hungarians failed to understand, however, was that Senator Borah's motivation for changing either rested almost completely on the pernicious effect he saw them having on the American economy and, therefore, his support for Hungary took the form of noble words and vague promises. This case study on Borah's political views on the question of treaty revision also illuminates the nature of official American views on Hungarian revisionism and, as Mathey contends, "underlines that Hungarian revisionist hopes for American support to dismantle the Trianon Peace Treaty amounted to wishful thinking."

HJEAS's Technical Editor, Balazs Venkovits's scholarship centers on travel literature, which means that, like Éva Mathey, he has devoted considerable time to archival research. His "'Proof of What a Hungarian Woman is Capable of': Travels of Mrs. Mocsáry in the United States and Mexico" introduces us to the intrepid Mrs. Mocsáry, who, traveling alone, visited the United States as well as numerous other countries. Her copious accounts of her travels gave her fellow Hungarians "one of the first female views of . . . the United States by a Hungarian." She clearly was a tourist staying at only the best hotels and her writing "reflected her privileged background while her style conformed to social expectations of travel writing." What may be unique, however, are her accounts of travels on non-tourist paths. Venkovits claims that "she offered an alternative view of what was worth visiting and writing about. Through her style she propagated a new image of the countries [she visited]." For example, she avoided the eastern urban areas of the United States and instead headed west "in search of unparalleled vistas and natural scenery primarily." So instead of focusing on those social issues associated with urban areas, "she describes mountain rides, hotels, restaurants, and the pleasures of traveling." If travel is a "negotiation between self and other that is brought about by movement in space," as Carl Thompson contends, then Mrs. Mocsáry's accounts record such encounters as she negotiates between what is familiar (such as tourist hotels) and what is different (western vistas).

Donald E. Morse in "Kurt Vonnegut: *The* Representative Post-World War II American Writer" attempts to situate Vonnegut's novels within the post-WWII milieu arguing that in them Vonnegut has reflected his generation's experiences with the war, "the advent and use of the atom bomb, the aftermath of the Great Depression and the rise of the consumer society," the Vietnam War, and "the weakening of social bonds and institutions after the 1960s." Yet Vonnegut also reflects American optimism in that although often disillusioned with his country and fellow countrymen, he refuses to give up on America and so "tenaciously clings to his dream of a better society, with a genuine culture and a real community. In doing so, he offers alternatives for American society in the twenty-first century."

Finally, all of the *HJEAS* editors new and old join me in inviting you to contribute to the scholarly dialogue to which this journal is devoted so well begun twenty years ago. We welcome your contributions and comments.

Donald E. Morse
University of Debrecen

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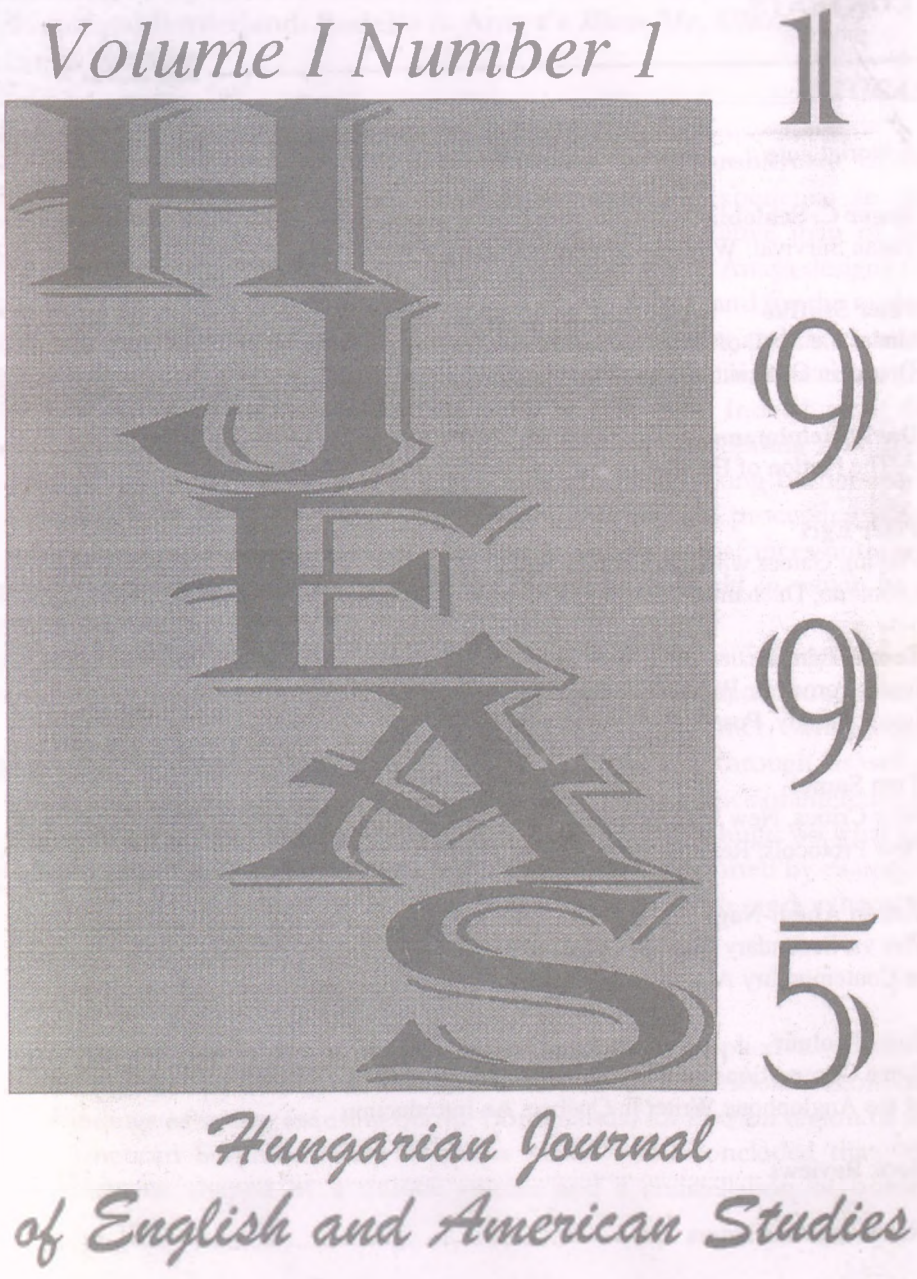
The Cover of the First *HJEAS* Issue from 1995



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Positioning Analysis of Intercultural Information Processing in a Multicultural Borderland: Rudolfo A. Anaya's *Bless Me, Ultima*

Zoltán Abádi-Nagy

HJEAS

The Bildungsroman *Bless Me, Ultima* (1972) addresses the problematic of the development of Chicano identity through intercultural experience in the multicultural setting of the American Southwest. The cognitive map of the novel's fictional New Mexico that Chicano writer Rudolfo A. Anaya designs for the controlling (narratorial) fictional mind of Antonio Márez (and for the reader) charts a multicultural borderland, with a much higher number and much more intricate pattern of borders, border-operations, and border-dilemmas than the storyworld or the textual discourse can reveal at first sight. Indeed, what the narrative does process is the narrator himself mentally processing a cultural borderland, which is a land of both conflicting and interlocking border-zones rather than simply a "borderland." Intercultural information processing is the only way for him to position himself vis-à-vis a social space of incessantly and mutually intersecting and interpenetrating cultures—the world in which he is growing up.

This young Chicano keeps positioning and repositioning himself, interculturally, in the multicultural environment of New Mexico through inter- and intra-mental processes, mental maneuvering, inner knowledge-representations, cognitive strategies of action, and by sorting through, as well as overwriting, cognitive scripts of others and his own. The presence of intercultural cognition in the novel is overwhelming, and its complexity is huge. So what can be offered here is a possible methodology of approach, supported by examples; an illustrated methodology, as it were, rather than full-scale and exhausting analysis.

Borderlands/*La Frontera* and the multicultural aspect

Ingo W. Schröder in a 2007 synthetic study applied a cognitive anthropological approach to the culturalist and the social economic understandings of space, focusing on the Borderlands/*La Frontera* region of the North American Southwest and Northern Mexico, and concluded that "the Borderlands are shaped by a unique culture and a constellation of border-

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crosscutting social networks that mark it as a region" (85). The main features identified as ones that mark the Borderlands as a region, Schröder goes on to say, are "a desert environment," "a shared history," "a large Hispanic population," and "a unique hybrid culture encompassing both Hispanic/Mexican and US/American elements. This culture is the result of parallel processes of 'Hispanicization' and 'Americanization'" (85). In Anaya's Movimiento classic Borderlands/*La Frontera* novel all four of Schröder's features are present in its fictional New Mexico, with the fourth—the "unique hybrid culture" aspect—being foregrounded. This Bildungsroman centers on the spiritual growth of Antonio Márez, on how his spirituality, his sense of cultural identity, as well as his skills of cultural communication are shaped by the multicultural environment of the Borderlands/*La Frontera.*[1] Of the two processes of Hispanicization and Americanization the latter is the most prominent.

Ample attention has been paid, by fine scholars,[2] to various aspects of the Borderlands culture of Anaya's novel. There are also Anaya's own enlightening contributions in the form of essays and interviews (see, for example, "Aztlán," "King Arthur's Court," and *Silence* as well as Bruce Dick and Silvio Sirias).

As far as the *general* multicultural/intercultural thematic level of *Bless Me, Ultima* is concerned, I accept the critical consensus established by the authorities just enumerated: that is, Anaya's treatment of the theme of multiculturalism leads to reconciliation for the obvious reason that this is the conclusion the novel itself overtly arrives at, by way of closing Antonio's development. The core elements that will construe Antonio's multicultural knowledge and intercultural skills—besides many more influences from many more directions—will be the best of the three cultures represented by his mother (Spanish Catholicism and the farming tradition), his father (the free spirit of the vaqueros), and Ultima (Native American wisdom). "From my mother I had learned that man is of the earth," he reflects towards the end of the novel; "from my father and Ultima I had learned that the greater immortality is in the freedom of man" (228). And the tool required for reconciliatory learning is provided, ultimately, by Ultima. What she teaches Antonio is *understanding*, and "in the end understanding simply means having a sympathy for people." Understanding is Ultima's "magic," Antonio realizes, "and no greater magic can exist," his father adds (248). Reconciliation, in spite of the fact that evil Tenorio's shot kills Ultima—the shot that "shattered

my childhood into thousand fragments" (258). What matters, however, is that Ultima blesses her disciple (Antonio), and, as her philosophy has it, the "harmony of the universe" is "reconstituted" in the end (266).

The multicultural reconciliation *Bless Me, Ultima* teaches is in full accord with what Anaya maintains in his essays. In "An American Chicano in King Arthur's Court," for example, he speaks up for Chicano and Native cultural heritage but does *not* deny that the foreign archetype (King Arthur and the knights of the Round Table), which is not at all indigenous to Native American memory, *does* have the right to exist and to be respected (181) as he testifies in interviews. In a 1979 conversation with Juan Bruce-Novoa, for instance, he confesses: "I believe that the national character of this country will never be known until this sharing of all-voices is complete" (23).

The note on which the novel ends its dramatization of Borderlands/*La Frontera* intercultural communication is also in full agreement with standard professional definitions such as that of Rogers and Steinfatt's: "*Intercultural competence* is the degree to which an individual is able to exchange information effectively and appropriately with individuals who are culturally dissimilar" (221). Anaya's perception of multiculturalism enables Antonio to do just that. Rogers and Steinfatt might have been summing up Ananya's treatment of multiculturalism when they contend: "*Multiculturalism* recognizes that several different cultures can exist in the same environment and benefit each other. Cultural differences can provide a rich source for creative learning about the world, if culturally unlike individuals communicate effectively" (240).

Ralph Ellison's invisible man says in the "Prologue" of that novel that he "discovered a new analytical way of listening to music": he "entered" the music and "descended into its depths," finding level below level below level; and he "looked around" in each depth level (8-9). In the multicultural/intercultural texture of Anaya's Borderlands/*La Frontera* narrative text,[3] everything is filtered through Antonio's cognition. Let us enter, then, the multicultural/intercultural texture of Anaya's Borderlands/*La Frontera* narrative text and look around in what everything is filtered through: Antonio's cognition, in an attempt to trace *how* exactly the narrative guides and presents multi- and intercultural developments in the way it does?

Theoretical toolbox

The application of border studies may lead to a better understanding of Anaya's novel. Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly in "Theorizing Borders: An Interdisciplinary Perspective" maintains that one of the four "analytical lenses" that explain "borders, boundaries, frontiers, and borderland regions" is culture: "the specific culture of borderland communities" (633). He employs Anthony Giddens's "dual" model (as he calls it); that is, cultural "agency and structure are mutually influential and interrelated" (644). Both agent- and structure-based approaches are "fundamental to an analysis of borders and borderlands" (643). The culture-as-analytical-lens holds eminently for the Borderlands/*La Frontera* of *Bless Me, Ultima*, and what I will probe, in this context, is Antonio's intercultural *agency* inside the multicultural cultural *structure*—that is, inside "those social [cultural] processes that frame and contain [and shape] [his] individual action" (Brunet-Jailly 643).

In "Cognitive Science, the Thinking Mind, and Literary Narrative," Uri Margolin contends that "it is a basic cognitive requirement of ours that we attribute to them [narrative agents] information-processing activities and internal knowledge representations" even if the text "provides no information about the cognitive functioning of storyworld participants" (284). Cognitive narratology and cognitive cultural studies are also crucial. It is an old narratological truth that there is no tale without a teller; even where there is no textual indication of narratorial agency, the story must be narrated by someone. It is as much as to say that a narrative text (as Mieke Bal calls the narrat*ed* story) invites us into narratorial consciousness after all. When inside a fictional textual world, we move on the terrain of authorial/narratorial mental processes. Cognitive narratologist Alan Palmer asserts in "The Mind Beyond the Skin" that "[n]arrative is, in essence, the description of fictional mental functioning," and that "fictional minds" play the central role "in the functioning of narrative" (326-27). In "Storyworlds and Groups," he adds that the objects placed into fictional space and time "usually have significance in so far as they affect the mental functioning of the characters in the storyworld." That is to say: "Novel-reading is mind reading" (181-82). Wolfgang Iser also defines the fictive as "an operational mode of *consciousness*" (xiv, emphasis added). Margolin further clarifies the idea by including "affects and desires or volitions" in "the totality of an individual's mental life, be it actual or created by a literary text," noting that these are

"intimately interrelated" with "the cognitive component" (272). Cognitive critic Mark Turner looks at the equation—that is, reading a story is reading the mind(s) in it—from the other end: "most of our experiences, our knowledge, and our thinking is organized as stories" (qtd. in Jahn 198).[4]

The literary work, possible world theorist Károly Csúry explains, drafts a cognitive map for the reader—receiving a literary work is also a cognitive process after all. "[M]eaning-formation for us . . . is designing an optimal cognitive map," with a system of main roads and side roads that would guide us to every point on the map. A road-system "which would orient us regarding space, time, action, norms, and values in the possible world of the literary work in the same way geographical maps do concerning spatial relations of our actual world" (28, my translation). It is also through and behind cognition that the textual possible world of a novel constructs what Marie-Laure Ryan calls its textual referential world ("Possible Worlds" 555-56); that is, the referential norms and controlling value systems, where "textual authority" and "fictional truths" reside for readers, who are recentered from their actual world into a textual one ("The Text as World" 103-05). So a fictional world is fictitious cognition after all, which can be covert (dramatized, embedded in the storyworld) or overt (in narratorial discourse or in the storyworld).

Bless Me, Ultima and the Borderlands-approach

Antonio Márez in *Bless Me, Ultima* is a triple narrative agent. First and foremost he is a storyworld-protagonist. Secondly, he is also a participant—in Gérard Genette's well-known term—an intradiegetic-narrator of his own story at one and the same time. Thirdly, he (his older/adult self) is the extradiegetic "older implied narrator" (Olmos 25), who tells the story of his young self many years later. Those triple narrative agents are the focalizers for processing the multicultural environment and the intercultural engagements of the textual universe as storyworld-protagonist Antonio experiences them. They are also focalizers for Antonio's internal processing of what he experiences. The novel being retrospectively told as "an extended flashback" (Olmos 25), the intradiegetic and extradiegetic narrator-Antonios dwell in different realms of the textual universe. Narrated young Antonio's Borderlands-related information processing—or, simply put, his Borderlands-related storyworld cognition—is

reproduced by the narratorial (just as fictional) consciousness of a much older narrator-Antonio.

The very circumstance of Antonio being a dual narrator, both intra- and extradiegetic, the two existing decades apart in biographical time, does itself point to a lower-case-*b* borderline somewhere in this Borderlands/*La Frontera* narrative, even if this self-reflexive double narratorial agency would be difficult to tell apart.[5] The novel teems with borders, border-zones, and border-crossings. Borders are crossed not only by Antonio, but by members of his family too, for example, in terms of growth and development. As Cordelia Chávez Candelaria points out, while Anaya's work is primarily Antonio's *rite de passage,* his Chicano family is also transformed (as a result of the children growing up, of World War II, and of the birth of the Atomic Age [35]).

The capital-*B* Borderlands/*La Frontera* context has much to do with the Borderlands being a multicultural environment. It is multicultural even if we remind ourselves of the argument Reed Way Dasenbrock advances about the Southwest being a unified culture (309)—a direction in which Antonio's multicultural education is taking him in the novel. Gloria Anzaldúa opens her book *Borderlands*/La Frontera: *The New Mestiza* with the assertion that "the Borderlands are physically present whenever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where, under, lower, middle and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy" (Preface n. pag.).

She could have said this about the Borderlands/*La Frontera* of *Bless Me, Ultima.* The borderland zones of conflict and contact (Dasenbrock, "Biculturalism" 309), which Antonio moves through in his epistemological journey while growing up, multiply as the novel progresses. The basic zones which Anaya-criticism has already amply explored serve as sufficient illustration in themselves, such as the vaquero (Márez) philosophy of life (the father and the paternal brothers) versus the settled (Luna) farmers' view of the world (Antonio's maternal uncles), with Ultima's ancient Aztec wisdom as the third culture. Add the conflicting ethno-religious component with its countless issues, of which the most important are the three divinities: God, Holy Mary/La Virgen de Guadalupe, the Golden Carp and the mother's wish that Antonio should become a priest. Not to mention the ethno-linguistic zones of conflict and contact (borderlands) of the Spanish versus English language.

The borderlands-approach furthers the realization that the basic zones multiply. Firstly, the above tricultural divisions break down into, and are displayed in, many more components, contexts, and manifestations that expand the borderlands-matter into the realms of what Anzaldúa calls "psychological borderlands," "sexual borderlands," "spiritual borderlands" (Preface n. pag.). Nor does the proliferation of borderlands stop there. *Bless Me, Ultima* is also a book of epistemological borderlands between the real and the mythical, the natural and the supernatural [Ultima's owl], "reality" and dreams, the world of nature and the human world. And it is a book of the ethical borderlands of white magic and black magic, *curandera* (folk healer) and *bruja* (witch), Ultima and Trementino, good and evil. The social borderlands themselves subdivide into various aspects of the "social" in various senses, such as world politics, World War II and Hiroshima, and, racial prejudice as seen in Jasón's Indian. All of this involves communicational borderlands. It also means the communication zones of all of these, in constant contact and conflict, but especially, the individual vs. the community, the home vs. the school, sober collective identity vs. the antisocial. Generational borderlands (the child vs. the parent, inclusive of Antonio's brothers) are old wine in intercultural bottles. The multicultural borderlands issue is splintered into the essentialism of Trementino or the uncles (uncles on both sides) vs. the pluralism of Ultima and Antonio. Then there are the narrato-symbolic border negotiations: the bless-me-Antonio and bless-me-Ultima moments in the different contexts at different points of the novel's action.

Yet, to extend the notion of "border" and lower-case "borderland," "border zone" to the degree that it will incorporate everything may mean it will eventually mean nothing. It is not my intention to proceed in that direction beyond demonstrating, as was done just now, the multiple omnipresence of the borderlands theme in the novel. Rather, an inverse logic prevails over the present project: the multicultural "la frontera" zones penetrate, determine, and regulate all those other zones of individual and community existence, interpersonal and group-level intercultural communication in the world of the novel, and thereby they determine Antonio's thinking, his mental activities—in short: his mind—in relation to all of these. The action that takes place in all of those zones and components, together with the storyworld participants who act in them and the frames in which action takes place, constitute as many narrato-rhetorhemes with

multi- and intercultural suasive power[6]—explicitly or implicitly testifying to intercultural values which Antonio will assimilate.

The number-one challenge that social, cultural, spiritual borderland existence presents to any human agent—real or fictional—who operates interculturally in those multicultural structures is positioning: being positioned, self-positioned, other-positioned. Existing and functioning in a borderland culture means being determined by a set of given positionings and repositionings. These are core borderland knowledge. One acquires, maintains, and/or restructures that knowledge by processing cultural information that goes into those positionings.

Bless Me, Ultima and the cognitive approach: processing multicultural and intercultural information

The borderlands-focus needs to be combined, then, with the cognitive approach. What we find as we enter and descend into Antonio's mind is that *Bless Me, Ultima* is about nothing but procedural learning (in a broadened sense): how to proceed about things in life, how to handle interpersonal and intercultural relationships in a multicultural environment. A closer investigation of how Antonio is processing multicultural and intercultural information can be carried out by taking a closer look at how he chunks, stores, and retrieves intercultural information. Add how this becomes his explicit and implicit learning through intramental and intermental processes; how it all becomes multicultural knowledge and intercultural communicative skills that settle in his declarative (that is, explicit) and nondeclarative (that is, implicit) memory as well as in his developed, vivid, and intensive episodic memory. And, eventually, how information-processing will mold the architecture of his intercultural memory system and shape the organization of his intercultural knowledge. It is under the guidance of such a memory architecture and intercultural knowledge (accumulated through countless intercultural narrato-rhetorhemes) that he positions and repositions himself and tries to position others, who, in turn, constantly exert a positioning effect on him.

Cultures want to negotiate, says Walter J. Ong in his introduction to *Three American Literatures* (4; Chicano literature is one of the three he includes in the volume). It is exactly what cultures are doing in *Bless Me, Ultima*'s Borderlands/*La Frontera*. They are in constant negotiation as Antonio develops through "unique

positionings consciousness takes"—to quote Anzaldúa a little out of her context (Preface n. pag.)—and his unified identity with multiple allegiances is constructed. The multiple cultural borders that "frame and contain" Antonio's individual agency[7] mean border zones of as many cultural structures, which frame and contain his action. Each cultural zone whether Spanish Catholic, Vaquero, or Native American is regulated by its distinct structural givens or, in cognitive-science terminology: schemas which are "organised packets of information" (Eysenck and Keane 639). Take those, for instance, that apply when one is meant to become a Catholic priest as Antonio is meant to—a script (one kind of "the schemas stored in long-term memory") (Eysenck and Keane 401), in this case his mother's. It is a script which Antonio will overwrite as that narrato-rhetorheme (that is, the narrative strand dramatizing overt and covert arguments for and against his becoming a priest) is developed in the novel.

In other words, there is much prior knowledge that Antonio is to process (concepts, schemata, scripts, paradigms, and so on). He has to do much conceptually-driven, culturally (structurally)-determined, so-called top-down processing. Retrieving and processing information related to his own past experience also qualifies as top-down information processing when retrieved and processed in a new situation. What is more, there is much culturally-determined processing to do that does not even need much processing as he feels some of that culture "stirring in his blood." No wonder that Ultima appears to be also the walking embodiment of cultural-historical collective memory: "Ultima told me the stories and legends of my ancestors. From her I learned the glory and the tragedy of the history of my people, and I came to understand how that history stirred in my blood" (123).

The legend of the Golden Carp—another unit communicating rhetorical purpose through narrative transmission—is but one more example of top-down information processing from Anotio's point of view. It comes to him from the two Indian boys, Samuel and Cico (chapters Nueve and Once, alternately), retrieved from collective knowledge: "It is a sin to catch them," warns Samuel (80), and Cico makes him swear he "will never hunt or kill a carp" (107). The intra- and extradiegetic narrators are processing information here provided by collective memory according to Antonio's developmental need of the moment when he is turning away from a wrathful, punishing God and soon from too-

lenient Virgin Mary: ""The golden carp,' I said to myself, 'A new god?' . . . Was my mother praying to the wrong God?"" (81).

But Antonio also keeps track of how his own subtle, observing mind responds to information-stimulus; how it chunks (organizes), prioritizes, elaborates, stores, and retrieves information—as far as explicit learning is concerned. The function that monitors processing in the mind, cognitive science tells us, is the executive function with its executive processes. They "organise and co-ordinate the functioning of the cognitive system to achieve current goals" (Eysenck-Keane 218). In the Anaya novel it is not just that the Chicano boy's executive processes are not hidden from the reader: the way his mind is processing information and the way he monitors that processing are a foregrounded subject, a fascinating feature of *Bless Me, Ultima.*

Most of the examples quoted as Antonio's information processing, take place in his mind, are part of "the inner life of the self," to borrow Anzaldúa's expression again (Preface n. pag.), even if what we see is the social mind in the individual. "[T]he only natural unit is indeed the social mind in action," cognitive narratologist Uri Margolin claims (272). That is to say, all of it belongs to the realm of Antonio's intramental activities.

But there is much intermental activity, too, in the novel, generated by, and in response to, multicultural borderland existence, by both Borderlands/*La Frontera* multicultural structure and the intercultural agency of other storyworld participants. *Bless Me, Ultima* is also a book of "distributed cognition" (Palmer, "Storyworlds" 184). When the mind is viewed as distributed, David Herman's cognitive narratology elaborates,

> minds are spread out among participants in discourse, their speech acts, and the objects in their material environment. From this perspective, cognition should be viewed as a supra- or trans-individual activity distributed across groups functioning in specific contexts . . . and . . . literary narratives . . . not only represent but also enable the distribution of mind across participants, places, and times. ("Narrative Theory" 166-67)

Antonio's frequent and formative intermental exchanges with his father, mother, his friends, and many more characters, but especially Ultima, are vital to the development of his personality in general and to the formation of his intercultural

habits in particular. (Palmer defines "intermental" as "joint, group, shared, or collective thinking" ["Storyworlds" 184].)

Information processing and intercultural positioning

What Antonio does and what all the textual subjects of *Bless Me, Ultima* do, through their intra- and intercultural agentive (fictitious) cognition, is to position himself in relation to a world of many borders. The first key concept in positioning theory is "the notion that we make sense of our own and other minds through *positioning*" (Herman, "Narrative Theory" 162). One could discuss self-positioning or other-positioning depending on whether it is an "agent-to-world" or "world-to-agent" relationship (Bamberg 224). Michael Bamberg points out that both "operate concurrently in a kind of dialectic as subjects engage in narratives-in-interaction and make sense of self and others in their stories" (224).

"Old and wise" *la Grande* (Ultima) is invited into the Márez family's Guadalupe home to spend the last days of her life with them (4). Soon she becomes the steering force of Antonio's education, especially as far as interpersonal, group, and intercultural communicative skills are concerned.[8] There is, however, indirect evidence of Antonio's experience of, and openness to, intercultural communication before Ultima arrives. When he runs to his friend Jasón's house in the very first chapter, he discovers that Jasón is not home, but the way the information is processed by Antonio's mind already strikes the basic notes of the problematic of intercultural communication and positioning. Jasón has gone to talk to the only Indian of the town, who lives in a cave (everybody calls him "Jasón's Indian"). The old Indian "talked only to Jasón," who had been forbidden to talk to the Indian. His father "had beaten him [and] had tried in every way to keep Jasón from the Indian" (10).

The intramental process that the Jasón-phenomenon excites in Antonio as the novel opens also evokes the agent-to-world self-positioning instinct in him: "Jasón persisted. Jasón was not a bad boy, he was just Jasón. . . . Sometimes I felt like Jasón, like I wanted to shout and cry, but I never did" (10). The detail of Jasón's persistence as a stimulus for Antonio falls in line with details in which Antonio's own covert persistence/resistance is building up: he, too, does want to be himself. Other components that will combine in his self-assertive resistance and contribute to its build-up have already been processed for the reader by narrator-Antonio by the time the Jasón-friendship is introduced. When his

mother tells him of her dream that Antonio should "grow up and become a priest," he stops sharing *his* dreams with his mother (4-5). Next time the subject comes up in the text his mother says smiling that her son will be "perhaps a priest," to which Antonio responds, "Perhaps." And, having processed before his mental eye what a priest does, that is, holds mass and hears confessions, he adds in a whisper: "But then, . . . who will hear *my* confession?" (9, emphasis added). Besides these being cognitive stages of Antonio gradually overwriting the internalized script (his future as imagined by his mother) of wanting to become a priest, here is also the first, distant hint of repositioning long before he falls in love with the beauty of letters at school, of what he is in fact going to become: an artist. At this point the novel starts to unspool the narrato-rhetorical threadball of the artist-theme, at an early intersection of the three narrato-rhetorhematic strands of the Jasón-, the priest-, and the artist-lines. To choose between the Church and art *is* itself another intercultural dilemma. What is taking place resists a positioning pressure (his mother's) and is repositioning (the first seemingly yielding too-young Antonio's, through a series of sophisticated observations, to the point when Florence dies and Antonio calls to the God within him but there is no answer, "only emptiness" [221]).

Besides introducing the marked but solo theme of the possibility (Jasón, the Indian, Antonio) and impossibility (the Indian and the rest of the community, also Jasón's racist father) of ethnic intercultural communication, the first chapter plunges us into the middle of Borderlands/*La Frontera* conflicts of a different nature. At Antonio's birth the Márez (the father's) family fought the Lunas (his mother's people) over who should bury the afterbirth and the cord and thus have control over the child's destiny, the culture of the freedom-loving, restless, wandering vaqueros clashes with that of the settled farmers. But the two warring cultures (although never ceasing their positioning fight) have to yield to Native American Ultima—a moment combining the rhetorhematic Márez-versus-Luna intercultural confrontation with the *ethnic* intercultural. The fact that Ultima gets the upper hand in the positioning fight is an intercultural incident that sets Antonio's life on its course right at the very beginning, an event that can be regarded as the real starting point of his intercultural education, as the narrator himself makes clear: "Let me begin at the beginning. . . . the beginning that came with Ultima" (1). The rest of the storyline concerning Ultima is elaboration, revealing newer and newer information about her, to enlarge Antonio's and the

reader's knowledge of Ultima and her view of the world, the old and wise *la Grande*, the *curandera*, the healer. The narrative prioritization (that the real beginning proceeds from Ultima's arrival) itself has determining position-assigning force both for Antonio and the reader.

The narratorial statement about the real beginning coming in the second paragraph of chapter *Uno* performs manifold functions.[9] Together with foregrounding extradiegetic-narrator Antonio's positioning by stressing the significance of Ultima, the most important positioning agent's arrival in the house, the second paragraph also foregrounds information processing, after a lyrical opening paragraph about the magic of childhood, the Llano, and Ultima's magic powers.

> Let me begin at the beginning. I do not mean the beginning that was in my dreams and the stories they whispered to me about my birth, and the people of my father and mother, and my three brothers—but the beginning that came with Ultima. (1)

The short paragraph exhibits how Antonio chunks information,[10] in a double sense. First, the units that the narrative is processing (the dreams and the stories about his birth, about his father's and mother's people—like so many units containing lots of bits and pieces of information) are chunks of integrated information retrieved from Antonio's long-term memory by the implicit-author-Antonio (that is, Antonio, the extradiegetic adult narrator). Second, he starts processing information by retrieving it from his autobiographical memory; by retrieving the integrated chunks of information exactly as the young, storyworld Antonio processed and stored them in his long-term memory. Young Antonio stored them as values and meanings that he had distilled from the various narrato-rhetorical strands (inclusive of positioning and repositioning intercultural dilemmas, battles, and deadlocks worth building into his knowledge architecture).[11]

The same paragraph is also an illustration of prioritizing information: "I do not mean." Ultima is prioritized here, which is the controlling positioning in the novel. The real beginning came, again, with *her*. The dreams and the stories about Antonio's birth were *not* the real beginning.

Antonio's mind processes information and monitors the information flow in a highly self-conscious manner, as has already been mentioned, with strong executive cognitive control functions (compare Eysenck and Keane 168). His self-consciousness verges on the metacognitive as he is processing information.[12] His meditations concerning his dilemmas related to God, Our Lady of Quadalupe, the pagan-God golden carp, Lupito's, Narciso's, Florence's death, his brothers' ways, evil in the world (all of them narrato-rhetorical units, each with a suasive momentum of its own) abound in what he calls his "moods of thought" (187).

The examples quoted from the novel so far are illustrative of information processing that leads to explicit learning and augments Antonio's knowledge in general and influences his multicultural education and intercultural skills in particular. Explicit learning "involves conscious awareness of what has been learned" (Eysenck and Keane 227). But there is also *implicit* multicultural learning in *Bless Me, Ultima.* Antonio learns "complex information without the ability to provide conscious recollection of what has been learned" (Eysenck and Keane 227). What Raymund A. Paredes establishes about the Ultima/Antonio relationship in a totally different context provides a good example of implicit learning in the book: "Antonio discovers that Ultima's greatness derives from her accumulation of cultural knowledge, her understanding of her people's experience, their values and customs"; it is the source of her "sense of identity and purpose" (67).

Conclusion: Intercultural skills

In sum, *Bless Me, Ultima* presents its Borderlands/*La Frontera* intercultural philosophy through the sophisticated complexity of Antonio's information processing. In the examined concrete contexts, the link between information processing and the formation of intercultural meaning is provided by intercultural narrato-rhetorhemes that become our guides throughout Antonio's journey from intercultural innocence to intercultural experience.[13]

Moreover, Antonio absorbs intercultural values in his intercultural knowledge. They are the meanings he infers explicitly or implicitly from the narrato-rhetorical suasion of a multitude of intercultural narrato-rhetorhemes that communicate rhetorical purpose in direct narratorial discourse or through indirect narrative transmission (embedded in the storyworld). Those values are

assimilated in his knowledge architecture as intercultural understanding. The latter is a combination of intercultural ability, which is Antonio's gift for meaningful intercultural communication, reaction, and action, and intercultural experience processed, chunked, and stored individually or top-down from collective cultural memory. Intercultural knowledge as stored in long-term memory can be regarded as intercultural understanding becoming intercultural skills and competence when retrieved from the storehouse of intercultural memory (individual or collective or both) and thereby activated as intercultural communication, reaction, or action.

It is the intercultural narrato-rhetorhemes generated as a result of Antonio's information processing in the course of his intercultural education that contribute the controlling intercultural values which will become the inner referential norm-system—the textual referential world. They all add up to form the solid and sustained textual architecture of interculturality that is the novel. It is no exaggeration to argue that they are the intercultural pillars of the textual referential world of the textual universe entitled *Bless Me, Ultima.* We can also say that they play the decisive role in "the narrato-culturalization of inner reference" (Ábádi-Nagy 44).

Antonio's intercultural skills and competence demonstrate that he is capable of "learning from differences," "from controversies and conflicts," and capable of "interactive learning" (qtd. in Neuner 34-35).[14] He could be a textbook example when it comes to the components of intercultural competence, which demands the ability to overcome ethnocentrism, stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination, and conflict (Rogers and Steinfatt 234-38) or, in another definition, it requires "empathy," "role distance and decentring" (sic), "tolerance of ambiguity," "awareness of self and representation of identity," "emotional openness," "multiperspectivity," "relinquishing centre stage," and "language competence" (qtd. in Neuner 36-37).[15] Beside this he tolerates opposite opinions and realizes that unanimity is not necessary (qtd. in Salo-Lee, 125)[16]—*Bless Me, Ultima* is about Antonio in constant dialogue with cultural difference. The personal indicators he brings to the process of intercultural education also correspond to textbook criteria of the required "personal values and skills" as well as "interpersonal relationship building."[17]

As handbook itemization, all this is common-place and pale. But the real-life manifestations of these intercultural phenomena are endless in number,

multifarious, and incredibly colorful. Imaginative Borderlands/*La Frontera* variants, such as Anaya's in *Bless Me, Ultima*, are not less so. This, and not the common-place level of values and meanings, is how a novel can make its textual referential world specifically and distinctively its own. And this is why *Bless Me, Ultima*, in our days of close-to-apocalyptic friction of cultural and religious systems, has a significance far beyond its Borderlands/*La Frontera*.

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Notes

[1] "Intercultural communication" as used for the purposes of this study is not identical with "international communication." Some authors, such as Karl Erik Rosengren, use the two terms as synonyms. In his definition, international and intercultural communication studies are "*the study of communication physically or mentally crossing one or more borders between the type of societies called* states" (172, italics in text, emphasis added).

[2] The itemization that follows is a random sampling of the topics, and, owing to lack of space, only one or two illustrations are offered in each case: from the hybridity of the novel's Borderlands culture by Frederick S. Holton, Vernon A. Lattin; to its triculturalism by Reed Way Dasenbrock; to its bilingualism by Dasenbrock; to the complexity of culturally-determined family and interpersonal relationships by Thomas Vallejos; to the handling of myth, Chicano mythopoeisis, and identity formation by Paul Beekman Taylor and Enrique R. Lamadrid; to indigenous ethnicity by Marta Caminero-Santagelo; to the ancient Aztec (Nahuatl); to cultural presence through the figure of Ultima by Thomas A. Bauder; to the religious dimensions by David Carrasco; to white magic versus black magic by Bauder; to Antonio's development by William M. Clements; to the developmental-psychological theme by Juan Bruce-Novoa and Dianne Klein; to the autobiographical nature of the book by multiple scholars; and to the way the Chicano relates to the Chicana in the storyworld by Glen A. Newkirk. How Anaya influenced Chicana writers has also been explored by Denise Chávez in the Karin Rosa Ikas interview; how he handles the ecological argument by Carmen Flys-Junquera; where he is taking the main subject of multiculturalism in general by Theresa M. Kanoza and Holly E.Martin, and the various sub-themes of multiculturalism in particular, themes like acculturation by Debra B. Black and code-switching by Margaret Schmidt. Almost all of these critical works are relevant for more categories than the ones I indicated here as their major thematic concern.

[3] I am using "narrative text" in a specific narratological sense to mean both the storyworld and the narratorial discourse, that is, the text both of, and about, all narrative agents—characters and narrator(s)—combined. "A narrative text is a text in which a narrative agent tells a story" (Bal 16).

[4] This may be taken in a sociocognitive direction, as Catherine Emmott does.

[5] It is a problematic which is not my task to discuss in detail in the present context.

[6] The narrato-rhetorical units that I called cultural "narrato-rhetorhemes" in a separate study are narrative units loaded with cultural content and rhetorical purpose, meant to develop and frame the cultural (in this case: also intercultural) narrative rhetoric (here: of the Antonio story). It is rhetorical suasion through culture in the narrative. A narrato-rhetorheme may be a functionally restricted cultural sign or one that encompasses a whole book. Elemental or immensely complex, it can convey overt or covert rhetorical content in the storyworld, on the narratorial discourse level, or anywhere else in the multiple communicative intricacy called narrative fiction. It is by leaving the category undefined in more specific terms that it can retain the flexibility to take in, in an unregulated fashion, the rhetorically marked multiplicity, heteroglossia, and transformations of textual manoeuvres of persuasion; an analytical tool which is hoped to make an intricate narrative "traffic" of discursive communications manageable for theory and criticism. Compare Abádi-Nagy 35-39.

[7] "Frame and contain" recalls Brunet-Jailly's *structure* and *agency* dialectic at this point.

[8] It follows from the nature of Borderlands/*La Frontera* existence that the first two kinds of those communicative skills *ab ovo* overlap with the third, more often than not.

[9] It also serves as another illustration to Peter Rabinowitz's principle of foregrounding through narrative placement ("privileged narrative position" [58]).

[10] By "chunking" cognitive science means how the units that are then stored in long-term memory are "formed from integrating smaller pieces of information" (Eysenck and Keane 484). The cognitive processes below the level of "information" and "chunking information"—such as transforming perceptions into concepts and propositions as we "select, focus, structure, categorise and generalise" (Neuner 28)—are not the concern of this essay.

[11] The same narrato-rhetorical unit can incorporate all three: the church scene, in which reluctant Tony (Antonio) has to play the role of "the priest" (they "practice going to confession" [208]) and has to punish Florence, ends with Tony being punished for forgiving disbeliever Florence. (Florence argues it was God who sinned against him when He took his father and mother from him.) The mock confession turns into a cruel inquisition, which makes Tony sick. His classmates turn against "the bad priest" with a vengeance and give Tony "the Indian torture" (214). The scene is illustrative of Tony's spiritual/intercultural (believer vs. disbeliever) dilemma and describes an intercultural battle and—again for Tony—a dead end.

[12] Metacognition is "an individual's beliefs and knowledge about his/her own cognitive processes" (Eysenck and Keane 477).

[13] "[T]he condition of childhood innocence interested me intensely, for it was the innocent child in the novel *Bless Me, Ultima* who peered directly into the dark waters of the river and saw the primal (and therefore innocent) archetypes of the collective memory" (Anaya, "Notes from the Author" 49).

[14] Neuner's source is *Intercultural Education: Managing Diversity, Strengthening Democracy*, Council of Europe (2003), Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education, Athens, 10-12 November 2003.

[15] Neuner's source is Lothar Krappmann's *Soziologische Dimensionen der Identität: Strukturelle Bedingungen für die Teilnahme an Interaktionsprozessen* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1969).

[16] Salo-Lee's source is Deborah Tannen's *The Argument Culture: Stopping America's War of Words* (New York: Ballantine, 1999) 26.

[17] "He is very much aware of his world-view; keeps reappraising his values; is open to discovering new aspects of his identity; is responsible for himself and his actions; thinks creatively and critically" (Karwacka-Vögele 52). He is "sensitive to others"; has "long-lasting relationships with people from other cultures"; is "able to adapt to changing social circumstances"; respects and values human diversity; enjoys himself "in the company of others" (Karwacka-Vögele 52).

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Popular and Critical Taste

Don Gifford

In "The Philosophy of Composition," an essay written in 1846, Poe says that his "intention" in composing "The Raven" was "a poem that should suit at once the popular and the critical taste" (831). This intention reflects Poe's lively concern with what he saw as the growing disparity between literature that appealed to popular taste and literature acceptable to critical taste. Some such disparity has probably always existed, but the invention of the high-speed printing press in 1792 and the consequent development of the cheap book, together with the broadening franchise of "Literacy," made the disparity between the two tastes seem a peculiarly American and peculiarly nineteenth-century phenomenon. By mid-century the disparity seemed to have reached the point where the two tastes were all but mutually exclusive. This presented American writers with something of a dilemma: on the one hand, democratic idealism urged that the experience of literary art should be universally accessible; on the other hand, (another relatively new phenomenon) a successful appeal to popular taste could mean commercial success, and that could urge a prostitution of talent; further, popular success was regarded among the critical élite as almost conclusive evidence of critical failure.

Hawthorne complains of this dilemma in the preface to "Rappaccini's Daughter." He poses as the translator of an unknown French writer, M. de l'Aubépine. Aubépine is French for Hawthorne, and Hawthorne, commenting on Hawthorne, remarks:

> As a writer, he seems to occupy an unfortunate position between the Transcendentalists (who, under one name or another, have their share in all the current literature of the world) and the great body of pen-and-ink men who address the intellect and sympathies of the multitude. If not too refined, at all events too remote, too shadowy, and unsubstantial in his modes of development to suit the taste of the latter class, and yet too popular to satisfy the spiritual or metaphysical requisitions of the former, he must necessarily find himself without an audience, except here and there an individual or possibly an isolated clique. ("Rappaccini's Daughter" 318)

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His tongue is only half in cheek. Off the record—in a letter to his Boston publisher, William Tichnor—he could be far more blunt:

> America is now wholly given over to a d[amne]d mob of scribbling women, and I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash—and should be ashamed of myself if I did succeed. What is the mystery of these innumerable editions of the "Lamplighter," and other books, neither better nor worse?—worse they could not be, and better they need not be, when they sell by the 100,000. (*Letters* 304)

Indeed, Maria Cummins's sentimental romance, *The Lamplighter* (1854), did, in its first year, sell more copies than all of Hawthorne's novels were to sell in the entire decade of the 1850s. Few of us could bear to read *The Lamplighter* nowadays (unless we wanted to study one of the models that Joyce parodies in the first half of the Nausicaa episode in *Ulysses*). Most of us can bear to read Hawthorne. And therein lies one of the problems for the student who tries to study the relations between popular and critical taste: what was once popular now tends to seem ludicrous if not silly—and the usual approach is to caricature what was once popular, and thus virtually exclude it from serious discussion.

If we try to set aside caricature and make a sober study of popular literature, we find that it is highly imitative of itself and that it has different functions than those we attribute to "serious" literature. Popular literature seems to fulfill a relatively temporary and transient need of the public imagination, and the question that faces the student is not "what does this novel or poem say and how does it say it," but "to what sort of imagination this novel or poem is addressed" and "how does it feed and satisfy and reflect the prejudices of that imagination?"From one perspective, the answers to these questions lead toward cultural history, but from a slightly different perspective they lead back toward "serious" literature, because popular literature does not only satisfy some need of the public imagination, but it also re-establishes and nourishes various vocabularies of word, imagery, story, and preoccupation, and those vocabularies are available, either directly or by osmosis, to the serious writer. For example, the popular lady-poets of the nineteenth century developed a sing-song verse and celebrated a cult of sentimentality that resulted in conformities across which Emily Dickinson could *slant* the subtle non-conformities of her prosody and the bite of her ironic wit. Public oratory was an immensely popular form of oral

literature in the nineteenth century, and out of its fulsome periodic rhythms Whitman could fashion a new prosody, no longer, as he put it, "feudal," but appropriate to the democratic bard and ideally (though not in practice) appropriate as a democratic medium in which his audience was already immersed.

The trouble is that popular literature and its conformities are transient, and we can all too easily find ourselves in the presence of an implicitly or explicitly non-conformist work without being aware of its non-conformity and of the ways in which the conformity it refuses can, in turn, energize and illuminate it. This is very much the case with novels as obviously different as Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) and Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (1900) and *An American Tragedy* (1925). These three are good examples of non-conformist dependency.

The Scarlet Letter

The Scarlet Letter owes something to a number of families of popular fiction, including the historical romance and the gothic novel, but it is particularly indebted to a sub-genre called the sentimental-didactic novel. In skeleton, the sentimental-didactic or seduction novel tells the story of a young woman who is repeatedly exhorted by herself and by her family and friends to resist the blandishments of a seducer, but, in spite of all the moral warnings, she falls, fades away through pregnancy as she suffers a devastating sense of guilt, gives birth to her child, and so, through sentimental contrition and forgiveness, to an untimely grave.

Hawthorne could and did rely on his readers' expectations having been informed by this formula, and he surprises those expectations by beginning *The Scarlet Letter* where the standard seduction novel ends and by explicitly reversing the standard formula. The seduced heroine, Hester Prynne, has not faded away in the course of her pregnancy. She emerges from prison vibrant and alive, with a healthy three-month-old child in her arms. The narrator describes the response of the seventeenth-century crowd in "The Market Place," and in so doing describes the expectations of the nineteenth-century readers of seduction novels: "Those who had before known her, and had expected to behold her dimmed and obscured by a disastrous cloud, were astonished, and even startled, to perceive how her beauty shone out, and made a halo of the misfortune and ignominy in which she was enveloped" (42).

Hawthorne has, to use his terms, paved the reader's way into the edifice of the book by means of a whimsically autobiographical introduction, "The Custom House," and then, at the beginning of the novel proper, he shifts the scene from the decadent nineteenth century to the vital seventeenth century and plunges the reader into a fictional world that threatens to invert the world of conventional fiction. But *The Scarlet Letter* is more than just a coda to the sentimental-didactic novel, and to trace Hawthorne's awareness of the conformities and subtlety of his non-conformity, we should examine the heritage and practice of the sentimental-didactic novel in more detail.

Throughout the eighteenth and well into the nineteenth century there was in New England a deep suspicion of fiction in general and of what was called "licentious foreign fiction" in particular. The suspicion was twofold: on the face of it, fiction was not truth-telling but a form of lying—and, more deeply, lies, and especially elegant ones, would subvert the reader's moral balance. Samuel Richardson's *Pamela; or Virtue Rewarded*, when it arrived in America early in the 1740s, seemed made-to-order to allay these suspicions: on the surface, its epistolary form gave assurance that it was a collection of real rather than fictitious documents and, more importantly, its moral didacticism was overt and explicit enough to establish rather than subvert moral balance. Jonathan Edwards read it and gave it to his daughter to read. She complained of its length, but then told her diary: "There is (*sic*) certainly many excellent observations and rules laid down that I shall never repent my pains" (qtd. in Hart 55). In many households, *Pamela* and, subsequently, *Clarissa* could be read alternately with the *Bible* during the daily family class in moral instruction.

The popularity of *Pamela* in eighteenth-century New England was matched only by that of the *Bible* and John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and toward the end of the century the first American novelists began to domesticate Richardson's genre. The two novels that were to be the most popular sentimental-didactic novels of the first half of the nineteenth century and that were to spawn seemingly endless imitations were Mrs. Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* (London, 1791; America, 1794) and Hannah Foster's *The Coquette* (Boston, 1797). Both novels advertised their authors as American: Mrs. Foster was identified as "A Lady from Massachusetts" and Mrs. Rowson as "Late of the New Theatre, Philadelphia." Both proclaimed their stories to be truth and not fiction. *Charlotte Temple* was subtitled *A Tale of Truth*, and *The Coquette* was subtitled *The History of*

Eliza Wharton; A Novel Founded on Fact. In a preface that would function equally well for either novel, Mrs. Rowson says, "I would wish my fair readers to consider it as not merely the effusion of Fancy, but as a reality," but she admits that she has "thrown over the whole a slight veil of fiction." Her avowed purpose is to instruct young women in how to avoid "the snares . . . of the other sex." She finally asserts the "purity" of her "intentions" and her wish that the novel be judged in terms of moral efficacy rather than "elegant" literary finish, "whose tendency," she says, "might deprave the heart or mislead the understanding."

In *The Coquette*, Mrs. Foster is no less explicit. In response to one of the heroine's letters, a correspondent writes, "Your truly romantic letter . . . would make a pretty figure in a novel. A bleeding heart, slighted love, and all the *et ceteras* of romance . . ." (155). In short, the novel is fact, and the unwary should not be allowed to take it as fiction.

In "The Custom House," introductory to *The Scarlet Letter*, Hawthorne pays a mildly ironic tribute to these concerns for the factuality of fiction: he tells the circumstantial story of his discovery of a "small package" of "documents" on an idle rainy day at the Custom House in Salem (26-27). He says that the "documents" were the "researches [of] a local antiquarian, Mr. Surveyor Pue," and describes them as including the faded cloth of the scarlet letter itself, together with eye-witness accounts of Hester Prynne's life (27). Hawthorne continues: "it should be borne in mind, that the main facts of the story are authorized and authenticated by the document of Mr. Surveyor Pue" (29). The ironic reversal follows a few lines later, "I have allowed myself . . . nearly or altogether as much license as if the facts had been entirely of my own invention. What I contend for is the authenticity of the outline" (29). In other words, the story is both fact and not fact. Earlier in the introductory chapter, Hawthorne also pays ironic tribute to the sentimental-didactic insistence on overt moral purpose. His Puritan ancestors would, he remarks, have condemned him as a "degenerate fellow": "A writer of story-books! What kind of a business in life,—what mode of glorifying God, or being serviceable to mankind in his day and generation,—may that be?" (12). In effect, Hawthorne manipulates the preoccupation with factuality and overt moral purpose to suggest that fiction can be truer to "the heart" than fact, and that there are higher and more subtle moral problems than the relatively simple mechanics of pre-marital chastity.

The Scarlet Letter not only takes up the seduction story where the sentimental-didactic novel ends it, but *The Scarlet Letter* also retraces the overall pattern of the conventional story. In that pattern the seduction scene takes place about three-fourths of the way through the novel, and, because it was a forbidden scene, it takes place off stage. Obviously, in *The Scarlet Letter*, the literal seduction has taken place a year before the novel begins, but there is a repeat performance of the seduction scene in the novel proper, and it takes place onstage in chapters 16-19 of the novel's twenty-four chapters. At that point in the novel, Hester Prynne is determined to speak privately to the Rev. Arthur Dimmesdale, the father of her child. She intends to reveal what she has hidden for seven years, the identity of her husband, Roger Chillingworth, because Chillingworth in turn has discovered the minister's sin and has insinuated himself into the minister's confidence for the purpose of an elaborate psychological revenge. Hester, therefore, arranges to waylay her former lover in the forest, and the narrative voice says, "So strangely did they meet, in the dim wood, that it was like the first encounter, in the world beyond the grave" (136). The phrase, "in the world beyond the grave" follows quickly, but not quite quickly enough to mask "it was like the first encounter," and a reader familiar with the conventional seduction story would know that what was to come was an analogue to the forbidden scene. Yet, the scene unfolds in a pattern that counterpoints the reader's expectations. Just before Hester reveals that her clergyman-lover's physician is her "lost" husband in disguise, the narrative voice asserts that she "still" "passionately" loves the minister *as every reader knew she should not.* When she reveals her husband's identity, a lover's quarrel is triggered. Dimmesdale accuses her, "Woman, woman, thou art accountable for this! I cannot forgive thee!" (140). The parallel to the masked seduction scene would have been obvious: that off-stage scene always began with the woman's "final" rejection of the "unforgiveable" proposition. But here the roles are reversed. It is the minister who makes the feminine accusation-refusal, and it is Hester who responds in the man's role, "With sudden and desperate tenderness, she threw her arms around him and pressed his head against her bosom" (140).

She is forgiven; the minister suggests that they have not been "the worst sinners in the world" (140), because her husband's sin has been more deadly, "he has violated in cold blood, the sanctity of a human heart" (140). Hester affirms the minister: "What we did had a consecration of its own," and though he

reproves her boldness, he agrees and subsequently says, "Think for me, Hester! Thou art strong. Resolve for me!" (141). And she does "resolve"—by proposing that they escape to Europe. She proposes what the seducer always proposes, that they elope, and he accepts. When he does, he experiences "a glow of strange enjoyment" (144) as the seduced woman always experiences a fleeting enjoyment.

At that point in the scene, Hester declares "the past is gone" and removes the scarlet letter from her bosom—and

> [by] another impulse, she took off the formal cap that confined her hair; and down it fell upon her shoulders, dark and rich, with at once a shadow and a light in its abundance . . . Her sex, her youth, and the whole richness of her beauty, came back from what men call the irrevocable past, and clustered themselves, with her maiden hope, and a happiness before unknown, within the magic circle of this hour. (145)

The passage is richly ambiguous: her hair, in the code language of Hawthorne's time, is symbolic of her sexual vitality, an ambiguous force because it has "at once a shadow and a light in its abundance" (145). Hawthorne is also teasing his readers who would assume that a luxurious, dark-haired, "Oriental" beauty such as Hester's was the emblem of unbridled and destructive feminine sexuality. In *The Scarlet Letter*, "the magic circle of this hour" is eventually broken by their child just as the birth of the child has revealed their sin and broken the magic circle of their initial love-relation.

In the aftermath of the scene, the minister suffers a severe moral disorientation, not unlike that which the heroines of seduction novels suffer after the seduction, and the narrative voice intervenes, "Tempted by a dream of happiness, he had yielded himself with deliberate choice as he had never done before, to what he knew was deadly sin" (158). Hawthorne again follows, yet subverts the convention. The final temptation in the forest transforms the minister into "[a]nother man . . . a wiser one," just as the seduced heroines only realize that the precepts urged by their moral advisers were right, whereas Dimmesdale is accorded a far more complex moral vision. Where the seduction novel can end with a restatement of its moral precepts and urge them on "the American fair," Hawthorne's novel can only end with indirection because the moral vision is not exclusively Dimmesdale's but inclusively the novel's, and because it cannot be reduced to the easy precept, "thou shalt not . . ."

In the seduction scene in *The Scarlet Letter*, the conventional male and females roles have been reversed. Hester is strong and resolved; the minister is weak and dependent. But the reversals are more complex. Hester plays the art of the seducer, the villain (her sexuality overt in contrast to the covert sexuality of the conventional seducer), but her former husband is the real villain, the real seducer—as he has seduced Hester's youth into a loveless marriage intended to warm his old age—and as he attempts the demonic seduction of the minister's soul.

In Foster's *The Coquette*, as in most sentimental-didactic novels, the decline of the heroine, Eliza Wharton's beauty, the impairment of her health (153), together with "a mind not perfectly right" (176), and her "mental indisposition" (184) pre-date the actual seduction by a considerable period. So, Dimmesdale is in decline throughout the seven years of *The Scarlet Letter*'s time span—before the seduction scene in the forest. After the seduction, Eliza explains that her previous sufferings had "fatally depressed and enfeebled [her] mind" (Foster 217), and thus, "she [had] not the resolution to resist temptation which she once possessed" (193). Similarly, Dimmesdale's mind is described as "darkened and confused by the very remorse which harrowed it" (Hawthorne, *Scarlet Letter* 144). He is vulnerable not only to Hester's passionate strength and resolve, but also to Chillingworth's far more insidious seduction of his psychological integrity. Just as Eliza Wharton is blind to her seducer's "sentiments" until after the fact—so is Dimmesdale blind to Chillingworth's evil presence until after the seduction scene. Dimmesdale has "constantly a dim perception" of the evil of Chillingworth, but instead of heeding his intuition, he turns in an "agony" of guilt toward self-condemnation. And, just as Eliza's mind clears before her death, so does Dimmesdale's mind clear in time for the dramatic triumph of his Election Day Sermon and his final public confession of guilt.

In *The Coquette*, the villain's motive for seducing Eliza is not simply "the delusive dream of sensual gratification" (217) but explicitly revenge on Eliza for entertaining the proposal of an attractive young clergyman and revenge on Eliza's friends who have rejected the villain as "an unmoral, not to say profligate man" and supported the clergyman's suit (21). In *The Scarlet Letter*, the villain's motive is also revenge in the somewhat more exquisite form of Satanic psychological torture.

Indeed, there are so many analogues between *The Scarlet Letter* and *The Coquette* that it is tempting to say that Hawthorne had it specifically in mind. Before *The Coquette* begins, Eliza Wharton has been engaged to an older man who has just died. Before *The Scarlet Letter* begins Hester Prynne has been married to an older man who is presumed dead. Eliza says, "But no one . . . can suppose my heart much engaged in the alliance" (4); and Hester says to her husband when he returns from the dead, "Thou knowest I was frank with thee. I felt no love nor feigned any" (57). In *The Coquette*, Eliza worries at some length about the social constraints that will be imposed on her if she agrees to share a minister's life. A concern with those constraints is central in *The Scarlet Letter*—but transposed from the narrow realm of manners and appearances that worries Eliza to a far more inclusive concern with the ways in which society invades the individual's psychological privacy, "At the head of the social system, as the clergymen of that day stood, he was only the more trammeled by its regulations, its principles, and even its prejudices" (143).

Toward the end of *The Coquette*, Eliza vows that if she lives (which she does not), she will become a "hermit" and undertake "a life of penitence and rectitude"—the life to which Hester Prynne outwardly conforms before Dimmesdale's death and to which she returns, fully committed, at the novel's end. Finally, *The Coquette* closes with a depiction of Eliza's tombstone which commemorates her "uncommon tenderness and affection / Endowed with superior acquirements, She was still more / Distinguished / By Humility and Benevolence." *The Scarlet Letter* concludes with a heraldic description of the tombstone that Hester and Dimmesdale share: "ON A FIELD, SABLE, THE LETTER A, GULES" (186).

The point of this discussion is not to locate Hawthorne's sources but to suggest the ways in which Hawthorne perceived in popular fiction a mine of his readers' expectations and used those expectations as a vocabulary which he could manipulate for his own artistic purposes. The sentimental-didactic novel was enormously popular, and it apparently enabled "the American fair" to have their moral cake and eat it, too. The reader's moral self-righteousness was constantly reassured. Sensuality was all but unmentioned, and yet it literally shouts from the interstices between the moral prohibitions. Novels such as *Female Frailty*, *Delicate Embarrassments*, *Venial Trespasses*, and all their sisters seem to say, "Imagine how

powerful the *urge* must be if all these preachments and all this suffering cannot avail to curb it."

From the point of view of popular taste *The Scarlet Letter* failed in two ways: it did not provide the necessary moral comfort of explicit prohibition, and it was otherwise too explicit to leave room for the vagaries of day-dream. One guardian of popular taste contemned it as "such a dirty story"; another asked, "Is the French era actually begun in our literature?" Such responses indicate that *The Scarlet Letter*, which seems thoroughly guarded to us, struck readers who were aware of the conventions it was subverting as sexually all too explicit.

But *The Scarlet Letter* is non-conformist in a more subtle and potentially more unsettling way. The seduction novel appealed to and satisfied its audience's desire to believe that the ultimate sins were sins of the flesh because those sins could be unambiguously identified and defined in terms of weights and measures. *The Scarlet Letter* does not excuse Hester and Dimmesdale, but it presents them as equal and willing participants in their original sin—not as violator and violated (which they should be). And the novel probes their moral sufferings in ambiguously contrasting ways. Hawthorne's readers knew that confession was good for the soul. Hester's guilt stands confessed; Dimmesdale's remains hidden. But Hester's public exposure does not cure her as much as it isolates her, and while she becomes strong, she is also left to wander "without rule or guidance, in a moral wilderness," where she has been taught "much amiss" (143). Dimmesdale suffers exquisite psychological torture which almost unmans him, "But this very burden it was, that gave him sympathies so intimate with the sinful brotherhood of mankind; so that his heart vibrated in unison with theirs" (103).

Hester's confession has given her insights that almost endanger her soul before they finally confirm her faith in the future of mankind. Dimmesdale's reluctance to confess has isolated him but has made him the ideal minister not only to the "head" but also to the "heart" of his congregation. The ambiguous psychological implications of Hawthorne's presentation of these inside-out and outside-in *isolatoes* could hardly have been a comfort to the reader who wanted to believe that confession was good for the soul. Further, the novel suggests that Hester and Dimmesdale's sin was that they violated their reverence "each for the other's soul" (187). If that is the fundamental nature of sin, then Chillingworth's vengeful and conscious violation of reverence for Dimmesdale's soul is unambiguously far worse in the hierarchy of sins than the "consecrated moment"

of mature passion which Hester and Dimmesdale have shared—unsettling news indeed for those readers who wished to believe that sin was unambiguously measurable and physically identifiable.

Sister Carrie

In the fifty years between *The Scarlet Letter* and Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* the relatively new and peculiarly American phenomenon of popular commercial fiction was reinforced by the publication of literally hundreds of millions of copies of dime novels. In 1850 Hawthorne was nettled by the success of popular fiction, but he did not directly attack its titillating prudery and moral vacuity. In 1900 Dreiser approached popular fiction (what he called "transcendental perfection [on paper]" [qtd. in Dudley 168]) in a way that can only be described as frontal assault.

Dreiser's first target was the sentimental-domestic novel—on which the mantle of the sentimental-didactic novel's popularity had fallen in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Among the first and most popular of the novels in this new sub-genre was that peeve of Hawthorne's *The Lamplighter* by Cummins. Gerty Flint, the orphan-heroine of that novel, is not particularly bothered by "the snares . . . of the other sex" but by problems of poverty and want of affection. She begins life "neglected and abused . . . a little outcast," sweet as the sentimental-domestic convention was to dictate, but also a little vindictive, capable of "exhibiting a very hot temper." She is fascinated by the lamplighter, Truman Flint and his activities, and is eventually rescued and adopted by him. Under his benevolent care she rapidly comes into possession of "complete self-control" and then of a sentimental religiosity. "Kind Fate" intervenes to give her a good education through the patronage of a blind gentleman who has recognized Gerty's "good qualities." Kind Fate also arranges the fascinating play of coincidence that eventually rewards her with affluence, with the good life of self-sacrifice, and with marriage to Willie, her childhood sweetheart. Off stage, Willie has himself made it from rags to riches. Kind Fate crowns these improbable achievements by revealing that Gerty had really been born a gentlewoman and, for good measure, that Willie had been born a gentleman.

The sentimental-domestic novel is no less didactic than the seduction novel from which it derives and which it more or less displaces in popularity, but the emphasis shifts from punishment for moral failure to reward for moral

success, and the reward is almost always affluence and an aura of social gentility. If the heroine does have to cope with the snares of the other sex, her moral stability is hardly ruffled en route to the final "unhand me, sir." Coincidence plays a central role in granting moral success the reward it has earned, and the force that guides coincidence is variously called providence, kind fate, and sometimes even luck.

In *Sister Carrie*, published in 1900 and quasi-suppressed until 1907, Dreiser attempts to demolish the sentimental-domestic novel and to administer a corrective to what he regards as the diseased imagination which it fosters and nourishes. Specifically, Dreiser had in mind two popular novels of the 1890s and indirectly tells us so. At one point in her career, Carrie meets and is attracted to a young intellectual named Ames. Ames is something of a flaw in the novel because he intrudes as spokesman for a sort of Thoreauvian idealism in a world of otherwise unenlightened materialists. Ames makes an attempt to convert Carrie, or at least to sow doubts in her mind about the gospel of materialism to which she is so unselfconsciously and yet so thoroughly committed. He asks her what she likes to read and she names two novels, *Dora Thorne* and *Moulding a Maiden*. Ames suggests she try Balzac (which she eventually does).

But Charlotte M. Braeme's *Dora Thorne* (England, 1877) and Albert Ross's *Moulding a Maiden* (1891) provide something of a key both to the progress of Sister Carrie's pursuit of social refinement and to Dreiser's attitudes toward popular literature. The two novels present themselves as a cut above sentimental-domestic fiction and ask to be taken more seriously. The respective heroines meet difficulties in ways that are marginally more probable than usual. They are somewhat more willful and fallible than the standard heroine, and they come somewhat closer to being caught by the snares of the other sex. But after adventures in brinksmanship their better selves take charge, and they are finally rewarded with the affluence that goes with the good life or sentimental benevolence.

Both novels read as though they were attempts at serious fiction by writers of popular fiction. The fact that Sister Carrie is reading them reflects an interest in self-improvement, though Ames's response indicates that her interest is un-informed. When she does read Balzac's *Père Goriot* at the novel's end, "she caught nearly the full sympathetic significance of it. For the first time, it was being borne in upon her how silly and worthless had been her earlier reading, as a

whole" (495). But even so, she is wearied rather than enlightened by her reading. Dreiser's response to *Dora Thorne* and *Moulding a Maiden* (which claimed to document things as they really were) was indeed to document things as they really were, specifically as, in outline, they had been with one of his sisters.

In most sentimental-domestic novels, whether quasi-frank or sugar-coated, the heroine moves from rags to riches, and so does Carrie—from the small town poverty of Columbia City, Wisconsin, through the grinding poverty of her sister's home in Chicago toward her eventual goal, "comfortable chambers at the Waldorf" in New York City (495). But her rise is not virtue rewarded, it is not a function of "good qualities" providentially approved. Her rise begins early in the novel when she is seduced by a travelling salesman named Drouet and established by him in what she at first regards as high style.

Gradually, she is educated in material values and refinements. She meets a respectable saloon-keeper, Hurstwood, finds him more refined and attractive than the flashy Drouet and elopes with him to Canada. Hurstwood's part in the elopement includes abandoning his family and stealing $15,000 from his employer. Carrie's final success is achieved through her own effort and the development of her theatrical talent. But in mid-novel as her career in the theatre is about to begin, the focus shifts. In the first half, Carrie's rise is in the foreground; in the latter half, her continued rise is in the background, and Hurstwood's decline and suicide occupy the foreground.

Many critics note that Dreiser's novel disregarded when it did not challenge conventional views of morality, but it would be more accurate to say that Dreiser's novel refuses to conform to the fictional moralities of the sentimental-domestic novel. Carrie's "crimes," her willingness to be seduced by Drouet, her elopement with Hurstwood, and her abandonment of the declining Hurstwood, are not "punished" in the conventional way—though at the novel's end what Dreiser calls "the tinsel and shine" of the material success that has lured her on, finally achieved, leaves her empty and unhappy. But even that final emptiness is not a punishment for Carrie nearly as much as it is a punishment of the sentimental-domestic assumption that affluence and social refinement are ultimately satisfying goals. Similarly, Hurstwood's crimes are not punished in the conventional way. He manages to settle with his former employer so that he is not arrested, and he does not go into a moral decline because he has stolen money and abandoned his family and eloped with Carrie; indeed, he does those things

because early in the novel he feels empty and unhappy in the midst of success as Carrie does at the end. Hurstwood declines because he has moved from a social environment (the Chicago saloon) that supports him and to which his talents are necessary into a sequence of alien environments whose alien nature he can feel but not understand.

Dreiser's non-conformity is not just a matter of refusing as unreal the patterns of providential reward and punishment typical of sentimental fiction. It is also a matter of his conviction that the morality with that fiction pretends to inculcate is perverse. That morality held that sexual gratification was a sin but that it was not wrong to be "ambitious to gain in material things" (6) as Carrie is, because affluence is the reward providence holds in store for good behavior. The irony is that Carrie is not seduced by overwhelming sexual desire but by her perception that Drouet will give her access to the department store which symbolizes what she then regards as affluence and comfort—as against the poverty and want she sees in her sister's working-class family and to which her own lack of skill would condemn her. She does have "some thought of the queerness of her deed" (66), but her concern is that it will appear strange, not that it is wrong. At the beginning of the novel she is described as "a half-equipped little knight" with Cinderella expectations, and she is half-equipped in three interrelated ways: the small-town morality of her upbringing is so over-generalized that it has no practical relation to the realities of seduction; she has not been taught any skill that would make her self-supporting in Columbia City, let alone Chicago, and her imagination is informed by Cinderella fictions rather than by any expectation of what she will meet in reality.

The crudity of Dreiser's style is normally a stumbling block to critics, and yet it is central to this last point, Carrie's half-equipped, misinformed imagination. Critics frequently point to Dreiser's chapter titles as obvious examples of his flamboyant crudity: I. "The Magnet Attracting: A Waif amid Forces," II. "What Poverty Threatened: Of Granite and Brass," but the titles of Adah M. Howard's popular dime novel, *Irene Gray's Legacy* are almost interchangeable: "The Work of Retribution Has Begun," "The White Rose of Virginia," and "The Wolf and the Lamb." These titles in turn are typical of most sentimental dime novels. What Dreiser has done is to ground his novel's style firmly in that vulgate of the American lower middle-class which was embodied in the dime novel, and in that way he can reflect the diet on which Carrie's imagination has been nourished,

and thus make it possible for us to sympathize with her. A more refined style could hardly avoid an ironic condescension to Carrie that would in effect be mocking, instead of affirming her limitations.

What Dreiser does is to immerse his central characters in a stylistic medium appropriate to their imaginations, and then face them with stock situations derived from popular fiction. The irony then turns on the way the style images the characters' misperceptions and on the thoroughness of Dreiser's documentary treatment, which (at times by sheer weight) makes stock situations come alive as real.

Nowhere in Dreiser is this artistic method as successful as it is in *An American Tragedy* (1925). On one level that novel is a massive demolition of Horatio Alger's special variant of the sentimental-domestic novel. Alger was a part-time Unitarian clergyman, who wrote approximately 106 novels between 1870 and 1899 (and who failed to get rich on them in spite of their massive sales because he accepted flat fees for them instead of contracting for royalties). Alger has given his name to this success-novel sub-genre, though by rights the genre should belong to Mrs. Cummins and *The Lamplighter*, because the endlessly repeated formula is the same, except that it is repeated by a man for boys instead of by a woman for girls.

Alger's formula, though frequently cited, is almost as often misquoted. His formula was not from rags-to-riches by dint-of-hard-work. It is not the story of a poor boy who drops out of school to become an office boy and who then claws his way to the Presidency of General Motors. In fact, the Alger hero in the majority of the novels I have read is not even born poor, though Alger's formula requires that if born rich, the hero must lose his riches—and a conveniently unscrupulous uncle or guardian or step-father can always be found to arrange for the loss. The hero must go through a period of poverty, show a capacity for self-abnegation by being willing to work at menial tasks, earn an honest subsistence wage, and demonstrate a secularized Unitarian generosity and benevolence. He must be sober, never lose his temper, and never play billiards. But these are conditions of his initiation; these are rites of passage—if bravely and consistently met, they are providentially rewarded; the lost fortune is restored, or a worthless piece of Colorado property left by a poverty-stricken father turns out to be a goldmine. In any event, affluence is not earned but merited, and with it must go a commitment to education and social gentility. Further, although the big payoff

always comes at the end, Alger's novels are not plotted as novels but as loosely knit sequences of short units, each of which involves some windfall, some evidence that providence has its eye on the hero's progress (and a reassurance for the reader that there are predictable surprises to come). I should add that the basic axiom of this Alger formula, "Providence will provide," is thoroughly secularized, never stated in overtly religious terms. Indeed, no Alger hero I have met ever prays or attends a church service!

In *An American Tragedy*, the protagonist, Clyde Griffiths, plays the part of the Alger anti-hero. His parents run an evangelical street mission in Kansas City called "The Door of Hope" and are locked in a life of depressing poverty. They constantly pray that providence will provide and it consistently does not. Clyde is disillusioned and embarrassed by his parents' religion, but throughout the novel, right up to the final moment in the electric chair, Clyde's faith is vested in a secular, Algerian Providence—of the sort that Aladdin could summon with the aid of his lamp (to use Dreiser's image). Clyde's constant refrain is "if the fates were only kind." When Clyde goes to work as a bell boy in the garish Green Davidson Hotel in Kansas City, the tips strike him as a providential shower of small change, and the hotel seems to him a "perfectly marvelous-marvelous realm" (50) to which kind fate might, and partially does, offer the key. At the end of Part One of the novel, Clyde narrowly escapes being arrested as one of several people involved in the theft and wreck of a "borrowed" car. Kind fate slams the door on the Green Davidson Hotel, but it does (apparently) answer Clyde's prayer and allow him to escape.

At the beginning of Part Two, Clyde is faced with a stock situation elaborated straight out of Horatio Alger. He has found work as a bellboy in a rich and dignified Chicago men's club. He has gone straight, worked hard, and learned a bit of social refinement—in Alger's terms he deserves a merit badge for reform-in-progress—and the windfall occurs with the coincidental appearance at the Club of Clyde's wealthy, shirt-manufacturing uncle from Lycurgus, New York. The uncle determines to give Clyde "a real chance" to "show what he can do" (158). But the uncle is not a sentimental, Algerian messenger from providence; he is a hard-driving and practical though well-meaning materialist. Clyde arrives in Lycurgus to start at the bottom in the shirt factory and to work his way up—that is (from his point of view), to wait for kind fate to vault him into the front office. But again, things are not as Alger would have dreamed:

Clyde is not accepted by his fellow-workers for his self-abnegation and modesty as Alger's heroes would have been. He strikes them as too well-dressed and refined to be a worker, and he is estranged because he is a Griffiths. Conversely, he is estranged from the Griffiths family because he is poor and working class, and socially beneath his successful relatives. Another Alger touch: Clyde has a "vigorous, self-centered, vain" cousin, who is jealous of him—again with a difference: Clyde's cousin is not frivolous and vicious as he would be in the Alger formulation. He is a practical materialist, "secure" in his social position and "utterly scornful of anything but commercial success" (150).

Alger's heroes always have helpful friends, but central to this phase of Dreiser's novel is the loneliness of Clyde's ambiguous social position—a loneliness which is partially relieved when he drifts into a secret affair with a working girl, double-secret because his uncle would disapprove and fire him if it came to his attention. At the same time Dreiser develops a contrast latent in Alger: the rich in Alger are almost always self-centered, vain, and uncaring—on rare occasions (when providence needs them) they are sentimental and benevolent; and yet, in unresolved ambiguity, the Alger hero's destiny is almost always affluence. Dreiser documents and firms up this contrast: on the one hand, there is the solid, conservative attitude toward wealth represented by Clyde's uncle (though his children waver in support of his attitude)—on the other hand, there is the conspicuous-consumption attitude toward wealth represented by the Finchleys. Clyde, who has no idea how wealth is acquired, is inevitably drawn toward the "tinsel and shine" of the Finchleys' life, and particularly toward their daughter, Sondra. Eventually, in true Alger fashion, kind fate offers the shimmering possibility of marriage to the heiress—but a biological fate, totally absent in Alger's pages, balances the equation: Clyde's working-class girlfriend is pregnant. Marriage to the working girl is out of the question for Clyde because it would foreclose the Algerian vault into the front office at the shirt factory and the marriage to the dream princess.

Again, Clyde prays, "if the fates were only kind"—the working class girl might have a miscarriage. He might arrange an abortion but he does not know how. She might just go away or be killed in an accident. In desperation Clyde determines, with hopeless ineptitude, to arrange that accident, to murder the girl by drowning her (because she cannot swim). At the critical moment, alone with her in the boat on an isolated lake, his courage fails him. No Alger hero would

ever experience a failure of courage, but then no Alger hero would ever half-plan a murder. As kind fate would have it, the working girl half-solves Clyde's problem. She attempts to reaffirm their intimacy by touching him. In revulsion at her and at his own cowardice, he thrusts her away and overboard. "And," Dreiser writes, "then the voice at his ear" (493). Aladdin's lamp has produced a dark genie for Clyde; the genie councils "let her drown," and Clyde does let her drown—reassuring himself that, as he had hoped, a providential fate (and not Clyde Griffiths) is responsible for her death.

In novel after novel Alger arranges for his hero to be maliciously accused of a crime he has not committed. The hero, with an assist from coincidence, exonerates himself and is usually financially rewarded in the process. Clyde is accused, but not entirely falsely, because he both is and is not guilty of murder; the ambiguous truth of the accusation and the ambiguity of Clyde's guilt contrast sharply with the arbitrary clarity of the comparable Alger situation.

The third and final part of *An American Tragedy* is largely devoted to the investigation and trial. Clyde's vacillation and confusion are played off against the single-minded intrepidity of Alger's falsely accused heroes, and the quick vindication scenes in which the Alger hero is exonerated and rewarded are pulverized by contrast to Dreiser's thorough, almost over-thorough, documentation of the tangled course of the trial. The verdict of guilty, when it comes, is neither clearly right nor clearly wrong; the means by which it is achieved are hopelessly flawed by the forces of class prejudice and political ambition involved in the trial. At no point does anyone involved catch a glimpse of the real nature of Clyde's guilt: that he has actively desired the girl's death but only passively, negatively, allowed it to happen. Even Clyde himself cannot catch that glimpse. He waits instead for the providential stroke that will convince the jury of his innocence—or that will guide the governor's pen and commute his death sentence. When those strokes fail to come, Clyde turns at the eleventh hour and attempts to confess to his mother and to the prison chaplain. Clyde tries what every Alger hero knows: confession is good for the soul, and Clyde tries it with a typical Alger twist, the unspoken bargain of good conduct in exchange for reward—his confession in exchange for God's miraculous intervention. But Clyde does not understand his crime well enough to confess it; God does not intervene, and Clyde comes full circle to "The Door of Hope" mission, except that the door opens on the electric chair.

From Dreiser's point of view the values which the sentimental-domestic novel and the Alger success-story inculcated (and to which they pandered) idealized an unrelieved materialism—thinly disguised by an over-generalized and vaguely Protestant benevolence. Further, the disguise overtly suggested that material affluence came as the providential reward for good behavior instead of as the result of skilled, hard-bitten, and often ruthless enterprise. The American tragedy, Dreiser contemplates, involves a hopelessly unsatisfying goal combined with hopelessly unrealistic means for the achievement of that goal. For Dreiser, the tragedy was implicit in the formulae of popular fiction, and those formulae could be made to reveal their tragic implications if they were put in the pressure cooker of a thorough and essentially journalistic documentation of the more probable realities of American life.

Hawthorne and Dreiser are not peculiar or alone in their relation to popular fiction. A number of other major American writers (including even one whom Mark Twain would have called "that snow hill in the air," Henry James) had their dependencies, and my choice of Hawthorne and Dreiser is, to a certain extent, arbitrary, though the differences in their attitudes toward popular literature (which they both despised) provide interesting contrasts. Hawthorne seems to turn away from the equations of popular literature and to use them as indirect ways of enhancing the resonances of his own fictions. Dreiser, on the other hand, seems to turn toward popular literature in an attempt to confront its irrealisms (and, indirectly, to use its irrealisms to reinforce the sense of reality he seeks to create).

Beyond the limits of this essay my contention would be that critical taste is not always generous enough to admit how indebted it can be to popular taste. Whether we are aware of it or not, popular taste provides much of the schooling that shapes our expectations of how language, character, story, and situation ought to behave in contemporary literature—and serious writers partially fulfilling, teasing, subverting, and surprising those expectations can draw upon the energies latent in those expectations, as clever non-conformity draws on the energies latent in conformity—as Hawthorne and Dreiser, in my view, have done.

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Editor's Note

Don Gifford died without finishing the citations for this essay. I have attempted to complete them as far as possible without access to his library. They remain per force incomplete.

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"The no doubt calm language of the no":
Samuel Beckett's Poetics in Light of His Published Correspondence

Erika Mihálycsa

HJEAS

"I really have no wish to be set free, nor be helped, by art or by anything else. Young people, after reading *Eleutheria*, have said to me, but you are sending us away discouraged. Let them take aspirin, or go for long walks, before breakfast. Nothing will be ever sufficiently against for me, not even pain, and I do not think I have any special need for it" (*Letters II* 97). Beckett wrote this in 1948, the year when *Malone Meurt* [*Malone Dies*] was completed and *Godot* begun. One is struck by the square refusal to hold on to the illusion of an art that is therapeutic, liberating; the direction Beckett seems to be going is nothing less than an art—and ethics—of emancipation from such promises and expectations and a full-fledged commitment to a radical poetics of negativity. He is 42—sufficiently old not to include himself in the group of "young people," and sufficiently young to be embarking on a creative program that he will pursue through his life, against whatever odds circumstances might present him with.

The one and a half decades covered by the second volume of Beckett's selected correspondence, which opens with such a programmatic statement, is the one to which literature owes "Beckett": between 1947 and 1956 most of the work for which he is best known was written—*En attendant Godot* [*Waiting for Godot*] (completed in 1949, translated into English in 1954), the novels of the "Trilogy" (1947-50, English 1953-55), *Fin de partie* [*Endgame*] (1956, in English: 1958). By the mid-fifties Beckett would start experimenting with new forms—mimes, the radio play (*All That Fall*, 1956)—and slowly return to writing in English. During these years, from an author known only to a very small Anglo-Saxon coterie he becomes an internationally acclaimed novelist and playwright, one of the major stylists of the French language. Indeed, most of the correspondence covered in volume 2 of the *Letters*, just like Beckett's writing in this period, is carried out in French.[1] It is a period of major changes in Beckett's circumstances and life events as well: from the vagrant intellectual to his permanent settling in Paris, in the small apartment under 6 Rue des Favorites and, unexpectedly for many a Beckett reader, to the house-owner in Ussy-sur-Marne, a village some 30 miles from Paris, where he relishes gardening—the

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possessive adjective making a cursory appearance whenever this least proprietorial of authors writes about his trees. Between 1950 and 1954 Beckett loses two of his closest family members. His mother's death ends a fraught and fierce love; he will nurse his brother, terminally ill with lung cancer, in his final months, writing from his deathbed, "My life here—nothing; better not mentioned. It will end like everything else, and the way will again be free that goes towards the only end that counts" (to Jacoba van Velde, *Letters II* 495). Their deaths, leaving Beckett deeply scarred, would dissolve whatever feeble ties Beckett still had to "home," Ireland; no sustained visits would follow. The decision to make Paris his home had been already taken before WWII; as he wrote to MacGreevy in April 1939, in the event of a war "I shall place myself at the disposition of this country [France]" (*Letters I* 656).

The single most decisive event is, however, the experience of WWII, which certainly added its share to Beckett's long-term preoccupation with destitution, decay, solitude, and death, and to his postwar program of deconstruction of the self. It is well-known that Beckett had risked his life in the Resistance and had to take refuge together with his partner, Suzanne Deschevaux-Dumesnil, in Roussillon, Beckett working as a farmhand; that his second full-fledged novel, *Watt*, was written during these years, as Beckett claimed, to keep his sanity (Knowlson 303).[2] While extant letters and notes are naturally very scarce between 1941 and 1945 and there are significant lacunae in the biography, much in the later outpouring of works and letters throws some light on the ways the traumatic events of the war affected Beckett's life and thought, reinforcing his sense of the communality of loss and the reversibility of roles of victim and victimizer. It seems symptomatic that, for one whose close friends perished in the concentration camps (Paul Léon and Alfred Péron, with whom he translated *Anna Livia Plurabelle* and his own *Murphy* into French), he would not let his eventual resentment against those who threw in their lot with Vichy France surface. His correspondence with his friend and former student from the École Normale, George Pelorson, who changed his name to Belmont after the war, remains every bit as empathic, encouraging his friend's literary exploits and voicing his misgivings about his own. The spectacle of "humanity in ruins" Beckett saw at close quarters while volunteering for the Irish Red Cross in bombed Saint-Lô in Normandy in 1946 may easily have determined the change in tone of these letters, as well as a shift from the former self-centeredness. As

Dan Gunn suggests in his formidable introduction, "less narcissistic and self-consciously literary, [Beckett's] letters are more thoroughly literary too—if literary in a way that can be recognized as such only because their author is at the same time writing works that will change our very conception of *the literary*" (*Letters II* lxvi).

Lines unforgotten

One of the surprises of the second volume of Beckett's correspondence, as compared to the previous one that showed a young scholar-in-becoming, effusive about his vast reading and encounters with visual art, is the relative scarcity of comments by Beckett the reader. Largely gone are the abrasive side-thrusts at authors he cannot suffer: the postwar Beckett seems to have left behind the unease of the prospective young author seeking recognition and to have become both more cryptic and more generous with his praise. He reads Faulkner (in French) and Agatha Christie's whodunits with equal relish; among the few authors he recommends both to his friends and publishers are Ionesco, Adamov, Camus, Cioran's *La Tentation d'Exister* [*The Temptation to Exist*], and especially Salinger whom he likes "more than anything for a long time" (*Letters II* 419). When George Devine from the Royal Court Theatre London requests, in 1956, another short mime by Beckett to go with *Actes sans paroles* [*Act Without Words*] and Ionesco's *The Chairs*, Beckett suggests that they take on another one-act play by Ionesco rather than committing themselves to "too much wordlessness and too much Beckett." Failing that, they should consider an old favorite, Yeats's *The Hawk's Well*, "where there is so much great poetry" (*Letters II* 683). More surprising is his enthusiasm for Racine's *Andromaque* that seems to confirm his commitment to a theater reduced to its means: he re-reads it "with greater admiration than ever and I think more understanding, at least more understanding of the chances of the theatre today" (*Letters II* 624). The work to which he seems to return periodically is, however, *Effi Briest*, "that most moving and beautiful novel . . . I read it for the fourth time the other day with the same old tears in the same old places" (*Letters II* 621). His admiration for Fontane's novel is only matched by that for Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau's rendition of Schubert's *Winterreise*, which he and Suzanne listen to in Ussy (*Letters II* 640), or for Bartók's *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta*, which he hears on the radio in 1951 (*Letters II* 310).

The letters also provide scattered testimonies of Beckett the scholar, who, despite having abandoned academia a decade earlier, is still able to identify, off the cuff, a stray quote. Lingering echoes of his beloved classics pop up almost symptomatically, coating his loss of heart in his own writing. In 1955, before the publishing of *Nouvelles et Textes pour rien* [*Stories and Texts for Nothing*], with all his pots boiling up at the same time ("It is time now I made big changes in my way of living, but I doubt if I have the energy"), he writes to MacGreevy of a Milton verse that haunts him: "Insuperable height of loftiest shade" (*Letters II* 565); at other times, he half-jokingly clothes his writerly impasse into an (erroneous) Leopardi quote: *Non che la speme il desiderio è morto* (instead of *spento*: 509 ["not only hope, but desire too is dead"], where his writing from the side of his brother's deathbed might have colored the choice of verb). When he receives the doctoral thesis of a young academic, David Hayman—himself to become a major Joyce scholar—on Mallarmé's influence on Joyce, he proves, despite his excuses of being out of touch with Joycean exegesis, what a fine scholarly ear he still has. He subtly suggests that Hayman might be attributing too exclusive a role to the French Symbolist poet in Joyce's use of suggestion and allusion and points him in the direction of the *Divina Commedia* and Bruno instead (*Letters II* 537).

In February 1954 German translator and editor Hans Naumann, Beckett's first discoverer in Germany writes him, inquiring about the motives behind his exile and change of language, distinctive literary influences, the role of Joyce. To the issue of influence Beckett replies, "I have always been a poor reader, incurably inattentive, on the lookout for an elsewhere . . . the reading experiences which have affected me most were those that were best at sending me to that elsewhere" (*Letters II* 465). He also suggests that those who occasioned him the most decisive *journeys from* differ from the expected names—Proust and Kafka, as suggested by Naumann. The comment on his relationship to Proust might seem a send-off for one whose first serious scholarly venture was dedicated to this author: "He impresses and irritates me. I find it hard to bear his obsessive need, among others, to bring everything back to laws. I think I am a poor judge of him" (*Letters II* 464). More interesting is the issue of Kafka, whose *The Castle* Beckett claims to have read in German, losing a great deal: "I felt at home, too much so—perhaps that is what stopped me from reading on . . . I remember feeling disturbed by the imperturbable aspect of his approach. I am wary of disasters that let themselves be recorded like a statement of accounts" (*Letters II*

465). This revealing statement of resistance fuelled by congeniality seems to foreshadow a confession Derrida was to make *re* Beckett—that he felt too close to Beckett to write on him—and an awareness of difference in their poetics of writing, Beckett's texts and creatures, in Héléne Cixous's words, being too "tortured, lacerated" and bound up too much with both victim and predator, producer and waste-product, the cat and the mouse, or the seagull and the filth, to be comprehended in an account. When, in early 1956, a graduate of Trinity, Alec Reid—one of the first Irish academics to dedicate a volume to Beckett—sends him an article where he likens Beckett's prose to that of Kafka's and which runs to the conclusion, "the more precarious the form, the nearer it approaches to disintegration, the truer is the emotional content" (*Letters II* 597n), Beckett sends a compressed poetics which reflects on the crucial difference between the two writings: "The trouble about my little world is that there is no outside to it. Aesthetically the adventure is of the failed form (no achieved statement of the inability to be)" (*Letters II* 596).

No more writing about

If "the lines that matter are those one forgets," as Beckett wrote, quoting a verse from Baudelaire's *Réversibilité* on the troubled poetry, fear, and pain of aging, then probably the most significant *unforgotten* line that echoes through Beckett's letters and the great outpouring of works after WWII is "the cry common to those in purgatory: *Io fui*" (*Letters II* 92). The nostalgia and yearning for being, forever imperiled, ruined, and stifled, and the intimation of mortality that Beckett found encapsulated in Dante—perhaps on Joyce's bidding, who considered this, rather than the longing for Paradise, to be essential in the *Divina Commedia* (Knowlson 638)—runs through the letters written in the late forties, as in this August 1948 letter probing for his direction in writing,

> to be sought now in the eternally larval, no something else, in the courage of the imperfection of non-being too, in which we are intermittently assailed by the temptation still to be, a little, and the glory of having been a little, beneath an unforgettable sky. Yes, to be sought in the impossibility of ever being wrong enough, ever being ridiculous and defenseless enough. (*Letters II* 102-03)

The most poignant description of a Beckettian *réveil mortel* appears in a letter sent from Dublin only one week earlier, from the side of May Beckett struggling with Parkinson's disease:

> The weather is fine, I walk along my old paths, I keep watching my mother's eyes, never so blue, so stupefied, so heartrending, eyes of an endless childhood, that of old age. Let us get there rather earlier, while there are still refusals we can make. I think these are the first eyes that I have seen. I have no wish to see any others, I have all I need for loving and weeping, I know now what is going to close, and open inside me, but without seeing anything, there is no more seeing. . . . Perhaps we can do something by not fighting. After all, that is a widely shared talent. In the free-for-all, of course, rankest of rankers, not above it, indifferent to causes, caught up since the beginning in another war, without hope of leave or armistice, banished from the gains and the losses yet without falling into the New Testament. (*Letters II* 92)

The addressee of this formidable letter is Georges Duthuit, French art critic specialist in Byzantine, Oriental, and fauvist art, son-in-law of Matisse and editor, from 1945, of the revived *transition*. As MacGreevy's role as intellectual partner and confidant fades from the late forties due to their altered circumstances and the growing ideological gap between them, so does Beckett turn his thirst for theorizing, his exigency to verify his own positions, as well as his human need for friendship increasingly to Duthuit, a "voice from another world" (*Letters II* 84). It is on the basis of their sustained arguments about the chance of a non-expressive art that the *Three Dialogues with Georges Duthuit*—long regarded as Beckett's most articulate poetics—was written in 1949. Their real-life dialogue, carried on from 1947 into the mid-fifties, was triggered by their responses to the work of Beckett's painter friend Bram van Velde and explored mainly the possibilities of avant-garde art, both being on the lookout for an art that turns its back on traditional Western mimesis. Between 1949 and 1950, Beckett was to translate many essays on avant-garde art for *transition*, including some of Duthuit, and retranslate Duthuit's volume-length study *Les Fauves*. Beckett would end his letters to *mon cher vieux*, "dear old fellow," with moving statements of "a friendship into which, it seems to me, whatever is best in me has long gone" (*Letters II* 173).

The first "proper" letter to Duthuit, selected in the volume, is from July 1948, when Beckett spent the summer in Dublin with his mother, finding it impossible to work, feeling cut off and generally miserable. It is studded with unexpected forays into the personal: "Here it is hard to believe that poetry of a self-devouring, ever-reducing thought can even exist . . . I had a dream about Matisse—he was saying, in Dublin slang, that he was exhausted ('I'm bet'). My father, in his final coma, kept saying Fight, fight, fight" (*Letters II* 86-87). But it was over the abstract painting of van Velde that their correspondence would come into its own; the painting of Bram and his brother, Geer, was the subject of Beckett's first published French text, "La Peinture des van Velde ou le monde et le pantalon" ["The Painting of the van Velde brothers, or the world and the pair of trousers"] written in January 1945 (a mere two months after Beckett was able to return to a liberated, and starving, Paris). The exchanges with Duthuit provoke Beckett to crystallize an aesthetic against the trope of mastery that involves the unlearning of a vast cultural baggage—soon to turn into a veritable program of lifting the weight of the literature of omnipotence, omniscience in order to achieve a literature of "impotence, ignorance" and, increasingly, of "unwording" in a foreign language that put him in the position of learner. Here Beckett would first use the topos of a painting of *empêchement* (preventedness, impediment) and of *coincement* ("stuckness"). Probably appropriating van Velde's painting to his own ends, he makes it the flagship of a negative aesthetics of the refusal to express—as he would write to van Velde in 1949, "I am searching for a way of capitulating without giving up utterance—entirely" (*Letters II* 114). His letters to Duthuit read almost like a blueprint to his poetics: violently rejecting what he sees as abstract art's facile trading in the outward "object" of the old mimetic tradition for the interior to be "expressed," he is groping for an art that would shed mastery and the urge to overcome altogether, employing a topos from the *Purgatorio*:

> We have waited a long time for an artist who is brave enough . . . to grasp that the break with the outside world entails the break with the inside world, that there are no replacement relations for naïve relations, that what are called outside and inside are one and the same . . . [Bram's] painting is, if you will, the impossibility of reconnecting. There is, if you like, refusal and refusal to accept refusal. . . . For my part, it is the *gran rifiuto* that interests me, not the heroic wriggling to which we owe this splendid thing. (*Letters II* 140)

In two vital August 1948 letters, he writes, "You speak of all those closed, achieved worlds that give off a grinding of solitudes, prides. And at the same time of a possible totality of being. For me all the Titans are in agreement, the Herculeses, whatever the kind of labour," since their mistake, "the weakness at any rate, is perhaps to want to know what one is talking about." The direction he would set himself is, on the contrary: "Not to have to express oneself, nor get involved with whatever kind of maximum, in one's numberless, valueless, achievementless world; that is a game worth trying, all the same, a necessity worth trying, and one which will never work, if that works" (*Letters II* 102-03). Instead of accepting to be tugged back into "hateful criteria," Beckett sets out on a *via negativa* whose permanent attribute will be its *calm*: "one must shout, murmur, exult madly, until one can find the no doubt calm language of the no, unqualified, or as little qualified as possible" (*Letters II* 98). And, even more strikingly, the total withdrawal from conquering and the "loathsome combat," from "the pure manstuprations (sic) of Orphic and abstract art," at the end of an extraordinary letter from March 1949: "What if we simply stopped altogether having erections? As in life. Enough sperm floating about the place" (*Letters II* 131).

The marvelous crop of letters to Duthuit between March and June 1949 constitute the immediate *avant-texte* of *Three Dialogues* that Beckett starts writing in June, complaining that writing in English knots him up: "Horrible language, which I still know too well" (*Letters II* 170). In these letters one can read a painful awareness that what, in Beckett's reading, is a refusal of relation, might be locking van Velde's art back into a relation with the very lack of relation: into a relation with the very impossibility of painting. The only passage sent in the process to Duthuit of the future text of *Three Dialogues*—the one that famously describes the situation of the artist as that "of him who is helpless, cannot act, in the event cannot paint, since he is obliged to paint" (Beckett, *Disjecta* 142), and ends on "B" accepting, "warmly," that he is mistaken—is the text's neuralgic point. Both Beckett and the text's "B" are wary about the suggestion that van Velde's painting might be "inexpressive"—indicating that Beckett had a highly ambivalent attitude towards his own theorizing. "I have no wish to prove anything, and watertight theories are no dearer to me than those that allow dear truth to slip through" (*Letters II* 140). However, in the sequence Beckett's exasperation at what he sees

as perpetration of the old ". . . ward-ho" aesthetics of achievement becomes ever more pronounced, as does his option for an art of *empêchement*:

> For me the question only becomes interesting from the moment when one concerns oneself with what lies behind the two attitudes, that is on the one hand the passion of the achievable, in which the noblest researches are vitiated by the need to extend its limits, and, on the other, perhaps, well, soon, respect for the impossible that we are, impossible living creatures, impossibly alive, of whom neither the time of the body, nor the investment by space are any more to be retained than the shades of evening or the beloved face, and painting quite simply a destiny, which is to paint, where there is nothing to paint, nothing to paint with, and without knowing how to paint, and without wanting to paint, and all this in such a way that something comes of it, while they are at it. There, I am going too far, I shall always go too far, and never far enough. (*Letters II* 156)

That his theorizing of the refusal of theorizing places him in the midst of an aporia he cannot overcome is evident in his ever more frequent rhetorical admissions:

> Does there exist, can there exist, or not, a painting that is poor, undisguisedly useless, incapable of any image whatever, a painting whose necessity does not seek to justify itself? The fact that I should have seen it where there is really no more than an unprecedented renewal of the relationship, of the banquet, is of no importance. Never again can I admit anything but the act without hope, calm in its damnedness. (*Letters II* 166).

Tellingly, he ends his long letter of 9 March, 1949, about the absence of relation in van Velde's painting, with the admission: "I am no longer capable of writing in any sustained way about Bram or about anything. I am no longer capable of writing *about*. . . . But bear in mind that I who hardly ever talk about myself talk about little else" (*Letters II* 141).

A wretchedness to defend

One theme that penetrates many of these letters is a deeply felt sense of responsibility for the text-world Beckett authored. Writing about his relationship with Joyce to Naumann he, somewhat surprisingly, stresses his moral rather than

literary indebtedness to the author of *Work-in-Progress*: "[Joyce] had a very strong moral influence on me. He gave me, without in the least wishing to do so, an insight into what the words 'to be an artist' mean" (*Letters II* 463-64). That the young Beckett learned his lesson in terms of uncompromising artistic integrity is all too evident from his early mordant critique of the Censorship Act, which, according to Beckett, went hand in glove with the total ban on contraception to express the Irish Free State's stifling ultraconservatism—the "sterilization of the mind and apotheosis of the litter" (*Disjecta* 87). His later, 1958 decision to ban all performance of his plays in Ireland as a sign of his revolt against the boycott of Joyce and O'Casey, and his lifelong refusal to mitigate aspects of his work that were at some point judged to endanger chances of publishing or producing, speak of a consistent anti-censorship stance. To Barney Rosset, soon to become his American publisher, in June 1953, Beckett made it crystal-clear that he was unwilling to negotiate obscenities:

> With regard to my work in general I hope you realize what you are letting yourself in for. I do not mean the heart of the matter, which is unlikely to disturb anybody, but certain obscenities which may not have struck you in French as they will in English, and which frankly (it is better you should know this before we get going) I am not at all disposed to mitigate. (*Letters II* 385)

When the new *Nouvelle Revue Français* cut a passage from *The Unnamable*'s Mahood—about the tumefaction of the penis, carefully chosen by the author to give the filthy censors an occasion to commit their filthy synecdoche—Beckett feels "literally ill" and seriously plans suing the review. Considering his aversion from publicity, especially after his traumatizing appearance in court in his uncle Boss Sinclair's libel case in Dublin in 1937, one may assess his outrage, barely mollified by his publisher Lindon's diplomacy and the *NRF* editor's pacifying claim that the incriminated passage would have endangered their review.

An important mutation can be seen, however, in the terms in which Beckett defends his sense of artistic freedom before and after the war: if with the early Beckett the accent falls on high-principled intellectualism, the postwar instances speak rather of protecting one's "creatures"—responsibility towards "the ruinedness and stifledness and impudicity" (*Letters II* 688) brought to *life* in the text-world becoming almost a trope. Two examples illustrate this point: in

November 1936, after several publishers turn down the manuscript of *Murphy*, the Boston-based Houghton Mifflin expresses interest in the book on condition that heavy cuts are made, especially touching the sixth chapter—a Leibnizian-Cartesian parody of the structuring of Murphy's mind. Beckett's answer to George Reavey, acting as his agent, is unequivocal: no tampering with any of the passages in question, and instructs Reavey, in singularly unhelpful terms, "Be astonished, firm, & up to a point politely flexible, all at once, if you can. Do they not understand that if the book is slightly obscure, it is so because it is a compression, and that to compress it further can only result in making it more obscure?" A passionate outcry follows for the autonomy of the work of art that must carry its justification in every line: "There is no time and no space in such a book for *mere* relief. The relief has also to do work and reinforce that from which it relieves. And of course the narrative is hard to follow, & of course deliberately so. Am I . . . [to] crowd the last chapter with oyster kisses & Murillo brats?" (*Letters I* 380-81). In 1946, the high-profile review *Les Temps Modernes* accepts an (unfinished) short prose work, "Suite," thus publishing for the first time a prose text written in French by Beckett; in July the first part of the novella comes out but, when Beckett sends in the second part on July 2, editor Simone de Beauvoir rejects it, surmising it was a second submission and acting under the impression that the text published was complete. The letter Beckett sends to Beauvoir makes no attempt to lecture the *grande dame* of French literature and criticism on principles of writing but is an extraordinary foray into the sensitivity of Beckettian ethics. Writing out of a "duty I feel towards a character of mine," Beckett assumes a position of vulnerability when he states, "Forgive these grand words. If I were afraid of ridicule I would keep quiet":

> You have in mind the reputation of your review. That is natural. I am thinking of the character in "Suite," denied his rest. That too is natural, I think. I find it hard to put myself in your position, since I know nothing whatever about editorial matters. But I have read your books and I know that you can put yourself in mine. . . . You are giving me the chance to speak only to retract it before the words have had time to mean anything. You are immobilising an existence at the very moment at which it is about to take its definitive form. There is something nightmarish about that. I find it hard to believe that matters of presentation can justify, in the eyes of the author of *L'Invitée*, such a

> mutilation. . . . It is simply that there exists a wretchedness which must be defended to the very end, in one's work and outside it. (*Letters II* 41-42)

Responsibility towards the "wretchedness" penned and "respect for the impossible we are, impossible living creatures, impossibly alive" (*Letters II* 156), is a constant in letters Beckett sends his editors and directors through these years. Whether in the form of self-translations (which he finds hard enough labor) or infinitesimally precise instructions in the theater (given, when consulted, always with second thoughts about the author's being right) about pauses, accents, pitches, intonation, postures; Beckett argues his stance for every comma and punctuation idiosyncrasy. Yet the tone is not of an author acting as the supreme controller of the work, but of one empowering a living being. Beckett's singular determination to see his work published as it was written—without being improved behind his back "with unspeakable paragraphs and varsity punctuation . . . of well brought-up young blue pencils" (*Letters II* 629)—nevertheless leaves way for his reworkings and interventions, even at relatively late stages of composition. *Fin de partie*, for instance, shows a series of such reworkings that David Wheatley has compared to *pentimenti* (painting over). The play would only acquire its finite form in French, to be rewritten into *Endgame*, after Beckett has seen and heard it performed, as though it had to come to a life of its own before it could be settled: he writes to Stefani Hunzinger from Fischer Verlag in 1956, "I cannot settle the final text until a certain number of rehearsals" (*Letters II* 668), and, earlier, to Pamela Mitchell, "I . . . have thought and go on thinking everything of it, from the best to the worst. Don't know really till I start hearing it and looking at it—not of course even then" (*Letters II* 657). After translating it into English, Beckett toyed with the idea of leaving the title hyphenated and thus more indeterminate, as he seems to have reconciled himself with some difficulty only to the word "end." In his first letter to the visual artist Avigdor Arikha, one of his closest lifelong friends, he writes in September 1956, shortly after having shown Arikha the manuscript, "I have the impression that I must avoid the word 'End'" (*Letters II* 650).

Having in view his keen sense of responsibility towards the language one writes in or translates into, it is curious to see how Beckett the translator—who hardly ever signed his translations in Duthuit's *transition*—is more protective of his autograph than Beckett who starts translating his own work into English/

French. Whereas in October 1956 he writes to Edith Greenburg on a planned anthology of Mexican poetry, which was to include many of his contributions, asking for his signature to be removed from any of the texts that were retouched by a corrector, no matter how small the correction, and offering to refund the corresponding proportion of his emoluments (*Letters II* 666), he seems to have been much more open to collaboration as regards the translation of his own work in the beginning. In 1952-53 he works on the revision of Elmar Tophoven's German translation of *En attendant Godot* and of Patrick Bowles's English rendering of *Molloy* (curiously, Rosset had in mind an alternative translator for Beckett's text, a Belgian by birth who started writing in French and turned to English, following his emigration to the United States—performing the reverse of Beckett's linguistic exile: compare *Letters II* 387). Beckett's position wavers: reluctant at first to conceive of someone else dispatching his text, he is unwilling at the same time to take on the task of translation, feeling it would turn into a genuine rewriting of the text in the other language—as he was to find out soon. In February 1953 he writes to Trocchi, "I have been thinking over the possibility of *Molloy* in English and feel that we had far better drop this project for the moment at least. It won't go into English. I don't know why. It would have to be entirely rethought and rewritten which is I fear a job only myself can undertake and which I simply can't face at present," adding: "My English is queer" (*Letters II* 356). In four months' time he would warm up to the idea of revising someone else's translation, asking for specimens of their English text to be sent to him:

> With regard to the novels my position is that I should greatly prefer not to undertake the job myself, while having the right to revise whatever translation is made. . . . In any case it is a job for a professional writer and one prepared to write in his own way within the limits of mine, if that makes any sense, and beyond them too, when necessary. (*Letters II* 385)

However, revising, in 1954, Erich Franzen's German *Molloy*, with its "irritating way of turning the unusual into the usual so that it won't read like a translation" (*Letters II* 456), strengthens his former determination to shoulder the task himself, even if he frequently complains of exhaustion from tampering with "the queer kind of English that my queer French deserves" (*Letters II* 592). This would often push him to postpone self-translation, as he later claims with *Fin de partie*: "My

feeling strong, at the moment, is to leave it in French for a year at least, so tired by *Godot* and all the misunderstanding" (*Letters II* 628).

"no longer wholly dark"

The period spanned by the second volume of Beckett's correspondence is, above all, marked by Beckett's progressive recognition as the author of *En attendant Godot*, written between October 1948 and January 1949, published in the fall of 1952, and first performed on 5 January, 1953 at the Théâtre de Babylone. Through his writing career, Beckett had a legendary aversion from requests of clarifying his work, sometimes putting off inquirers with as much as "I have no ideas about theatre" (*Letters II* 316); on the other hand, he is known as the most meticulous and demanding director of his own plays, treating his own texts almost like musical scores, whose pace had to be kept accurate by a metronome. Much as he loathed requests for "the low-down on Pozzo, his home address, his curriculum vitae" and the theater pundits and critics' eternal urges to clarify whether by Godot he had meant God ("crrritic" is, after all, the worst abuse Didi and Gogo can heap on each other), he was more than usually willing to give a hand to any of his directors, "if I feel that he is the kind of man to whom my kind of hand can be given" (*Letters II* 569). So, contrary to the stereotype of the word-shy author, his letters on his work to a number of privileged correspondents—his American director Alan Schneider, his publishers Jerôme Lindon and Rosset as well as his close friends—show a felicitous amount of "his kind of hand" lent, mostly in the line of *no symbols where none intended*, insisting on the stubborn particularities, the grotesque comedy, and the pace at which his texts should be delivered.

Writing to Duthuit in January 1951 about the planned setting for *Godot* when still wavering between the more overtly Frenchified "Godeau" and "Godot," Beckett professes a creed in a theater of poverty and poetics of being ill-equipped, which goes in the face of symbolism and aestheticism at the same time, stating that for him theater must by no means be "a spectacle of place":

> [Staël] sees the whole thing with a painter's eye. For me, that is aestheticism. They have turned ballet and theatre sets into a branch of painting, and done them a great deal of harm, I think. It is Wagnerism. I do not believe in collaboration between the arts, I want a theatre reduced to its own means,

> speech and acting, without painting, without music, without embellishments. . . . The setting has to come out of the text, without adding to it. . . . In *Godot* it is a sky that is sky only in name, a tree that makes them wonder whether it is one, tiny and shriveled. I should like to see it set up any old how, sordidly abstract as nature is, for the Estragons and Vladimirs, a place of suffering, sweaty and fishy, where sometimes a turnip grows, or a ditch opens up. Nothing, it expresses nothing, it is an opaque no one bothers to question anymore. Any formal specificity becomes impossible. If it really is essential to know where they are (and in my view the text makes it clear enough), let the words look after that. . . . (*Letters II* 218-19)

Hostility to *Gesamtkunstwerk* is not new with Beckett: when Reavey's small Europa Press published *Echo's Bones* in 1935, Beckett rejected the offer to have his poems illustrated, as the other volumes of the series were (Knowlson 208). When in 1954 composer Edouard Coester writes Beckett asking permission to put *Godot* to music for voices and small orchestra, he rejects the idea of stage music altogether but encourages Coester to venture into "pure music" that would be not merely an illustration of the text:

> To be frank, I do not believe that the text of *Godot* could bear the extensions that any musical setting would inevitably give it. . . . For what is at issue is a speaking whose function is not so much that of having a meaning as of putting up a struggle, poor I hope, against silence, and leading back to it. I find it hard to see it as an integral part of a sound-world. But this drama which you seem to have felt so keenly, if you thought fit to translate it, however freely, into pure music, that would interest me a great deal and give me great pleasure. And then what about silence itself, is it not still waiting for its musician? (*Letters II* 475-6)

Later in life Beckett would mellow on the idea of stage music, consenting to his close friend Romanian-born Marcel Mihalovici's using several of his texts, *Krapp's Last Tape* most importantly, as integral parts of his music and harnessing John Beckett's music in several radio plays.

There seems to be hardly anything Beckett was more out at arms with than symbolic interpretations—his letters to his directors in various languages repeat the same warning against metaphysical simplifications. His exasperation at "all the misunderstanding" runs through his correspondence with close friends: "How anything so skeleton simple can be made so complicated is beyond

me. Like a lot of seaside brats digging for worms people are," he sulks to Mary Manning Howe over responses to *Godot* (*Letters II* 541), and he ironically plays down Aidan Higgins's enthusing over the London production in 1955, "I did not know I had doctrines, but I wouldn't know" (*Letters II* 544). Instead, he stubbornly stresses the finitude and particularity of his text, of his characters to be seen as living beings: "The characters are living creatures, only just living perhaps, they are not emblems . . . I would urge you to see in them less the result of an attempt at abstraction, something I am almost incapable of, than a refusal to tone down all that is at one and the same time complex and amorphous in them" (*Letters II* 391).

These complex and amorphous particularities come out best in Beckett's letters to the one who was to benefit most from "his kind of hand"—Alan Schneider, the director of the January 1956 American opening of *Godot* in Miami, booed as "the laugh sensation of two continents" by the largely socialite audience and like-minded critics, whom Beckett reassures of his unwavering support and resolution to go on in a letter of exemplary integrity and empathy, carefully toning down the extent of Schneider's indebtedness to his clarifications:

> Success and failure on the public level never mattered much to me, in fact I feel much more at home with the latter, having breathed deep of its vivifying air all my writing life up to the last couple of years. And I cannot help feeling that the success of *Godot* has been very largely the result of a misunderstanding, or of various misunderstandings, and that perhaps you have succeeded better than any one else in stating its true nature. . . . I am not suggesting that you were unduly influenced by all I said or that your production was not primarily your own and nobody else's, but it is probable our conversations confirmed you in your aversion to half-measures and frills, i.e. to precisely those things that 90% of theatre-goers want. (*Letters II* 594)

Even if their correspondence had been accessible to scholars for decades and their collaboration exhaustively accounted for in Schneider's book, *Entrances* (1986), it solicits different readings in the corpus of Beckett's published correspondence. The author's legendary meticulousness in the performative close reading of his text is best illustrated by the long list of specifications he sends to Schneider, weeks within the Miami opening, where each item speaks volumes about the degree of realism, vagueing, connotation, and indeterminacy

Beckett seems to have desired. To Pozzo's monologue in Act 2 about the difficult birth astride the grave he gives the instruction "much more lyrical"—one of the rarest words in the corpus of Beckett texts; in the same scene he also makes a significant correction, "Not *The air is full of cries* but *The air is full of our cries*," the first person plural insisting on common mortality. In Act 1, to Didi's shower of questions "But what Saturday?" and such he instructs, "Much slower and more broken. Pause after each question. Each question a banderilla. Let each day sink in before passing on to next." He insists on the foreign accent with which the two tramps should pronounce adieu as "adioo" but also on the clownish thickness of "the English say cawm," enhancing the sense of their foreignness from both French and English in the play where he allegedly tried "to retain the French atmosphere as much as possible," as he claims to Rosset (*Letters II* 398). A further hole in this apparent desire to reify the space of *Godot* is driven by Beckett's correction of the boy's "sir" to "mister"—a characteristically Dublin form of address (*Letters II* 575-78). He would also insist on a realistic nucleus to be observed; corresponding with Donald McWhinnie from BBC on the sound effects-to-be of his first radio play, *All That Fall*, he objects to utter reification of the bruitage: "I do not see why the animal utterances by mere humans. . . . Perhaps your idea is to give them the unreal quality of the other sounds. But this, we agreed, should develop from a realistic nucleus. I think the absurd apropos with which they occur, and their briefness, are enough to denaturalize them" (*Letters II* 688).

The correspondence over *Godot* and, later, *Endgame* reveals some curiosities of how Beckett may have conceived of his plays. Selective as a rule with granting permissions to directors, he could nevertheless extend his generosity to young, underfinanced companies, as in 1954, when he intercedes with Lindon to grant a young Toulouse company the right to perform *Godot*, claiming acerbically that "as we can't keep an eye on every production, it seems unfair to leave the monopoly of botch-ups for foreigners" (*Letters II* 512). Given his revulsion from the Irish Free State's cultural policies, it is surprising to read about his delight in a planned all-Gaelic *Godot* in Dublin that Cyril Cusack would set "in bleakest Connemara"—although he objects to Cusack's original idea of setting the play in Gaelic *and* English, engendering a reading of Pozzo as an English landlord brutalizing his Irish tenants (*Letters II* 534). He reacts elatedly to the news of the 1956 New York revival with an all-black cast, "including a 2-

metre-tall Lucky" (*Letters II* 686), although he would not travel to New York for the opening. Withdrawing ever more often to his orchard in Ussy, he nevertheless seriously considers traveling to see one particular production, translated and staged by an inmate of Lüttringhausen prison near Wuppertal, performed several times between November 1953 and Easter 1954 (preceding by a few months the "official" German opening). Two letters, received in October 1954 and inviting him to see a private performance in the prison, make Beckett aware of this "extraordinary Lüttringhausen affair": one from the prison chaplain, Ludwig Manker, in whose sacristy the tree formerly used on stage is kept, having become his "tree of life," and who ends his letter by quoting the play, "For I too must often ask myself: Did I sleep while others suffered?"; and one from prisoner Karl-Franz Lembke, the man who "in his cage, read, translated, put on my play" (*Letters II* 506) and who enthuses, "Votre Godot ce fut 'Notre' Godot, à nous! bien à nous!" ["Your Godot, it was 'our' Godot, really ours!"] (*Letters II* 504). As if the symbolism Beckett feared so much with German theater got the upper hand on him: Pastor Peter Schippel recollected that during one of the 1954 performances "the walls became transparent. In the end, the whole prison was a 'Waiting for Godot'. In a certain sense, so was the whole world to which we returned" (504-05n). Beckett's answer, addressed to "Mon cher Prisonnier" ["my dear Prisoner"], is easily the most moving testimony of his strong sense of solidarity with "humanity in ruins," his sheer human warmth, as well as his abhorrence from pathos and patronizing:

> In all my life as man and writer, nothing like this has ever happened to me. To someone moved as I am, phrases come easily, but from a sloppy way of talking, not at all your style, given that I am no longer the same, and will never again be able to be the same, after what you have done, all of you. In the place where I have always found myself, where I will always find myself, turning round and round, falling over, getting up again, it is no longer wholly dark nor wholly silent.
>
> That you should have brought me such comfort is all that I can offer you as comfort. I, who am what is called free to come and go, to gorge myself, to make love, I shall not be fatuous enough to dispense to you words of wisdom. To whatever my play may have brought you, I can add this only: the huge gift you have made me by accepting it. (*Letters II* 506)

Although he would not attend the performance which Lembke's "Spielschar der Landstrasse Wuppertal" also performed at the *Deutsche Evangelische Kirchentage* in Frankfurt in August 1956, Beckett intervened with the chief drama editor at Fischer Verlag and arranged that a sum of 200 DM be sent to Lembke from his royalties (*Letters II* 636), and simultaneously tried to push Lembke as one of the German translators of his poems, with Limes Verlag. The later project came to an abrupt end when it transpired by September 1956 that Lembke had embezzled the company's funds, and for this reason the Wuppertal performance could not be held (634-38). On the other hand, Beckett might have felt guilty about the fact that, when a penniless and half-frozen Lembke unexpectedly turned up at the Théâtre de Babylone in the winter of 1954, asking to see Beckett, he instructed Blin to give him money, warm clothes and offer him shelter, but could not bring himself to confront the man in person, so Lembke disappeared a few days later, leaving a note saying that he was going south where it was warmer (Knowlson 368-70).

More than preserving a realistic grain, Beckett tries to see to it that touches of the grotesque do not get refined out of existence in performances, instructing directors to exploit the play's underlying comedy: "Let people laugh by all means, and then be reminded it is no laughing matter" (*Letters II* 617). Later, when he sends a still unfinished *Fin de partie* (under the provisional title "HAAM") to his young writer friend Robert Pinget, whose *La Manivelle* he was to adapt into *The Old Tune*, he is "very pleased, really very pleased" that the play, which he described earlier to close friends as a "hairandroofraiser," a "one-act howl," "black as ink" (*Letters II* 621, 626, 619), "gave you pleasure and—most of all—made you laugh" (*Letters II* 653). The element of the Théâtre de Babylone *Godot*, which he prefers to the London production, judging it "more like what I wanted, nastier" (*Letters II* 611), he returns to most often is the ending when Estragon's trousers drop off. After the opening—attended by Deschevaux-Dumesnil—he sends a congratulating letter to Blin in which he goes to considerable length over this issue, which is "vital" to him:

> There is one thing that bothers me: Estragon's trousers. Naturally I asked Suzanne if they fall down properly. She tells me that he holds on to them half-way down. This he must not do—it's utterly inappropriate. It wouldn't occur to him at that moment—he doesn't realize they have fallen down. As for any laughs that might

> greet their falling right down, to the great detriment of that touching final tableau, there's absolutely no objection to them. . . . The spirit of the play, in so far as it has one, is that nothing is more grotesque than the tragic, and that must be put across right to the end, and particularly at the end. (*Letters II* 350-51)

How much this mollification jarred on Beckett can be seen from a subsequent letter to Mitchell: "Last time I went I ended up under the seat, moaning. The trousers didn't come down at end. Technical accident. That finished me" (*Letters II* 444).

per lungo silenzio... fioco

When *L'Innommable* was making its way to print in early 1952, Beckett writes to Irish writer Higgins that the book

> seems about the end of the jaunt as far as I am concerned, there being nobody left to utter and, independently perhaps, certainly superfluously, nothing left to utter about. . . . I used to think all this work was an effort, necessarily feeble, to express the nothing. It seems rather to have been a journey, irreversible, in gathering thinglessness, towards it. . . . And the problem remains entire or at last arising ends. (*Letters II* 319)

The letter seems to spell out a turn away from an earlier creed in a literature that gravitates towards silence and the nought so pervasive in the early prose, and an awareness of the irreversible, yet impossible journey "nohow on," towards thinglessnes, defiguration, the baring of language to the bone, yet always within the yearned-for stasis—what Blanchot termed *le pas au-delà* ("the step not beyond"). The awareness of this joint impossibility apparently peaked with the writing of *L'Innommable*. That he conceived of his novels in terms of a series as early as January 1948, with *Malone Meurt* barely begun, is evident from a letter he sent to MacGreevy: "*Molloy* is a long book, the second last of the series begun with *Murphy*, if it can be said to be a series. The last [*Malone Meurt*] is begun and then I hope I'll hear no more of him" (*Letters II* 71). The use of the personal pronoun is again symptomatic in so far as it suggests that the writing is a living being. When in 1954 Suhrkamp planned to publish the three novels of the "Trilogy" in one volume in German, Beckett reflects on the drive behind the

novels: "on further reflection, this work is a complete whole only in so far as one takes for granted the impossibility of going on" (*Letters II* 442).

How impossible it was to go on Beckett would feel ever more intensely, once he embarks on translating *Godot* and the "Trilogy" into English, and has to face the ensuing depression of being unable to write, that took the place of the earlier exhaustion resulting from overwriting. Instead of the self-bashing and occasional self-commiseration flaunted in his letters in the 1930s, exasperation verging on repudiation of the accomplished work becomes the tenor of his letters to all those to whom he feels close, starting with 1954 at the earliest. His letters to Mitchell—a young American woman he met in the fall of 1953 and with whom he had a brief but intense love affair—from the bedside of his brother, through the fateful summer and fall of 1954, mix in his resignation, lacerated by frustrated erotic longing, violent outbursts of self-loathing: "Never felt less like writing and I haven't felt like it for years, and never so revolted at the thought of the work done. Sometimes feel like letting myself be sucked in this exquisite morass" before adding, "the old Irish slogan, 'Die in Ireland.' It's a dangerous place to come back for any other purpose" (*Letters II* 487). Revising Bowles's translation of *Molloy* has "[his] soul drowned in vomit" (*Letters II* 514), and he is ever more painfully aware that writing *L'Innammable* "finished [him] or expressed [his] finishedness" (*Letters II* 497). Echoing his insight that there was no outside to his little world, he confides to Mitchell, "I am absurdly and stupidly the creature of my books and *L'Innommable* is more responsible for my present plight than all the other good reasons put together" (*Letters II* 514), and to Rosset, who, however empathetic, was undoubtedly expecting new work from him, as well as gently urging him with the self-translation of the "Trilogy," he penned:

> I thought myself of trying again in English, but it's only evading the issue like everything else I try. . . . It's hard to go on with everything loathed and repudiated as soon as formulated, and in the act of formulation, and before formulation. I'll soon be assembling a queer little book for Lindon, three longish short stories, the very first writing in French and of which one at least seems to me all right, and the thirteen or fourteen very short abortive texts (*Textes pour Rien*) that express the failure to implement the last words of *L'Innommable*: "il faut continuer, je vais continuer" . . . I'm horribly tired and stupefied, but not yet tired and stupefied enough. To write is impossible but not yet impossible enough. That's how I cod myself these days. (*Letters II* 456-57)

The solution Beckett seems to find, either for securing a nearly complete withdrawal from the social chores that would devour ever more of his time, for his spells of writing or for the frequent depressive periods resulting partly from his inability to write, is to remove himself to Ussy, endlessly digging holes for his trees, and giving scathing accounts of his gardening skills. Indeed, one of the great surprises of this volume is to read of Beckett going out to dig in a frenzy between two paragraphs, or giving haunting, if cryptic, reports of his distractions, as in this 1955 letter to Mitchell: "Visited by partridges now daily, about midday. Queer birds. They hop, listen, hop, listen, never seem to eat. Wretched letter, forgive me," before ending, as usual, "Much love" (*Letters II* 531). How much isolation in the basic house, fitted out with a gramophone and chess-board, and the garden suited him can be seen from a letter he sent Duthuit from Ussy in April 1951:

> I feel that my unceremonial retreat, from what, I wonder, is nigh, and that I am starting on my apprenticeship. Fifteen or twenty years of solitude, brightened up by gardening and walks, shorter and shorter, I feel this evening that that would suit me, and suit me the least badly possible. I keep an eye on the love-life of the Colorado beetle and work against it, successfully but humanely, that is to say by throwing the parents into my neighbour's garden and burning the eggs. If only someone had done that for me! (*Letters II* 232)

Yet, however "melanchoy mad" Beckett might feel (*Letters II* 444), the letters' gloominess is alleviated by touches of acid humor. Trying to convince Mitchell to put an end to their affair so that he need not take upon himself the inflicting of this pain, he reminds her, "Here I am back in the Marne mists with piles of texts to revise and nothing in my head but false teeth" (*Letters II* 420). When on the lookout for two actors to play Nag and Nell in the Paris staging of *Fin de partie* in 1956—"a little old man and a little old woman for the dustbins . . . toothless if at all possible," and suggesting rather uncharitably that Marthe (Arnaud, companion of Bram van Velde) take on the role—he adds, "What a life, when that's the best that can be hoped for" (*Letters II* 686). Even in the midst of devastating personal losses and crippling depression, he would always have an eye for small, comic oddities, as when he copies an announcement from a newspaper's "Personal" column to Maya "Mania" Péron: "Black sheep

disappointed in life would marry scapegoat with troubled past" (*Letters II* 394), or when he reports the fortunes of the re-staging of *Godot* in Paris, in the fall of 1956, to Rosset: "We are also at our 3rd Pozzo and second boy who has to play in long trousers his legs are so bandy. When he makes a mistake in the text his alcoholic father comes rushing from the wings and hits him with a bottle, screaming 'Schweinhund'" (*Letters II* 643). Beckett, whose Boy reassures Vladimir that Mister Godot does not beat him but his brother only, could not have missed the irony, and appropriateness, of the drunken father-figure storming onstage to wreak havoc.

At the end of the period covered in the volume of correspondence, Beckett will have turned 50. His sense of his "finishedness" as a writer after *L'Innommable* becomes ever more acute; the loss of his brother in 1954, and the subsequent demise of his painter friend, Jack B. Yeats, augmented his intimations of his own mortality. (Among the great losses of the volume one has to count the farewell to Jack B. Yeats: the letter, "written with tears, feeling it was perhaps goodbye," as he confided to MacGreevy in July 1956 [*Letters II* 640] on receiving the news that he was terminally ill, has not been found.) The fact that while nursing his brother in Dublin he also had to make it clear to Mitchell that their involvement had to end left him shattered. There are few more "literary" letters in the volume than the ones written to her before, and in the aftermath of terminating their affair, as this August 1954 letter:

> And most evenings the walk along the beach, or over the hill to the mountain view, but not this evening. Should have made quite a good butler, no, too much responsibility, but a superior kind of house-boy, a head house-boy, no, just an ordinary house-boy. Soon the leaves will be turning, it'll be winter before I'm home, and then? It'll have to be very easy whatever it is, I can't face any more difficulties, and I can't bear the thought of giving any more pain. (*Letters II* 493-94)

Even if there may be little direct relevance to the work (however problematic it may be to put the stipulation in practice), the fragmentary messages reproduced give a sense of Beckettian understatement and the resigned, elegiac tone of the later theater work—as well as illuminate crucial facets of Beckett's personality. His subsequent letters to Mitchell record his personal selflessness: "I don't want you to forget me, but I think it would be the best thing for you. I'm over, as sure as if they were on their way to measure me for the box.

I wish you were happy, you have all the equipment for happiness—it seems to me. All the mad things I wish—and the sad things I know. Cheerful correspondent I am" (*Letters II* 658). And some have a distinct Krapp ring, as the one written in March 1956:

> My God how I hate my own work. Have started the impossible job of translating *L'Innommable* and gave it up the other day in loathing. Shall be fifty (50) in a month's time and can well believe it. 18.000 days and not much to show for them. Better stop before I start. No news anyway. Just jog along, on the flat of my back 15 hours of the 24. Often think of our brief times together. Cold comfort. Forgive wretched letter. At least it's a sign of life. (*Letters II* 607)

It is all too easy to say in hindsight that, in spite of the prolonged depression that set in before 1956, there would be more "signs of life" to come: *Krapp's Last Tape*, the extraordinary musical textures of the later plays, the radical experiment in cutting back language(s) and narrative to a "meremost minimum" in the short prose. What the second volume of Beckett correspondence proves beyond doubt is that the author's place among literature's letterwrights is on par with his status among the world's novelists and playwrights. The editorial work invested in the translation and annotation of the corpus, many of whose texts provide keys to reading Beckett, is astonishing, and George Craig's translation and translator's introduction to the French texts, with many forays into Beckettian linguistic idiosyncrasies and coinages, is nothing short of exemplary. The volume is not only a must for Beckett scholarship which is increasingly turning towards the archive, but a revelation for any reader interested in the private purgatories of this emblematic writer.

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Notes

Letters written in French are published in the original with George Craig's English translation, Craig also contributing a fascinating Translator's Preface, where he analyzes the occasional oddities, as well as the coinages in Beckett's French and the ever more frequent Gallicisms in his English writing. Dan Gunn, one of the volume's editors, talks at length about the principles of the selection of the letters, also providing valuable background information on the history and nature of Beckett's relationship with Georges Duthuit, his chief correspondent in the postwar years, in an interview by Rhys Tranter, *The Quarterly Conversation* 13 (Spring 2013), web, 4 Mar. 2013.

[2] At the 2014 Samuel Beckett Festival in Enniskillen James Knowlson revealed some previously unpublished archival material on Beckett's involvement in the French Resistance: "Samuel Beckett's biographer reveals secrets of the writer's time as a French Resistance spy," *The Independent* 23 July, 2014, web, 3 Aug. 2014.

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"Animals rule! Timothy conquered!" Escape, Capture, and Liminality in Werner Herzog's *Grizzly Man*

Zsolt Győri

HJEAS

> My honest belief is that the images in my films are your images too. Somehow, deep in your subconscious, you will find them lurking dormant like sleeping friends. Seeing the images on film wakes them up, as if I am introducing to you a brother whom you have never actually met. . . . The only difference between you and me is that I am able to articulate with some clarity these unpronounced and unproclaimed images, our collective dreams. (Werner Herzog, *Herzog on Herzog* 61)

> You look at the footage of Timothy Treadwell, you look into the abyss of human nature. (Herzog, "What I've Learned")

Grizzly Man (2005), directed by Werner Herzog, is a film about Timothy Treadwell, a self-proclaimed protector of bears who spent thirteen seasons with wild grizzlies in Alaska. During these visits he captured over a hundred hours of video footage filming both the bears and himself. In October 2003, while camping out with his girlfriend the couple was attacked and killed by a rogue bear. *Grizzly Man* is a docudrama that literally presents us with "unpronounced and unproclaimed images," with a dream that calls for ecological and anthropological interpretations, and a dreamer who can surely be listed as a Herzogian conqueror of the useless. After all, what can be more useless than getting yourself killed for something people and you yourself do not fully understand? This question both haunts and inspires Herzog. Martin Drenthen also recognizes the centrality of this issue and emphasizes the director's simultaneous fascination and dismissal of Timothy Treadwell's conquest of the outside of culture, a "radical other-than-culture" (2). Such ambiguous and antagonistic attitudes can seriously weaken, if not altogether undermine, any authorial position; however, in the hands of Herzog they become perspectives of self-reflection and guidelines of organizing the material. *Grizzly Man* is a double-layered film with hybrid authorship; it fuses the original footage of an eccentric

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grizzly-enthusiast with the interviews and reflections of the legendary director. Taking into account, however, that Timothy Treadwell's and Werner Herzog's scopes of understanding nature and wildlife differ both in depth and breadth, given, furthermore, that their interest in the visual medium is somewhat different, I regard *Grizzly Man* less a work of successful fusion but one which rests upon and conveys a variety of liminal experience.

In order to illuminate the relationship between the two voices in the film, one of which seems to be more consciously constructed than the more enigmatic other, I will begin by recontextualizing and articulating the problem of framing people and culture on Herzogian territory marked out by the antagonistic notions of "superficial truth, the truth of accountants" and ecstatic truth, is described Herzog as follows: "There are deeper strata of truth in cinema, and there is such a thing as poetic, ecstatic truth. It is mysterious and elusive, and can be reached only through fabrication and imagination and stylization" (Herzog 301).

I.

The conflict between superficial and ecstatic truths constitutes the central dichotomy in Herzog's manifesto, *Minnesota Declaration*, intended as a polemic critique of certain documentary and ethnographic practices. At the center of his critical tirade is *cinéma vérité*, regarded as a superficial, dogmatic, normative method of documentation practiced by "tourists who take pictures amid ancient ruins of facts" (Cronin 301). For all the wit and sarcasm of the *Manifesto*, it speaks of *cinéma vérité* not only in overgeneralized terms but also misrepresents the politics of this mode of filmmaking. For once the term *cinéma vérité* is a concept so saturated by different and sometimes opposing meanings that it is impossible to single out one dominant definition. Unless further specified it is no more than a metaphor, the name for everything from style to content, from films to authors that Herzog despises in documentary cinema. Which genres are being discredited? The ethnographic? The political-agitative, the social- or the nature-documentarist? That of Dziga Vertov or that of Robert Flaherty? Perrault's, Rouch's, or Gardner's? The truth captured by filmmakers employed by television channels like National Geographic or Animal Planet? What is Herzog missing from *cinéma vérité*? Spontaneity, honesty, psychological exploration? A sense of dramatic tension, social responsibility, intimacy? Unfortunately we shall never get answers to these questions from the *Minnesota Declaration*, which—being an

enigmatic piece of writing—is uninterested in being explicit, or at least in making the opinion of its author articulate.

I believe that its declarative mode of address and rejective tone reflect, first and foremost, Herzog's instinctive skepticism towards scholarly standards, theoretical discourses on film, categorical understanding, and the belief that there is a prescriptive method of narrating other cultures truthfully. Without further elaboration, however, the manifesto can only hope to re-enact the farcical battle between the true soldiers and the bureaucrats of cinema, that is, the instinctual filmmaker who directs from guts and the technocrat who creates images scientifically to illustrate abstract theories.

Herzog's categorical position is further weakened by academic discourses about documentary film and visual anthropology, which hardly ever identify *cinéma vérité* with an objective, scientific method of framing or associate it with the *fly-on-the-wall model* of visual documentation. The proposed critique of *cinéma vérité* rather befits observational cinema, a method of documentation often associated with illusive omnipotence. Had the manifesto contained either the term "observational filmmaking" or—to use David MacDougall's term—"purely responsive camera," it would have been clear that the "superficial truth, the truth of accountants" is meant to refer to the *fly-on-the-wall* approach, a method governed by what Catherine Russell calls "the empiricism and objectivity conventionally linked to ethnography" (11). Other scholars hold similar views: Peter Ian Crawford, for example, argues that observational cinema (and to a lesser extent participatory cinema)—due to its reliance on objectivity, empiricism, and the production of positivist knowledge—is a strong proponent of "a notion of mimetic representation in which concepts such as authenticity, truth, contextualization, and meaning are still regarded as pertinent and desirable" (78). Herzog might, therefore, be rebuked for equating *cinéma vérité* with observational cinema and incorrectly demonize the former for being superfluous and bureaucratic.

Setting the *Minnesota Declaration* against *Grizzly Man* complicates matters even more, since many discredited features of documentary cinema appear in Herzog's portrayal of Treadwell. As Benjamin Noys points out, *Grizzly Man* is a one-sided wrestling match between "two competing conceptions of nature" (48). Treadwell's "utopian naturalism" (48) and the "conventional constructivist or humanist view of nature" (43) are sentimental mythologizations unacceptable to

Herzog, who rejects ecological messages. Noys contends that *Grizzly Man* is a testament of Herzog's superior understanding of nature, a film "suggesting that Treadwell is unaware of what he has done" (42). He further argues that "[o]nly Herzog can see, and show, the truth of these images. In this way the film contains the threat of Treadwell as a rival filmmaker and subsumes his obsessions and stylizations to Herzog's" (42). Accordingly, Herzog keeps the old documentarist instincts alive and, while embracing the spirit of moral supremacy and scientific superiority, creates an exemplary text of observational cinema. Noys draws serious conclusions and contends that Herzogian cinema is not "a political filmmaking of activism but a politics of inactivity or inertia" (47). After analyzing a segment from *Grizzly Man*[1] he also proclaims that neither Herzog's nor Treadwell's views on nature are fully credible, and a third one—nature conceptualized as something which exhausts any attempt to make it a source of conceptual understanding (nature without a concept, lack of a signifier for nature)—should be held as authentic.

Other critics have also pointed out the struggle for the legitimate voice in the film most apparent in Herzog's reliance on techniques associated with the educational documentary genre. On numerous occasions Treadwell's footage is juxtaposed either with Herzog's audio commentary or with interview scenes that question or altogether erase the validity of the former. This strategy, according to Ellen Brinks, proves that Herzog knows only "one legitimate mode of animal relating, namely, 'objective' science" (318). Focusing on the director's efforts to prove how Treadwell appropriates, romanticizes, and fetishizes nature, Brinks emphasizes Herzog's repeated efforts to "reinforce ontological distinctions between human and animal" (316) and links the director's condemnation of Treadwell to the indigenous inhabitant, whose attitude is expressed by Alaskan native and curator of Kodiak's Alutiiq Museum, Sven Haakanson: "Where I grew up, the bears avoid us and we avoid them. They're not habituated to us. If I look at it from my culture, Timothy Treadwell crossed a boundary that we have lived with for 7,000 years. It's an unspoken boundary, an unknown boundary, but when we cross it we know we pay the price" (30:14-30:32). The notion of a sacred boundary secure from violation and profanation lies at the logical center of Herzog's dismissal of Treadwell's beliefs, which—from the perspective of non-committal coexistence nurtured since pre-historic times—can only be recognized as a disturbance to the land and a haunting nightmare for the Alutiiq people. The

position of objective science works efficiently in the hands of Herzog exactly because neutral observation was also Treadwell's original and later betrayed enterprise. In the first images of the film he introduces himself as a naturalist declaring using his soft voice: "I am gentle. I am like a flower. I am like a fly-on-the-wall, observing, non-committal, non-invasive in any way" (1:12-1:22). Later, as the film commences and his anthropomorphic view of nature also becomes evident, all our hopes of becoming acquainted with someone in the likes of Jane Goodall or Diane Fossey evaporate.[2] Soon Treadwell turns his back on non-committal and non-invasive objective observation and, having crossed the line between scientific exploration and childish enthusiasm, literally confronts the natives and starts "acting like he was working with humans wearing bear costumes instead of wild animals" (Brinks 316). Portraying strategies of anthropomorphizing as a regression from Treadwell's own professional standards into sheer infantilism, Herzog rejects the young adventurer's enterprise not only on scientific but also on ethical grounds.

Martin Drenthen in "How to Appropriate Wildness Appropriately: Reflections on the Need to Cultivate the Meaning of Wildness" takes this ethical discourse a step further by contextualizing *Grizzly Man* within a canon of films of similar thematic concerns. In his overview of the contemporary cinematic representation (or rather appropriations) of the wilderness, Drenthen argues that "*Grizzly Man* does not primarily address whether Treadwell's image of the grizzly bears is correct. Rather, it addresses a question about Treadwell's *moral commitment* with wildness" (12). To prove his point, the author elaborates the dialectical logic of escape prevalent in films chronicling human encounters with wildness and asserts that a central element of these narratives is the systematic polarization of the universe along antagonistic viewpoints. In addition, he points out that the modern fascination with ecology is an enterprise embraced by people antagonistic to but never liberated from social instincts. Accordingly, the environmentalist-escapist discourse makes use of a system of binary oppositions (rooted in the nature versus civilization dichotomy), which is nevertheless hierarchically formed. To summarize: nature is not a real alternative to or a real escape route from civilization. The mirage of free will is something Drenthen himself has in mind when he asserts, "this paradoxical wilderness ethics ultimately is doomed to fail: we seek wildness out of a desire to transcend

morality, but this commitment to wildness itself will always be just another moral enterprise" (8).[3]

Drenthen's analysis further refines our notion of the "infantilism" of environmentalism and describes the conquest of wilderness as an unachievable enterprise. This assumption lies close to Herzog's own, for whom any attempted conquest of nature turns out to be an exercise in self-defeat. Even such commentators as Astrida Neimanis, who introduces Treadwell's contact with the grizzlies as a successful attempt of what Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari termed "becoming-animal," accept this conclusion. Neimanis notes that the molecular interconnections with animals are not innocent "lines of flights" on which one escapes from the stratified milieus of civilization. As she points out, "the movement of becoming-animal is always caught up in other forces and other movements, including the pressure of the plane of organization to continually recapture, resediment and restratify" (300). For this author the real tragedy of Treadwell is not that he was eaten by a grizzly but that his death—an attempt of genuine molecular interpretation and becoming—is totally disregarded when his attacker is hunted down as a murderer. Identifying the animal as a ferocious murderer marks the painful return of an anthropomorphic view of nature and the final defeat of Treadwell by the Alaskan mind. For Drethen, who identifies the act of trespassing borders as a moral activity, this is the defeat of a man by himself. For Herzog, as I will propose in what follows, the real failure of Treadwell is his being conquered by the frame.

II.

David MacDougall, theoretician and visual anthropologist, maintains that the greatest challenge of visual documentation and documentary filmmaking concerns techniques of framing, the capturing of life that is always obscure and indeterminate through an image with a focus. He writes: "Framing people, objects, and events with a camera is always 'about' something. It is a way of pointing out, of describing, of judging. It domesticates and organizes vision" (3). Previously, relying on the relevant scholarship, I turned Herzog's attacks on the "cinema of accountants" against his own work and outlined why this director could be considered as a prejudiced and superficial judge of Treadwell's venture into wilderness. My aim, however, was not to discredit either Herzog or the film. Moreover, I do not regard *Grizzly Man* as a cinematic judgment on infantilism

since the self-reflexive aspects and deep structure of the film prove the opposite and expose Herzog's distrust of judgmental filmmaking. Defacing, debunking, or looking behind the system of judgments in the case of *Grizzly Man*, I contend, means putting aside the portrait of Treadwell as a failed dreamer and regarding him as someone acting out the repressed dreams of culture's domesticated subjects. This means destabilizing the very foundations of documentary cinema as a system of representation dependent on the ontological identicalness of fact, image, and truth by emphasizing that this compound is a cultural construct, a means of domesticating and normalizing both vision and understanding. Breaking away from this scopic and epistemological regime requires concentrating on Herzog's notion of ecstatic truth, which is closely related to the performative aspects of cinema and poetic license of the filmmaker:

> The deep inner truth inherent in cinema can be discovered only by not being bureaucratically, politically and mathematically correct. In other words, I start to invent and play with the "facts" as we know them. Through invention, through imagination, through fabrication, I become more truthful than the little bureaucrats. (Herzog 239-40)

Invention, imagination, and fabrication, in short, performativity, is a key feature of *Grizzly Man*, already present in Treadwell's footage and even more emphatically in the interview scenes. One only needs to think about the conversation between Treadwell's ex-girlfriend, Jewel Palovak, and the coroner Franc G. Fallico, who after a ceremonious and enchantingly delivered monologue presents her with Treadwell's wristwatch. Palovak's thrilled face, one should think, has less to do with the retrieval of the watch believed to be lost than the enthusiastic acting of the coroner. In another scene the same coroner (who in appearance, intonation, and gestures suggests the monster from the classic Universal adaptations of *Frankenstein*) details the circumstances of the bear-attack in a sentimental-melodramatic tone, at the end of which he casts a glance at Herzog, a glance of an actor-apprentice in search of appreciation. The fact that Herzog did not cut this revealing glance out in the editing-room proves that he never intended to hide the fabrications of his film. Other episodes of directorial interference and scripted monologues include that of the virginal Kathleen Parker, who talks about the Platonic nature of her relationship with

Treadwell, Warren Queeney, who reveals his fascination with the way his deceased friend wore his hair, and Treadwell's parents, who share their recollections about their son's childhood while his beloved plush teddy-bear sits on the mother's lap. Last but not least, there is the scene of the airplane pilot crooning "Coyotes," written by Bob McDill, a melancholic song dedicated to the memory and myth of the frontiersman and the western spirit. The pilot, himself a modern day cowboy, changes the lyrics at one point and sings "Treadwell" instead of "red wolf."

As this short list of fabricated scenes demonstrates, Herzog seriously compromises the position of the objective informant and transforms it into the space of performing professional identities, or those of parents, partners and friends in a stereotypical manner. The stress is on the stereotypical and exaggerated qualities of the performances, all of which follow socially accepted transcripts of relating to and remembering Treadwell. Although this results in some truly comic moments I do not believe Herzog intends to dishonor the memory of Treadwell but to get in touch with the deeper layers of the culture that taught him social survival skills and thus created his subjectivity. As the borders between the serious informant and the frivolous performer, between documentation and dramatization deteriorate, we catch a glimpse of modern man's urge to act out life as a part in a reality television show. In *Grizzly Man*, invention and fabrication depends upon people who are willing to play along and see no fault in being conquered by an impersonal industry of prototypal images, people who happily embrace the culture of exhibitionism no longer founded on developing personalities but by consuming acting-styles. Herzog literally crosses the threshold between disciplined observation and obliging, playful participation[4] when he casts himself in the role of the film director: the most self-reflexive role in the theatrical unfolding of exhibitionism. He will act out the role popular imagination associated with the powerful and instructive figure of the cinematic auteur perceived both as the artistic catalyst and the moral compass of his films. Herzog plays with much self-irony and variety, blending the mask of the filmmaker with those of the knowledgeable tutor, the preacher, the psychologist, and the enthusiastic commentator.

Viewers who condemn Treadwell for his childish naivety, egomania, and unnecessarily sacrificing of two lives[5] and salute Herzog for having busted the myth of the self-aggrandizing eco-warrior will probably never get this point.

Neither will those critics who read the film only as a debate between conflicting notions of nature and fail to consider it as a diagnostic reading into the cultural grammar and psychopathology of the contemporary social landscape. With the fabricated scenes and the staging of what sound to be scripted dialogues, Herzog simulates common social rituals and allows viewers an illuminating glimpse into how these regulate our lives. For example, in the scene performing the social script of dealing with death, Palovak shares the alleged recording of the lethal bear attack with Herzog. After listening to the tape with, at first, an attentive then later with a devastated face, he warns about the trauma the recording may cause, calling it a "white elephant" and assertively ordering the anxious woman to destroy it. His instructive voice, however, does not only evoke the Herzog wearing the masks of the emphatic psychologist and the elderly, experienced mentor but also that of civilization ready to protect the individual against destruction. Acting out the moral imperative of domestication Friedrich Nietzsche formulated in *Beyond Good and Evil*, "You shall obey—someone and for a long time: else you will perish and lose the last respect for yourself" (102), Herzog's assertive manner precisely envisions doom and demands obedience. But does this social ritual of consorting and protecting someone from loss really solve traumas? Howard Stein, writing about the ways we deceive ourselves in the face of traumas, argues that defense mechanisms "serve as a means of protecting us from anxiety—often only to give rise to thoughts, fantasies, and situations that produce even greater anxiety, and that require additional bastions of defense" (xiii). This accurate description of how humans suppress and at the same time encourage unconscious forces is also valid for cultural defense mechanisms, such as morality, which judges or simply demonizes everything it cannot pacify and appropriate. In this case both Pavolak and the viewer receives protection from death, even though we share a collective fascination for documents and representations of expiration underlined by the fact that there are numerous fake versions of Treadwell's and Huguenard's final moments on the internet. Such obsession with the final boundary, the ultimate liminal experience forms part of our cultural unconscious.

III.

As previously discussed, the interviews conducted with people who belonged to Treadwell's circle of acquaintance offer little knowledge about who he was, yet the institutional types and cultural rituals they willingly perform sheds considerable light on the sociocultural milieu of which Treadwell himself was a product. It is, furthermore, no minor detail that Treadwell had serious ambitions as an actor and turned his back on Hollywood only after failing to get a role in the television series *Cheers* (1982-93). Herzog repeatedly underlines that Treadwell never really gave up his acting ambitions, and penetrated the Alaskan wilderness to work out a more complex role, that of the "bear actor": "[Treadwell] actually is on all fours and huffs at a bear, and he somehow leaves the boundaries of his attempt to become the bartender in *Cheers*. He leaves it easy behind and he is aspiring to something much deeper" (*The Believer*), and this deeper aspiration to act fascinates Herzog.

Treadwell's desertion from Hollywood and taking refuge with grizzlies are not the decision of a disillusioned actor but a failed actor, or rather, the guerrilla actor. The disillusioned actor is without faith in what s/he does, it is someone who realizes that due to circumstances his/her art has lost its sacred essence and has been overshadowed by dishonesty. Conversely, the failed actor never stops dreaming about fame and is always on the look-out for potential audience, and unlike the disillusioned actor, who no longer finds the stage a home, s/he is able to turn everything into stage and performance. Treadwell is closer to the failed performer but also takes on characteristics of the guerrilla actor, the type Herzog called, in an interview with Scott Simon, the "good soldier of cinema." Such actors include Bruno S. (starring in the roles of *Kaspar Hauser* and *Stroszek*) and Klaus Kinski (impersonating the characters of Don Lope de Aguirre, Carlos Fitzcarraldo, and Francisco Manoel de Silva), who are remembered not for their meticulous rendering of psychological types or perfectionist acting styles but for their dreams thrusting them towards ecstatic performances. For Herzog dreams do not arise from our thirst to satisfy material needs, nor do they occur as images and sensations during sleep; characters in Herzog's cinema come to dream as they awake from the milieu of domestication. On the one hand, there are Herzog's deviants, physically tormented characters who are useless because of their obscure dreams to which they cling because they have nothing else, while, on the other hand, are the fanatical characters who

torment others with their monumental and wasteful dreams and consequently lose the protection of social domesticity. In any case, dreamers lie outside the sphere of social usefulness which they value less than unpronounced, unproclaimed, and liminal experience. The great moments of the guerrilla actor always involve one where the actor "step[ing] outside all that we are as human beings," a move towards the "deepest, darkest abyss there is" (96), into enigmatic anxiety emotional and cultural defense mechanisms help repress, yet, which might be the only experience they can truly share with each other in moments of ecstasy.[6]

In *Cinema: The Movement-Image*, Gilles Deleuze takes a similar line of argument in describing the enlarged nature of action in Herzog's films: "a man who is larger than life frequents a milieu which is itself larger than life, and dreams up an action as great as the milieu" (184). Deleuze also identifies two types of action—the heroic or hypnotic dimension and the sublime or hallucinatory dimension—and argues that whereas in the first case the spirit "runs up against the limits which Nature opposes to it" (184) and experiences a fictitious superiority, in the second case the "spirit raises itself to boundlessness in nature" (184) and experiences a real inferiority. According to Deleuze, the former involves a challenge physical in nature, while the latter puts one into contact with the sphere of metaphysics, and adds that the two layers of action are closely related but not of the same gravity. Often the heroic layer, he contends, will enter the arena of culture as a superhuman act and be celebrated as almost transcendental grandiosity. Although this layer always involves extreme physical stress and requires survivor skills, it does not raise the spirit to the metaphysical ecstatic dimension.

Fleshing out Deleuzian notions within the context of *Grizzly Man* I propose that the failed actor in Treadwell becomes absorbed by the heroic or hypnotic dimension of action. My examples are verbal utterances which—relying on John L. Austin's notion of illocutionary acts—use linguistic material with the intention to perform an action. Treadwell's speech acts perform heroic-hypnotic features of action most clearly in the scene when he boasts loudly about overcoming physical danger: "Come here and camp here. Come here and try to do what I do. You will fuckin' die. They will get you. I found a way to survive with them" (1:34:02-1:34:14). These are the words of a tough guy enduring every challenge nature thrusts at him, a self-aggrandizing hero who would not decline

a macho contest of toughness. Soon his tone softens and the focus shifts from the extreme adventurer, seeking ever greater doses of adrenalin, to the dramatic pose of the missionary whose love of his "flock" and service of higher moral purposes is performed by the following sentences: "Am I a great person? I don't know. . . . I am just different and I love these bears enough to do it right. I am edgy enough and I am tough enough . . . I am never giving up the maze. Never" (1:34:14-1:34:41). Treadwell's desperation grows even further as he exclaims: "This is it, this is my life, this is my land" (1:34:42-1:34-44). His final words declare his union with the Grizzly Maze, yet the desperate attempts to prove his values and qualities in front of the camera exposes, more than anything else, his deep yearning to repair a wounded self-image and ego-ideal.

This is one of the many recordings starring the heroic Treadwell (or shall we say the hypnotic self),[7] who celebrates his having penetrated and successfully survived the grizzly country in an overconfident manner. The more he uses the camera to build up the narrative of heroic survival in a savage environment, the closer he shifts towards his physical doom, simply because the more he identifies with his recorded image (the mediated identity) the weaker his responsibility for his real body becomes. Early in the segment Herzog already frames Treadwell within a symbolic liminal space by displaying the following caption on the screen: "Site of his death directly behind." The caption, as a kind of textual 'outside' of the visual field, is both an inscription of death onto the constructed image of Treadwell and a disclaimer for those entranced by his theatre of hypnotism. It demythologizes his narrative and explicates that his bragging about the dangers surrounding him and the skills keeping him alive are actually acts of self-inspiration and morale-building before he returns from Alaska to the feared and loathed homeland.

Ellen Brinks also notes how geographical segmentarity and the division of the personality into various forms of self-awareness correspond in *Grizzly Man*: "the childlike Treadwell roughly corresponds to the egalitarian geography of the Meadows, while the adolescent Treadwell belongs to the hierarchical Maze" (310). Behaving as a saintly child embracing biblical visions of universal equality between species in the Grizzly Sanctuary[8] and as a tough lone ranger in the Maze, Treadwell is absorbed by extreme roles that mark his route not moving away from but towards civilization. His movement from the sanctuary to the maze is an allegory of growing up, but also of the increased hunger awareness

for a positive public image. As the bears grow ever more desperate for food before entering hibernation, Treadwell is no less desperate to build up psychic strength by hypnotizing, first and foremost, his own vulnerable and anxious ego. Being an actor with stage fright and in need of self-courage Treadwell stays longer than usual in the Maze to perfect his image of the televised "nature boy," and although this strategy causes his physical demise in a symbolic sense—by becoming the "voice of the wilderness" in his death agony—he prevails. The death-howls, captured on the electromagnetic tape just as his biological body is devoured, constitute his "acoustic monument," the mediated identity he always hoped one day would be publicly shared and consumed.

Treadwell's (self-)hypnotic qualities and attraction to the heroic sphere as part of his aspiration to develop social survival skills and achieve what Niemanis likens to a "rock-star fantasy to be famous" (300) is also recognized by Herzog's choice of the film's title. The name "Grizzly Man" ranks Treadwell among the family of comic book heroes including Superman, Spider-Man, and Batman,[9] imaginary superheroes who formally exist outside society, yet embody the very values civilization relies on. As such, their boundlessness is but a mirage, a function subordinated to the service of humankind and an aspect of their unquestionable social commitment. As Grizzly Man both Treadwell's star status and his sacrifices as a self-giving protector of the weak become recognized. Having said that, Herzog's gesture to consider Treadwell as the founding-father of the next generation of eco-superheroes, a future celebrity in a society whose awareness of environmental issues is less serious than diagnostic, points out the fantastic underpinnings of Treadwell's narrative and simulates how *he* would narrate his story. Posing as a self-made savior, a lonely warrior of peace and justice who synthesizes the best qualities of popular heroes Treadwell—Herzog suggests—would probably be happy to have his responsibility for the grizzly country compared to Batman's for Gotham, Spider-Man's for New York, and Superman's for Planet Earth. The parallels with superhero narratives are all the more symptomatic as Treadwell, as his recordings exhibit, really experiences everyday life in the Alaskan wilderness as a superhero story populated by villains, collaborators, victims, and champions of truth, bears to be trusted and those to be avoided, grizzlies of corrupt and noble moral character. This narrative of anthropomorphization and domestication is once more told through the voice of a civilization, which looks upon itself as a savior and upon nature as something

to be saved, a civilization under the false pretense that it can save everything when, in fact, it can hardly save even itself.

Beside sacrifice, integrity, respectability, and responsibility, qualities which popular culture repossesses by diving head-on into the heroic narratives of comics, superheroes are almost always creatures of double identity, consisting of their civic and their enigmatic faces. This is no different in the case of Treadwell, whose tender, sublime, and metaphysical persona of the Grizzly Sanctuary should integrate the more adventurous and heroic persona of the Maze, while the latter should introduce the former to the sphere of socially useful roles. When this progress is broken, Treadwell freezes into a liminal subjectivity beautifully grasped by Herzog in the following commentary: "Wild, primordial nature was where he felt truly at home. We explored the glacier in the back country of his Grizzly Sanctuary. This gigantic complexity of tumbling ice and abysses separated Treadwell from the world out there and more so, it seems to me that this landscape in turmoil is a metaphor of his soul" (59:47-1:00:15). The characterization of the geographical liminality between civilization and nature as the externalization of Treadwell's inner turmoil is a well-founded argument taking into account the variety of conflicts—that of man and animal, educator and adventurer, adult and child, colonizer and native, tenderness and aggression, normativity and ecstasy, observation and participation—Treadwell performs in the film. Nevertheless, I believe these roles, masks, and poses more or less remain separated in the young man and should be understood as tones or accents of his complex personality and aspirations. As opposed to dualities, liminality is the singular state of in-betweenness and formlessness, a quality that Herzog identifies as the distinctive mark of the glacier which, in its slow movement, is the geological expression of boundlessness and the destabilization of boundaries. Images of its terrifying vastness impose on viewers the feeling of the sublime, in which we are thrust towards an unknown and otherworldly existence beyond the borders of the human universe. I believe the liminality of Treadwell is grasped best not in the shifts between the various personae constituting his fragmented self-image but when, as the Deleuzian arguments suggest, he crosses the limits of the heroic performance and his "spirit raises itself to boundlessness in nature." Within the limits, that is, inside the frame, identity is secure and his desire for public acceptance helps repress antisocial behavior. Beyond the limits, in the out-of-frame, annihilating, and unrepressed forces are at play. In the last footage

recorded in the Grizzly Maze, Treadwell—as Herzog points out—seems very much aware of these forces as he hesitates long before leaving the frame, feeling uncomfortable to let go of its safety. He will never be seen again; the boundless out-of-field will literally consume him at the same instant his heroic-hypnotic image is symbolically mauled.

One of the few scenes portraying Treadwell entering the hallucinatory-sublime dimension was shot at a lakeside in the Grizzly Sanctuary. Originally intended as a pleasant farewell speech to a summer spent with his beloved animals, the recording evolves into a long list of insults chiefly aimed at the officers of the nature reserve. The segment ends with the excited words of protest: "Animals rule! Timothy conquered! Fuck you Park Service!" (1:24:58-1:25:01). While the camera is still filming Treadwell walks out of frame several times to calm his nerves and although he returns with seemingly regained composure, he loses his cool time after time and continues abusing people at the top of his voice. The sequence consists of many takes, many failed attempts to record the desired message, to keep the message within socially accepted limits by abjecting and repressing his rage. The inhibiting, pausing, and delaying does not help, as he repeatedly veers over the threshold between the frame and the out-of-field, the boundary between acting and madness. In the lack of abjecting anxiety Treadwell becomes the abject, what, in Julia Kristeva's words, "disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite" (4). We see a man who, instead of being contained by the frame, is being possessed by the out-of-frame and summoned by uncontrollable energies that no longer allow him to attend to role-playing. As he vomits out abuses and releases toxic emotions of injustices from his past, we no longer recognize him as someone familiar but someone horrific. Becoming abject, "a weight of meaninglessness, about which there is nothing insignificant" (3), Treadwell feels foreign although he should feel familiar; his discharge of animalistic energies creates a hallucinatory presence around him. The actor-guerrilla is finally revealed when the boundlessness he has long repressed is released, when the ecstatic, irrational, and self-consuming emotions that were contained in the out-of-field are finally framed.

In the voice-over Herzog remarks that this eruption of an almost "artistic rage" on a movie set is a familiar experience to him. He may be referring to Kinski in the last scene of *Cobra Verde*, when the character of de Silva tries to

escape Africa on a boat stranded on the coast. Treadwell will reach nothing with his ridiculous claims and neither will de Silva move the boat by one inch, yet what we witness is neither caricature nor satire but the human sublime: the radical dignity existence gains while being declared useless, dwarfed by the forces of nature and ridiculed by an unsympathetic divinity. The familiarity of these two characters lies in the representation of their dignified exhaustion: the waves washing through Kinski's motionless body and the thundering curses, wild gestures, and pain-ridden face that opens up a self-disciplined ego to the forces of anxiety are equally images of liminality. For Herzog such images carry the deeper truth of dreams that are larger than life, larger than the frame. Deeper in this case is nothing less than going beyond the physical confinement of the domesticated human body. Treadwell in the analyzed footage becomes a hero of sublime action who transcends the heroic/hypnotic dimension and enters into a metaphysical union with the bear: from Grizzly Man he transforms into man-grizzly. But the opposite is equally true: going beyond equals entering the deepest layers of our civilization and seeking out the spirit of animism and totemism, these primitive belief systems in which the boundaries between the human and the animal world were less rigid.

Conclusion

The analogy between Treadwell's coming into contact with the untamed and limitless sphere repressed by cultural defense mechanisms and what Thomas Elsaesser has called the Herzogian dialectic of character formation—the search for metaphysical truth either as *übermensch* or half-animal (259-61)—points to the centrality of *Grizzly Man* within the German director's *oeuvre*. The film is not a portrait of the grizzly activist, surely not the narrative Treadwell would have told; it is more self-reflexive than a positivist bio-documentary and less positive than the footage might have allowed. What Herzog found in Treadwell's footage was not a story to tell, but an enigma to share. In a sense he undertakes a similar hermeneutic adventure as in *The Enigma of Kaspar Hauser* (1974), a film often attacked for its dishonesty to historical facts. Already then Herzog understood that all the facts of the world can be gathered and yet the true story of Kaspar will not be told, simply because Kaspar has no story, only an enigma: he does not exist in the social universe of facts but in a metaphysical sphere of dreams. Herzog was not interested in Kaspar the *heimlich*—the romantic prodigy, the

gentleman turned savage (of literature and folklore)—but Kaspar the *unheimlich*: the embodiment of a radical and uncompromising otherness. This otherness is unreproducible in rounded off stories; it is nevertheless evoked by endless dreams, hallucinations, and boundless visions of being possessed by a limitless self and the liminal experience of crossing one's own internal boundary between rationality and madness. In a similar manner, *Grizzly Man* does not tell the story of an eco-warrior, the "savage turned gentleman"; it explores a young man's dream of union with grizzlies, a dream turned deadly. Most people see a strong moral here and would love to hear the story leading up to the tragic events. Not Herzog, who instead of moralizing or demonizing Treadwell's dream considers it as a symptom of both social marginality and metaphysical liminality. He understands all too well that Treadwell's actions are to be comprehended by exploring his relationship to the culture he hoped to escape yet could never let go. *Grizzly Man* builds a world around the original footage without strangling it and identifies the inner contradictions, ecstatic visions, and liminal experiences of Treadwell's recordings as themes shared by Herzog's own cinematic universe.

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Notes

[1] The segment consists of Treadwell's last recording and Herzog's voice-over commentary:

> . . . what haunts me is that in all the faces of all the bears that Treadwell ever filmed I discover no kinship, no understanding, no mercy. I see only the overwhelming indifference of nature. To me there is no such thing as a secret world of the bears and this blank stare speaks only of a half-bored interest in food. But for Timothy Treadwell this bear was a friend, a savior. (1:36:50-1:37:20)

[2] Through anthropomorphization—the extension of human norms, values, and social mind-sets—Treadwell sacrifices the very thing he wants to save: he betrays the grizzly in the grizzly, or, perhaps, better: the *non human* in the grizzly. The anthropomorphic view of the world corresponds to animism, analyzed by Sigmund Freud in the third essay of *Totem and Taboo* as a "belief in the omnipotence of thoughts, their unshakable confidence in the possibility of controlling the world and their inaccessibility to the experiences, so easily obtainable, which would teach them man's true position in the universe" (89).

[3] Although not explicated in his article, Drenthen's arguments on the eco-escapism recall the critical tenets of French poststructuralist philosophy as presented by Michel Foucault in "A Preface to Transgression" and Jacques Derrida "The Theatre of Cruelty and the Closure

of Representation." The latter text, which claims and proposes that representation articulates the subject and even in its closure keeps on articulating it, reveals the powers of dialectic logic over the freedom to defy it: "Dialectics is always that which has finished us, because it is always that which *takes into account* our rejection of it" (246).

[4] In a sense Herzog follows the paths laid down by visual anthropologists in the *cinéma vérité* tradition, for whom the recording of reality is not without a performative layer. Jean Rouch, a figurehead of *cinéma vérité*, is characterized by Jean-Paul Colleyn as someone who not only introduced situative filming but had a strong awareness of the active production of anthropological facts: "He never tried to be the unnoticed observer, the invisible witness, or the neutral narrator. He hated the metaphor of a filmmaker as 'a fly-on-the-wall.' His camera drove right into the center of the action, changing it and provoking reaction. It created the reality it was describing" (113).

[5] For such opinions one only needs to read into the *Grizzly Man* message boards at The Internet Movie Database website.

[6] Ecstatic unions in the Herzog canon are not limited to feature films, there are numerous characters in his documentaries who enter their deep and dark abysses, as the ski-jumper Steiner in *The Great Ecstasy of Woodcarver Steiner* (1974), who "flies" not for hobby or sport achievement but as part of a deeper aspiration. As the documentary reveals, Steiner gathered determination to thrust his body up into the liminal space between land and sky, life and death from his childhood encounter with a raven he fed and he had to kill after it lost its ability to fly—due to illness and being harried by the other ravens. The memory of the shared experience between raven and boy is a kind of obligation for the grown-up Steiner who, with each jump, will continue the broken line of flight of his lost friend and only companion he had as a schoolboy.

[7] The immortal line from the character of Ward in John Huston's 1971 *The Kremlin Letter*, "They say that heroes cannot imagine their own death and that is why they are heroes," is the epitome of the self-hypnotism typical of heroes including Treadwell.

[8] His attitude towards grizzlies propagates the sanctity of the prophet Isaiah's vision: "And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them" (Isaiah 11:6).

[9] It should also be noted that many superhero names such as Batman, Spider-Man, Hawkman, Ant-Man, The Jaguar, The Fly, Wasp, Black Panther, and so forth literally achieve animal-human marriage, a kind of cross-breeding of a human intellect with exaggerated animal stamina and skills; nevertheless, this is an unequal hybridity, the civilization and domestication of the instinctual.

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Engulfing Mirroring in *To the Lighthouse*

Gabriella Moise

The prevalent reflectivity of Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* widens the framework for the evaluation of the verbal/visual intersection. The text produces a diversity of mises en abyme, thematic and structural alike, through which the intertwining of the textual and visual, as well as the temporal and spatial, qualities—attributes inseparably characterizing the novel—becomes manifest. In his article "The Problem of Ekphrasis: Image and Words, Space and Time—and the Literary Work," Murray Krieger emphasizes "the incapacity of words to come together . . . at a single stroke of sensuous immediacy" (5), resulting from the fact that words "are mediations: [they] cannot have capacity, cannot be capacious, because, they have, literally, no space" (5). And yet, words achieve their spatial extension in the phenomenal dimension of perception the way they signify the visible and its constituent objects including the human sensible in Merleau-Ponty's rendering. In her study of Woolf's intercorporeal narrative technique, Laura Doyle declares that "[w]ords are themselves things, as palpable and as open to material struggle as things themselves. In *To the Lighthouse*, as in Merleau-Ponty's writing and as North feels it in *The Years*, 'The words going out into the room seemed like actual presences' . . ." (58). She pursues her argument in a phenomenological fashion, viewing words and language as analogous to Lily's "*objet d'art*" (56), which is a mediator between past and present, life and death.

Light and the act of seeing also gain substantiality and plasticity in a process whose ultimate goal is to come to terms with the self and subjectivity. *To the Lighthouse* implicates the philosophical dimension of seeing as reflection, as the pre-requisite of human consciousness, the means of subject formation. Seeing, conventionally imagined in terms of outwardly emanating strokes, paradoxically serves the introspection of the characters. The perceiving eye directed towards the external domain is immediately re-flected, turned back upon itself, and consequently the spectator is transformed into a spectacle, into the object of his/her own perception. This constant oscillation of viewer and viewed, perceiving subject and perceived object determines the analytic framework that encompasses the theme of reflection both on the level of the evolution of human

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consciousness (self-reflexivity, subject formation) and a textually enhanced reflexivity (mise en abyme).

The "neat trilateral symmetry" (Reed 31) of the narrative, the arrangement of "The Window" and "The Lighthouse" sections that create the setting for the in-between "Time Passes," prefigures a series of thematic and structural duplications. The middle chapter functions as the reflective axis of the narrative, the in-built mirror itself.[1] "Time Passes" is predominantly dark, abysmal, engulfing, yet, ambiguously enough, it is still capable of reflection, of making things visible. Its locus is the very intersection of past and future, light and darkness, sterility and fertility, presence and absence.

Textual replicas: Engendering failures

The text produces its own verbal and spatial replicas, in the form of a large number of internal mirroring via an extensive array of genres (Lily's painting as a visual text, Tansley's dissertation, Mr. Ramsay's academic writings, the Fisherman's tale, Carmichael's poetry) and locations (Lily's canvas as the expansion of artistic space, re-presenting the Ramsays' summer cottage; the set table as a mental landscape of colors and shapes for Mrs. Ramsay's musings and meditations).[2] These textual alter-egos reflect upon different facets of the main plot, revealing the creative process as a source of endless failures, frustration, impotence, suffering, and, at the same time, beauty. The common denominator of all these texts-within-a-text is the implied motif of failure, either the authors' temporary impasse or their permanent crisis in life to succeed. The extent of the creators' sterility seems to vary depending on their sex or the nature of their chosen genres.

Tansley's frustration concerning his professional advancement along with his constant irritation felt over the friction between his lower-class origin and the middle-class idling at the Ramsays' place echo Mr. Ramsay's own "barrenness" (43) and his sense of being stuck.[3] On the other hand, Lily's visual text and Carmichael's poetry suffer a crisis that is only temporary. Both of them will triumph in the closing section. The painter's regained visionary energy is fully realized in "The Lighthouse," whereas Carmichael's glory—announced in the fashion of minimalist utterances—is presented in "Time Passes." "Also, [Lily] remembered, smiling at the slipper that dangled from his [Mr. Carmichael's] foot, he was growing famous" (210). Lily's fruitless attempts to capture the essence of

Mrs. Ramsay run parallel to James's desperate longing to visit the Lighthouse (the two events mutually reinforcing the sense of lack and failure). The promise of accomplishment and success accompanies each brushstroke of the painter, yet fulfillment does not come until the end of a ten-year-long interlude. The reader/spectator is denied any—strictly speaking—ekphrastic representation of her painting, consequently, there is hardly any possibility of judging the extent of artistic deficiency, the cause of her dissatisfaction, or the justification for her starting the whole process over from the very beginning in the closing section. The conspicuous lack of any description of the painting may be attributed to its highly abstract, non-figurative, and non-mimetic mode of representation and even more significantly to the fact that the creative process enjoys priority over the finished product as well as any faithful pictorial expression. Also, the incorporation of a quasi-ekphrastic "translation" of Lily's canvas into the novel would annihilate the phenomenal presence and function of the "painting" generated by the text itself. Lily's work, through its formalist plasticity, offers an alternative communicative means to fill in the fissures of linguistic inadequacies, which naturally defies verbal description.

The other representative figure of the creative genius is Mr. Carmichael, even if he performs this role in a controversial manner. J. Hillis Miller views Carmichael's poetry as the "fourth example of creativity in *To the Lighthouse*, once more covert, muted, obscure" (177).[4] Despite his opacity, or perhaps precisely as a result of it, his "mind coincides (perhaps with the help of opium) more closely than that of any other character with the mind of the narrator" (178). Carmichael's surreptitiously introspective quality through his hypothetical task of being the narrator equates the poet with language proper. Miller declares that "the narrator of *To the Lighthouse* is not a ubiquitous mind but language itself" (182). Thus, Carmichael can be identified with language and subsequently with the narrator, which proposition gains reinforcement with respect to the poet's supposed mastery over language. Yet, the essential characteristic of poetic language, that is, its disruption of conventional syntactic linearity and the causality of the narrative logic, reinforces the subversive undercurrent of the novel. Carmichael's assumed occupancy of the narrator's position would result in his control and possession of the power imposed on narrative language, which is evidently undermined by his evaporating and visually charged poetic means. This would not amount to any "fixing" of the origin of the narration, since

Carmichael remains defiantly elusive, hardly a character at all. If he signified a linguistic anchorage in any sense, that could offer solely a putative stability. This resembles the motif of a plank grasped in the sea that momentarily satisfies the cyclic urge for meaning and solidity persuaded by the voice of Woolf's "The Mark on the Wall."[5] Carmichael's function is all the more obscure since, both as a character and as an artist, he remains silenced.[6] This silence might repeat the logic of the absent ekphrasis of Lily's painting as well, with which their latent artistic relationship is also strengthened.

Carmichael's dubiously ubiquitous character makes him similar to Mrs. Ramsay's ever-present invisibility; despite their silent dislike and/or ignorance of each other, they are united under the aegis of creativity. Besides Carmichael's personal aloofness "giv[ing] no inkling of any inner thoughts or emotions whatsoever, if he wanted anything . . . sunk as he was in a grey-green somnolence which embraced them all, without need of words" (14), he is also absent through his most idiosyncratic product, namely, poetry. John Ferguson attributes the absence of Carmichael's poetry to his "distant perspective" in which his poetry originates and to his "lack of ego" (51) that results in the cultivation of impersonal poetry. Occupying the limbo between reality and opium-induced somnolence, existence and non-existence, Carmichael "is the sleeper who 'frames' the extended night" (Ferguson 54). By "extended night" Ferguson means the "Time Passes" section, which is embraced by Carmichael's enervated acts of closure. "His is the last gesture of the day Woolf has recorded in 'The Window': 'Here Mr. Carmichael, who was reading Virgil, blew out his candle. It was midnight' . . . . He is also the last to fall asleep when he, Lily, Mrs. Beckwith, and the Ramsays return after ten years: 'it all looked, Mr. Carmichael thought, shutting his book, falling asleep, much as it used to look' . . ." (54).

Carmichael embodies the mechanism of presence through absence, and consequently, he possesses the very abysmal energies of "Time Passes," activated later on by Lily in her second attempt at the visual representation of Mrs. Ramsay, conjuring up the deceased model of her painting. Carmichael's withdrawal into an immense passivity does not restrict his stealthy re-emergence in the life and space of the other characters, "looking like an old pagan god, shaggy, with weeds in his hair and the trident . . . in his hand" (225).[7] Miller suggests an androgynous fusion of Lily Briscoe and Carmichael, rooted in the rhythm of their creativity (189). To this merging the figure of Mrs. Ramsay may also be added, whose

creative potentials and quasi-artist quality I shall elaborate in the course of my analysis of the Lily-Mrs. Ramsay dyad. Mrs. Ramsay's unity with the elusive Mr. Carmichael is suggested by their attitude towards language, by the manner of their (lack of) utterances. Whereas Mrs. Ramsay seems to have doubts concerning the referentiality of language and creates her own alternative set of meanings out of the words she arbitrarily collects, practically bringing into existence an alternative mode of expression and language, Mr. Carmichael transcends the ordinary means of communication and positions himself beyond conventional linguistic constraints.

One might claim that Mr. Ramsay's habit of reciting poetry serves as a counterpart of Carmichael's poetic excellence and/or a compensation for his own lack of creative inspiration. Nevertheless, Mr. Ramsay merely reproduces a varied selection of the English literary heritage. "And his habit of talking aloud, or saying poetry aloud, was growing on him, she [Mrs. Ramsay] was afraid; for sometimes it was awkward" (77). The "regular mechanical sound" (21) he produces while "beat[ing] up and down the terrace" (21) results in the complete loss of the original energy of poetry. Language loses its meaning through the automatism of endless recitals and repetitions, while his behavior destabilizes Mr. Ramsay's position as paterfamilias and man of letters.

Mrs. Ramsay's telling the Grimm tale of "The Fisherman and his Wife," although it seems to be similar to her husband's recitals, nonetheless, represents yet another category within the network of textual doppelgängers. One may claim that her repeated act of storytelling is a double reproduction of the "barrenness" (43) of the male characters: both through its performative manner and its subject matter. The pattern of dropping the thread of the story and returning to it from time to time re-enacts the previously discussed mechanical quality of Mr. Ramsay's reciting poetry; however, there is a crucial difference. Mrs. Ramsay does not repeat the same lines or series of events of the Fisherman's tale. She preserves the linearity of the story by following the mechanism of the successive arrangement of narrative constituents. Hence she occupies the locus of the storyteller, the mediator of coded truths and communal knowledge, conventionally taken by men. Additionally, she also creates a communicative bridge between herself and her audience. On the other hand, her husband utters poetic splinters, reinforcing his self-centered isolation from the other family members or friends and repeating these fragments till they are hollowed out.

The other aspect that might seem to suggest the sense of failure or raise doubts about Mrs. Ramsay's choice of this particular tale is its very subject matter, perpetuating the conventional stereotypical image of the insatiable woman embodied by the Fisherman's wife, who brings disaster upon her family's head with her relentless greed. Mrs. Ramsay, however, transcends the prescribed pattern. Her unique experience, related to the act of storytelling, transfigures the verbal linearity and its inherent gender bias into another form of art. The Fisherman's tale turns into a constitutive element of a melody, and Mrs. Ramsay associates the verbal artifact, even if metaphorically, with music, the most abstract form of art. "[F]or the story of the Fisherman and his Wife was like the bass gently accompanying a tune, which now and then ran up unexpectedly into the melody" (63). This capacity of engendering the emptied, muted, suppressed artistic formulations exceeds the potentials of a tale, the genre exclusively linked to her character throughout the novel. What was previously silenced and made sterile by Mr. Ramsay now gains an invigorating twist through Mrs. Ramsay's perception.

> [I]t was poetry from the rhythm and the ring of exaltation and melancholy in [Mr. Ramsay's] voice. . . . The words (she was looking at the window) sounded as if they were floating like flowers on water out there, cut off from them all, as if no one had said them, but they had come into existence of themselves. . . . She did not know what they meant, but like music, the words seemed to be spoken by her own voice, outside her self . . . . (120)

A synaesthetic mixture of different sensory experiences is enacted in Mrs. Ramsay's mind. This resonating means of communication with the help of sonorous words does not necessarily convey meaning. The dislocated language intriguingly becomes part of the seeing body; tonal words simultaneously create inter- and intrapersonal relationships.

These textual replicas highlight the underlying power of alternative expressive modes, resulting in alternative uses of language by the marginalized characters of the (female) painter, the androgynous poet, and Mrs. Ramsay, the housewife. The manner they employ the pictorial, poetic, and musical layers of language (which are, each of them, metaphors of capacities within language) subverts the sovereignty of conventional narrative/verbal logic.

Internal replicas: Fluid genres, merging identities

Mise en abyme in its diverse appearances unveils the characteristic self-reflexivity of the novel. Lucien Dällenbach defines the notion of the mise en abyme as "any internal mirror that reflects the whole of the narrative in simple, repeated or 'specious' (or paradoxical) duplication" (*Mirror* 43). This definition suggests both the infinite capacity embedded in mise en abyme and its potentially deceptive quality although it is limited by its obviously simplifying tendency. Analyzing the theoretical problems of mise en abyme in "The Restricted Abyss," Moshe Ron challenges Dällenbach's concept of textual reflection, interrogating issues such as "totality," "reflection," "explicitness," "isolatibility," just to mention a few out of the nine aspects he addresses (422, 425, 426, 427).

The most problematic component of Dällenbach's approach is the allegedly holistic quality of internal reflection. Dällenbach's phrase "the whole of the narrative" indicates the inadequacy of his definition: his concept implies that the reflected image would be equal in size to the reflecting one, which would lead to the Borgesian absurdity of the map that is as large as the land it is supposed to represent.[8] This approach indicates an inherent limitation of the verbal mise en abyme, in contrast with visual internal mirroring, since the latter is capable of exceeding the part-whole relationship of the reflected-reflecting structure. This additional quality of the visual mise en abyme gains significance through the analysis of the verbal-visual analogies of *To the Lighthouse*. In this context, Lily's painting, the textually realized visual artifact, adopts characteristics of a visual mise en abyme.

Other theoreticians, such as Jean Ricardou, the representative of the other extreme, view verbal mise en abyme as an instrument that "reveals what is absent from the context" (qtd. in Dällenbach, "Reflexivity" 441). Ricardou discusses this innate capacity of mise en abyme, arguing for its necessity for the sake of showing what would otherwise remain invisible or inaccessible for the viewer/reader. The most often "quoted" paintings for the phenomenon of mise en abyme—Dällenbach's work is no exception—are Van Eyck's *The Arnolfini Couple* and Velázquez's *Las Meninas*. Both picture planes include a mirror that reveals what is otherwise absent in the primary pictorial space: this absent space is the domain that is invisible from the beholder's point of view, yet coincides with the space of the viewer. [9] Consequently, the visual mise en abyme may exceed the limits of the visible, that of the pictorial context in which it is

positioned. Dällenbach appears to ignore this crucial difference between the mechanisms of the verbal and visual mises en abyme and its implications. In his argument, the verbal mise en abyme mirrors events, characters, names that are integral elements of the narrative. Even in the case of a "cover" character (to use Dällenbach's term here; *Mirror* 52), whose function is to represent the author—by definition an "outsider" in a narrative—there is some prior legitimization for its duplication; Dällenbach himself links this "authenticating" (*Mirror* 76) figure to the implied or "implicit author" (*Mirror* 76).

The prevalent coexistence of text and image in *To the Lighthouse* provides the ground for the inverted functioning of the verbal and visual instances of mise en abyme. The reciprocal design is played out on several levels of the novel: in the (self-)reflected direction of the perceiving eye/I (Lily and Mrs. Ramsay), the generic overlapping of pictorial and literary artifacts, the temporal/spatial intersection most emphatically appearing in the visually defined space of Lily's canvas, and the transcended temporal linearity of "Time Passes." This chiasmic model dominates the whole of the narrative structure. The compositional framework of *To the Lighthouse* through its often cited H shape (the design suggested by Woolf herself in her "Notes for Writing") prefigures the reflective schema of the horizontally positioned "Time Passes" section stretched between the two vertical pillars of Part 1 and Part 2. Through its apparent symmetry, the arrangement instantly evokes the themes of duplication and/or repetition locating the middle section, "Time Passes," in the very position of the mirror. "Time Passes" occupies the *limbo* of the narrative in a thematic, compositional, and temporal sense of that word. Virginia R. Hyman justifiably terms it an "apocalyptic vision" (145), which, quite contradictorily, undermines the notion of linearity suggested by the title. The *tour de force* of "Time Passes" resides in its power to adjourn time, to cut into narrative linearity, to open up a fissure and suddenly assert a vertically functioning temporal perspective, a depth in the fabric of the narrative, or to "suspend narrative time" (Dällenbach, *Mirror* 72). In the wake of this depth (the temporal incision) a different compositional dimension, that is, space becomes delineated. The complexity of "Time Passes" as bearing the attributes of temporality and spatiality simultaneously, enables the passage to be the very locus of the node of the Merleau-Pontian chiasmic relationship of I and other, seer and seen, touching and touched, the visible and the invisible. Nevertheless, the evaluation of this relationship and the implications of the

structural and phenomenological status of "Time Passes" would exceed the theoretical apparatus, as well as the space of the present paper. Consequently, I shall concentrate on the diverse array of further internal mirroring *To the Lighthouse* brings to the surface, the "images" that appear in the mirror of the narrative, that is, "Time Passes."

As a result of the novel's embeddedness in Modernist poetics Lily's painting(s) can be considered as the mise(s) en abyme of the whole structure, in a quasi picture-within-a-picture arrangement. Although the novel can be read as a biography of Woolf's parents,[10] an autobiography, a therapeutic "elegy"[11] (Woolf's own term), or a renewed expression of grief over the insurmountable loss of the mother, Julia Stephen,[12] it can also be viewed as a portrait of Mrs. Ramsay both in a visual and a literary sense. This recalls a further instance of mise en abyme, namely, Lily's portrait of Mrs. Ramsay being the miniature visual embodiment of the more extensive verbal portrait by Woolf. Lily's character can be seen as the already mentioned "cover character" for Woolf herself, while their artistic struggle to accomplish the creative vision may be seen as a twofold mise en abyme. A further complex internal mirroring is introduced through the arrangement of the central female figures (Lily and Mrs. Ramsay) and their relationship to the triangle of Vanessa Bell, Virginia Woolf, and Julia Stephen, who serve as models for the characters and are intricately merged into them (Raitt 40-1).

Characters, events, acts, abstract artistic ideals enfold each other, there is little or no possibility of separating them, one image is engulfed in another which in turn is already part of a wider structure. As Dällenbach observes, this pattern evokes Derrida's view of mise en abyme, which "appears in virtually synonymous proximity to '*supplémentarité*' and '*différance*,' [it] explicitly designates infinite regression: 'when one can read a book within a book, an origin within the origin, a centre within the centre, [which] leads us into an abyss ('abîme'), a bottomless and infinite duplication'" (qtd. in Dällenbach, *Mirror* 170). Besides the infinity of the mise en abyme, its power to engulf, to swallow up both the (interior) participants and the (exterior) observers, the very abysmal quality appears as immanent in the notion of internal mirroring. Considering the etymology of the term itself, and for the moment suspending the heraldic origin, mise en abyme means to take/position/put something into an abyss, a chasm, a void, the underworld, or chaos. This reveals the ambiguous nature of its function,[13] which

is to enlighten through a misleading darkness or present a nonrealistic/representational duplication of the fictional reality. This abysmal, annihilating aspect of reflection achieves its climax in "Time Passes." The analogy between Woolf and the figure of the artist, the double presence of Lily's portrait of Mrs. Ramsay, and the thematic duplications within and between the chapters serve as easily distinguishable instances of the internal mirroring and lay down the groundwork for the culmination of this reflective pattern in the central chapter.

Lily's figure condenses three different characters into herself: Woolf, Vanessa Bell (Woolf's sister, a painter herself), and Mrs. Ramsay,[14] who indirectly signifies Julia Stephen, Woolf's mother. This latter claim is, however, justified only in the case of reading Lily's painting as a "self-portrait." The link between the dramatized artist figure and the author is established through their identical objectives. Woolf "and her characters often search for a visual image to embody what words cannot express. . . . [She] wants to write a novel about the silence beyond people's words" (Gillespie 117, 220). Lily similarly struggles to encompass the horizon of the invisible/unutterable, something which occupies the realms beyond the representational reality of the historically given. Her "interest is the essence of Mrs. Ramsay. . . . [H]er intention [is] to express the truth [that] resides in images, shapes which suggest the private, essential Mrs. Ramsay behind the public, self-abnegating role. Like Woolf . . . Lily seeks visual correlatives for emotional states and individual identities" (Gillespie 221, 222). Besides the emblematic images (beehive, the august shape of a dome, tombs of kings) with which Lily tries to delineate Mrs. Ramsay she often adopts impulsively conjured analogies. "She was like a bird for speed, an arrow for directness. . . . She had recovered her sense of her now—this was the glove's twisted finger" (Woolf, *Lighthouse* 55, 56). Lily's artistic urge to translate her immediate environment—human beings and the emotional and/or social relationships among them—to "visual correlatives" (Gillespie's term) naturally is not confined to Mrs. Ramsay. Mr. Ramsay's intellectual occupation hovers in the air "lodged now in the fork of a pear tree . . . [as] a phantom kitchen table" (Woolf, *Lighthouse* 28), whereas in the phase of mourning, his woe is depicted as "heavy draperies of grief" (166). The central motif of fusion, that is, marriage, is embodied by the iconic couple, Mr. and Mrs. Ramsay themselves. "So that is marriage, Lily thought, a man and a woman looking at a girl throwing a ball" (79-80). The

collective experience reinforces their marital bond that is acted out in a shared visual sensation.

Woolf and Lily, through their respective works, share a generic instability. The narrative as a whole may bear the properties of a portrait, yet it also contains components of a still life (the most emphatic example of this is the description of the dinner party and the bowl of fruits as the centerpiece[15]) and motifs of landscape painting, as well.[16] The very presentation of the set table "[is] also a miniature world for Mrs. Ramsay's eyes to travel through. So still lifes become landscapes in Woolf's writing but . . . landscapes closely related to mental states" (Gillespie 240). *To the Lighthouse* tends to playfully blend generic borderlines between still life, landscape, conversation piece, and portrait, a heterogeneity most plastically enacted by Lily's painting. The merging of the separate generic attributes serves as the ground of liberating form and color of the painterly constraints enhancing what Clive Bell meant by "significant form."

To the Lighthouse is a unique contribution to this authorial transgression, its language becoming the generative means that embeds these pictorial renegades of interwoven generic expectations. The verbal medium often helps Lily to evoke an image or, paradoxical as it may sound, to visualize an abstract entity. In unison with the inherent logic of the text, the subversive endeavor to make someone present through absence, to offer visibility to the invisible domain, or to achieve knowledge in a radically non-empirical mode, language is capable of accomplishing its auxiliary role only through a deliberate surrendering of its conventional referentiality.

This unconventional usage of the verbal medium also produces the reflective bonding of Lily and Mrs. Ramsay. The Lily-Mrs. Ramsay dyad alters the status of Lily's painting and transforms it into a self-portrait, consequently defining the two characters as reflections of each other. Although this claim can easily be challenged by the extensive (auto)biographical documentation suggesting that the model for Mrs. Ramsay is Julia Stephen, there is ample textual evidence to corroborate the claim that Lily and Mrs. Ramsay also bear signs of a shared identity. Artist and model, ambivalently, are both immersed in a steady gazing at their respective microcosms, accompanied by the constant "reading" of the others. There are particular roles and attitudes consciously never claimed or realized, yet occasionally challenging both Mrs. Ramsay and Lily, which establishes a further link between them. Lily attempts to come to terms with such

social expectations as offering sympathy (165, 168), or care—even if it appears in paying a trivial compliment on Mr. Ramsay's boots (167), or showing respect (29, 99-101). Yet Mrs. Ramsay, acting out the mother proper, hence not to be lost from the sight of the family and friends, also longs for the bliss of solitude (131). On the level of perception both of them tend to abstract and come up with a schematized vision of what preoccupies them. A characteristic feature of Lily in "The Lighthouse" is to keep a carefully measured distance from both Mr. Ramsay's gradually withdrawing sight and the closeness of the accompanying Mr. Carmichael, by performing a rhythmical, dancelike movement between "the edge of the lawn" and her easel (161). By this, she also transforms her immediate space into a stylized network of vectors along which she makes her bodily and artistic moves. The same neat spatial arrangement defines Mrs. Ramsay's sensation of leaving the company after the dinner party:

> She felt rather inclined just for a moment to stand still after all that chatter, and pick out one particular thing; the thing that mattered; to detach it; to separate it off; clean it of all the emotions and odds and ends of things, and so hold it before her, and bring it to the tribunal where, ranged about in conclave, sat the judges she had set up to decide these things. (122)

The enormous fixity and stability of the moment of singling out one particular thing, the images of the tribunal, the conclave, and the judges are evocative of Lily's constraint for aesthetic order, which she achieves as "the concentration of the painting" (173) against the engulfing chaos. Mrs. Ramsay's longing for solidity and stylization is also performed by the punctuation of the brief passage. The manner in which she wishes to isolate each moment of her being is captured through a series of semicolons, which, at the same time, disembodies the experience and visualizes the essential thing as it appears, confronted by the imaginary circle of judges. Lily, on the other hand, employs a diverse range of abstract images to depict Mrs. Ramsay's essence: "the dome shaped bee hive" (58), which in a short while transforms into "the august shape; the shape of a dome" (58). Finally, the already discussed utilization of language for the sake of creation rather than representation (poesis rather than mimesis) characterizes both Lily and Mrs. Ramsay. While Mrs. Ramsay combines the aural and the visual attributes of language in a synaesthetic trope—"[t]he words . . . sounded as if

they were floating like flowers on water" (120)—Lily, naturally, lays emphasis on the visual-aesthetic quality of the alternative employment of language: "What was the problem? She must try to get hold of something that evaded her. It evaded her when she thought of Mrs. Ramsay; it evaded her now when she thought of her picture. Phrases came. Visions came. Beautiful pictures. Beautiful phrases" (209). Lily equates linguistic units with painterly ones, phrases surface in her imagination as constituents of the visual, as solid blocks of the Post-Impressionist design, as Roger Fry imagined the transubstantiation of reality into art. The transformation of the evasive immaterial vision into a substantial composition is anticipated by Lily's pluralistic gesture of "getting hold of something."

The Lily-Mrs. Ramsay analogy is further reinforced by Mrs. Ramsay's apparent neglect of the painting:[17] there is no evidence in the text that she has stealthily approached the picture to have even one single glimpse at it. On the contrary, her attitude suggests her complete indifference towards the visual representation, her absolute lack of interest in Lily's work: "Mrs. Ramsay cared not a fig for her painting" (56). This apparent detachment can be explained by the self-reflexive quality of the painting, hence Mrs. Ramsay's permanent access to and control over the portrait. She does not have to look at it to know what is in it, to "know" it. Mrs. Ramsay's supposed identical relationship with Lily enables the former to see the work, the portrait through Lily's, the painter's eyes: whenever Lily beholds the picture, Mrs. Ramsay gains a simultaneous possibility to perceive it. The other reason for her distance is Mrs. Ramsay's status as a work of art herself, self-contained and secluded from its environment. Mrs. Ramsay often appears in window frames, stretched out as a canvas, yet the characteristics of this image manifested in and through Mrs. Ramsay are diverse and shifting from a representation of the Platonic ideal of beauty to Renaissance representations of the Virgin Mary to a mimetic genre painting of the nineteenth-century to a Modernist/Post-Impressionist abstract picture.

Vanessa Bell, the other character whose qualities Lily bears, is, through the primarily non-representational mode of her artistic expression, the radical abstraction or the frightening appearance of "[f]eatureless faces [that] can suggest a terrifying lack of identity" (Gillespie 176). The mother of three children, Vanessa Bell served as a mother substitute to her sister, Virginia. Hence the figure of Lily, in a stylized manner, conveys the duality of the artist-and-mother status perhaps as a

shadow of the unfulfilled role of the married woman. Lily undoubtedly cultivates Vanessa Bell's technique of abstraction, a primarily non-mimetic form of representation, hence Mrs. Ramsay's transfiguration into a "triangular purple shape" (58). Her stylized figure, the form of the purple triangle ambiguously perpetuates Bell's unidentifiable "featureless faces," which endows the figure's pictorial realization with the possibility of multiple subjectivity. Thus it is much less a signal of an authorial or conceptual crisis than the engendering embodiment of a primarily non-mimetic or even anti-mimetic artistic formulation that meets its verbal counterpart in Woolf.

Conclusion

The multifarious presence of internal mirroring, duplications, textual and spatial doubles, and repetitions prevailing in *To the Lighthouse* appears as instrumental in the evaluation of the subversive and engendering potentials of the interartistic quality of the novel. Owing to the generic and primarily textually thematized mises en abyme one of Modernism's central challenges becomes delineated. Emphasis falls on the very process of creation and expression, overriding the notion of fixity and closure with respect to any final accomplishment in particular. This process, however, necessarily and unavoidably incorporates failure and temporary impotence, stances which Woolf herself acknowledges in "Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown" by asking her readers to "[t]olerate the spasmodic, the obscure, the fragmentary, the failure" (337).

On a structurally deeper level, the text produces duplications of an aesthetic nature targeting the artist/public and mother-housewife/private dichotomy through the intricate relationships between the triads of Julia Stephen-Virginia Woolf-Vanessa Bell as well as their narrative counterparts, Mrs. Ramsay-Lily-Rose—the latter's artistic relevance assured, solely, by her unique centerpiece. Similarly to the generative mergence of the textual and visual qualities, which produces, among others, the synaesthetic use of language or the acknowledgment of creative failure, here the mutually exclusive social roles can be bestowed interchangeably on the characters, resulting in fluid identities and generic categories.

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Notes

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[1] The structure of the novel, however, offers another reflective model. The two framing chapters can function as two mirrors facing each other, creating an infinite number of immaterial mirror images caught in between the reflective surfaces. Merleau-Ponty adopts the same image to grasp the seemingly unattainable realm of the visible/tangible "which belongs properly neither to the body qua fact nor the world qua fact" (*Visible* 39) as a result of the reciprocity of the perceiving/perceived body similar to the chain of mirroring/mirrored images originating from the mirrors themselves, yet not being physically part of any of those surfaces.

[2] Diane Filby Gillspie examines the generic cross-fertilization between Woolf and Vanessa Bell in *The Sisters' Arts.* In the novel, Lily Briscoe appears to fuse the sisters' talents into her character, which interrelatedness I shall analyze in connection with the internal replicas of the text.

[3]

> He reached Q. . . . But after Q? What comes next? After Q there are a number of letters the last of which is scarcely invisible to mortal eyes, but glimmers red in the distance. Z is only reached once by one man in a generation. Still, if he could reach R it would be something. Here at least was Q. He dug his hells in at Q. . . . In that flash of darkness he heard people saying—he was a failure—that R was beyond him. He would never reach R. On to R, once more R—. (39)

[4] Miller employs rhythm as the essential trope for creativity. In this manner, Mr. Ramsay's "rhythmically chanting poetry" (171), Mrs. Ramsay's inclination to bring people together, and Lily's painting process serve for him as the preceding occurrences of the creative potentials, hence Mr. Carmichael and his poetry being the fourth.

[5] "Indeed, now that I have fixed my eyes upon it [the mark on the wall], I feel that I have grasped a plank in the sea; I feel a satisfying sense of reality . . . . Here is something definite, something real" (88).

[6] John Ferguson remarks that "Mr. Carmichael speaks a total of twenty-nine words in the novel" (47). Ferguson refutes Miller's claim of Carmichael's identification with "this impersonal, all-inclusive, all-keeping, all-annihilating perspective" (Miller 177) allegedly ascribed to the narrator.

[7] The mythical allusion to Neptune is a recurrent and fruitful field of exploration for scholars. Jean Elliott actually extends the mythical framework one step further to Proteus, the "shepherd of Neptune's flock" (360). Elliott offers a long series of diverse roles (shaman, priest, seer, deity, sea monster, henpecked husband, Neptune), justifying her suggested focus of analysis in her essay "The Protean Image: The Role of Mr. Carmichael in *To the Lighthouse.*" Not that Ferguson fails to impose a multiplicity of identities on the character of the poet. He also mentions the analogy with Neptune; however, Carmichael's figure appears in a more abstracted manner in his article than in Elliot's.

[8] Borges's "On Exactitude of Science" depicts the map whose perfection necessitates its excess of size, "a map of the Empire whose size was that of the Empire, and which coincided point for point with it" (325).

[9] See also Foucault's analysis of Velázquez's *Las Meninas* on the duplicity of the relationship between the embedded mirror and its surrounding reality (8).

[10] Avrom Fleishman, focusing exclusively on the autobiographical aspect of Woolf's writings, claims that "this autobiographical novel [*To the Lighthouse*] is not written from the author's reminiscental perspective; the point of view is not the child's but the parents'—how it must have been for them" (609).

[11] Bridget Elliott and Jo-Ann Wallace consider *To the Lighthouse* along with *Between the Acts* "as generic hybrids" the former being termed "a novel/elegy" (73). Karen Smythe defines some of Woolf's works (among others *To the Lighthouse*, *Mrs. Dalloway*, and short-fictional pieces, such as "Kew Gardens" and "The Mark on the Wall") as "fiction elegies" (65), whereas Goldman observes that "*To the Lighthouse* follows some conventions of pastoral elegy which [she] [relates] to the novel's engagement with tropes of colour, light and shade" (168).

[12] Kelly S. Walsh explores the potentiality of the elegy as an aesthetic means that attracts both Rilke and Woolf. The dehiscence left by the loss of someone, however, is only one triggering aspect of elegies. The insufficiency of language to express the inexpressible also induced modernist writers to "consciously hold onto loss . . . , to prolong the process [of mourning] indefinitely (Walsh 17-8). That is what Ramazani calls the "reopen[ing] [of] the wounds of loss" (qtd. in Walsh 18), which act Walsh terms "a trope [for] the process of the modernist elegy" (18). Walsh also acknowledges that "Woolf's elegiac writing has an intensely personal element: . . . *To the Lighthouse* [being] a feeling memorial for her mother" (9).

[13] André Gide claims that "'nothing sheds more light on' a narrative than its mise en abyme" (qtd. in Dällenbach, *Mirror* 55), whereas Dällenbach offers a fourfold functional categorization of the mise en abyme: "[being] the most powerful textual signal and aid to readability, [it] can (1) use artifice to repragmatize the text, (2) seal directly or indirectly the text's vanishing points, (3) condense the text in order to provide a surview, and (4) render the text more intelligible by making use of redundancy and an integrated metalanguage" ("Reflexivity" 440).

[14] Dällenbach offers three different criteria for the character that takes upon himself/herself the representation of the author. Besides (1) a symbolic name or (2) a surname that can recall the name of the author, (3) "an identical or similar activity" can also reinforce the presence of the author through his/her mise en abyme (*Mirror* 77). This feature, however, evokes a further parallel between Woolf and the figure of Mrs. Ramsay, whose constant occupation is knitting, which, among its other functions ("a significant image of the working-in of different threads" [Raitt 49]; an act of creativity and connection resembling Lily's final vision [Emery 227]; the act that "epitomizes her gift for unifying the awareness of others in a shared moment" [Levy 125]; the instrument with which she "knits objects together . . . offer[ing] comfort and togetherness" while the knitting needles themselves serve as "weapons against the all-consuming bouts of despair and obsession" [Brown 44];), clearly alludes to writing through linking one stitch/word (in)to the other. Thus, mise en abyme operates out of the thematic framework and

mirrors either the process of writing (Mrs. Ramsay's knitting) or that of reading/interpretation (Mr. Ramsay's reciting poetry or Tansley's dissertation).

[15]

> Now eight candles were stood down the table, and after the first stoop the flames stood upright and drew with them into visibility the long table entire, and in the middle a yellow, and purple dish of fruit. What had she done with it, Mrs. Ramsay wondered, for Rose's arrangement of the grapes and pears, of the horny pink-lined shell of the bananas, made her think of a trophy fetched from the bottom of the sea, of Neptune's banquet, of the bunch that hangs with vine leaves over the shoulder of Bacchus (in some picture), among the leopard skins and the torches lolloping red and gold . . . (ellipsis in the original; 105)

[16] In his *Geography of the Gaze*, Renzo Dubbini explores the genre of landscape painting as a means of transforming the world into an image, a process deeply intertwined with the scientific and technological development of a particular era. "If landscape is a result of human labor, the image that effectively captures its characteristics and identifies its essential lines is a document that reveals a given society's aspirations and its ability to transform the environment" (10). The iconic centerpiece (even if it is created by Rose and not by Mrs. Ramsay) reflects the conscious and meticulous arrangement of the company as a micro-society. No wonder Mrs. Ramsay desperately guards the composition hoping that the constellation of the irreconcilably incongruous shapes and colors (namely, Mr. Ramsay, her children, Bankes, Tansley, Lily) will last, the unity will be preserved. However, the very fact that the "arrangement of the grapes and pears, of the horny pink-lined shell, of the bananas" (105) is created by Rose indicates her own aesthetic/artistic interest projected onto the landscape of colorful fruits, necessarily being a direct inheritor of neither Mrs. Ramsay's wife-host-mother role nor Lily's independent yet slightly estranged artist status. Through the iconic centerpiece she prefigures a new social order, a possibility not yet offered to Prue, the eldest Ramsay daughter.

In her close "reading" of Lily's two paintings, Alison Rowley claims that Lily's second picture shows generic characteristics of a landscape painting rather than those of a portrait (27). She considers this as a necessary outcome of Mrs. Ramsay's absence, which "quite literally left [Lily] with only hedges and houses" (27). Rowley accentuates the mutuality of writing and the act of painting that "finally emerges as a response to 'emptiness' impossible to express in words" (28), by which she regards the genre of landscape painting as a possible resolution to the re-presentation of Mrs. Ramsay as the empty centre of her focus. As Rowley argues, the act of painting also endows the painter with "some sort of beginning and some sort of love" (28), where beginning is meant as birth but love is considered as a universal affirmation of existential security, both experiences being depicted in Lily's mind through emphatic bodily sensations. Such "experiences as they arise in the activity of painting substantially involve what Lily Briscoe calls 'these emotions of the body'" (Rowley 28) hence Rowley's preparing the ground for a phenomenological interpretation of the novel, more particularly the painter's intercourse with the world through the act of painting.

[17] André Viola reflects on the status of Lily as being "an adopted, but marginalized daughter" (271), which he partly justifies by Mrs. Ramsay's disdain towards Lily's artistic merits.

"Mrs. Ramsay reflects that what Lily may think simply 'did not matter' and, moreover, that 'one could not take her painting very seriously'" (Viola 271).

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"The spirt has been well caught": The Irish Dimension of the Canonical Hungarian Translation of *Ulysses* (1974) and Its Remake (2012)

Marianna Gula

> We subjoin a specimen which has been rendered into English by an eminent scholar whose name for the moment we are not at liberty to disclose though we believe that our readers will find the topical allusion rather more than an indication. The metrical system of the canine original, which recalls the intricate alliterative and isosyllabic rules of the Welsh englyn, is infinitely more complicated but we believe our readers will agree that the spirit has been well caught. (James Joyce, *Ulysses*)

As someone somewhere said, James Joyce, especially his *Ulysses* (1922) and *Finnegans Wake* (1939), cannot be read, they can only be reread. The validity of this by now clichéd insight is experienced afresh by every newcomer to Joyce's textual universe and has been borne out by the complex reception history of his oeuvre. It is also proven by the cultural fact that his texts, especially *Ulysses*, have not only been translated into innumerable languages, but in recent years have become the target of a vibrant re-translation activity, even in the case of languages like German and French, where the first translations in the 1920s were "authorized" by Joyce himself. 2012 alone saw the publication of several re-translations of *Ulysses* into Dutch, Italian, Finnish, and Hungarian. The new Hungarian version differs from the others in that it is not a new translation *per se*, but rather a reworking of the Hungarian writer Miklós Szentkuthy's 1974 translation, which, pushing Endre Gáspár's first, 1947 effort into almost complete oblivion, has reached canonical status and has become an integral part of Hungarian culture. The canonical, almost cultic status Szentkuthy's translation has come to assume in Hungarian literary circles partly explains why András Kappanyos, the conceiver and coordinator of the collective editorial-translatorial project, decided not to start from scratch, but to create a critical edition building on this translation's merits, while also taking into account Tibor Bartos's 1986 revised edition of Szentkuthy's translation.[1] My present aim is not, however, to map the *raison d'être*, the why and wherefore, of the renewed translation.[2] When the actual work began in 2003, I was invited as a Joyce and Irish Studies scholar to join the project. Here I will highlight one dimension of our collective

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enterprise: how the revision of Szentkuthy's translation has functioned as a comprehensive renegotiation of the target text's representation of Ireland as a geographical place and as a historical, cultural, and linguistic space.

From the particular to the universal is but a step (and back)

Translations are representations of texts produced by a particular era and a particular cultural context. Starting from this premise, in his afterword to the 2012 translation of *Ulysses*, Kappanyos distinguishes four basic aspects of the cultural context that have changed since the publication of Szentkuthy's 1974 translation: Joyce's position in world literature, the Hungarian literary scene and the Hungarian language, (Hungarian) translatorial attitudes, and the readers' relationship to textual information (681-85). With regard to the first, Kappanyos emphasizes how Joyce has developed into a worldwide cult,[3] therefore, as a result of the widespread, academic as well as non-academic, interest in his work, today we know much more about him and his texts than we did four decades ago (683). As for the fourth, Kappanyos highlights particularly the role of the internet, how the easy accessibility of information has modified both the task of the translator and the expectations of the reader. The fourth aspect indeed markedly shaped, among others, our attitude to the Irishness of Joyce's text. As for the first aspect, however, I would add that the renewed translation reflects not only that we know more about Joyce, but also that we *know otherwise* about Joyce.

If translations are the products of particular eras and particular cultural contexts, so are the meanings/readings of literary texts, which largely depend on the interpretative frameworks into which they become inserted. As is widely recognized now, Joyce's literary "canonization" in English-speaking cultures from the 1930s to 60s went hand in hand with his denationalization. In the wake of such influential early reviewers and image-builders as T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound, who emphasized the "international," "universal" quality of his texts, downplaying their Irishness, Joyce became institutionalized as an apolitical, cosmopolitan, modernist aesthete (see Joseph Brooker and John Nash). In recent years—especially from the 1980s—however, this interpretative model has undergone a radical change, as Joyce's texts (and modernism in general) have come increasingly to be read in political, historical ways. As a part of this process, Joyce has been reclaimed for Ireland, as mostly but *not exclusively* Irish critics have situated his texts more fully within his Irish and local contexts.[4] Thus,

paradoxically, the increasing globalization of Joyce criticism has also brought into sharper focus the historical, cultural specificity of his texts.

Our revision of Szentkuthy's translation was significantly informed by what Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes have dubbed "the Irish turn" in Joyce criticism (13), and according to the testimony of early reactions to the renewed translation, Hungarian readers have also become receptive to the Irishness of *Ulysses*. In a recent review, István Csuhai described the novel as "the encyclopaedia of Irish Life"—following the example of the Russian literary critic Belinsky, who described Pushkin's *Onegin* as "the encyclopaedia of Russian Life"—also noting by way of conclusion that we are all put into it, a jocoserious echo of the hegemonic universalizing reading of the text in Hungary, like elsewhere, for most of the twentieth century.[5] Both previous Hungarian translations were produced in such a universalizing interpretative climate, even though their respective cultural political contexts differed vastly from each other: Gáspár's was published a year before the Communist takeover of Hungary, as a result of which a Stalinist vision of culture, framing Joyce as an enemy, came to prevail in the country; while the publication of Szentkuthy's translation marked a loosening of the grip of such cultural orthodoxies in the 1970s.

Although Joyce started to be hailed as a great writer by the Hungarian cultural elite as early as the 1920s, especially on account of *Ulysses*, and a lively debate followed Gáspár's translation in 1947, his literary enterprise was repeatedly read against European literary traditions, and his Irishness was not seen as constitutive of his revolutionary handling of form and language.[6] This is all the more surprising, since, as Gabriella Vöő has recently pointed out, up to the mid-1930s, in connection with other Irish writers like Oscar Wilde, G. B. Shaw, and W. B. Yeats, Hungarian writers and critics often emphasized that despite the fact that they wrote in English, their Irishness made their work distinct from English cultural and literary traditions (149).[7] As for the events of *Ulysses*, Hungarian writers and critics were quick to look beyond the local, Dublin surface and suggest that the narrative offers a universal message. This is evinced in Gáspár's brief, but insightful foreword to his translation. He commends Joyce's formal and technical innovations, challenges the notoriety of *Ulysses* as chaotic and incomprehensible, and suggests that even though the events take place in Dublin on a particular day, the book has a "universal significance" (iii).

The same universalizing attitude characterizes Szentkuthy's article "Why *Ulysses* Again?" written in 1968 to justify his work-in-progress. Although most of his argument was apparently written tongue-in-cheek, reflecting the censors' expectations rather than his own opinions, it offers a nicely polished, cracked looking-glass of official cultural orthodoxies that had started toppling, but still held their sway. Implicitly challenging the Stalinist accusations of Joyce's art as decadent, nihilistic, irrational, and formalistic, and therefore not worth attention, Szentkuthy claims that *Ulysses* deserves to be read, since it is timely in that it offers "an intellectual, social, universal, moral excitement" (325) and functions as the "rational synthesis" of the "whole world" ("die ganze Welt") (326). As for the text's Irish dimension, he recognizes that the events are set in Dublin only to claim that it is the "cemetery of capitalism," like London, where the events could also take place. It is curious to note, however, that in the midst of the wholesale universalization and denationalization of the text's message, he compares Joyce's treatment of the English language to the medieval Irish illuminated gospel books, an observation that Joyce himself was reported to have made.[8]

Szentkuthy offers a more nuanced portrait of Joyce and *Ulysses*, untainted by Stalinist ideologies, in an earlier critical essay, "James Joyce," written in 1947, after the publication of Gáspár's translation. Although in this earlier Circean, psychologizing, orgiastic, baroque vision of Joyce as a neurotic, nihilistic, destroying and synthesizing genius, Szentkuthy sees the local as a springboard for the universal as well, the local itself merits more attention. In Szentkuthy's description, however, Joyce's ambivalent relationship to Dublin becomes reduced to an unequivocally negative attitude, since, according to Szentkuthy, Joyce portrays the city as "the blind-wall grey, secessionist hell of retailers, kitsch-patriots, sluts and sentimental philistines," and by this he "madly enjoys the satanic poison of treason and the vilification of his nation" (198). On the basis of Szentkuthy's essay, however, it is hard to say what Joyce's nation is. Mapping the multiple ways in which *Ulysses* shows affinities with the English literary canon—tracing Joyce's psychological realism back to the "practical," "sober" well of English empiricism (194), and seeing even Joyce's sense of humor as a typical English feature of his English realism (196)—Szentkuthy concludes that Joyce "is a practical, all too sober Englishman" (201).[9] Such a wholesale Anglicization of the Irish author and his work is, however, counterbalanced by sporadic observations casting Joyce as "the Celtic singer of the most fantastic

visions" (200), a "poet with a deep, romantic, Celtic spontaneity" (201), as well as "the most Irish among Irishmen," since the "monstrous anti-myth" which he created in *Ulysses* and which has "grown into a myth greater than Tristan or the Holy Grail" reflects his "thirst for myth" and makes his text the "'logical' continuation of ancient Celtic art" (199).

Repeatedly emphasizing a basic duality in Joyce, Szentkuthy clearly casts the two components in racial/national terms evocative of Matthew Arnold's imperial racial stereotyping of the English as practical and realistic and the Irish/Celts as having little sense of reality, being driven by spontaneity and an unbridled imagination, hence their affinity for myth. As Vöő has pointed out, Arnold's racial stereotyping of the Irish as imaginative, "reacting against the despotism of fact," deprived of its negative imperial overtones, played a crucial role in the positive national stereotyping of Irish writers—marking them as superior to English writers—especially in the interwar period in Hungary (153-56). In *A világirodalom története* [A History of World Literature] (1941), writer-literary historian Antal Szerb, the main Hungarian advocate of the Arnoldian framing of the Irish, in his portrayal of the Celtic Twilight movement, explicitly refers to Arnold as his source. In this cultural context Szentkuthy's praise of Joyce as a versatile allround man uniting both English and Irish/Celtic features is a potentially subversive gesture. Yet, Szentkuthy's analysis, repeatedly associating realism, sobriety, and practicality with Englishness and consistently framing the Irish as imaginative, poetic, and spontaneous Celts leaves Arnoldian racial/national stereotypes themselves untouched, unlike *Ulysses*, which dismantles with relish not only Arnoldian, but all sorts of reductive racial/national stereotyping.

Szentkuthy's Arnoldian vision of the Irish as Celts is reflected in his translation as well. Although the words "Celt," "Celts," and "Celtic" appear in *Ulysses* seven times altogether—three times in Cyclopean passages parodying the discourses of the Celtic Revival—in Szentkuthy's translation the word "kelta" [Celt or Celtic] appears nineteen more times. Such an increase is understandable to some extent, since an expression like "Gaelic sports" is legitimately translated as "kelta sportok" [Celtic sports]. It is not legitimate, however, to translate Mulligan's question to the milkwoman in the opening chapter, "Is there Gaelic on you?" (1.427) as "Nem járatos a kelta nyelvben?" [Are you not familiar with the Celtic language?] (19), since there are more than one Celtic languages. It is

likewise misconceived as well as anachronistic to render the word "brogue" (9.556), the Hiberno-English term for an Irish accent, at the opening of Mulligan's Synge parody in the "Scylla and Charybdis" episode, as "kelta hangnem" [Celtic tone] (245). In addition to such linguistic-cultural slippages, Szentkuthy occasionally uses the word "kelta" as a jolly joker for words that have nothing to do with the Celtic past but have a particular Irish cultural referent: "kelta kalap" [Celtic hat] (591) for "caubeen" (15.1960) or "ókelta furkósbot" [ancient Celtic cudgel] (665) for "shillelagh" (15.4524). To enhance the Celtic coloration of the text he at times arbitrarily embellishes sentences with the epithet "kelta," for instance, when he translates "And a pull all together," an imperative sentence in the frightful linguistic jumble at the end of "Oxen of the Sun" (14.1498) as "Most egy kelta kortyot" [Now a Celtic sip or drop] (529); or when carried away by the stylistic exuberance of "Cyclops," he creates the nonsensical epithet "keltagél" [Celtic Gaelic] (407) to describe wine. The most shocking and totally unmotivated instance of Celticization, however, occurs in the "Proteus" episode, where Szentkuthy renders Stephen Dedalus's playful impersonation of a giant, "Feefawfum. I smellz de bloodz odz an Iridzman" (3.293), as "Keltakakálta kölyköknek é-érzem vérszagát" [I sme-ell the blood of brats excreted by Celts] (56). In the revision process, all instances of Celticizing mistranslation or translatorial arbitrariness have become eliminated from the text.

The homogenizing Celticization of Irish particularity is emblematic of Szentkuthy's treatment of the linguistic-cultural specificity of Joyce's text in his translation. His rendition of a passage in the "Lestrygonians" episode, in turn, is suggestive of his attitude to the text's historical specificity:

> —We'll hang Joe Chamberlain on a sourapple tree.
>
> Silly billies: mob of young cubs yelling their guts out. *Vinegar hill.* The Butter exchange band. Few years' time half of them magistrates and civil servants. War comes on: into the army helterskelter: same fellows used to. *Whether on the scaffold high.* (emphases added; 8.436-40).

This impressionistic passage forms part of Mr Bloom's stream of consciousness during his perambulations on the streets of Dublin. Passing a squad of constables and "Tommy Moore's roguish finger" in front of Trinity College, he recollects

how policemen were chasing pro-Boer protesters, including him, as he got "swept along with those medicals," on the day the English politician and statesman Joe Chamberlain—doubly unpopular in Ireland for opposing Home Rule and for playing a pivotal role in the Second Boer War as Secretary of State for the Colonies—came to Ireland in December 1899 to receive an honorary degree from Trinity College. This memory of a recent anti-colonial protest, in turn, evokes in his mind the flash of a previous instance of Irish anti-colonial struggle, the United Irishmen's 1798 Rebellion, since Vinegar Hill was the main camp of the Wexford rebels, and the Battle of Vinegar Hill has become preserved in cultural memory as marking their decisive defeat (Connolly 611). Bloom's train of thought, however, is not reverent at all, rather it exposes the mutability of hot-headed, youthful political idealism. His final, elliptical thought "Whether on the scaffold high" ironically reinforces his cynicism, as it is a line from the political ballad "God Save Ireland," which suggests political perseverance in the name of Irish freedom.[10]

In Szentkuthy's translation, doing away with the fragmentary, impressionistic nature of Bloom's thoughts, the place name "Vinegar Hill" disappears or rather becomes replaced with a sentence, "Aztán fordítanak egyet a köpönyegen" [Then they turn their coats] (199), which makes the loss of youthful idealism not only more pronounced, but more of a willed act than in the original. The most curious part of Szentkuthy's translation, however, is how he treats the popular cultural historical allusion at the end of the passage. His translation, fusing the final fragment with the previous sentence suggests that he was not aware that it is a fragment of a song. Yet, later on, when the exact same fragment crops up at the end of "Oxen of the Sun" (14.1460) and the phrase "on the scaffold high" reappears in another of Bloom's historically loaded trains of thought in "Eumaeus" (16.1072), Szentkuthy seems to sense the intertextual nature of the fragment, as he renders both instances by the same poetic formula. His translation, however, alters not only the rhythm of Bloom's thoughts, but also its contents. He renders a fragment implying Irish people's willingness to sacrifice their lives for *Irish* freedom as an explicit willingness on the part of Irish people to die for "világszabadság" [world liberty]. Thus, a particularly Irish historical situation assumes universal proportions in the translation.[11] Reversing this tendency, the revised version restores not only the rhythm of Bloom's

thoughts, but also the Irish place name, Vinegar Hill, and eliminates the universal goal of Irish sacrifice.[12]

By way of an ironic contrast, Szentkuthy's universalization of Irish specificity is counterpointed by his tendency to handle translation tasks locally, ignoring or not being aware of the intricate global network of intratextual connections, as his handling of the popular cultural allusion in the "Lestrygonians" passage also suggests. The renewed translation, by contrast, approaches the text globally, at the same time as it strives to render more of its cultural specificity. In what follows I will offer a glimpse into three crucial dimensions of the revision process: how cultural references have become disentangled from Szentkuthy's general tendency to render the text more excessive and less consistent than the original; how the original's Hiberno-English linguistic deviations from standard English have become either more marked or have been recovered from the realm of nonsense; and how numerous allusive and subtextual potentials, unavailable before, have become opened up for the inquisitive Hungarian reader as well.

Symptomatic scrambling (and unscrambling) of topographical, historical, and cultural references

At its most basic level, the revision process consisted in correcting mistakenly rendered topographical, historical, and cultural references. Several of these mistranslations were simply produced by lack of information. Before the Internet and the publication of annotations for Joyce's works, translators of *Ulysses* could be taken to task or misled by the ubiquitous and at times recondite references to what Joyce called "Dublin street furniture" in the text. The appellation "Butler's monument house," for instance, has famously tricked multitudes of translators—Szentkuthy, among others—into believing that it commemorates someone by the name of Butler (see Senn 25). That the house where George Butler and his sons sold their musical instruments was so called because it was adjacent to the Irish national hero's, Daniel O'Connell's, monument is one of the innumerable local details inaccessible to non-Dubliners in Joyce's time, some of which have by now become obscure to Irish readers as well.[13] Lack of familiarity with Irish topography also created some curious constructs in Szentkuthy's translation: for instance, Mallow, the name of a town in County Cork, metamorphoses into the name of a cultural event, the province

of Munster emerges as a smaller geographical unit than County Tipperary, and so forth[14]—which most probably did not bother Hungarian readers at the time, since there was no Google Map and few people had any direct experience of Irish topography.

Szentkuthy's topographical scrambling, however, cannot always be put down to lack of familiarity or information. Certainly, something else is at work in his shocking rendering of four topographical names in the "Calypso" episode. Passing a school on the way to the butcher's, through an open window Bloom overhears boys at their "joggerfy." They recite the names of three islands off the coast of County Galway, "Inishturk. Inishark. Inisbofin," and Bloom mentally rejoins: "Mine. Slieve Bloom" (4.138). In Szentkuthy's "translation" this becomes: "*Fejestudósprimaklasszis rohadt kölykök*. Geugráfáfya. Enyém. Bloom de Bois" (70, emphasis added), the italicized part standing for the three islands literally meaning "headyscholarlyprimeclassy bloody brats," while the name of the Irish mountains, Slieve Bloom, becoming distorted into "Bloom de Bois."[15]

Szentkuthy's handling of the topographical names, vulgarizing as well as blowing Bloom's mental comment out of proportion, exemplifies his general tendency to render the text even more excessive—more vulgar, obscene, scatological, or blasphemous—than the original.[16] This is also often reflected in his handling of obscure Irish cultural references, one of the best examples of which is his translation of Stephen's musing in the "Nestor" episode, "His mother's prostrate body the fiery Columbanus in holy zeal bestrode" (2.143), as "Az anyja kinyújtott testét tüzes Szt. Kolumbán bigott hitőrületben meglovagolta" [His mother's prostrate body the fiery St. Columban in bigotted holy frenzy rode (metaphorically "had sex with")] (35). In Gáspár's earlier translation Columbanus *stepped on* his mother's prostrate body ("*rálépett* anyja elterült testére," emphasis added, 21) in order to follow his vocation. In the new translation, the venerable early Irish saint sheds his rambunctious, cruel, or incestuous nature, as he *steps over* his mother's prostrate body: "A lánglelkű Kolumbánusz szent hitbuzgalmában az anyja földreomlott testén is *keresztüllépett*" (emphasis added, 32).

Szentkuthy's inconsistent treatment of recurring cultural references is also symptomatic of the proliferating, more or less damaging structural inconsistencies in his translation, one of the consequences of his treating translation tasks locally. A few conspicuous instances were pointed out by

Kappanyos a long time ago, for instance, that Szentkuthy translates the historical alias "Skin-the-Goat" in different ways in "Aeolus" ("Gáláns Gida" [Gallant Kid]) and in "Eumaeus" ("Kecskenyúzó" [Goat-Skinner]). In the course of the revision process such inconsistencies cropped up at every turn, the elimination of which often served the purposes of opening up new interpretative potentials in the target text.[17] The recurring phrase "The man that got away James Stephens," for instance, functions like a floating signifier in *Ulysses*, becoming attached to the citizen in "Cyclops" (12.881), to Bloom in "Circe" (15.1531), and for the first time appearing in Bloom's mind in a slightly different form concerning an unnamed person: "Chap in the paybox there [in the Tara street bath] got away James Stephens, they say" (4.490). That the feat of facilitating the historical escape of the founder of Fenianism from Richmond prison is attributed to various characters in *Ulysses* evokes one of Joyce's hobby horses, dramatized more fully in *Finnegans Wake*: the intersection between gossip and history. Szentkuthy, however, doubly spoils Joyce's game, by not translating all three instances with the same formula and by mistranslating the sentence in "Cyclops."[18] By consistently using the same expression in all three instances, the new translation opens up the interpretative potential offered by the source text in the target text as well.

A further source of cultural-historical scrambling is that against the grain of his translation, Szentkuthy at times tries to enhance the cultural specificity of his text. An example of this is when he translates Alf Bergan's incredulous exclamation on hearing that Dignam is dead in "Cyclops," "Sure I'm after seeing him not five minutes ago, says Alf, *as plain as a pikestaff*" (12.323, emphasis added) as "Mérget veszek rá, hogy őt láttam az elébb, talán öt perce sincs—mondja Alf —, *életnagyságban, mint Parnell szobrát*" [large as life, like Parnell's statue] (emphasis added, 373). The solution is creative, it fits the historically saturated context perfectly, yet, it introduces an anachronism into the text, as in 1904 the crowning glory of O'Connell Street, Parnell's statue was nowhere to be seen, as Dubliners had not yet got beyond the laying of the foundation stone.[19] The new version removes the invented Parnell idiom.

Put Hungarian on it: Translating Hiberno-English

So far the revision process seems to have been plain sailing. Things become rougher, however, as soon as one starts to deal with cultural

idiosyncrasies inscribed in linguistic structures. As is widely recognized now, the Irishness of Joyce's texts is also tangible in their use of Hiberno-English, more so in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* than in his earlier works.[20] Hiberno-English, a linguistic consequence of British colonization of Ireland, markedly deviates from standard English, most notably in that it bears the rich incrustations of Irish/Gaelic. It embellishes English with Gaelic inflections, it abounds in loan/mirror-translations from Gaelic, evinced, among others, in the widespread (often idiomatic) use of prepositional phrases—as in "What's on you, Garry?" (12.704) [a mirror translation of the Irish *Cád is agat?*]—one of the most pervasive features of Joyce's dialectical representation in *Ulysses* (Wales 15). Furthermore, Hiberno-English is not a homogeneous dialect of English. In addition to the broad division between Northern and Southern varieties, noted in several of Joyce's texts, there are also marked differences within Southern Hiberno-English between "rural" and "urban" versions, the latter most significantly illustrated by Dublin speech, and the former socially stigmatized by town- and city-dwellers (Wales 7-8). A further social stratification can be detected, in turn, within Dublin speech itself, as it splits into "educated" (or standard Hiberno-English) and "uneducated" (or "popular" and "working class") sociolects, the latter showing overlaps with the rural variant (Wales 11). All of these different sorts of the same language are linguistically dramatized in *Ulysses*, the rural variant mostly in the form of parody, targeting the Irish Revival's artistic effort to elevate the language of the folk/peasantry into the authentic language of Ireland.

Rendering these linguistic aspects of the text in Hungarian becomes riddled with dilemmas, since despite the fact that regional dialects also exist in Hungarian, most of them do not deviate so markedly from "standard Hungarian" as most varieties of Hiberno-English do from standard English. Furthermore, to render Hiberno-English into any one of them could lend misleading cultural connotations and resonances to the text.[21] Thus, an awareness of the Hiberno-English dimensions of the language of *Ulysses* does not necessarily dispel translators' dilemmas, yet it can function as a portal for motivated inventiveness. That Szentkuthy was not familiar with Hiberno-English linguistic features is succinctly suggested by his 1947 article, where in the midst of highlighting Joyce's curious construction of sentences, he describes a short Bloomian mental comment in the "Sirens" episode, "Innocence that is" (11.298)—containing a widespread Hiberno-English grammatical phenomenon, the reversal of standard

English syntax—as an expression of Bloom's "sleepy vulgarity," as well as of the "filthy street-smell of language" (204).[22] Despite his lack of familiarity with Hiberno-English, at times Szentkuthy's solutions strike the linguistic deviations home. In countless instances, however, Hiberno-English deviations or Joyce's conscious, playful exposure of Hiberno-English idiosyncrasies become either leveled into standard Hungarian or become mistranslated, at times turning into complete nonsense.

This can be best demonstrated by Szentkuthy's treatment of prepositional phrases of the "What's on you, Garry?" type, ubiquitous in variants of Hiberno-English. They appear sporadically in the whole text but become most concentrated in the thematically and linguistically most Irish "Cyclops" episode, especially in the narrator's utterances. Furthermore, it is through the conscious play with this formula that both Mulligan and Stephen playfully expose the linguistic otherness of Hiberno-English, championed by Revivalists. In the opening episode, Mulligan jokingly asks the milkwoman, who speaks the rural variant of Hiberno-English, but is in need of a translator with respect to the Irish spoken by the antiquarian English Haines, "Is there Gaelic on you? (1.427), a mirror translation of the Irish *An bhfuil Gaeilge agat?* Later in the "Scylla and Charybdis" episode, thematically most saturated by Revivalism, Stephen's sarcastic mental comment on Mr. Best's enthusiasm contains an invitation to a translation exercise: "*Ta an bad ar an tir. Taim in mo shagart.* Put beurla on it, littlejohn" (9.365).[23]

The linguistic otherness of Hiberno-English prepositional phrases often disappears in Szentkuthy's translation, "What's on you, Garry?" for instance, becomes "Na mi az, Garry?" [What is it, Garry?] (387), a standard colloquial expression in Hungarian. In some cases, like this one, where the stakes are not too high, we left Szentkuthy's solutions untouched.[24] At times, however, where the stakes are higher, the new version makes an effort to render the linguistic otherness of the expression by providing an almost word-for-word translation of the original. For instance, Szentkuthy's rendition of the narrator's vivid turn-of-phrase "I've a thirst on me I wouldn't sell for half a crown" as "elhagy a szomjam" [my thirst leaves me (if you don't stop blathering)] (367) has become replaced by "Akkora szomjúság van rajtam, hogy fél koronáért se adnám (287), which is an instance of literal translation having an aura of inventive otherness about it in Hungarian.[25]

The stakes are even higher in the case of Mulligan's and Stephen's conscious mimicry of Hiberno-English. Yet, in Szentkuthy's rendition, Mulligan's question to the milkwoman entirely sheds its foreignness: "Nem járatos a kelta nyelvben?" [Are you not familiar with the Celtic language?] (19), while Stephen's comment in "Scylla and Charybdis" turns into "Ken Yed O Fol Ro Oets Poets" (239), which reproduces the monosyllabic structure of the preceding meaningful Irish sentences "*Tá an bad ar an tír. Taim in mo shagart*" but replaces sense with nonsense.[26] The new translation restores the sense to Stephen's comment, lending it a touch of foreignness along the way: "Ezt anglítsd meg, Littlejohn" (191), while Mulligan's question has finally become settled into "Hát *nem él* a gael nyelv*vel*?" [Don't you *live with* the Gaelic language?] (emphasis added, 20). Evidently a linguistic invention, the question's strangeness is built on familiarity, as the turn-of-phrase is widely used, even if not in reference to languages. Furthermore, the solution is also felicitous, as it evokes a credo of Hungarian nationalism since the early nineteenth century, *Nyelvében él a nemzet* [A nation *lives in* its language], which is meaningfully resonant in a scene exposing through multiple ironies the anomalous state of the Irish language in Irish society at the turn of the century.

It is not only Mulligan's clowning question that sheds its linguistic otherness in Szentkuthy's rendition of the milkwoman scene. So do the milkwoman's folksy Hiberno-English utterances—"Is it French you are talking, sir?"; "I'm told it's a grand language by them that knows"—even though the Hiberno-English flavor of her speech plays a crucial role in the ironic entanglements of the scene. Similarly to Ireland, in nineteenth-century Hungary folk culture was also claimed to be the locus of an authentic national identity. Thus, in contrast to Szentkuthy, who rendered the milkwoman's utterances in a literary register—her difference marked only with a tinge of folksiness in the second instance—the new version lends a marked rural flavor to her speech without identifying it with any particular region.[27]

A different kind of problem arises when *Ulysses* utilizes rural Hiberno-English for the purposes of parody, targeting especially the language of Synge's plays. In "Scylla and Charybdis," soon after giving a dagger definition of Shakespeare as "the chap that writes like Synge"—an ironic echo of Shaw's description of Synge as the Shakespeare of the Irish—Mulligan delivers his grudge against Stephen for failing to turn up at the *Ship* in the form of a Synge

parody, "keen[ing] in a querulous brogue" (9.556-71). Szentkuthy evidently gives free rein to his artistic fantasy in translating this passage, taking it in a direction with respect to style, register, and sense that radically departs from the original. His rendering "querulous brogue" as "kelta hangnem" [Celtic tone] is one of his mildest liberties. It must be noted, however, that at the time Szentkuthy translated this passage, the target of Mulligan's parody was little known in Hungary, as it was only after the publication of his translation of *Ulysses* that Synge's plays became regularly staged in Hungarian theatres (see Kurdi).[28]

Thus, in theory translators today are in an easier situation with respect to this task. In practice, however, the situation is more complicated than it seems, since what constitutes Synge's style has been woven and rewoven in the past decades and not in a way that would aid the *Ulysses* translator. For instance, in the case of Synge's most well-known play in Hungary, *The Playboy of the Western World*, a new translation was commissioned in 2004 for a theatre performance, since the language of the earlier translation of the play was deemed to be too archaic.[29] Although the new translation is free from the mistranslations in which the earlier version abounds, it is also largely free of the rural and archaic flavor that characterizes the original, which is mostly targeted by Mulligan's parody. Thus, the new translation of the parodic Synge passage in *Ulysses* does not rely on existing Hungarian Synge translations, but peels the nonsense off the passage and lends it an archaic, rural flavor spiced with Mulliganeque register shifts.

Translators are yet again in a quandary over the task of putting Hungarian on colloquial Dublin speech, welding Hiberno-English features with slang—some of which has become obsolete by now—so vividly rendered by Joyce in "Cyclops." Szentkuthy had as acute an ear as Joyce did, no mistake about that, yet, his rendering of this dimension of the episode has called for a remake in multiple ways. This does not apply to his translation of the passages parodying written discourses, which alternate with the I-narrator's oral narrative and which strike the stylistic games home superbly for the most part, even if at times their content needed to be corrected. With respect to the I-narrator's demeaning oral report of the pub conversation, delivered in a lowbred Hiberno-English diction in the original, however, the most fundamental problem was that Szentkuthy failed to create a consistent voice for him in Hungarian. This becomes most evident in his wavering rendition of the narrator's endlessly repeated phrase "says I" with the ungrammatical "mondok" at times, while at other times with the

grammatical "mondom én." The register and style of his speech is likewise unsettled, as choice words stray into the predominantly low colloquial register of his speech.[30] The new version lends a consistent voice to the I-narrator, his speech cast throughout in a colloquial register, choice words appearing in it only when others' opinions are echoed in his recoding verbal frame.[31]

The pub dialogues sizzling with the linguistic energies of slang and Hiberno-English have also become recast in the revision process, since in Szentkuthy's rendition they often fail to evoke a credible colloquial situation.[32] The new version has significantly enhanced the colloquial, idiomatic/metaphoric flavor of the pub talk, and word-for-word translation has also been profitably used in order to create the effect of otherness along with preserving the cultural specificity of the text. The narrator's sarcastic dismissal of the citizen's prophecy of the revival of Irish trade by way of a Hiberno-English saying, "Cows in Connaught have long horns" (12.1312), provides a vivid example. In contrast to Szentkuthy, who chose to domesticate it, mistranslating it along the way, "És közben már az öregapám is tudta, amiket beszél" [And already my grandfather knew what he was talking about"], the new version provides a literal translation, "Connachtban meg hosszú a tehenek szarva" (316), which implies rather than pinpoints meaning.[33]

Word-for-word translation has also proven to be the most practicable in the case of several slang expressions, or turns-of-phrase, the meaning of which has become unclear to present-day Irish readers as well, suggesting rather than clearly signifying titillating meanings to them. None of the Irish, English, or American native speakers and readers of Joyce I have consulted could enlighten me as to what the I-narrator's interjection "That explains the milk in the cocoanut [*sic*] and absence of hair on the animal's chest" (12.996)—provoked by his sudden epiphany that Boylan will organize Molly as well as the concert tour in the North—exactly means. It is the context that endows the turns-of-phrase with a sexual innuendo. Szentkuthy tries to domesticate them and thus his translation, surprisingly enough, loses the sexual innuendo. In the literal, foreignizing new version, the sexual innuendo has been restored.[34]

"But then the allusion is lost" (and recovered)

The last aspect I will discuss is no less riddling for translators than the Irish-inflected linguistic idiosyncrasies of *Ulysses*. The far-famed intertextuality of

Joyce's work also has a sizable Irish dimension, as the discussion of the Synge parody suggests. In the case of the countless references, allusions, echoes from texts that are part of a European cultural heritage, such as the Bible or Shakespeare's plays, (European) translators can rely on canonical translations in the course of their work.[35] In the case of their particularly Irish counterparts, however, Hungarian translators often cannot do the same, since translations either do not exist, or even if they do, their incorporation in a translation of *Ulysses* would not function as a portal of discovery, since they are either little known or have become forgotten by the early twenty-first century. The recurring echoes in *Ulysses* of Dion Boucicault's plays—widely known in Joyce's time in Ireland, England, and America and staged in Irish theatres even today—and Thomas Moore's tamely patriotic *Irish Melodies*—hugely popular throughout the nineteenth century, many of them still not forgotten—are exemplary cases in point. While the former has never been known in Hungary, the latter ceased to be known by the twentieth century, even if popular in the nineteenth, his works translated by such outstanding poets as Sándor Petőfi, Mihály Vörösmarty, and János Arany.

As a result of such a state of affairs, there are no dire consequences that in Szentkuthy's translation most of the Boucicault references or allusions are mistranslated,[36] and echoes of Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies* are often not recognized and thus do not become even vaguely indicated by way of a stylistic or rhythmical change in the text. A good example of the latter is when Bloom, passing the Empire public house and restaurant in "Lestrygonians," recollects that this is where Pat Kinsella used to have his Harp Theatre. This, in turn, triggers a vivid train of thoughts in his mind, brought to a close by a playful re-creation of the title and first line of one of Moore's most famous *Irish Melodies*, "The Harp that Once Through Tara's Hall": "The harp that once did starve us all" (8.607). The allusive wordplay is evidently untranslatable, also because it is tightly embedded in the context, like so often in Joyce, which does not allow the replacement of the witticism with something else that would be resonant for the Hungarian reader. Yet, the new translation replaces Szentkuthy's version "*Harp Theatre*—attól máig koldulhatnánk" [*Harp Theatre*—we could beg from it forever / we could beg because of it forever] (205) with "A hárfa, amely egykoron koldussá tett mindnyájunkat" [The harp that in the days of yore made beggars of

us all] (165), the elevated word "egykoron" stylistically indicating that Bloom is citing something here.

At times, translators apparently can be extricated from their perplexities, since Joyce also alludes to some Irish authors whose work is relatively well-known, at least in Hungarian literary circles. This seems to be the case with W. B. Yeats and his poem "Who Goes with Fergus," which Mulligan consciously quotes in the first chapter of *Ulysses*: "And no more turn aside and brood / Upon love's bitter mystery / For Fergus rules the brazen cars" (1.239). The task of the translator appears simple, since Yeats is well-known in Hungary and the poem has a Hungarian translation. Szentkuthy duly incorporated István Vas's translation of the poem into his translation. The new version, by contrast, has consciously chosen not to do so, because Yeats's poem is not only quoted, it is also subtly woven into the texture of "Telemachus," the word "brood," functioning as a sort of Ariadne's thread. Mulligan's recollection of the poem is evidently triggered by his advice to Stephen to "give up the moody brooding," and after a poetic vision conjured up by the poem, "memories beset his [Stephen's] brooding brain" concerning his mother, because he used to sing Yeats's song to her when she was dying. Since the existent Hungarian translation of Yeats's poem does not allow the translator to recreate in Hungarian this intricate texture, which Szentkuthy's translation disrupts, the new translation chooses to sacrifice the intertextual echo for the sake of recreating the subtle intratextual game.[37]

To compensate Hungarian readers for the inevitable Irish intertextual casualties, the new translation sporadically creates portals of Hungarian allusive discovery. Such interventions, however, are always carried out in a highly motivated fashion.[38] For instance, in "Sirens," the description of O'Madden Burke as "that minstrel boy of the wild wet west" (11.269) has become rendered in such a way that it echoes the title of the most widely-known Hungarian translation of Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World*.[39] In "Cyclops," in turn, to give a taste of a crucial feature of the episode, that it reverberates with Irish patriotic song and poetry, the new version has introduced an echo of a paragon of Hungarian patriotic song/poetry, Mihály Vörösmarty's "Szózat" (known in English as "Summons" or "Appeal"), Hungary's second national anthem up to this day.[40]

Occasionally, the restoration of not specifically Irish allusions with a view to lending the reader the joy of intertextual discovery has also come to function as a gateway to some specifically Irish thematic resonances. As noted before, Szentkuthy renders Stephen Dedalus's playful impersonation of a giant in "Proteus," "Feefawfum. I smellz de bloodz odz an Iridzman" (3.293), as "Keltakakálta kölyköknek é-érzem vérszagát" [I sme-ell the blood of brats excreted by Celts]. This well sounding, alliterating nonsense suggests that he was not aware that Stephen's wordplay is intertextually motivated, evoking the well-known English or (Scottish?) nursery rhyme beginning with "Fee-fi-fo-fum, / I smell the blood of an Englishman," which also figures in the fairy tale *Jack and the Beanstalk*.[41] Furthermore, the first two lines of the rhyme also appear in a slightly modified form in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, which looms large in "Proteus": "Fie, foh, and fum! / I smell the blood of a British man" (3.4). Uttered by Edgar, disguised as Poor Tom, these words bring to a close the scene where Lear, "a poor, banished man" meets the "unaccommodated" Poor Tom in the storm.[42] The *King Lear* echo perfectly fits into Stephen's giant-performance, since shortly before, his thoughts revolve around the Wild Goose, Kevin Egan, living in "gay Paree" "loveless, landless, wifeless" (3.253)—that is, in conditions consonant with Lear's deprivation—and in the paragraph immediately preceding his giant game, Stephen thinks of not going back to the Martello Tower to "the panthersahib and his pointer"; that is, to Haines and Mulligan—likewise reminiscent of Lear's condition of having nowhere to go. Thus, Stephen's giant impersonation can be seen as participating in his musings on specifically Irish (not Celtic!) historical as well as personal states of dispossession. Consequently, the new translation relies on Vörösmarty's canonical Hungarian translation of *King Lear*, turning playful nonsense into playful sense.[43]

Finally, I will highlight a textual site that, as Fritz Senn noted a long time ago, functions as one of the most mindboggling translation cruces of *Ulysses* (13). My aim, therefore, is not to suggest that the new translation is any better than Szentkuthy's, since from a purely aesthetic point of view it is not, but to demonstrate how a global approach to translation tasks does not only restore intricate intratextual connections, but also often inescapably enhances the text's cultural specificity. In the wayward conversation of the "Aeolus" episode, Lenehan suddenly blurts out his "brandnew riddle," "What opera is like a railwayline?" to which he himself offers a solution later: "*The Rose of Castile*. See

the wheeze? Rows of cast steel. Gee!" (7. 513, 591). The solution contains a not so brand new pun—a phonetic near convergence—on the title of an existing opera by the nineteenth-century Irish composer, Michael Balfe, *The Rose of Castile*, widely known in Joyce's Ireland.[44] In order to render the wordplay, Szentkuthy creates a near convergence of the graphic variety replacing Balfe's opera with an echo of Rossini's *The Barber of Seville*, more resonant for Hungarian readers: "Melyik operát nem illik megenni?," "A *Sevillai*-t. Ha egyszer nincs hozzá *se villa*, se kanál, se tányér! Hö!" [Literally: "Which opera is not proper to eat? The one from Seville. Since it does not come with a fork or a spoon or a plate] (emphasis added, 161, 164).[45] The new version, by contrast, restores the title of Balfe's opera and offers some moderately witty wordplay accordingly: "Melyik operát adják a virágpiacon?" "A *Kasztília rózsájá*-t. Értitek, hogy adják, he?" [Which opera is for sale/on at the flower market? *The Rose of Castile.* You see it's for sale/on] (131, 133).

The riddle was recast for two reasons. Firstly, its referential dimension is motivated by the narrative context, as Lenehan's "brandnew" idea is directly inspired by the editor Myles Crawford's singing two lines from Balfe's opera: "'*Twas rank and fame that tempted thee, / 'Twas empire charmed thy heart*" (7.471). To see this connection, the Hungarian reader evidently needs some paratextual help. It is worth noting, however, that most contemporary readers of the original are in the same situation, since, with the exception of *The Bohemian Girl*, Balfe's operas are a thing of the past by now even in Ireland. Secondly, and more importantly, the appearance of *The Rose of Castile* in "Aeolus" is not an isolated phenomenon. The motif recurs in the rest of the text, especially in "Sirens," participating in a subtext—also evoked by the lines Crawford sings from Balfe's opera—that haunts the whole of *Ulysses*: the interplay between sexual and imperial desires.[46] It is surely not by accident that in "Sirens," right after Lenehan "lisp[s] a low whistle of decoy" to the barmaid Miss Kennedy, calling her "rose of Castile" (11.329), Boylan, the arch-seducer of *Ulysses*, appears on the scene as "the conquering hero," counterpointed by Bloom, the "unconquered hero" (11.340-42). In the mad carnival of "Circe" then, by way of a garbled replay of the riddle attributed to Bloom, *The Rose of Castile* becomes associated with the British imperial outpost of Gibraltar, the birthplace of the adulterous Molly Bloom: "What railway opera is like a tramline in Gibraltar? The Rose of Casteele" (15.1731).

Szenkuthy totally disrupts this intricate network of intratextual connections by treating translation tasks locally. In "Aeolus" he replaces Balfe with Rossini, in "Sirens" he has Lenehan address Miss Kennedy as the "rose of Castile," which thus becomes totally unmotivated, and in "Circe" he invents a new wordplay, which does not bear the slightest resemblance to the wordplay in "Aeolus."[47] Conversely, the new translation approaches these tasks globally: it restores the culturally specific Rose of Castile consistently, since it is this way, paradoxically, that beyond its less pleasing local confines the riddle can give the reader the joy of intratextual discovery.

The revision process has thoroughly redrawn the Irish dimension of the Hungarian translation of *Ulysses*, and our task involved much more than the simple correction of mistranslations of cultural references that were inaccessible to previous translators. Differences in translators' treatment of cultural specificity also often reflect methodological/interpretative considerations rather than the lack or possession of information. The revision process itself, in turn, was not always plain sailing either; on the one hand, because there is no one right way of translating certain culturally specific features of Joyce's text, and, on the other hand, because there was no full agreement among the members of the translator team concerning the question to what extent the translation should render the cultural otherness of Joyce's text—in my view a crucial task of the twenty-first-century Joyce translator.

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Notes

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[1] The other members of the translator team were Gábor Zoltán Kiss, Dávid Szolláth, and Marianna Gula. When the Hungarian poet-writer-translator Mihály Babits thought of translating *Ulysses* into Hungarian in the 1930s, he intended to do it in a collective way (Gáspár iv).

[2] For a discussion of the aims and methods of the collective effort see the articles of the team members in the Hungarian literary journal *A Jövő* 61.9 (2010) and Kappanyos's 1998 article "*Ulysses* a nyughatatlan" ["*Ulysses*, the Restless"]. In English see Kappanyos's "Fragments of a Report: *Ulysses* Translation in Progress" in the *James Joyce Quarterly* and Gula's "Lost a Bob but Found a Tanner: From a Translator's Workshop" in *Scientia Traductionis—James Joyce and Translation*.

[3] On the Joyce cult, see Ferenc Takács's "Mark-Up and Sale: The Joyce Cult in Overdrive."

[4] It would be impossible to give a comprehensive list here. My book *A Tale of a Pub*, for one, re-examines the "Cyclops" episode in the context of Irish cultural nationalism.

[5] It is also a deliberate echo of the editor Myles Crawford's clarion call to Stephen Dedalus in the "Aeolus" chapter of *Ulysses* to write something for the *Irish Telegraph* and "put us all into it" (7.621).

[6] On the Hungarian reception of Joyce, see Márta Goldmann. As Tekla Mecsnóber has noted in a recent overview of Joyce's Eastern European reception, "before Stalinist cultural politics began to determine cultural politics in these countries, the interest of the local cultural elites in Joyce's texts appears to have been comparable to 'Western' counterparts" (20).

[7] Since the distinctness of Irish authors was defined in racial terms, as Vöő has observed, "with the discrediting of the term 'race' during the 1930s, awareness of Irish uniqueness waned" (157).

[8] *The Book of Kells* had an abiding influence on Joyce's art. Richard Ellmann reports that Joyce gave Arthur Power the following advice in 1953:

> Study *The Book of Kells*. In all the places I have been to, Rome, Zurich, Trieste, I have taken it about with me, and have pored over its workmanship for hours. It is the most purely Irish thing we have, and some of the big initial letters which swing right across a page have the essential quality of a chapter of *Ulysses*. Indeed you can compare much of my work to the intricate illuminations. I would like it to be possible to pick up any page of my book and know at once what book it is. (545)

[9] In Szentkuthy's analysis, *Ulysses* is "related" to the medieval dance macabre tradition, it is a "blood relation" of English nonsense books, like *Alice in Wonderland* (193); Joyce is "the real child" of the age of Webster and Shakespeare (196); the words are woven in *Ulysses* like the "fairy rainbows" of English Romantic poetry (193) (yet, curiously enough, although Szentkuthy compares the poetry of *Ulysses* to that of Coleridge's "Kubla Khan," in "Calypso" the "Kubla Khan" echo [4.97-98] becomes lost in Szentkuthy's rendition, as it is not translated on the basis of the canonical Hungarian translation of the poem by the brilliant poet Lőrinc Szabó); in his realism we can see a reflection of seventeenth-century English poetry (194); and in the songs that spice *Ulysses*—which Szentkuthy sees without exception as "nonsensical," "deliberately made stupid"!—an "ancient English duality" can be detected (197).

[10] Chorus: "'God save Ireland!' said the heroes; / 'God Save Ireland' said they all. / Whether on the scaffold high / Or the battlefield we die, / O, what matter when for Ireland dear we fall."

[11] It must be recognized, however, that the idea of dying for world liberty in Szentkuthy's translation echoes a poem by Sándor Petőfi, "Egy gondolat bánt engemet" (translated by George Szirtes as "One Thought"), one of the most well-known poetic expressions of nineteenth-century Hungarian patriotism.

[12] In the revised version, the final elliptical Hungarian sentence "Akárha vérpadon" is ineluctably devoid of the concrete semantic/semiotic evocative power that it possesses in the

original; yet, its allusive nature is suggested by its form and register, reminiscent of nineteenth-century Hungarian patriotic poetry, and by that the same formula is used consistently in its various textual occurrences.

[13] Szentkuthy's translation: "a Butler-emlékház" (184). The new version: "az emlékmű melletti Butler-ház" [the Butler-house adjacent to the monument] (160).

[14] In "Penelope," Molly recalls how on the way to a concert in Mallow, Bloom got off the train in Maryborough and ordered soup: "the time going to the Mallow concert at Maryborough ordering boiling soup for the two of us" (18.357). In Szentkuthy's translation: "mikor Maryboroughba mentünk a Mallow hangversenyre" [when we were going to Maryborough, to the Mallow concert] (848). The new version sets the topographical relations right: "mikor a mallowi hangversenyre mentünk Maryboroughban [forró levest rendelt]" (644). In "Circe": "when my husband was in the North Riding of Tipperary on the Munster circuit" (15.1017). Szentkuthy: "mikor a férjem Tipperary északi járásába, Munsterbe szállt ki tárgyalásra" [when my husband went to Munster in the North Riding of Tipperary for a circuit court case] (563). New: "mikor a férjem Munsterbe, Tipperary északi részébe szállt ki tárgyalásra" (431).

[15] This is one of the few instances of mistakenly rendered cultural references that Tibor Bartos corrected in his 1986 revision of Szentkuthy's translation. We only had to eliminate a spelling mistake from "Iinishturk" (72). As Bartos left all other instances discussed in this paper untouched, there will be no further references to the 1986 edition.

[16] As Kappanyos has pointed out, Szentkuthy may have wanted his translation to produce the same shock effect in 1974 that the original produced in 1922 ("*Ulysses*, a nyughatatlan" 213). See also my discussion of how Szentkuthy's negative, demeaning vision of Bloom, clear from his 1947 article on Joyce, is reflected in his translation ("Leopold Bloom" 118-21).

[17] The most surprising instance of Szentkuthy's inconsistencies is when he translates the Hiberno-English word "shoneen," appearing twice within the same episode (12.680 and 12.889) with opposing meanings: first as "angolnyalók" [literally: English-lickers, meaning "imitators" of the English] (386), then in "*shoneen* games" as "*kelta* játékok" [Celtic games] (393). In the new version the same word is used: "anglomán" [noun or adjective expressing obsession with things English] (300, 305).

[18] Szentkuthy's translation: "A kasszában az a pofa *segítette meglógni* James Stephenst" (82), "Aki *elindította pályáján* James Stephenst" (393), "Ez az ember *szöktette meg* James Stephenst" (579). The new version: "A pénztáros fickó *szöktette meg* James Stephenst, állítólag" (69), and twice "Íme az ember, aki *megszöktette* James Stephenst" (emphases added, 305, 441).

[19] The foundation to Parnell's statue was laid in 1899, but the statue was erected only in 1911 (see Hill 142).

[20] As Katie Wales has claimed, it is the linguistic richness and hybridity of Hiberno-English that served as a "base" for Joyce's "extraordinary linguistic creativity," culminating in a "universalised Hiberno-English" in *Finnegans Wake* (25, 33).

[21] As John McCourt has noted, Joyce himself avoided this trap when "in a genuine collaborative effort" he and the Triestine Nicolo Vidakovich translated J. M. Synge's *Riders to the*

Sea into Italian (135). Corinna del Greco Lobner, by contrast, has identified "Tuscan idioms and sayings" in Joyce and Vidakovich's translation of Synge (qtd. in Wawrzycka 80).

[22] Bloom's mental comment is evidently a marker of his cultural, linguistic otherness, as well as an instance of what Fritz Senn calls "mind grammar," the grammatical dramatization of the thought process. Despite his vulgar description of Bloom's innocent musing, Szentkuthy's translation of the phrase in his article marks a departure from linguistic norms: "Ártatlanság, mármint" (204). Curiously enough, in his actual translation he uses another, far less successful solution: "Ártatanság az az" (325).

[23] The first Irish sentence, closely resembling a practice sentence from Father O'Growney's *Simple Lessons in Irish* (Gifford 217)—from which Stephen learns Irish in *Stephen Hero*—contains the prepositional phrase appearing in Stephen's mental clowning in English. The historical Mr. Best was the translator of Jubainville's book on Celtic mythology, which his fictional counterpart reports to have shown to Haines earlier in the episode.

[24] In hindsight, I would say that "What's on you, Garry?" could be rendered with the colloquialism "Mi jött rád, Garry?" which would mirror the structure of the original. Yet, this would not lend the question the aura of otherness, as it is a standard colloquial expression in Hungarian.

[25] See Erika Mihálycsa's insightful article on how she and Gábor Csizmadia, the Hungarian translators of Flann O'Brien's *At-Swim-Two-Birds*, dealt with this aspect of the text (180).

[26] At first sight devoid of any sense, after some consideration the verbal jumble can emerge into nonsense: "Kenjed a falra, ecc-pecc" [smear it on the wall, eeny-meeny].

[27] Szentkuthy translates her question to Haines speaking Irish, "Is it French you are talking, sir?" as "Uram, franciául beszél?" [Are you speaking French?] and her agreement that people should speak Irish in Ireland, "I'm told it's a *grand* language *by them that knows*," as "Hallottam olyanoktól, akik ismerik, hogy *csoda* egy nyelv" [I've heard from those who are familiar with it that it's a grand language] (19). The new versions: "Francia a beszédje az úrnak?" and "Hallottam pedig mán azoktul, akik beszélik, hogy csuda egy nyelv az" (20). As Ferenc Takács has pointed out in conversation, at one point the milkwoman's speech becomes inconsistent in the new version as well, since it has left Szentkuthy's translation "Gondoltam, hogy írül beszél" [I thought that it was Irish you were speaking] untouched.

[28] Although the first Hungarian translation of a Synge play, *The Shadow of the Glen* by the excellent poet-translator Dezső Kosztolányi, was published as early as 1925, it was not until the 1960s that some of his other plays became translated (Kurdi 221, 224).

[29] The Hungarian linguist-poet-translator Ádám Nádasdy was commissioned to retranslate Synge's play. The earlier 1960 and revised 1986 translations are the works of Tamás Ungvári.

[30] Just to give a few examples: Szentkuthy translates the simple phrase "a goodlooking sovereign" (12.208) as "egy nyájasarcú arany" [a suave-faced sovereign] (369); "But he might take my leg for a lamppost" (12.702) becomes "De feltételezhetem, hogy . . ." [But I can presume that he might . . .] (386). The simple "says I" at times is replaced by choice variants. By way of an ironic reversal, Szentkuthy occasionally lowers other characters' speech register, most surprisingly

that of Bloom, whose utterances in "Cyclops" are delivered without exception in standard English—probably a linguistic dramatization of his status as a dark outsider in Barney Kiernan's pub—even though elsewhere his thoughts clearly show Hiberno-English inflections (see "Innocence that is" discussed earlier).

[31] All instances of "says I" have become rendered with the ungrammatical "mondok." The new translation also recreates in Hungarian the narrator's most striking stylistic marker "bloody," which is used sixty-four times in the original but, in Szentkuthy's translation, became splintered into fanciful variations. The low register of the narrator's speech has also become consistently marked by the non-standard "aszongya" (a phonetic rendering of the uneducated pronunciation of the standard "azt mondja" [(s)he says)]), as well as by the low colloquial "oszt" and the colloquial "meg/meg hogy" instead of the standard "és" for "and," which appears hundreds of times in the narrator's Hiberno-English storytelling. The new version, however, systematically rids the text of crass grammatical errors sporadically committed in Szentkuthy's version not only by the I-narrator but also by other characters.

[32] For instance, the toast "A hatalmadra, polgártárs" (415), a quasi-literal translation of "More power, citizen" (12.1502), is extremely clumsy, thus, gives the impression of a bad rather than an instance of foreignizing translation. The new version has replaced the unlikely toast with the more colloquially credible "Erő-egészség, polgártárs" [Strength-health, citizen] (304).

[33] In hindsight, I would say that the meaning of the saying could have become more strongly implied by the insertion of one more word: "*Persze*, Connachtban meg hosszú a tehenek szarva" [*Sure*, cows in Connacht have long horns].

[34] Szentkuthy: "mindjárt tudni, hol van a kutya eltemetve, s a rák miért nem megy a vetésre" [Literally: one knows right away where the dog is buried and why the crab does not enter the crop]; the first metaphorical expression meaning "There's the rub," while the second is an imaginative way of evading answering a question] (397). The revised, literally translated version: "hát így már érthetőbb, hogy kerül tej a kókuszdióba, meg hogy mért nincs az állat hasán szőr" (308).

[35] The new translation has also considerably increased such potentials, as several biblical and Shakespeare references, allusions, echoes were absent from Szentkuthy's translation. This process was not without its dilemmas either, however, since it was a debated question within our translator team which Hungarian Bible translation to use. I suggested that we should draw on one of the approved Catholic translations, since *Ulysses* is embedded in a Catholic culture, while the other members insisted on using the first extant (Protestant) Hungarian translation of the whole of the Bible by Gáspár Károli (1590), on the ground that it is this translation that has become an organic part of Hungarian literary culture. Thus, most of the allusions rely on Károli's archaic version. At times when it did not fit the context, various Catholic translations were consulted. Similarly, to render the Shakespeare allusions, the canonical Hungarian translations of his plays were used; occasionally, however, more recent translations served our purposes better.

[36] For instance, Szentkuthy translates Bloom's thought "Corny Kelleher he has *Harvey Duff in his eye*" (emphasis added, 8.441) as "Corny Kellehernek *Harvey Duff a szálka a szemében*" [Harvey Duff is a mote in Corny Kelleher's eye; an idiomatic expression meaning that Corny Kelleher has a problem with Harvey Duff] (emphasis added, 199). Since Harvey Duff is a police

informer in Boucicault's play *The Shaughraun*, in the new translation the sentence becomes "Corny Kellehernek *van egy kis Harvey Duff a nézésében*" [Corny Kelleher has a bit of Harvey Duff in the way he looks] (emphasis added, 161). In Szentkuthy's version, the title of another Boucicault play, *The Colleen Bawn*, appearing among the "many Irish heroes and heroines" in "Cyclops" becomes "A szőke markotányosnő" [the blonde war-time merchant woman] (368), but later in the narrator's account the same Anglicized Irish phrase turns into "egy egész fészekalja tyukesz" [a nestful of chicks] (386). In the new version it becomes "Takaros Menyecske" [a comely maiden] in both cases (288, 300).

[37] The three lines from Yeats's poem in the new translation: "*Borongni elfordulva kár / szerelem bús rejtelmein / Mert Fergusé a bronzszekér*" (15). The same word "borong" is used for "brood" in Mulligan's advice, "Hagyd ezt a bánatos *borongást*," as well as in Stephen's act of recollection: "Stephen *borongó* elméjére rátelepedtek az emlékek."

[38] See Mihálycsa on how she and Csizmadia had recourse to the same technique in translating *At Swim-Two-Birds* (190).

[39] Tamás Ungvári's 1960 translation of *The Playboy* is entitled *A nyugati világ bajnoka* [The Champion of the Western World]. The new translation of O'Madden Burke's description: "a kis vándorénekes a nyirkos vad nyugati világból" [the little minstrel from the wet wild Western world] (255). Szentkuthy slightly mistranslated the description: "az a kis trubadúr a vadvizes nyugatról" [that little troubadour from the wildwatered West] (324).

[40] The learned prelate's action, "offered up to the throne of grace fervent prayers of supplication" (12.611), in the parodic execution scene of the hero martyr has become translated as "*buzgó imádsággal esedezett* a kegyelem trónusához" (emphasis added, 298). The unmistakable "Szózat" echo is multiply motivated in both its most immediate textual context and in the wider context of the episode. Being a product of the cultural nationalist imagination, like the Irish songs and ballads alluded to in "Cyclops," Vörösmarty's poem also evokes crucial discursive formations that "Cyclops" evokes and ironically re-inscribes. Furthermore, the echo of a Hungarian patriotic poem, the author of which was thoroughly influenced by Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies*, is also motivated in a chapter that comments in a ludicrous manner on the cultural, historical intersections between Ireland and Hungary by staging the gossip that the Hungarian Bloom functions as the fountainhead of Arthur Griffith's Sinn Féin policy.

[41] See "Jack the Giantkiller" among the "many Irish heroes and heroines of antiquity" ornamenting the hudibrastic citizen-hero's body in "Cyclops" (12.197).

[42] That Szentkuthy did not note this is all the more ironic since in his 1947 essay on Joyce he claims that we cannot find our way in *Ulysses* without being familiar with crucial dimensions of Shakespeare's plays, explicitly mentioning Edgar's conscious madness as an example (199). The *King Lear* echo is not noted in Gifford and Seidman's Ulysses *Annotated* either.

[43] Vörösmarty's translation: "Hujhá! pihá! brit vért orrontok itt" [I smell British blood]. New translation of the *Ulysses* passage: "Hujhá! Pihá! Írrr vérrrt orrrontok itt" [I smelll Irrrish bloood] (47).

[44] For how brand new Lenehan's idea is see Beck.

[45] *Sevillai* ("from Seville") and *se villa* ("no fork") converge only graphically, not phonetically. Gáspár, like Szentkuthy, aims to render the wordplay with the help of an opera

more resonant for Hungarian readers than *The Rose of Castile*, Verdi's *Il Trovatore* (*Trubadúr* in Hungarian): "Melyik opera az, amelyiknek a címe hangnem?" "*A trubadúr.* Értitek a csíziót? Nem moll, *dúr.* Hé!" [Literally: The title of which opera is a musical tone? *Il Trovatore.* You see? Not a minor, but a major] (emphasis added, 104, 106). Unlike Szentkuthy, however, he tries to have his cake and eat it, as his Lenehan extends his answer with another exhausted riddle retaining *The Rose of Castile* image: "Na és melyik operát árulják a virágkereskedésben? *A Kasztília rózsá*-ját" [And which opera is sold in the flower shop? *The Rose of Castile*] (emphasis added, 106).

[46] The new translation makes this more pronounced: "*Téged rang és hírnév késért, / Birodalomra vágy szíved* [empire is your heart's desire] (130). Szentkuthy: "*Rang és hírnév környékezett, / S álmod az impérium*" [empire is your dream] (159).

[47] The recast riddle in Szenthuthy's version: "Melyik opera játszódik patikában? A Pasztília Rózsája" [Literally: Which opera is set in a pharmacy? The Rose of Pastille] (584). The new version echoes the modest wordplay in "Aeolus": "Melyik operát adják a gibraltári virágpiacon? A Kasztília rózsáját" [Which opera is for sale/on at the flower market in Gibraltar? *The Rose of Castile*] (445).

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Self–Respect Restored:
The Cultural Mulatto and Postethnic American Drama

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"What, then is, the American, this new man?" The question raised by French immigrant Hector St. Jean Crèvecoeur in his 1782 *Letters from an American Farmer* still resonates with the same force in the second decade of the twenty-first century as it did during the nascent of a new nation in the eighteenth century. Moreover, Crèvecoeur's answer already contains the oppositional elements shaping American identity, a striving for oneness, a "new race" vs. recognizing the heterogeneity of "this new man" in terms of cultures and ethnicities: "here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world" (70). In a similar vein, less than a century later, the bard of American democracy, Walt Whitman shared Crèvecoeur's jubilation and joyously declared "America is the Race of Races" in his Preface to *Leaves of Grass* (1855). Prophetically, both envisioned and welcomed a new race,[1] a new amalgamation of people of different nations and ethnicities who have immense potentials and a great future; nonetheless, they also anticipated the elusive nature of American identity.

The post-Civil Rights period from the 1980s onward produces this prophesized "new man," a mixed-race American who is not only conscious and proud of the various cultural, ethnic, and racial forces shaping his/her identity but can also freely navigate between them. The term "cultural mulatto" initially introduced by cultural critic, essayist, and novelist Trey Ellis to identify a new type of African American in the 1980s and then extended to all Americans by theoretician Bertram D. Ashe appropriately describes this "new" American. In his seminal essay "The New Black Aesthetic" (1989), Ellis defines the cultural mulatto: "Just as a genetic mulatto is a black person of mixed parents who can often get along fine with his grandparents, a cultural mulatto, educated by a multi-racial mix of cultures, can also navigate easily in the white world" (235).[2] Ashe argues that "all African Americans are, to one extent or another, naturalized 'cultural mulattos,' as are all Americans, and any other Americans, of any race or ethnicity, who grew up in this country" (614). The non-genetic mulatto is proud of all the cultural heritages s/he is produced by, thus the cultural mulatto

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redefines the constantly shifting term of the American identity. A mixed-race individual's self-respect is restored as the traumas of oppressed existence are removed. The free negotiation between the multi-racial and multi-cultural legacies as shaping factors of the self not only removes centuries-old social and psychological burdens and resentments that people of various ethnic origins have experienced in their marginalized position but also pries open race-imposed cultural boundaries and dichotomies that have long traumatized their consciousness and existence.

The construction of the "healthy, self-aware cultural mulatto" (Ashe 613-14), however, is influenced by the combined effects of social and economic changes occurring in the postmulticultural era, which in turn generate new and experimental ways of artistic representations of such mixed-race individuals. The theatrical representations of the cultural mulatto as dramatized in African American Suzan-Lori Parks's Pulitzer Prize-winning *Topdog/Underdog* (2002) and Asian American David Henry Hwang's autobiographically inspired *Yellow Face* (2007) offer some of the most provocative explorations of this new type of cultural identity. Both plays challenge essentialist interpretations of race and ethnicity, whereby they re-define "a new race."

Cultural models and American identity

The heterogeneous composition of America ensures an extraordinary vitality and vibrancy of American culture; nonetheless, its diversity has generated many tensions over the country's nearly four hundred-year history. The working of two basic forces, centripetal (directed toward centralization, a united America) and centrifugal (caused by divisive issues like race, ethnicity, and religion thus moving away from the center), ensures the dynamism of this culture.[3] Parallel with these forces, American national identity has been continuously (re)-shaped and (re)-conceptualized. Accordingly, the regular interplay between the opposing forces shaping American culture has produced three cultural models with three distinct identity types: the assimilationist up to the 1960s, the multicultural from the late 1960s to the mid-1990s, and the postmulticultural from the end of the twentieth century. The first aims at the unification of the American nation with the prevalent White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) identity, while the second throws into relief the heterogeneity of American culture, which allows for the recognition of formerly marginalized groups of ethnicities acknowledged in the

"hyphenated" identity designation thus refining the American identity (African–American, Asian–American, Native–American, Mexican–American, and so forth). The postmulticultural era—also labeled as postethnic and postblack—looks at race and ethnicity as a continuum rather than as fixed entities. As Harry J. Elam claims, "the postmulticultural discourse seeks to move beyond earlier essentialist definitions of race and offers space for new explorations of cultural and ethnic hybridity, for the interrogation of racial meanings, and for a re-thinking of the politics of cultural identity" (116).

The combined effects of economic and socio-political changes within the US and outside its borders in the 1990s necessitated the revision of the concepts "race" and "ethnicity." On the one hand, traditional conceptions of citizenship and nationality radically changed due to the occurrence of globalized industries that forced masses of people to migrate from their homelands. On the other hand, a new post-Civil Rights Movement generation of young people free of the nationalist impulses of the 1960s could shake off their parents' traumas and anxieties caused by being oppressed, which entailed a new attitude towards race and ethnicity. Additionally, a theoretical discourse on the "whiteness" of the American society since the 1990s also gave impetus to the reconceptualizaton of American identity. In the closing decade of the twentieth century Americanists began to ask "on the heels of Toni Morrison's eloquent *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (1992), just how really white is white American culture? Critics of essentialism have stressed the interpenetration and interweaving of black and white American culture and the socially and economically constructed nature of identities" (Lionnet 380). Similarly, discussing the increasing Asian American presence in American intellectual and popular culture, Kyung-Jin Lee predicts the inevitable re-evaluation of whiteness: "it will actually transform what it means to be 'white' in twenty-first century America as the forces of capitalist globalization and the attendant transnationalism of both goods and people put greater pressure on the term Asian American" (188).

The re-conceptualization of race and identity became inevitable after the 2000 census, when for the first time in American history the designation of *multiracial* could be chosen by respondents. Then 7.3 million Americans, that is 2.6 per cent of the population, identified themselves as of mixed race (Jones), whereas in the 2010 census "more than nine million Americans self-identified as

belonging to two or more race groups" (Cohn).[4] The constantly growing number of multiracial people—by 2050 their number "could account for one in five Americans," according to Joel Kotkin—raised a number of questions pertaining to the traditions of identity politics.

The cultural mulatto archetype and self-respect

Induced by such changes the artistic representation of the postmulticultural American identity has altered. A clearly identifiable new type of character with "a hybrid, fluid, elastic, cultural mulattoesque sense of black identity" (Ashe 614) occurs in literary works of a new generation of artists—primarily black—who were born into or grew up in a radically altered cultural and political milieu. Ashe terms this character the archetype of the cultural mulatto distinguished by a/the constant movement between cultures and legacies, the shaping factors of his/her identity. A more detailed characterization of this archetype, however, will highlight certain reasons why a cultural mulatto regains self-respect and will also serve as a useful tool for the analysis of the cultural mulattoesque characters in the two selected plays.

I propose the following criteria for a definition of the archetype: (1) a quintessential representative of the post-Civil Rights Movement era, the cultural mulatto possesses a composite identity that evinces biraciality and biculturalness; (2) the cultural mulatto's identity is never stable but always in flux; (3) the cultural mulatto transforms the former no man's land, the wild zone between the mainstream and minority worlds into an intercultural sphere, a contact space thus securing a long-desired space in between the two cultures; (4) the cultural mulatto crosses the color line and re-inscribes himself/herself in the history of America; (5) the cultural mulatto embraces the iconographic signifiers of both the mainstream and the minority cultures and histories; (6) the non-genetic cultural mulatto echoes the tragic mulatto stereotype, a widely used stereotypical image of light-skinned people of mixed origin.[5] The literary representation of a cultural mulatto does not necessarily possess all of these qualities, it is sufficient to qualify as a cultural mulatto if a mixed-race character exhibits one or two.

In light of this taxonomy and further clarifying the cultural mulatto as designating the new American cultural identity, I suggest that inevitably the cultural mulatto regains self-respect, necessary for a rewarding life, as Robin S. Dillon testifies:

> Self respect is among the morally interesting and personally significant dimensions of human life. Individuals who are blessed with a confident respect for themselves have something that is vital to living a satisfying, meaningful, flourishing life, while those condemned to live without it or with damaged or fragile self-respect are thereby condemned to live constricted, deformed, frustrating lives, cut off from possibilities of self-realization, self-fulfillment, and happiness. (226)

In Dillon's view at the core of self respect is "a deep appreciation of one's morally significant worth" (228), and the recognition of self-respect involves valuing oneself "as a being with dignity," which has three dominant correlative forms in the Western conception of personhood: "equality, agency, and individuality" (229). The personality of the cultural mulatto endowed with all these elements has the freedom to navigate between cultures and ethnicities, which entails equality and agency, which, in turn, function as the prerequisites of their individuality.

Commenting on the mixed legacies Ellis emphasizes that "[w]e no longer need to deny or suppress any part of our complicated and sometimes contradictory cultural baggage to please either white people or black" (235). The cultural mulatto finds his/her place and space in society, whereby s/he acquires "status worth," which "derives from such things as one's essential nature as a person: membership in a certain class, group, or people, social role; or places in a social hierarchy" (Dillon 229). The cultural mulatto can leave behind the self-hate and an inferiority complex pervasively present in minority people's consciousness due to the hatred from and the rejection by the white dominated society. Thus the cultural mulatto has "evaluative self-respect," which is "merit, the measure of quality of character and conduct which we earn or lose through what we do" (229).

Eric Lott criticizes Ellis as being overly optimistic and too general: "optimism and desire burst . . . infectiously from Trey Ellis's essay," whereas the essay itself is "the false totalizing of a generation of intellectuals" (244). Yet I believe Ellis's claims capture and diagnose shifts in the construction of American identity in the postmulticultural period, which are discernible and clearly identifiable in the theatrical representations of the new American.

Topdog/Underdog and *Yellow Face*

American theatre has always been instrumental in helping to construct as well as challenge American identity. In the early days of American democracy the first truly American comedy, *The Contrast* (1787) written by Royall Tyler, largely contributed to unifying a new nation by defining and glorifying "a distinctive American character embodied in innocence, virtue and sincerity" (Siebert 3). Produced at the dawn of the twenty-first century, Parks's *Topdog/Underdog* and Hwang's *Yellow Face* stage a new kind of American, a cultural mulattoesqe character who embraces a mix of cultures, histories, and heritages, whereby both these dramatists question and deconstruct the viability of monolithic communities. Relying on the achievements of the postmodern theatre—especially in the rhetorical and semiotic representation of the fragmented subjectivity and in the handling of theatrical space—they both use innovative methods and techniques to show the constructedness of race, identity, and ethnicity.

Parks and Hwang reverse racial impersonation as a means to challenge stereotypical images of blacks and Asians, respectively. By reversing blackface and yellowface, both widely used practices of racial stereotyping on stage and screen,[6] these dramatists defy the historical binaries of cultural identities and succeed in pushing beyond simple racial definitions. In both plays, the cultural mulattos are positioned in scandalous historical, cultural, and political events, which allows the two dramatists to display the most acute clashes between different cultures and ethnicities. By providing a highly inventive blend of fact and fiction achieved by populating the stage with historical as well as fictional characters both Parks and Hwang extend the time frame in their plays to include disturbing phases from the history of blacks and Asians in America. Parks arches over more than two hundred years of American history by evoking the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, while Hwang revisits the 1990 scandalous Broadway premiere of *Miss Saigon* to comment on the nearly one-hundred year long upsetting practice of yellowfacing.

Topdog/Underdog dramatizes an archetypal rivalry between two black brothers named Lincoln (often used in a short form: Linc) and Booth living in a seedily furnished room in a brownstone, yet clearly it is not only their names (given to them by their father as a joke) but also their deeds that evoke and, most importantly, repeat the historical tragedy, the assassination of Lincoln by John

Wilkes Booth (1865). Linc works in an arcade as a Lincoln impersonator enacting the president's assassination, whereas Booth desperately tries to learn his brother's skills at three card monte. Infuriated by his inability to acquire his brother's deftness, Booth shoots his brother in a fatal fight over money.

In *Yellow Face* Hwang dramatizes how theatrical and political controversies in the 1990s and the New Millennium affected his own career, his family, and the Asian American community, thus combining private grievances with public anxieties. The theatrical scandal occurred over the casting of a white actor, Jonathan Pryce for the main role of a Vietnamese pimp in the Broadway performance of the musical *Miss Saigon* (1991), even though the role called for a Eurasian; a second theatre-set back was the failure of Hwang's *Face Value* (1993), a play about mistaken racial identities written as a response to the *Miss Saigon* debate. The political event central to the play involves the "yellow peril" hysteria at the beginning of the 1990s that nearly destroyed two prominent Asian Americans, nuclear scientist Wen Ho Lee and Hwang's father, Henry Hwang, the founder of the first Asian American Bank. Wen Ho Lee was falsely accused of espionage, while the charge against Henry Hwang was contributing to Bill Clinton's campaign, whereby, allegedly, he violated federal laws. These indignities, theatrical and political alike, forced Hwang to reconsider his initial politically correct understanding of race. He then perceived racial identity as a personal individual choice, thus recognizing—if indirectly—the legitimacy of a cultural mulatto identity.

The reversal of racial impersonation, the practice of masking whites as Asians in *Yellow Face* and masking blacks as whites in *Topdog/Underdog*, function as an effectively employed metatheatrical element that not only demonstrates the performativity of racial identity but also debunks stereotypical assumptions attached to race. In Parks's play, Linc's working as an Abe Lincoln impersonator is a performative act. Adopting the signifiers of identity change by whitefacing himself and putting on the Lincoln costume, a stovepipe top hat, beard, and coat, Linc gains agency by crossing the color line between blacks and whites. Ironically, he is adamant in asserting his own separate and equally significant identity, yet he is constantly made to remember the figure of President Lincoln along with the history related to him—a fact that substantiates the composite nature of his identity as a cultural mulatto. His failure to make a distinction between his "real" identity (Linc, a card hustler, a black man) and the one he assumes when working

(Lincoln, the president) demonstrates the unfixed nature of race and identity, and eventually his hybrid, cultural mulatto character which is inevitably built of black and white legacies: "Fake Beard. Top hat. Don't make me into no Lincoln. I was on my own before any of that" (30). The Lincoln role creeps into his everyday life and the divisions between his role enacted in the arcade becomes blurred with his real self. Clothing, a vital element of identification, becomes a paradoxical signifier of identity as well as the means for the performative act. In a hurry to catch a bus home, Linc does not have time to take off his Lincoln "get-up," and a kid on the bus asks him for an autograph. Linc tells the story to Booth: "I pretended I didnt [sic] hear him at first. I'd had a long day. . . . They'd just done Lincoln in history class and he knew all about him, he'd been to the arcade but, I dunno, for some reason he was tripping cause there was Honest Abe right beside him on the bus" (11).

In addition to being an "uncanny reminder of the performativity of identity," Linc dressed as the President also "makes us intensely aware of Lincoln's (and the actor's) 'blackness'" (Dietrick 6). As a cultural mulatto, Linc re-writes blacks into history and erases the arbitrarily established color line. Linc is condemned to relive a representation of history he cannot remake. In her essay "Possession" Parks commits herself to re-writing black people's history into American: ". . . so much of African American history has been unrecorded, dismembered, washed out, that one of my tasks as playwright is to—through literature and the special relationship between theatre and real life—locate the ancestral burial ground, dig for bones, hear the bones sing, write it down" (4). Lincoln's oscillations between his masks, clothes, and selves adequately illustrate that the text troubles blackness and holds it up for examination in ways that depart significantly from previous—and necessary—preoccupation with struggling for political freedom.

Yellow Face, a summative and self-reflexive play, presents a highly satirical dramatic rendition of Hwang's transformative journey—termed by him a "mockumentary" (qtd. in Berson, n. pag.)—that re-examines the dilemmas he faced and the decisions he made in his attempt to define Asian American identity from 1990 up to 2006. Applying the method of doubling himself in the character of the narrator/announcer DHH (the initials of his name), Hwang is able to distance himself from his earlier self and revises his former responses to his political correctness. His "Pirandellian comedy" (Chin vii) offers a new model of

cultural identity in the transformation of two characters, the Caucasian Marcus Dahlman aka Marcus Gee and DHH, who parallel the dramatist's own progress from his color-strict perception of racial identity (a politically correct stance according to which only an Asian American can play a role for an Asian American) to his color-blindness (the color of the skin does not count at all when allocating roles in a theatre).

At the beginning of the play DHH is an ardent defender of Asian American actors' rights when he learns that a white actor Jonathan Pryce was cast in the principle role of the Broadway production of *Miss Saigon* in 1990. DHH finds it outrageous that after decades of white actors donning "yellowface," it is morally and ethically wrong for a white actor to play "Asian" because it denies competent Asian actors opportunities: "Yellow face? In this day and age? It's—It's — did [sic] suddenly turn the clock back to 1920. Are we all going to smear shoe polish on our faces?" (Hwang 11).[7] Yet DHH's own political correctness soon vanishes when the producer of *Miss Saigon* confronts him with the ethical question of artistic freedom: "How can you support such a blatant restriction of artistic freedom?" (11). DHH's oscillation between his color-strict stance and his insistence on artistic freedom saves him from becoming the "poster child of political correctness" (14), while compelling him to think about the performative nature of race.

In response to the *Miss Saigon* debate DHH writes *Face Value*, which stages an Asian American character infiltrating a production in whiteface only to reveal later that he is Asian. Urged to find the most suitable actor without typical physical Asian features to avoid stereotypical assumptions about race, by accident, DHH casts the role of the activist to Caucasian Marcus Dahlman, assuming that he is of mixed race. Warned at the audition that the applicant does not have the Asian look, DHH replies: "What exactly are 'Asian features'? . . . Asian faces come in a variety of shapes and sizes—just like any other human beings'" (21–22). Ironically, at the audition Marcus skillfully performs the role of a mixed-race person by obscuring his ethnic origin (by US law an applicant cannot be asked his or her racial origins). After realizing his casting mistake, DHH covers it up by giving Dahlman a new name, Marcus Gee, and a Siberian Jewish ethnic background. As Park perceptively notes,

> With the twist of the Caucasian actor passing himself off as Asian, Hwang is able to examine race and ethnicity in contemporary society, demonstrating not only how Marcus ironically profits from his newfound status as a potentially oppressed man of color, but also how the oppression has less to do with one's actual ethnic background than with how one attempts to perform one's identity in a world fond of neat classifications. (282)

The Caucasian Marcus gains recognition and wealth by yellowfacing himself, whereby he adopts a cultural mulatto identity successfully performing the role of the marginalized Asian American actor confined to accepting stereotypical minor roles. The fake cultural mulatto transforms into a true cultural mulatto. He goes through a personal metamorphosis by gradually distancing himself from an alienated American culture only to discover a sense of community and peace with the Chinese people. Marcus's turning point in realizing connectedness occurs when he is sincerely moved by a welcoming and supportive group of Chinese students at a meeting: "Do you know how special this is? Out there — in the rest of America — everyone's on their own, fighting, to stay afloat. But *you* — you've got each other. No, *we've* got each other!" (Hwang 32). Miraculously, moving from the stage of confessing he is a "fake" (23), he transforms into a true supporter of Chinese American communities and chooses to be Asian American. Intrigued to learn about Chinese culture he travels to Guizhou Province in China "hoping to find — something real" there (9).

Marcus's character fully complies with the requirements of a cultural mulatto archetype. Raised in Seattle, the son of a Russian Jew, by yellowfacing himself first literally, then figuratively, Marcus indeed, assumes a composite identity. Admittedly, he adopts "the Chinese concept of face . . . the face we choose to show the world—reveals who we really are" (40). He creates an interethnic contact space between all the cultures he embraces: Russian, Jewish, Chinese, and American. As a cultural mulatto, Marcus troubles Asianness and holds it up for examination in ways that depart from an attempt to establish and sustain a coherent Asian American identity in times of multiculturalism and post-multiculturalism.

By the end of his journey DHH understands that "people of color do not choose to live inside labels: race is acted upon them from the outside in" (Park 282). Indeed, DHH in *Yellow Face* is able to revise his outdated assumptions about

race and suggest a new unbiased understanding of this concept when talking to Marcus:

> Years ago, I discovered a face—one I could live better and more fully than anything I'd ever tried. But as the years went by, my face became my mask. And I became just another actor—running around in yellow face. [sic!] (*Pause.*) That's when you came in. To take words like "Asian" and "American" like "race" and "nation," mess them up so bad no one has any idea what they mean any more. (63)

"In a matter of less than four decades," Zsolt Virágos maintained in the mid-1990s, "the focus of American culture has clearly moved from the once-hypothesized melting pot to the boiling pot," referring to the conflicted multicultural scene in America towards the end of the 1980s, which was characterized by "divisively multicultural championing of difference" (16). Now, in the second decade of the twenty-first century, in less than three decades American culture approaches a form of *symbiosis* of different cultures. The cult of ethnicity celebrated earlier being replaced by the cult of the cultural mulatto. Fluent in both the mainstream and minority worlds, navigating easily in between the iconic signifiers of two or more cultures, the cultural mulatto, the new type of American identity, helps break down the arbitrary barriers erected between mainstream and minority cultures. Crèvecoeur and Whitman saw much farther ahead than their contemporaries or many subsequent generations as their understanding of a "new race" not only foreshadows but largely corresponds to the cultural mulatto in the twenty-first century.

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Notes

[1] The concept of race refers to discernible biological differences in the outward features of people as used and meant in the nineteenth century, thus it is devoid of the politicized and ideologically attuned meanings, definitions, and social meanings it gained, especially in the twentieth century.

[2] Ellis's essay now ranks among other key documents of Black American consciousness such as Langston Hughes's "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain" (1926), Richard Wright's "Blueprint for Negro Writing"(1937), Larry Neal's "The Black Arts Movement" (1968), and Hoyt W. Fuller's "Toward a Black Aesthetic" (1968).

[3] In his "Diagnosing American Culture: Centrifugality Versus Centripetality; or The Myth of a Core America," Zsolt Virágos uses the notions of centripetality versus centrifugality to describe the dynamism of American culture. The former "expresses the idea of a centralizing and cohesive pull," while the latter refers to the "operation of excentric and decentering factors" (24).

[4] The number of Americans who checked both "black" and "white" on their census forms grew by 134% from 2000 to 2010 (D'Vera Cohn).

[5] There is a long line of tragic mixed-blood characters that most frequently commit suicide or get lynched in consequence of feeling repulsed by their original ethnicity and being rejected by the mainstream society. Tragic mulattos occur in works penned by white and black writers alike ranging from Fenimore Cooper, George Washington Cable, Mark Twain, and Dion Boucicault down to creations of William Faulkner and black writers such as William Wells Brown, Charles W. Chesnutt, and Nella Larsen.

[6] Initially a style of entertainment that first occurred in minstrel shows, blackface is a pervasive practice of white actors and performers masking themselves with black paint to present racist black stereotypes. Yellowface is the same phenomenon applied to Asian Americans, that is, white actors artificially change their looks with makeup to look Asian. Neither phenomenon is entirely extinct and can still disseminate racist images, attitudes, and perceptions worldwide.

[7] The dashes with spaces are part of the original drama text in all the citations from Hwang's play.

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Senator William Edgar Borah and the Question of Treaty Revision

Éva Mathey

HJEAS

The core principle of American foreign policy toward Europe following World War I was the Monroe doctrine, the century-old American policy of political isolation. America completely withdrew from the Paris peace project, did not become a member of the League of Nations, and refused to undertake any political and military commitment to, and the responsibility for, the enforcement of peace. American reluctance to endorse international causes, as manifested, for example, by the debate about the World Court, the Locarno treaty, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact, clearly demonstrated that the US decidedly pursued the traditional policy of political non-entanglement, primarily, though not exclusively, from European issues.

Nevertheless, Hungarians during the interwar period (especially in the 1920s) had high expectations toward the United States as a potential supporter to reexamine the Treaty of Trianon that had dismembered historic Hungary by distributing 71% of its territory and 63% of its people to neighboring states with Rumania receiving Transylvania by far the largest part.[1] This treaty came as a shock to the collective Hungarian consciousness and was perceived as a severe national tragedy. Therefore, Trianon became an overarching national issue during the interwar period, and regardless of their social, economic, or political disposition, the whole Hungarian nation regarded the rectification of Hungary's borders as absolutely necessary.

The traditional Hungarian image of America as the land of freedom, democracy, and fair play, "the guardian of the [sic] laws and humanity"[2] (a highly romanticized and idealized picture of the New World as the model democracy, primarily generated by Sándor Farkas Bölöni's *Journey in North America*), only strengthened these expectations toward the US and partly gave rise to popular illusions—though unfounded—that the United States, always regarded as the champion of justice, was a potential ally of Hungary in her efforts to revise the terms of the Treaty of Trianon. This, however, amounted to but wishful thinking. The United States strictly adhered to a program of political isolation relative to the affairs of Europe throughout the interwar period. Providing support for the revision of the Treaty of Trianon, therefore, was never a viable option despite

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Hungarian hopes. The Western European Desk of the Department of State and its head, William R. Castle, Jr., as well as the official American representatives to Hungary in the interwar period, consistently represented such a policy. Official America did not fall in line with Hungarian revisionist expectations.

One curious exception, however, appears to have been Senator William Edgar Borah of Idaho, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations between 1924 and 1933, who repeatedly gave voice to his belief that the post-war treaties, and among them the Treaty of Trianon, should be revisited.

Borah's position on the question of revision made him, in the opinion of his biographer, one of "the most widely read and quoted Americans" in Europe.[3] As one of the prominent members of the senatorial isolationist stronghold, the Irreconcilables, Borah did not approve of the Paris peace treaties. Furthermore, in Senate debates, essays, articles, newspaper interviews, and in his personal correspondence with people in the United States and abroad, Senator Borah gave voice to his strong opinion and firm conviction that the treaties signed at the end of World War I were morally, politically, and economically wrong and should be subjects to serious changes. He despised the creators of the treaties. In his eyes, they were guided only by revenge,[4] and he held them responsible for the postwar political and economic problems in Europe.

Borah's opinion "was, of course, seized upon eagerly"[5] by the Hungarians. His statements nourished the hope and fueled the belief that the Senator might successfully enhance the revision of the postwar settlement. The Laval incident in 1931 only reinforced the Hungarian conviction about Borah's commitment to the Hungarian cause.

In October 1931 French Premier Pierre Laval paid a visit to Washington on the invitation of incumbent President Herbert Hoover to discuss the gold standard and the question of intergovernmental debts, two urgent economic issues of the day. Hoover also planned to discuss the question of the Polish Corridor. On the president's request Senator Borah, then chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, also attended the meeting. While the President and Laval were conferring, Borah gave a press conference to some French newspapermen in his office and with this created a minor diplomatic storm. The senator stated that the Polish Corridor should be returned to Germany and the former boundaries of Hungary should be restored. Furthermore, he asserted that the revision of the Versailles Treaty was a prerequisite of disarmament and debt

adjustment. While the Germans and the Hungarians welcomed his opinion, the Polish and the French objected.[6]

In 1931 a group of American-Hungarians visited Borah in Washington "to express their gratitude and appreciation of the Hungarian nation for the stand he had taken in the matter of the Trianon Treaty." The speech Borah delivered on this occasion again directed attention to the senator's opinion on the Hungarian treaty and in the eyes of Hungarians strengthened Borah's image as the "friend of the Hungarians." "One thing I can promise," he claimed, "both individually and collectively: to do everything within our means to alter the opinion of America and the world regarding the treaty of Trianon."[7] His promise that he would see what he could do appeared to be backed up by his letter to Alexis de Boer, agent of Hungary before the Tripartite Claims Commission: "As I said . . . I sympathize deeply with Hungary. The only question with me is how and under what circumstances I can be of any service to your country. I hope the time will sometime come when I can be of some service. If that time does come, I will try not to disappoint you and your country."[8] These were vague, almost meaningless statements offering no specific commitments. Still, Hungarians blinded by optimism failed to evaluate them objectively.

Obviously, Borah became very popular with Hungarians, to which fact the senator's correspondence files testify. Hungarians were very responsive to him. On all occasions when Borah spoke about the treaties and their revision he received dozens of letters from Hungarians from all walks of life as well as from members of the Hungarian-American community thanking him for furthering the Hungarian cause and encouraging him in "the performance of [his] great mission."[9]

For example, the Archduke Francis Joseph compiled a great quantity of material on the troubles and suffering of Hungary and sent it to Borah. Professor Francis Deák of Columbia University also corresponded with him,[10] as did some prominent members of Hungarian public life, including the noted author Ferenc Herczeg of the Hungarian Frontier Adjustment League and Nándor Fodor, the editor of the Hungarian daily *Az Est.*[11] The Hungarian-American historian Lajos Kossuth Birinyi carried out an extensive correspondence with Borah, too. [12] Among other things, they exchanged ideas about Birinyi's book *Why the Treaty of Trianon is Void?* (1938). Borah also helped publish Birinyi's essay "The Resurrection of Hungary" in the *Records of the Senate of the United States.*[13] Political

and civic organizations, among others, the Magyar Városok Országos Kongresszusa [National Congress of Hungarian Municipalities], the Women's World League for Hungary, the United Magyar Civic Association in Western Pennsylvania, and the Hungarian-American Chamber of Commerce also sought out the senator for advice and asked him to further the revision of Trianon.[14]

Among the messages to Borah one can find some truly exceptional ones, such as the letter written on behalf of the fourth-graders at the Hódmezővásárhely Elementary School. In it Julianna Kruzsliczki asks the "Kedves Szenátor Bácsi!" [Dear Uncle Senator] not to let Hungary down but to liberate her.[15] The expectations toward Senator Borah relative to helping Hungary revise the terms of the treaty sometimes came in fairly exaggerated forms, as demonstrated by one of the oddest letters ever sent to him by a certain Bóra Jenőné [Mrs. Eugene Bóra] addressing the "Igen Tisztelt Ösmeretlen Rokon!" [the Well-Respected Unknown Relative]. On the basis of the resemblance in the spelling and pronunciation of their family names, Mrs. Bóra had claimed family relations with the senator. (Borah's family tree, however, proves that he had no Hungarian relatives whatsoever.)[16] The lady sought help for Hungary, as well as for herself. By a truly memorable twist in her letter she asked the "distant rich American relative" for financial assistance as well.[17]

The press, both the Hungarian and the Hungarian-American, extensively covered Borah's political activities and opinion. Numerous newspapers, for example, *Az Est*, *Budapesti Hírlap*, and *The Pester Lloyd*, published articles on Borah's views. These were all written in the deepest gratitude to the "savior of Hungary." In the files of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry at the Hungarian National Archives, there is no indication if the government of Hungary ever capitalized on Borah's popularity or approached the senator on the topic of revision. Still, the press as well as other civic forums and organizations did their best to strengthen the belief and keep the hope alive that the ills of Trianon would soon be diminished and treaty revision be assisted by that influential American politician, Senator Borah. "[E]very Hungarian knows and feels," as Ferenc Herczeg put it, "that when [Borah] is speaking, then America is speaking: the voice of the real American spirit, and the will of the American people . . . ."[18]

Borah was, indeed, one of the most prominent and influential politicians in the US that time. As one of the most honored members of the Senate, a famous Irreconcilable, his opinion was thought to have really counted. He was Chairman

of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations between 1924 and 1933. Moreover, President Hoover wished to appoint him secretary of state, a position which was considered to be the next in importance after that of the US president.[19] These facts made Hungarians assume that Borah was a very powerful voice in American public life. What is more, Hungarians believed that Borah had the power to channel the direction of US foreign policy in the way he wished. Hungarian hopes and expectations toward Senator Borah, as well as toward the US, were, however, unfounded for a variety of reasons.

Borah was a "Great Individualist" in the Senate, a true "free-lancer." [20] He never obeyed majority opinion, nor did he act according to party exigencies. In an interview, he characterized himself as a man who was "too old to change. Whoever the next president is he will get my support when I think he is right. And when I think he isn't, he will get something else," he said.[21] The following popular anecdote also tells a lot about his character: "having encountered Borah horseback riding one day, then President Calvin Coolidge expressed surprise at seeing the Senator and the horse traveling in the same direction."[22] A study of his political career and activities demonstrates that he always represented his own opinion, which did not necessarily fall in line with the policy of his government (or party) and which Borah, even if he served high-ranking positions, could not and did not influence.[23] It can also be stated that Borah's views on treaty revision represented neither the general opinion of the Republican Party nor that of the Senate or its Committee on Foreign Relations.[24] Hungarians attached great significance to Senator Borah's serving as head of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and hoped that, in this capacity, the senator would persuade his government about the necessity of treaty revision. The fact that Borah was a fierce Irreconcilable and the belief that the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations had a powerful role in making foreign policy decisions just like it had during 1919-20 in the defeat of the peace treaties and the League of Nations only strengthened Hungarian expectations; however, without much basis. Although the Committee had authority over the approval of foreign treaties and bills proposed by the executive within the system of checks-and-balances, primarily it functions as an advisory body of the government, and, as such, has little to do directly with the actual formation of American foreign policy. Hungarians knew that President Hoover planned to appoint Senator Borah his secretary of state, which obviously made him even more important in their eyes. But Borah refused

to accept the position. His explanation as to why he did so supports the fact that he was an independent voice in contemporary American politics. He said "if as a secretary of state he found it impossible to agree with the administration on some matter of foreign policy, he would be forced either to surrender or get out. Neither of which he would want to do, but the latter he would do if necessary."[25]

Thus, contrary to Hungarian beliefs, Senator Borah had but limited power over the conduct of US foreign affairs, and his opinion clearly did not coincide with the opinion of his government. Borah himself once made it clear in an interview to *Az Est* that what he said in relation to treaty revision was "purely an expression of his personal opinion and conviction and that he was not speaking as the representative of any party or in any official capacity."[26]

Before exploring why Borah advocated the revision of the post-war settlement, two important issues need to be acknowledged. A close scrutiny of his speeches and addresses shows that the Hungarian treaty was of minor importance for Borah compared to the German treaty, which was primarily in the focus of his attention. Secondly, a thorough review of his utterances demonstrates that, contrary to appearances, Borah never considered active political commitment to revision an option. Borah always voiced his opinion that morally he sided with the Hungarian cause,[27] but he always spoke in vague terms as to when, how, in what capacity he could help. Borah's cautious repudiation of real political commitment is, for example, articulated in an interview he gave to the December 6, 1928 issue of *Az Est*. The senator was quoted as having said that

> he was pleased that the United States did not ratify the Treaty of Trianon because of the stipulations contained therein. . . . He said that his position was unaltered, that he still believes that the Treaty of Trianon cannot continue to exist in its present form, and that would have to be altered sooner or later. It is not clear to him how exactly this can be accomplished and he was unable to say by what means the best result would be attained. . . . In reply to the question as to what Hungary might expect from America in connection with the treaty he said that he could not be expected to make a reply at a moment, just before the election, when it might be misconstrued.[28]

Notwithstanding the fact that Borah advocated the necessity of revising the Treaty of Trianon, he never offered concrete solutions relative to America's active political participation in that process.

Vital economic concerns about the future of the European and, primarily, American economic interests were what underlay Borah's opinion on the necessity of revising the postwar settlement, the Treaty of Trianon included. In the light of this it appears even more intriguing why, then, he did not advance the revisiting of the European state of affairs during the period between the wars. On the contrary, he strictly wished to adhere to the traditional policy of political isolation.

Although he himself refused the isolationist label saying that "there was no such thing as an isolationist,"[29] Borah had a strong commitment to the isolationist credo, which explains, at least in part, why he was so concerned with the treaties. As is well known, the US Senate refused to approve the League of Nations plan, which Borah welcomed as the "most fundamental and satisfactory decision reached on foreign affairs by this Government since the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine."[30] Borah's firm anti-League stand stemmed from his conviction that such an organization was a scheme to place the United States in the storm center of European politics, which would result in the loss of America's independent action and a certain degree of her national sovereignty. As a shrewd-minded lawyer he anticipated the League would become a "cloak of respectability,"[31] which, sanctioned by Article X of its Covenant, would only be used to protect the *status quo*. Borah dismissed the idea of the League as irreconcilable with American interests and as completely unacceptable.[32] Participation in the League would have limited American freedom of action by legal, military, and political commitments, which Senator Borah was unwilling to accept. He, therefore, did not consent to the ratification of the postwar treaties because of similar concerns.

That notwithstanding, he studied closely the postwar treaties in general and the Versailles Treaty in particular. Borah found the treaties, and primarily the treaty with Germany, not only unacceptable, but even repugnant. Their terms shocked him. Senator Borah's private correspondence and his 1921 speeches in the Senate indicate that the more he dealt with the treaties, the more inequitable and unjust he found them. Borah argued that the economic prosperity of the US and that of the world depended on Europe.[33] He recognized that European

economic stability and the reconstruction of Europe hinged on German economic recovery, which he saw as unfeasible and problematic due to the impossibly harsh and huge indemnities that the Versailles Treaty imposed on Germany. This explains why Borah argued for the revision of the terms of the Paris treaties, and primarily those of the Versailles Treaty.[34]

He recognized the wrongs of the Paris Peace settlement very early and emphasized that such a system should be subject to changes for the economic and political good of Europe as well as for that of the United States. In Borah's views the "economic reconstruction of Europe which [was so] necessary to the very life of her civilization and the recovery of [American] commerce and industry"[35] became closely related with the question of war debts and reparations, which he considered to be the key to the solution. In January 1933, in a Senate debate on postwar economic problems, Borah clearly stated his program that entailed responsibilities and participation in any council and then called for an international economic conference. His plan was to use the Allied debts as a bargaining tool. In return for American cancellation of debts he expected the Allies to cancel further reparations demands from Germany, reduce armaments, revise the Treaty of Versailles, and, above all, open their markets for American goods. "To tell the truth," he said, "I care very little about these debts in comparison with the restoration of the markets of the American farmer, with the restoration of commerce and trade, and with the restoration of a sound monetary system in the world."[36] But economic help did not equate with political commitments in Borah's views.[37] As a committed isolationist he would have never entangled America in European politics, and he freely voiced this opinion.

In conclusion, it is beyond doubt that Borah's critical assumptions about the postwar settlement and, consequently, his fears from its possible outcome made him repeatedly express his conviction that it was imperative to undo the "most successful conspiracy against the recovery of Europe,"[38] but he never wished to sacrifice American freedom of action and sovereignty to do so. His policy, despite appearances, had always been characterized by his strong and consistent adherence to the isolationist credo. Commitments of purely economic and moral nature were acceptable, but he rejected political entanglement completely. This explains Borah's views on the Treaty of Trianon. This case study on Borah's political views on the question of treaty revision also illuminates the nature of official American views on Hungarian revisionism and underlines that

Hungarian revisionist hopes for American support to dismantle the Trianon Peace Treaty amounted to wishful thinking.

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Notes

[1] From 282,000 square kilometers, Hungary's territory had been reduced to 93,000 square kilometers. She had lost 18.2 million of her population, with 3.3 million ethnic Hungarians now trapped behind new political borders.

[2] Lajos Kossuth's speech at the Corporation Dinner at Irving House, New York, December 11, 1851. Quoted in Elemer Bakó, "Louis Kossuth, 1802-1894," in Marc Pachter and Francis Wein, eds., *Abroad in America: Visitors to the New Nation, 1776-1914* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1976), 128.

[3] Claudius O. Johnson, *Borah of Idaho* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1936), 317. Hereafter cited as Johnson, *Borah.* Borah claimed that the Polish Corridor should go back to the Germans. He also advocated the recognition of the Soviet Union.

[4] Borah's speech on the political and economic effects of the Versailles Treaty, *Records of the US Senate*, 67th Congress, 1st Session, April 30, 1921, 853-54. See also Borah's speech to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the Versailles Treaty, September 26, 1921 in Horace Green, ed., *William E. Borah. American Problems. A Selection of Speeches and Prophesies by William E. Borah* (New York: Duffield, 1924), 133, 136-37. Hereafter cited as Green, ed., *Borah: American Problems.*

[5] Joshua Butler Wright's Memorandum to Secretary of State on the "Trianon Revision Agitation," November 4, 1927. Roll#7, M708, RG59, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., USA (NARA). Based on some powerful criticism of the Paris Peace Treaties (for example, John Maynard Keynes, Francesco Nitti, and Lord Rothermere), Hungarians during the interwar years held to the firm conviction that a return to the frontiers of historic Hungary was feasible with the support of foreign powers.

[6] Johnson, *Borah*, 445-49.

[7] "Senator Borah's Speech before the Hungarian Delegation: 'Future Accomplishments Will Speak of Our Work in Behalf of the Revision of the Treaty of Trianon,'" Box 381, *Borah Papers*. The American-Hungarians visited Borah "to express their gratitude and appreciation of the Hungarian nation for the stand he had taken in the matter of the Trianon Treaty."

[8] Alexis de Boer to Borah, July 13, 1929, Box 270, *Borah Papers*.

[9] Lajos Kossuth Birinyi to Borah, November 28, 1931, Box 313, *Borah Papers*.

[10] Boxes 381, 796 and 843, *Borah Papers*.

[11] Boxes 226 and 234, *Borah Papers*.

[12] Boxes 179, 338 and 490, *Borah Papers*.

[13] Borah asked the Congress to have Birinyi's article printed in the Records. *Records of the Senate of the United States,* 75th Congress, 3rd Session, April 14, 1938, 1512. The article was originally published in a Bridgeport newspaper.

[14] These three letters are in Box 490, *Borah Papers*.

[15] Julianna Kruzsliczki to Borah, December 12, 1931, Box 337, *Borah Papers*.

[16] Robert James Maddox, *William E. Borah and American Foreign Policy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1969), xiv. Hereafter cited as Maddox, *Borah*. Borah's great-grandfather, Jacob Borah, immigrated to America from Germany to Lancaster County, PA around 1760. Borah was the seventh child to William Nathan and Elizabelth Borah and was raised in a strictly religious Presbyterian family.

[17] Szemerjai Bóra Jenőné to Borah, February 15, 1928, Box 337, *Borah Papers*.

[18] Ferenc Herczeg to Borah, May 31, 1933, Box 381, *Borah Papers*. Herczeg wrote:

> Among the leading representative men of cultured humanity whose conscience has been stirred by the Hungarian tragedy, an eminent place is due to Senator Borah. He has never been in our country, and has probably not had very much to do at all with Hungarians; nevertheless, the injustice meted out to us has linked him so closely to our country that today he is called by millions "the friend of the Hungarian people." (Ferenc Herczeg, "Senator Borah's Message to Hungary," Box 381, *Borah Papers*)

[19] Joshua Butler Wright to the Secretary of State, December 6, 1928, Roll#10, M708, RG59, NARA.

[20] Johnson, *Borah*, 258.

[21] Borah's Scrapbook, Vol. 7, Ser. 2, *Borah Papers*.

[22] James E. Watson, *As I Knew Them: The Memoirs of James E. Watson* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1936), 237. Maddox, *Borah*, 150.

[23] The best example illustrating that Borah was an independent thinker may have been how he related to the question of the outlawry of war. For more on this see J. Chalmers Vinson, *William E. Borah and the Outlawry of War* (Athens, GA.: UP of Georgia, 1957). Hereafter cited as Vinson, *Outlawry of War*.

[24] See the debates of the 67th Congress.

[25] Transcript of Senator Borah's White House conferences prepared by his secretary Mrs. Cora Rubin Lane, qtd. in Johnson, *Borah*, 260.

[26] Joshua Butler Wright to the Secretary of State, December 6, 1928. Roll#10, M708, RG59, NARA.

[27] See, for example, Borah to Lajos Kossuth Birinyi, July 13, 1932, Box 338, *Borah Papers*.

[28] Joshua Butler Wright to the Secretary of State, December 6, 1928, Roll#10, M708, RG59, NARA.

[29] Vinson, *Outlawry of War*, 1.

[30] Borah quoted in Johnson, *Borah*, 223. Borah's ardent opposition to the League is powerfully expressed in one of the interviews the senator gave to *The New York Times* on February 1, 1919. He said: "I would have opposed the League had the Savior of Mankind revisited the earth to campaign for its adoption" (53-54).

[31] Maddox, *Borah*, 61.

[32] It is to be noted that Hungarians erroneously interpreted Borah's objection to the League and its Covenant as the expression of his commitment to revising the *status quo*.

[33] "European problems were American problems" (Borah qtd. in Maddox, *Borah* 134).

[34] Borah's speech on the Versailles Treaty, *Records of the US Senate*, 67th Congress, 1st Session, April 30, 1921, 853; Borah's speech to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the Versailles Treaty, September 26, 1921. In Green, ed., *Borah: American Problems*, 136-37.

[35] Borah's speech on the Versailles Treaty, *Records of the US Senate*, 67th Congress, 1st Session, April 30, 1921, 855.

[36] *Records of the Senate of the Congress of the United States*, 72nd Congress, 2nd Session, January 4, 1933, 1284-93. See also Maddox, *Borah*, 124-35 and Johnson, *Borah*, 274-78.

[37] "Helpfulness does not mean entanglement, and participation in economic adjustments does not mean sponsorship for treaty commitments . . . ." (Borah's speech in *Records of the Senate of the United States*, 67th Congress, 1st Session, April 30, 1921, 850).

[38] Borah to E. D. Morel, Member of the English Parliament on January 17, 1923, Box 132, *Borah Papers*.

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"Proof of what a Hungarian woman is capable of": Travels of Mrs. Mocsáry in the United States and Mexico

Balázs Venkovits

While numerous insightful studies have been published on women's travel writing abroad, nineteenth-century female travelers from Hungary to the United States and its neighbors have rarely, if ever, been studied seriously. In Hungarian scholarship, there is even less attention paid to female travel writers than to travel writing in general, which could give the false impression that travel writing in the nineteenth century was not only a male-dominated genre but there were no female representatives at all. This is far from reality: Hungarian women at the time traveled in and wrote about Europe, India, the Middle East, Africa, as well as the United States and Mexico. They not only traveled when accompanying men but several of them left the mother country on their own, often introducing a novel point of view and approach towards countries and cultures visited. Their works provide a wealth of information for scholars: on women's position in contemporary Hungarian society, transportation history, the development of Hungarian travel writing, while also highlighting how Hungarian travelogues differed from Western European travel accounts studied more extensively in Anglophone scholarship. The case study presented here offers an analysis of Mrs. Béla Mocsáry's unique travel accounts in an inter-American context, studying the images of the United States and Mexico and the possible effects of the author's gender on the depiction of these North American countries.

Carl Thompson, a leading scholar in travel writing studies, describes travel as a "negotiation between self and other that is brought about by movement in space" and "all travel writing is at some level a record or product of this encounter, and of the negotiation between similarity and difference that it entailed" (9-10). Perceptions of the self, the cultural and social background of the travelers clearly influence, and to an extent predetermine, how they perceive unfamiliar cultures and people (the other) and thus how they represent them for their readers. In line with this, the question of generic differences among travel writers due to gender has played a crucial role in travel writing studies. Are female travel accounts fundamentally different from those written by males? Do women perceive, experience, and present the world differently during their travels? These

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questions, among many others, have been central to travel writing studies in recent years and numerous publications have dealt with the scholarly study of female travel writing internationally.[2]

More women could embark on international journeys from the second half of the nineteenth century than ever before thanks to the major improvements in transportation, the commercialization of travel, and significant social changes. However, traveling (and travel writing) still posed several challenges and remained to a large extent the privilege of upper classes of (male) society: for women, traveling abroad (outside Europe in particular) required not only courage but also a willingness to go against social expectations and prejudice. This was especially true for women who decided to travel alone. Organizing the particularities of the journey (arranging transportation, finding accommodation, obtaining proper clothing) already required great attention, while the act of traveling itself and then the decision to publish the accounts contributed to these women being perceived as different and exceptional. Meanwhile, travel accounts written by women as a result of such journeys were often seen as marginal and less valuable than those published by men.

Hungarian women abroad: Gender, travel, and tourism

Hungarian historian Sándor Márki called attention to the significance of travel accounts written by Hungarian women as early as 1889, claiming that they provide new perspectives on the countries visited and complement even the best travelogues written by men. In his study, Márki listed almost forty female travelers, twenty of whom also published travel accounts at a time when "in our country the prejudice that a woman should stand out with her beauty alone was still widely accepted" (Wesselényi, "Előszó").

> Gradually, Hungarian women also abandoned their aversion to travel and more and more of them visited beautiful sights both in Hungary and abroad not only out of necessity but also with the aim of studying. Moreover, in the last hundred years several of them published their experience in book form as well. Although they did not prepare their books with scholarly claim, the travelogues are attractive because they mirror what a woman pays attention to and what she is interested in while traveling. (Márki 92)

Several Hungarian women visited European countries including Italy, France, Germany, and Greece as part of a quasi Grand Tour.[2] These places became increasingly accessible for Hungarian women as well and they served as worthy destinations due to their remarkable history and culture. At the same time, more and more women embarked on voyages outside Europe, too.[3] The accounts of these pioneering female travelers were significant also because, as Jill Steward notes, "for the female reader, the experience of reading accounts of foreign places written by women was an important element in encouraging them to think of themselves as tourists and to want to travel abroad" (88).

There were several female travelers left out by Márki who published accounts of journeys in various newspapers, whose works were incorporated into joint publications with their husbands (see Theresa Pulszky on the United States, for example), and probably there were cases when women wrote under pseudonyms. At the same time, the number of female travelers continued to grow after Márki's publication as well. Istvánné Jakabffy published the first Hungarian travel account on the United States (visited with her son) written by a woman in 1893 (Glant, *Csodák* 188-89). Mrs. Mocsáry wrote about her experience in the United States and Mexico in numerous publications at the turn of the century and might be considered an exceptional traveler also because she traveled on her own.

Several factors contributed to the growing number of female travelers from Hungary by the end of the nineteenth century. First of all, the development of infrastructure and the commercialization of travel together with the spreading of tourism made traveling easier and locations that were harder to reach before became more accessible for everyone (Venkovits, "Changing Experience"). As Márki wrote, "the railroad, steam ships, from which the toilette tables and mirrors were not absent either, made traveling rather simple for women" (95-96). Besides this, changes in the social status and perceptions of women, mostly those from privileged classes, made travel and travel writing more acceptable to society. Perceptions of the traditional female roles (as mothers, good wives, and housewives) still persisted, but various social tendencies pointed towards changes and emancipation and thus a possibility for stepping out of the typical roles assigned to women (Pető).

Scholars studying female travel accounts have often tried to identify features that are uniquely characteristic of women travelers. There is a clear

assumption in most critical texts that female travel writing is inherently different. As Sara Mills claims, "the difference is not a simplistic textual distinction between men's writing on the one hand and women's writing on the other, but rather a series of discursive pressures on production and reception which female writers have to negotiate, in very different ways to males" (5-6). Scholars assert that female travel accounts are more personal and emotional and thus focus less on public discourse, including politics or economy, than male travel accounts; they provide more detailed accounts of domestic issues, women being more attentive to detail; women's texts are claimed to be more literary than scholarly, the latter style usually associated with men; the topics discussed and reasons for writing are also often delineated along gender lines as we will see.

Such texts resist simple categorization based only on gender categories: "In terms of stylistic features, there is no way that women's travel writing can be differentiated from that of male writers, though a case could perhaps be made for difference in emphasis, in selection of material, in the relationship between the traveller and the putative reader" (Bassnett 240). In many cases we might as well assume that differences in style or content are the result of personal characteristics rather than gender differences alone. The cultural and national background of a female travel writer may have a stronger influence on a particular textual representation than her gender.

"Traveling transformed my whole being": Mrs. Mocsáry in North America

Susan Bassnett describes female travel writers as being doubly different: "they differ from other, more orthodox, socially conformist women, and from male travellers who use the journey as a means of discovering more about their own masculinity" (226). This is true for Hungarian women as well while a comparison with Western travelers (a third way to be different) was also perceptible in contemporary reports on Mrs. Mocsáry's travels:

> Widow Mrs. Béla Mocsáry, née Mária Fáy, is . . . one of the most noteworthy women. If the English woman travels, she comes to the continent and that is it. If the American woman travels, she comes over to Europe—usually Paris is the destination—she goes to Italy and then settles peacefully because she traveled! However, this Hungarian woman, not to mention her journeys in Europe, visited Africa, India, and America twice—all alone . . . serving as proof of what a Hungarian woman is capable of. (Mocsáry, "Havannában" 36)

Mrs. Mocsáry is often mentioned as the first female travel writer from Hungary, which is certainly not the case. She is not even the first one to travel to North America; still, she is a unique author whose travel accounts concerned areas not visited by women travelers before. She traveled alone when she was over fifty, took numerous photographs, and her works lend themselves to the study of changes in the Hungarian image of North America and questions of gender and travel writing.

Mária Fáy was born in Pomáz in 1845 into a land-owning family.[4] In the available biographies her love of traveling is usually depicted in relation to two male figures, her father and her husband. Mária's father (Ignác Fáy) often traveled and took his daughter with him, for example, to Venice and Vienna. After marrying Béla Mocsáry (at the age of 16), the couple traveled extensively: to Switzerland, Italy, Paris, London, and Berlin. Her social background and early life fits into Kristi Siegel's description of female travelers of the time, claiming that most of these women were relatively privileged and constitute a select group who traveled voluntarily (2).

The couple had no children, and after her husband died in 1890, she decided to continue traveling on her own: "Me, who did not know what the sweet hug of a mother was like, whose married life was not blessed by fate with a child whom I could overwhelm with my love, in my solitude I searched for consolation and found peace in the beauties of nature and the dangers of traveling" ("Mocsáry" 354). Travel by women writers has often been presented as a means of escape, a time "free of constraints of contemporary society, realising their potential once outside the boundaries of a restrictive social order" (Bassnett 234). The travel experience is also often depicted as a search for a new identity and new definition of the self. Mary Kingsley (and her travels through West Africa) is often cited as a key example but clearly such a statement is true for Mrs. Mocsáry as well. She embarked on journeys with the purpose of leaving behind her former self after the death of her husband, and travelling granted her a new identity and a possibility for transformation: "I want to exchange the unbearable uniformity of life without goals to a more interesting, more pleasant, and better pastime," she insisted (*India és Ceylon* 7). Based on the introduction to her first book, she successfully achieved such a transformation: "since then, if I think of my sad past, I feel that my experience during my journeys, the numerous majestic

sights have transformed my whole being" (7). Later she added, "the memories of my journey made my life more beautiful, human society more pleasant, and gave me strength to keep on struggling" (*Keleti Utazás* 398).

The money she earned from the family estate and the fact that she spoke several foreign languages made the realization of her travel plans possible, already indicating the changing social perceptions of women. First, she traveled to the Tatra Mountains and then to Transylvania. But "the feeling of abandonment without a family became terrifying and I wanted to travel further in the world" ("Mocsáry" 354-55). Together with her sister, she traveled to the Balkans and the Middle East (1893), visiting Egypt, Palestine, Greece and Turkey, even reaching Nubia. In later journeys, she traveled alone in Asia, including extensive trips in India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). After spending some time at home, she embarked on transatlantic voyages and traveled to North America twice: to the United States in 1896 and Mexico in 1904. She was also planning a journey around the world, which became impossible due to the Russo-Japanese War. Thus, she had to return home in Hungary, where she died in 1917. These journeys were certainly unmatched at the time and the resulting publications were welcomed and appreciated by contemporary readers.

The decision to publish

Mrs. Mocsáry decided to publish her recollections of the first journey after returning home from India. Similarly to many other female travelers of the time, she assumed an apologetic voice, emphasizing that hers was only a tourist description not aimed at competing with male travel accounts:

> Now I give in to persuasion and based on my letters sent home and my memories, I record my journey for the purposes of charity, not from a scholarly perspective, as *being a simple village lady* I did not embark on journeys for that purpose, but as a way of entertainment for fellow women. Therefore, I recommend my work to Hungarian ladies. (*India és Ceylon* 3)

Such an attitude was in line with that of other female travelers and was a reflection of women's position in public life. Siegel notes that female travel writers often included an "apology" at the beginning of their work, claiming that they write "only" as women and they are not trying to compete with men in the

public sphere; thus not breaking the conventions of femininity. Such apologies often included references to the fact that the travelogue was originally written in the form of letters (to friends and family) and the decision to publish came only later on. William H. Prescott in his introduction to Fanny Calderón de la Barca's *Life in Mexico* (1843), a popular and significant publication in the history of female travel writing, also highlights such an apologetic attitude: "The present work is the result of observations made during a two years' residence in Mexico, by a lady . . . . It consists of letters written to the members of her own family, and, *really*, not intended originally—however incredible the assertion—for publication" (Calderón, "Preface"). A similar example comes from the other iconic female travel writer Mary Kingsley, who writes: "what this book wants is not a simple Preface but an apology, and a very brilliant and convincing one at that. Recognising this fully and feeling quite incompetent to write such a masterpiece, I have asked several literary friends to write one for me, but they have kindly but firmly declined" (Kingsley vii). Such assertions (both regarding the language and content of travel accounts) brought such publications by women more in line with the expectations of contemporary society.

Mrs. Mocsáry similarly claims that more competent people (men) have already written about the places visited, she emphasizes that she is only a simple village lady, and that she is publishing not with scholarly goals in mind but only for the purposes of entertainment. While her journeys and publications indicate the ongoing changes in the status of women in Hungary, Mrs. Mocsáry is always careful to emphasize the significance of the family and the home in the life of women. While acknowledging this feature of female travel accounts, almost all Hungarian men also included apologetic notes in introductions to their publications. These, however, emphasized the deficiencies in their writing skills mostly, otherwise they liked to stress the unique and informative nature of their accounts.

Mrs. Mocsáry published travelogues both in the form of newspaper articles and books, illustrated with photographs taken during her journeys. Her articles were published in *Ország-Világ* [*The Country and the World*] and *Magyar Szalon* [*Hungarian Salon*] as well as in the "Séták a nagyvilágban" ["Strolls in the World"] section of *Új idők* [*New Times*], where several other female travel writers also published travelogues (for example, Mrs. Kornél Kozmutza about India). She wrote travel accounts for *Földrajzi Közlemények* [*Geographical Review*] as well,

which indicates a professional attention to her journeys besides popular interest. She became a member of the Hungarian Geographical Society (which was the first scientific society that admitted women as members already at its foundation in 1872) and also delivered lectures there.

Mrs. Mocsáry published several books about her journeys. *India és Ceylon: Úti jegyzetek* [*India and Ceylon: Travel Notes*] came out in 1899 and presented her travels to and in India (Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta) and Ceylon with 80 illustrations and photographs. Her 400-page-long book *Keleti utazás: Egyiptom, Szentföld, India, Ceylon* [*Oriental Journey: Egypt, the Holy Land, India, Ceylon*] is a second, extended edition of the first one, this time also featuring accounts of her journey to Egypt, the Nile, Jerusalem, and Greece. This publication also included more than two hundred photographs.

The accounts of her US and Mexican trips were first printed in article form in *Földrajzi Közlemények* and *Magyar Szalon* respectively, and were published as reprints in book format due to their popularity. Compared to her former books, these were short texts. While *Földrajzi Közlemények* offered a scholarly forum, *Magyar Szalon* was a more popular medium where the publication of illustrated travel accounts was also dominant. The fact that she published in papers for such different audiences and purposes shows her appeal to a wide range of her contemporary readers.

A tourist's view of North America

Mrs. Mocsáry provides a modern tourist's account of North America using a descriptive style where the personality of the writer, her thoughts, and opinions often remain hidden (as opposed to most male travel writers). In this sense she was similar to some of the other Hungarian women travelers.[5] Mrs. Mocsáry also traveled on the tourist track, staying in the best hotels and visiting "tourist attractions" only; thus, she provided eloquent and explanatory accounts of various places. In the US she moves away from urban areas in the east and goes to the western part of the country in search of unparalleled vistas and natural scenery primarily. Instead of detailing urban areas and social issues, she describes mountain rides, hotels, restaurants, and the pleasures of traveling. In Mexico she visits the capital and other major cities focusing also on tourist attractions and sites of memory related to Maximilian von Habsburg and his empire. While the journey itself is presented as enjoyable, she offers a guide for future tourists by

providing tips to them: on good hotels, the price of accommodation and different types of services, what people should wear during trips to different locations. In this way she creates a travel-guide text with snapshots of unfamiliar beauties of nature.

Her presence as a female tourist traveling alone already indicated social and historical changes in North America. Traveling became more comfortable, safer, and enjoyable in both countries. Her journey was supported by the relatively calm historical period as well, compared to earlier travel accounts, as her journey was not affected by political problems that she would have had to address even if seen "unfit for a lady." The issue of safety (and thus the plausibility of tourism) was especially crucial in the case of Mexico, a country depicted as dangerous and full of bandits by earlier travelers (and thus also inferior and uncivilized). However, in turn-of-the-century Mexico, "under the new calm, tourists became a common sight. . . . The first guidebooks had appeared in the 1880s, and in the last two decades of the century nearly sixty books of travel were published by American and British writers" (Drewey 40). The new group of tourists also brought changes in terms of what was noteworthy in the country. "Few tourists were coming to explore the ancient Indian monuments, which were mostly in ruins, inaccessible, or undiscovered. . . . [R]ather it was the Spanish heritage, the new works created by Maximilian and Díaz, the scenery, and the local color that attracted tourists" (Drewey 40).

This was certainly true for Mrs. Mocsáry as well. Karl Baedeker's *The United States with an Excursion into Mexico* was first published in 1893 and could probably serve as a handbook for her.[6] The guidebook's introduction to the Mexican section already heralds a new approach towards the country both in terms of its progress and attractiveness for (female) tourists:

> Since the opening of the railways . . . , an excursion into Mexico can be easily added to a visit to the S. part of the United States, and affords a survey of so novel and picturesque a civilisation as amply to repay the time and trouble. Three weeks will suffice for the journey to and from the City of Mexico, with halts at many interesting places on the way, and also for trips from the City of Mexico to Orizaba (or even Vera Cruz), Puebla, and Oaxaca (Mitla). This excursion involves no serious hardships and is constantly made by ladies.
>
> (Baedeker 537)

The guidebook supplied her with tips on what cities and sights to visit; recommended hotels, possible means of transportation, theatre and other social programs; and also provided introductory notes that she could use to prepare for the trips and also recycle in her account. It is likely that Mrs. Mocsáry consulted this Baedeker as she stayed in the hotels suggested by the guidebook and described many of the places recommended in it. She then recirculated this information and created a Baedeker-like account herself both on Mexico and the United States.

At the same time, the assumption of the tourist identity made it possible for Mrs. Mocsáry to exclude comments on social problems and politics from her travel account (neither deemed acceptable topics for women) and to focus on portrayals of scenery and tourist sites that were considered more neutral topics. Objective and matter-of-fact descriptions in relatively short publications (37 pages in the case of Mexico and 42 devoted to the US, with most of the space taken up by photographs) provide detailed descriptions of the most important tourist spots focusing on the beauty and development of the country without any discussion of social or political matters. The major social issues also affecting Hungarians are not mentioned: in the US account there is no reference to New Immigration (taking place from the 1870s to World War I) with more than a million Hungarians leaving the mother country for the US (with an estimated 25 million other people immigrating to the United States during this period). Immigration to Mexico is mentioned but the author does not express an opinion on the issue, its causes and consequences and, of course, neither discourages, nor encourages migration. Mrs. Mocsáry meets several Hungarians during the voyage to Mexico and she writes about the Hungarian presence in the country. She mentions at one point that the director of *Hotel Palacio* is a Hungarian and states that several Hungarians living in Mexico also contacted her (*Mexikói utazásom* 20). Social issues related to various ethnic and racial groups are not introduced, nor are questions and problems related to urbanization, among other issues that formerly played an important role in male travel accounts.

While offering detailed descriptions of major sights, Mrs. Mocsáry writes little about the population. Even when she mentions various ethnic or racial groups within society, she remains the objective outsider and does not start to analyze their social position. In the United States, for example, she mentions the presence of Chinese and Japanese workers, the Chinese maids are described as

"skillful and attentive" (*Mexikói utazásom* 7), but she does not discuss questions of Asian immigration (for example, Chinese Exclusion restricting Chinese immigration to the country) or the often hostile attitude towards Asian immigrants in California. The same silence occurs in connection with African-Americans, as, for instance, when she mentions the work of black servants on trains without any regard for their social status or contemporary issues. Her ideas concerning the position of non-white people are revealed only in scarce, short, and indirect statements and references. For example, when talking about Alaska Natives, she mentions boarding schools and celebrates them as a means of educating the natives who will leave behind their traditions and thus become more civilized. Otherwise, they are presented only as interesting people to be visited as part of a trip to the region. Concerning Mexico, she practically remains silent on the population and provides an introduction only to two groups in relative detail, the Native populace and women.

While in former travel accounts the different social, racial, and ethnic groups were always discussed, in Mrs. Mocsáry's travel accounts of Mexico, these considerations are completely missing. Mrs. Mocsáry ponders the past traditions, beliefs, and artwork of Natives, providing an overview of their history and the description of major sites and archeological findings related to their culture, without actually visiting these places.[7] Although she tries to avoid criticism and a hostile approach towards the population, certain statements reveal her attitude towards the contemporary Native people. At one point, she reports the wife of the Count working at the Consulate "complained that despite all her efforts and sacrifice she can help improve the problems of the people only slightly due to their fanatic thinking and traditions" (*Mexikói utazásom* 11). Later, however, she shares with her readers her own unfavorable view as well: "they [Natives] bent before European civilization and today it is hard to imagine that these people were capable of governing a state like that of the Aztecs' on a regular basis" (*Mexikói utazásom* 12).

It is often claimed that women travelers are more open to the detailed discussion of the status and position of fellow women and provide more reliable accounts of their domestic life than male travel accounts. But in her US travelogue, any discussion of American women is missing completely. In the case of Mexico, unfortunately, Mrs. Mocsáry does not provide any new information about Mexican women. She focuses on their physical beauty only, presenting

their looks and clothes, and the reader cannot learn about their domestic life or concerns. Basically, she reiterates former views of Mexican women propagated by male travelers: "the Mexican woman is always pretty, strong, and healthy and she stands out with her long black eyelashes and strong eyebrows; she does not know about the corset and likes music and flowers" (*Mexikói utazásom* 21). Although she also adds photos of Mexican women, her descriptions remain simplistic and provide only a few general statements, such as "the love of children and flowers is well developed in women" (*Mexikói utazásom* 17). During her stay, she did not have an opportunity to get to know Mexican women and thus did not learn about their everyday life in any more detail than any previous male travel writers. We cannot gain insight into either women's opinion on Mexican social issues or on the status of women at the turn of the century. Mexican women mentioned by all Hungarian travel writers were simply attractive, beautiful, and exotic; such statements rarely went beyond the simplistic portrayal of women's physical features and exoticism with no details of their social life. Unfortunately, Mrs. Mocsáry did not violate this "convention."

She introduces those aspects of life in the United States and especially Mexico that could be experienced by an upper-class woman traveling on the tourist path and living in the best hotels. Using the form of a tourist report, Mrs. Mocsáry did not feel compelled to comment on social issues discussed in all previous Hungarian travel accounts; for example, the differences between racial and ethnic groups in Mexico or the position of African-Americans in US society, which met gender expectations in current travel writing: "despite their generally privileged class position, women writers tended to concentrate on descriptions of people as individuals, rather than on statements about the race as a whole" (Mills 3). Women in their travel accounts seem to be more interested in domestic life and picturesque landscapes than men, exhibiting a "clear assertion of femininity, either through attention to details of clothing, accounts of domestic life, or the inclusion of romantic episodes" (Bassnett 239).

Moreover, women travel accounts were often devalued and seen as non-literary and merely autobiographical, while (seemingly in a contradictory manner) they were also often accused of falsification and exaggeration (Mills 110) and were thus seen as marginal to men's accounts. "If they tend towards the discourses of femininity in their work," writes Mills, "they are regarded as trivial, and if they draw on the more adventure hero type narratives their work is

questioned" (118). Taking photos and attaching them to their work helped authenticate their accounts and mask them as more real or believable for readers, avoiding accusations of falsification. As a modern tourist, Mrs. Mocsáry was also equipped with a Kodak that she used throughout her journey to document her experience, and taking photos became an important way of relating her journey and sharing her impressions with Hungarian armchair travelers.

By the time of publication of Mrs. Mocsáry's book, the inclusion of photographs had become relatively widespread as taking photographs and integrating them into travelogues became easier due to the development of technology. Taking photos also came to play a crucial role in the tourist experience itself. Mrs. Mocsáry often emphasizes that she is using her Kodak to record what she sees and expresses regret when she cannot take a photo of an event or place worthy of remembering (*Mexikói utazásom* 5). There are about 40 photos included in her Mexican and US travelogues, most of them documenting major attractions of the cities visited, some focusing on beauties of nature, intriguing (and ancient) objects, and artwork. People rarely appear in these pictures, the only exception being three close-up images of Mexican women and photos of Natives in the US account. The postcard-like photos also seem to reinforce the guidebook style of the account that focuses more on propagating images of tourist attractions than reflecting on ethnography or social issues.

Her tourist identity becomes visible in descriptions of such topics as transportation and technology. Advances in infrastructure, railways, and roads are important for her not as indicators of progress and civilization (as in former travel accounts written by men) but because they make places accessible for "excursionists." While traveling in the US, her focus is not on the railroad itself but on the surrounding environment. Technology, tunnels, and snow sheds are interesting only to the extent that they make traveling for tourists easier and help bring them to places previously inaccessible to the masses: "later the railroad is even more gorgeous and at every turn it offers a new surprise for the travelers, its artistic structure touches on the most beautiful spots, turning here and there, sometimes leaving, then resurfacing from one of the canyons, but always visiting those places where there is a surprising view" (*Útazásom* 14). Technological and infrastructural development in Mexico, therefore, is not linked to the progress of the country, nor does it represent a significant move forward, but is only an achievement contributing to the improvement of the tourist experience. Even if

Mrs. Mocsáry mentions examples or suggestions for Hungary to follow, they come within the realm of tourism: she claims that Hungary's most beautiful places in the High-Tatras, for example, should be served by railroads, which would benefit the tourist industry (*Utazásom* 16). When emphasizing the popularity of outdoor camping in the United States, she claims that such a form of holiday should also be encouraged in Hungary so as to allow even the poor to enjoy nature and go on holiday (*Utazásom* 16).

Conclusion

In Hungarian travel writing before Mrs. Mocsáry, descriptions of Mexico typically included references to the United States, comparisons with the Northern neighbor and very often binary oppositions of superiority and inferiority (Venkovits, "Describing the Other"). In her case, however, the United States does not serve as a constant reference point even though she visited both countries. This may be due to two reasons. On the one hand, in her Baedeker-like account she focuses on Mexico specifically, its main attractions and peculiarities, and in such an account there is no point in making inter-American comparisons. On the other hand, such contrasts would have involved the discussion of politics and the making of political statements on issues of superiority and inferiority, civilization, and progress; topics often discussed by men but not in line with Mrs. Mocsáry's purposes and style of writing.

Mrs. Mocsáry provided Hungarians with one of the first female views of Mexico and the United States by a Hungarian. While translations of texts by other female travelers such as de la Barca were available earlier in Hungary, among Hungarian writers only men provided travel accounts of Mexico and thus women served only as the objects of descriptions. Also, some women had published travel accounts on the United States, but Mrs. Mocsáry was the first to travel on her own and share her experience in writing. Thus, she provided a new point of view opening up novel realms of discourse. She produced an original account as she traveled writing as a tourist per se, which reflected her privileged background while her style conformed to social expectations of travel writing. Through describing major sights while traveling on the tourist path she offered an alternative view of what was worth visiting and writing about. Through her style she propagated a new image of the countries. She presented new insights into life in the United States as former travel writers did not focus on those areas and

topics she deemed primary. She moved away from former depictions of Mexico, presenting a country where even a woman could travel alone. Similarly to Jenő Bánó writing about Mexico at the same time, Mrs. Mocsáry deconstructs the former image of Mexico as a land of bandits and thieves asserting that Mexico is safe. Even if gender obviously influenced her approach, she also often reiterated former male perceptions of the American countries thus it would be difficult to distinguish her travel account from travel writing by men simply on a textual basis.

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Notes

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[1] See, for example, Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991); Susan Bassnett, "Travel Writing and Gender," *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing,* ed. by Tim Youngs and Peter Hulme (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), 225-242; Kristi Siegel, ed., *Gender, Genre, and Identity in Women's Travel Writing* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004); John Theakstone, *Victorian and Edwardian Women Travellers: A Bibliography of Books Published in English* (Mansfield Center, CT: Martino, 2006); Jane Robinson, *Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travellers*(Oxford: OUP, 1990); Catherine Barnes Stevenson, *Victorian Women Travel Writers in Africa* (Boston: Twayne, 1982); Indira Ghose, *Women Travellers in Colonial India: The Power of the Female Gaze* (Oxford: OUP, 1998); June Edith Hahner, *Women Through Women's Eyes: Latin American Women in 19th-century Travel Accounts* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1998).

[2] See, for example, the following: Lilla Bulyovszky, *Úti naplóm* [*My Travel Diary*] (Pest: Boldini, 1858); Lilla Bulyovszky, *Norvégiából: Úti emlékek* [*From Norway: Memories of a Journey*] (Pest: Emich G., 1866); Ádámné Wass, *Úti képek: Szeptember-november 1859* [*Images of a Journey: September-November 1859*] (Kolozsvár: n.p., 1860); Emma Teleki Ágostonné De Gerando, *Hedvig és Andor utazása Rómában: Írta Anyjok* [*The Journey of Hedvig and Andor in Rome: Written by their Mother*] (Paris: Jouaust, 1866) and *De Gerando Agostné grőf Teleki Emma Görögországi levelei és a régi Attikának hiteles kutfők utáni leírása* [*The Greek Letters of De Gerando Agostné Grőf Teleki Emma and the Description of Old Ithaca Based on Reliable Sources*] (Pest: Heckenast, 1873); Józsa Uhrl, *Emlékek római útamból* [*Memories of My Trip to Rome*] (Pozsony: n.p., 1888); Hermina Geduly Tauscherné, "Utazásom a Mont-Blancra" ["My Trip to Mont Blanc"], *Földrajzi Közlemények* (1882): 218-32; Polyxéna Pulszky Hampelné, "Kirándulásunk a régi Trója vidékére" ["Our Excursion to the Region of Old Troy"], *Egyetértés* 128 and 130 (1884);

[3] Etelka Győrffy sent letters from India published in *Magyar Háziasszony* [*Hungarian Housewife*] as early as 1886. Mrs. Samuel Baker (of supposed Hungarian origin) accompanied her husband to Africa, while Hermina Gillmingné Fischer traveled around the world visiting and

writing about the United States, Cuba, South America, Japan, China, and India with her work being published in German.

[4] This section is based on Szinnyei, *Magyar írók* [*The Life and Works of Hungarian Authors*] and Balázs, *Magyar utazók* [*Lexicon of Hungarian Travelers*].

[5] Márki described Mrs. Ádám Wass, for instance, in a similar fashion: "Her personality never steps too much into the foreground, at least during her journeys, as she only gets off in major cities and thus her delicate taste does not have to accommodate itself to the imperfect, sometimes dirty inns of small towns or villages" (111).

[6] Here, I am using the second, revised edition: Karl Baedeker, ed, *The United States with an Excursion into Mexico* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1899). The German version was also available (and was probably used by Mrs. Mocsáry): *Nordamerika: die Vereinigten Staaten nebst einem Ausflug nach Mexiko* (Leipzig: Verlag von Karl Baedeker, 1893).

[7] The description of the practice of sacrifice and the Aztec calendar stone have by now become standard elements of travel accounts on the country.

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Kurt Vonnegut: *The* Representative Post-World War II American Writer

Donald E. Morse

HJEAS

> "The power of memory is great, O Lord!" (St Augustine, *The Confessions* X)

In Greek mythology Mnemosyne or Memory, the mother of all the muses, had a sister, Lesmosyne or Forgetting. When Mnemosyne was in the ascendant, all the arts flourished; when Lesmosyne ruled, the arts, culture, history died or at the very least went into decline. During the course of the twentieth century, Lesmosyne grew stronger and stronger in the West, while Mnemosyne became relegated to a few backwaters.[1] The historian Eric Hobsbawm observes in *The Age of Extremes: A History of the World 1914-1991* that

> The destruction of the past, or rather of the social mechanisms that link one's contemporary experience to that of earlier generations, is one of the most characteristic and eerie phenomena of the late twentieth century. Most young men and women at the century's end grow up in a sort of permanent present lacking any organic relation to the public past of the time's they live in. (3)

Gone from late twentieth- and early twenty-first century experience of the present is both an awareness of historical continuity and an appreciation of the human community stretching both backward and forward from the present. This loss led Don Gifford to describe the United States at the end of the twentieth century as "a nation without history inhabited by a history-blind people. The present as moral-duration is reserved for those who, in the continuing media coup of the 1980s, are dismissed as wimps by those who stand tall in the saddle-back of the historyless present" (122).

Against this background, the novels of Kurt Vonnegut depict an urgent need for Americans to turn away from Lesmosyne and back to her sister Mnemosyne. His novels affirm an organic relation between events taking place today and the public past and acknowledge that far from living in a "historyless present" we, in H. Richard Niebuhr's memorable simile, "live in history as the fish lives in water." Vonnegut's novels help preserve Mnemosyne or Memory—whether that memory be of the American Great Depression, the Dresden Fire

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Storm, the atomic bombing of both Hiroshima *and* Nagasaki, corporate excesses, Watergate or the United States' defeat in Vietnam.

Who represents an age?

The literary historian Van Wyck Brooks once posed the question: "Who . . . can be said to represent an age?" His answer was: "Not the grandfathers or the children, but the middle generation" (115). In the twentieth century it is the "middle generation," those who engaged in World War II, that represents the age, and it is to that generation and about that generation Vonnegut's novels speak. Those who survived the war, returned home, carried with them the memory of that war, married high school sweethearts, started a career, and raised a family. Theirs is *the* representative generation. As their writer, Vonnegut may well be *the* representative American writer of the latter half of the twentieth century. His novels reflect that generation's experience of the major traumatic public events that preeminently include the Great Depression, World War II, the advent and use of the atom bomb, the Vietnam War, and the weakening of social bonds and institutions after the 1960s. Equally representative are the private events Vonnegut experienced including marrying, having a family, establishing a career, divorcing, remarrying, growing old, and confronting loss. In between these two poles of the public and private, Vonnegut's novels also treat the particularly American brand of isolation and loneliness, the confrontation with internal rather than external evil in the prevalent American question of means and ends, and the omnipresent suffering life inevitably brings. Like Ralph Waldo Emerson, Vonnegut assures us we are not alone. Smilarly to Henry David Thoreau at Walden Pond, he also reminds us that "the same questions that disturb and puzzle us have in their turn occurred to all the wise men; not one has been omitted" (*Walden* 75). Yet each question must be asked anew by each generation. Like Mark Twain, he casts a jaundiced eye at what his neighbors call "progress"—even when that progress is spectacular as in the achievements of the space program. The *Chicago Tribune* book critic Joseph Coates, comparing Vonnegut to Twain, concludes: "America has had no writer so cheerfully, entertainingly and less hectoringly sane—hence truly subversive—since Mark Twain" (4).

Ethical questions and problems lie at the heart of Vonnegut's novels so much so that Kevin A. Boon predicts that "fifty years into the twenty-first

century, when future scholars look back at Vonnegut's work, . . . they will certainly recognize him as [the] . . . conscience [of the post-nuclear twentieth century]" (ix). His work clearly reflects his ethical imagination. The Irish philosopher Richard Kearney summarizes "the ethical potential of narrative imagination" under three main headings:

> (1) The *testimonial* capacity to bear witness to a forgotten past; (2) the *empathic* capacity to identify with those different from us (victims and exemplars alike); and (3) the *critical-utopian* capacity to challenge official stories with unofficial or dissenting ones which open up alternative ways of being. (255)

With the exception of *Player Piano* (1952), each of Vonnegut's early novels through *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969) does "bear witness to a forgotten past"—a past that official historical versions of World War II had repressed. *Slaughterhouse-Five*, in addition to reanimating a forgotten, buried past, in its introduction and Tralfamadorian sections, "open[s] up alternative ways of being." The intermediate or transitional novels from *Breakfast of Champions* (1973) through *Deadeye Dick* (1982) empathetically "identify with those different from us" (Kearney 252), whether they be in jail or out, active street people or passive pharmacists, exceptionally gifted intellectually or impoverished socially. Many novels from *Player Piano* through *Timequake* (1997) reflect Vonnegut's "*critical-utopian* capacity to challenge official stories with unofficial or dissenting ones which open up alternative ways of being" (255). *Player Piano* challenged the received wisdom that "the business of America is business" and, therefore, if businesses or international corporations do well, enriching the top layer of society, everyone below will benefit from the wealth as it trickles down. *Player Piano*, *God Bless You, Mr. Rosewater* (1965), *Jailbird* (1979), and *Hocus Pocus* (1990) all suggest how false this notion is. *Timequake*, on the other hand, explicitly tackles the problem of meaningless work in Vonnegut's proposed constitutional amendment: "*Article XXIX:* Every adult who needs it shall be given meaningful work to do, at a living wage" (152). The late novels, from *Galápagos* (1985) through *Timequake*, "challenge official stories with unofficial or dissenting ones which open up alternative ways of being" (Kearney 255). Those "official stories" include boasting of the progress of human evolution, hyping the value of twentieth-century art, exaggerating the United States' successful extrication from

Vietnam, touting the value and use of the information highway, and reveling in the illusion of immortality.

Vonnegut's dissenting unofficial stories treat of the great moral, social, and political issues of his time, so he assails genocide, scorns racism, and denounces the destruction of nature; he defends first amendment rights and the sacredness of all life; advocates viable forms of human community; and accepts inevitable loss. His heroes and role models are Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, Eugene Debs of Indiana, and Jesus of Nazareth. Eugene Victor Debs (1855-1926) had carved on his tombstone a justly famous epitaph: "While there is a lower class I am in it. While there is a criminal element I am of it. While there is a soul in prison I am not free." (It is a measure of Lesmosyne's current power that Vonnegut in his last years had to warn his American audiences that Debs is serious, that this is not a comic epitaph!) Eugene Debs ran for president four times and in 1912 received close to a million votes.[2] He advocated and worked for a society composed of poverty-free, politically autonomous and equal individuals, a society with well-maintained institutions that would, for instance, prevent youngsters from becoming criminals by giving them hope through economic and social equality. Looking back from the end of the twentieth-century or—worse—from the early 21st century, when President George W. Bush lined the pockets of the rich at the expense of the poor, Debs's dream of such a just society appears to have died with him in 1926. Yet, it remains alive in Vonnegut's novels.

Those novels may be usefully viewed as Richard Rorty's "[s]tories about what a nation has been and should try to be." Such stories, Rorty maintains, "are not attempts at accurate representation, but rather attempts to forge a moral identity" (13). Vonnegut attempts to forge a moral identity composed of a mosaic of bits and pieces of experience and history, such as his witnessing the Dresden massacre and his adopting Eugene Debs's clarion call to arms to end poverty. Like Rorty, Vonnegut, too, believes that democratic institutions can serve social justice (Rorty 36). In recalling the greatness of President Lincoln and social activist Debs as moral touchstones for political and social action, Vonnegut performs a useful public service. Rorty contends that

> it would be a big help to American efforts for social justice if each new generation were able to think of itself as participating in a movement which has

> lasted for more than a century, and has served human liberty well. . . . Each new generation . . . should be able to see, as Whitman and Dewey did, the struggle for social justice as central to their country's moral identity. (51)

But to do so would require resuscitating Mnemosyne while positing a future society based on social justice. Both activities present considerable difficulties for contemporary American novelists as illustrated in Kathryn Hume's study of one hundred late-twentieth-century American novels, *American Dream, American Nightmare: Fiction Since 1960*, published in 2000. Hume believes that "[t]he current generation of American writers—from 1960 into the 1990s—can usefully be characterized as the Generation of the Lost Dream" in part because they "intuit no grand answers," but more specifically because "most . . . no longer feel that they can dream for the whole nation" (292). Perhaps Vonnegut is somewhat of an exception. Although disillusioned, he tenaciously clings to his dream of a better society, with a genuine culture and a real community. In doing so, he offers alternatives for American society in the twenty-first century. Unlike many of his fellow novelists, Vonnegut is—to borrow Rorty's terms—not a *spectator of* but an *agent for* change. As such, he has greater affinity with nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century American novelists and intellectuals than he does with most of his nihilistic contemporaries. Rorty maintains, I believe correctly, that:

> The difference between early twentieth-century intellectuals and the majority of their contemporary counterparts is the difference between agents and spectators. In the early decades of this century, when an intellectual stepped back from his or her country's history and looked at it through skeptical eyes, the chances were that he or she was about to propose a new political initiative. (9)

Vonnegut does propose new political and social initiatives in his novels. From *Player Piano* to *Timequake*—as well as in all his public speeches, most of his reviews, and in his autobiographical writing—he consistently and continually argues against authoritarianism and in favor of democracy, against military values and in favor of individual freedom, against imparting virtue to the accident of wealth and in favor of radically altering the conditions of the poor.

What are human beings for?

Related to his ethical preoccupations is Vonnegut's continual focus on relations between people and machines. Like Lewis Mumford before him, Vonnegut "has never had any use for [that] . . . nineteenth-century dream of a liberation of mankind by mechanical invention, for the values that count for him are inner values; and he well knew that the planet on which we live may become an extermination-camp at any moment" (qtd. in Brooks 146). Technology remains important for Vonnegut, especially in its potential for abuse, but far more important for him is the answer to the seminal question: "What are human beings for?" A partial, if negative, answer given in novel after novel is that human beings should not serve, emulate, or worship machines but instead strive to create a viable human community. Behind Dwayne Hoover's maniacal murderous spree in *Breakfast of Champions* (1973), for instance, lay his faulty assumption that everyone in the world was a machine except for himself. A truly mad supposition, yet one closely allied to any of the myriad of racist beliefs that led to many of the terrible twentieth-century massacres. In a less extreme form, however, Hoover's view corresponds to what Vonnegut in *Slapstick* calls "the American machine" with its human "interchangeable parts" (7). And this leads to a third characteristic of much of Vonnegut's fiction: that it is rooted in anthropological methods.

"[A]ll of Vonnegut's works are anthropology theses—or more precisely, drafts of a single one, which has not yet reached a hopeful conclusion" (Whitlark 85). Anthropology, especially anthropology as taught at the University of Chicago when Vonnegut attended, figures distinctly and directly in several novels. In an interview with Zoltán Abádi-Nagy, Vonnegut discusses making up Haiti as an "invented [anthropological] field-trip" (30).[3] Hume contends that "Anthropology taught him about kinship groups and about how people without writing depended on memory for their information. In *Breakfast of Champions*, he links memory and kinship" (260).[4] Three years later, in 1976 with the publication of *Slapstick*, "Vonnegut was still chewing on this notion that extended family could be a solution to our rootless and emotionally numb existence" (Hume 261). Vonnegut remains one of the very few American writers who have addressed directly both in his fiction as well as in several of his public speeches this issue of American radical mobility that often results in bleak loneliness.

> Vonnegut's solution [the creation of numerous artificial families through the random assigning of relatives via computer-generated new middle names, such as Daffodil, Chipmunk] has the advantage that it could be made available to everyone and is not invalidated by telephones, television, or drastic economic collapse. A simulacrum of extended family may for many be better than none at all. (Hume 262)

In this proposal for extended families Vonnegut echoes Emerson, who in his journal maintained, "We must wear old shoes and have aunts and cousins" (*Journals* 126); that is, have a comfortable, safe, domestic space to inhabit with other caring people. As James Wood perceptively observed: "The more Vonnegut writes, the more American he seems—a kind of de-solemnized Emerson, at once arguer, doubter, sermonizer and gossip. . . . Like that other great essayist, Vonnegut's prose seems radically accountable: a man lives behind it. . . . One feels a powerful impact of vision and soul. . . . We feel his presence as an author" (9). Peter J. Reed, among others, testifies that "[e]ven where the authorial voice is not heard, the author's presence is felt" (120), yet neither the voice nor the presence is ever solemn. That de-solemnized feeling derives in large measure from his sense of humor, which is at once self-deprecating, often borders on sentimentality, but continually enables a listener to come up smiling after a pratfall. "Jokes . . . are a minor art form," rightly claims Vonnegut (Interview, *Playboy* 91). Like tears, laughter proves a legitimate answer to being frustrated or exhausted, to being in a state where both thinking and striving appear futile. Laughter also has an added advantage over crying in that it takes far less time to recover from laughter so a person is able to begin reasoning earlier and better able to re-engage with life.

Like many other American novelists of the latter half of the twentieth century, there is a noticeable absence of children as characters in Vonnegut's fiction (see Hume, "Where Are the Children?" 268-71), unlike in his autobiographical works and public addresses, which are brimful of references to his family and, especially, to his children. With the exception of *Timequake*, his novels for the most part are marked by silence about his children, and the only references to children as characters are to disastrous parent-child relations and calamitous child-rearing practices. (See, for example, *Slapstick*.) This lack reflects—at least in some part—not just Vonnegut's choices in writing but also the overarching central trauma of the twentieth century. Brooks, writing in 1953,

described Vonnegut's and his generation's horrific experience that would become reflected in all his fiction:

> There has never been an age that moved so swiftly from summer into winter,—or from what appeared to be summer,—as the age we have lived through the "century of the child," as Ellen Key called it in its hopeful opening years that turned into the century of Moloch, the eater of children. (159)

But even trauma may eventually wear away, and within Vonnegut's fiction there is a noticeable shift from the early novels' terrible post-World War II pessimism to the late-twentieth-century relative optimism of *Galápagos* and *Bluebeard* (1987) through to the acceptance of a life lived with inevitable loss in *Timequake*. If adolescents must establish their personalities and begin a life's work, while those in mid-life evaluate what they have accomplished or failed to accomplish, then those at the end of life face the urgent tasks of first, accepting life as already lived, and second, of facing the inevitable, approaching end. Those elderly who are unable to accept the life they have lived, may become withdrawn, bitter, despairing. Those able to accept their life as lived, on the other hand, often become serene and, sometimes, even wise.[5] For many, such acceptance can be extremely difficult and—for someone with Vonnegut's biography—could easily have been impossible. Yet *Timequake* reflects his acceptance of the life he has lived with all its pain, dread, vagaries, and losses.

As his generation's representative novelist, Vonnegut also raises cogently and clearly the significant problems and dilemmas his and succeeding generations have faced. Moreover, his writing loudly proclaims that we humans are alone on Earth, that no transcendent or extra-galactic force will intervene to save us from our own folly—not even from our own cheapness when faced with self-induced ecological catastrophe, such as the depletion of the oceans of fish, the poisoning of water by industrial waste, the increase in cancer through the destruction of the ozone layer, or the drowning of islands and flooding of lowlands through glacial melt caused by global warming. In *Galápagos* (1985), it was the great big human brains that were to blame for the pending destruction of the planet, while in *Hocus Pocus* (1990), Vonnegut identifies the enemy more narrowly as human indifference. He illustrates this indifference with a vivid parable: Humanity's representative, six year-old Bruce Bergeron, stands trapped on an elevator stuck

between floors in a large department store. Mistakenly, "Little Bruce believed himself to be at the center of a major event in American history" (165)—as most six-year olds will do. When at last the elevator becomes freed, it moves to the next floor where it deposits its passengers safely. Bruce, who "survived" the ordeal, discovers to his shock that no one else is remotely interested in his or his fellow passengers' predicament, as the rest of humanity either impatiently waits for the next elevator or madly participates in the department store's white sale. "There wasn't even somebody from the management of the store to offer an anxious apology, to make certain that everybody was all right" (166). Whether inside or outside the elevator, people are so completely immersed in their own "getting and spending" activities and desires that they have no room left for anyone else's concerns—much less for any vision of society's needs as a whole. Vonnegut once quipped that the majority of people were only interested in making things and that no one now appeared interested in doing "maintenance . . . there goes the ball game. Meanwhile, truth, jokes, and music help at least a little bit" (*Fates Worse Than Death* 201; compare *Hocus Pocus* 240). But truth, jokes, and music, which may offer some solace, do not and cannot replace Eugene Debs's now abandoned ideal of a United States free of poverty and injustice, and the United States at the end of the twentieth century all too often appeared content with ignorance, sentimentality, and noise rather than "truth, jokes, and music."

The centrality of imagination

Imagination could also "help," but in *Timequake* Vonnegut powerfully laments the loss of imagination in contemporary society—something that he had earlier and more obliquely warned against in his famous *Playboy* interview. There, he rightly pointed out that "we've changed from a society to an audience" (*Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloons* 273). In *Timequake*, Vonnegut recalls being a part of theater audiences watching plays that in large measure then made a difference in his life, his thinking, or his values because of his active involvement as a member of the audience. Those plays "would have made no more impression on me than *Monday Night Football*, had I been alone eating nachos and gazing into the face of a cathode-ray tube" (21-22), he speculates, since rather than isolated individuals staring at images, the theater provides a social occasion where live

actors interact with those in the audience while the audience in its turn interacts with the actors.

In abandoning theater for television, Americans went from being active agents to becoming passive spectators. Exactly as they also did when they stopped playing games and turned instead to watching millionaires play them, from arguing about political and social issues to checking the latest polls about them, from finding drama in their own lives to observing it unfold on the small or large screen. "Increasingly . . . we're spending the hours of our days Elsewhere—inhabiting an abstract space, a simulacrum, which mimics the forms of social life even as it confirms us in our isolation," rightly laments social critic Mark Slouka (149) echoing Vonnegut in *Timequake*. In 1991 David Halberstam perceptively argued that "[t]hanks to television, the national agenda becomes not what our long-range or our most pressing problems are, but those that produce the best film" (106)—a thesis appallingly illustrated by the TV coverage of national elections in the United States. Nor will television aid in changing radically American society. As Mary O'Looney lamented in *Jailbird*, "How can you base a revolution on *Lawrence Welk* and *Sesame Street* and *All in the Family*?" (198-99). Such programs are so ephemeral that two or three decades later they may or may not be even recognized by most Americans.

Another clear example of this shift from actor to spectator may be observed on school playgrounds in the United States. One experienced teacher "over the course of a quarter-century . . . watched on the playground the mutation in children's imaginations from exterior elaboration of internal fantasy to repetitive imitation of televisual constructs" (Frick 204). Such second-hand scenarios derived from pre-formed images, plots, characters and so forth points to the considerable danger in replacing the book in the hand with images on a screen. Whether the screen in question be the once-omnipresent television, the ever-encroaching computer, the old fashioned movie screen, the more recent VCR or DVD, or the now-ubiquitous mobile phone, each decreases the power of an individual's imagination by presenting an already fully formed image to whomever is watching. Radio to some extent, but books pre-eminently nurture that autonomous imagination in contrast to those other electronic pre-formed images that help kill it. "TV is an *eraser*," laments Vonnegut (*Timequake* 193). Formerly television's, but now today's cell phone's, ephemeral, constant stream of images along with instant events and instant replays replace and erase history,

art, and literature damaging both individual and collective memory. Media almost devoid of reflection, television, and cell phones exist exclusively in what William James calls the "*specious* present" (609). Or, as Thomas Frick memorably phrases it, given

> the insane and dangerous deviance of TV's seamlessly constructed counterworld, its darkly hermetic consistency, its manic paucity of human feeling and response. . . . it appeared truly remarkable that we willingly installed such agents of insidious madness in our living rooms and bedrooms. We might as well be agreeing to neural implants by aliens. . . . We've allowed it to destroy our politics, our neighborhoods, and our common sense by sucking our attention up into its ubiquitous reification of the world *as view*, not of any particular thing but *as such*. (210-11)

Similarly, xerography and the computer by fully and accurately reproducing images, words, numbers, or whatever thereby lessen the need for memory and may actually contribute to its weakening. Without memory no art is possible; without imagination no art can be created.

Against this background of indifference and distraction, Vonnegut insists on remembering public events through his fiction—events that many Americans would just as soon forget. For Americans pride themselves on being the citizens of the most powerful and one of the largest and richest nations on earth. Rarely, if ever, therefore, should they have to contemplate the prospect of defeat, especially at the hands of one of the world's smallest, poorest, and weakest nations, such as Vietnam. Similarly, most Americans pay at least lip-service to the ideals of democracy, equality, and freedom, but would just as soon not be reminded of the reality of the county's often-rampant racism seen in *Breakfast of Champions* and *Hocus Pocus*, the selling of the country's resources in *Jailbird* and *Hocus Pocus*, or the incarcerating of more citizens per capita than any other country in the world.[6]

Vonnegut and the party of Hope

Emerson suggested that Americans belong either to the party of Hope or the party of Memory.[7] Clearly, Vonnegut belongs to the party of hope, but hope restricted to this world. Kilgore Trout's healing mantra in *Timequake* serves as the watchword not only for Vonnegut's last novel but also for all of his novels,

"You were sick, but now you're well again, and there's work to do" (169). Each of Vonnegut's novels reflects the party of hope's belief that individuals do make a difference; that society, while never advancing, can nevertheless be changed for the better; that the job of imagining then creating America must of necessity remain forever unfinished yet at the same time must be reimagined, recreated by each individual in each generation. Ideals such as a viable human community, justice, courtesy, creativity, caring, are goals not to be achieved but to be aimed at. For Vonnegut, there is little to be gained in denial, in proclaiming the futility of reform, or abandoning ideals. Having begun his career as the canary in the coal mine warning of poisons in the national atmosphere, then later becoming the gadfly on the body politic, Vonnegut ends his career as a novelist where Walt Whitman ended his as a poet, John Dewey his as a philosopher, Emerson his as a prophet, and Thoreau his as a meditator-mediator: Like each of his American writer-predecessors, Vonnegut, too, affirms his role for his time as the sojourner who observes, participates, reports.

"In going down into the secrets of his own mind, he has descended into the secrets of all minds," said Emerson speaking of the poet ("The American Scholar" 64). Vonnegut shares Emerson's belief in the universality of our questions and feelings, while at the same time he does not insist on a universality of history or value. An American pragmatist, he again and again reminds us of the unfinished nature of America—"You were sick, but now you're well again, and there's work to do." Assuring us that we are not alone in our questioning, puzzlement, and pain, Vonnegut offers an alternative vision to John Winthrop's apotheosis of America as a City set on a Hill—isolated, alone, exceptional—and to the United States as the post-Cold War enthusiasts' global hegemonic power. Challenging such official stories, Vonnegut's own unofficial ones illustrate his "*critical-utopian* capacity." His modest vision centers on a country populated by extended families whose citizens are committed to fulfilling the promise of meaningful work for all. Profit-driven, free-booting corporations, such as RAMJAC in *Jailbird*, would no longer control the country, nor would it be patronizingly guided by wealthy, well-meaning philanthropists, such as Senator Rosewater. Such a nation would not be characterized by self-aggrandizement—whether in war or in love affairs—but would be pervaded by courtesy. A world not erased by television, but one animated by playful art, where children put on plays to amuse their parents and friends (*Timequake*) rather than going on

crusades to save the world (*Slaughterhouse-Five*)—a world where people must work to prevent massacres from occurring but where life itself would still come to its natural end in "plain old death" (*Slaughterhouse-Five* 4). In Vonnegut's novels, the ripe fruit does fall,[8] loss does become terribly real and omnipresent, but equally real is that most wonderful of all human qualities: human awareness that comes into existence "only because there are human beings" (*Timequake* 213).[9] Finally, the alternative world Vonnegut envisions is one where Mnemosyne overcomes Lesmosyne, where the best and the brightest are not forgotten but remembered and revered as Lincoln and Debs are in his novels. The world of this post-World War II representative novelist proves a democratic world of radical equality and no special pleading—where Lincoln and Debs are at one with Laurel and Hardy, and where, if there must be original sin, then it is balanced out by "original virtue" (*Timequake* 211)—a transient world at once both forever mysterious and forever new.

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Notes

An earlier version of this essay appeared as the introduction to Donald E. Morse, *The Novels of Kurt Vonnegut: Imagining Being an American* (Praeger: 2003).

[1] Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire* and Jan Assmann's memory studies, which began in the 1970s, may appear to be an exception, but their work became recognized and engaged only in the 1990s and emerged as a major theoretical issue in conferences and significant publications in the twenty-first century. See, for example, the "Loci Memoriae Hungaricase—The Theoretical Foundations for Hungarian 'lieux de mémoire' Studies" conference, Debrecen, Hungary November 2011 and the subsequent volume, *The Theoretical Foundations for Hungarian 'lieux de mémoire' Studies* (Varga et al 2014).

[2] Debs's votes were, according to Daniel Bell, cast by "as unstable a compound as was ever mixed in the modern history of political chemistry." This compound mingled rage at low wages and miserable working conditions with, as Bell says,

> the puritan conscience of millionaire socialists, the boyish romanticism of a Jack London, the pale Christian piety of a George Herron, . . . the reckless braggadocio of a "Wild Bill" Haywood, . . . the tepid social-work impulse of do-gooders, . . . the flaming discontent of the dispossessed farmers, the inarticulate and amorphous desire to "belong" of the immigrant workers, the iconoclastic idol-breaking of the literary radicals, . . . and more. (*Marxist Socialism in the United States* [1996] 45 [qtd. in Rorty 52]).

[3] The University of Chicago rejected an early version of *Cat's Cradle* as his thesis in anthropology but then much later that same university awarded him a master's degree for the published novel.

[4] Hume then gives an elaborate analysis of Cyprian Ukwende and Eddie Key (two characters in *Breakfast of Champions*), who know both by name and at least by some anecdote or a scrap of history some 600 living relatives (Ukwende) or ancestors (Key). The result is that they are "able to have deep, nourishing feelings about [strangers and those outside their family]" (*Breakfast of Champions* 271).

[5] The developmental psychologist Erik H. Erikson discusses such outcomes in his *Identity and the Life Cycle*, which includes a graphic depiction of life's stages and tasks (see Figure III, 129). He returned to the last stage in his final book *The Life Cycle Completed*, which he himself did not live to complete. In "Major Stages in Psychosocial Development," Erikson discusses "The Last Stage" (61-66), then elaborates in "The Ninth Stage" (105-14).

[6] Vonnegut's novel focuses on a continuing and unacknowledged problem in American society which results from a rising rate of increasing incarceration while the crime rate has been decreasing. Rodger Doyle begins his essay in the *Scientific American* on "Why Do Prisons Grow?" with two conflicting statistics: "The U.S. has gone through a historically unparalleled expansion in its prison population—from fewer than 400,000 in 1970 to almost 2.1 million in 2000. The expansion continued vigorously even as crime rates fell sharply in recent years" (18). This results in, what Doyle terms, "profoundly disrupted minority communities" since "the Bureau of Justice Statistics estimates that 28 percent of black and 16 percent of Hispanic men will enter a state or federal prison during their lifetime" as opposed to only 4 percent of white men (18).

[7] "The two omnipresent parties of History, the party of the Past and the party of the Future, divide society to-day as of old" (Emerson, "The Times" 157; compare "The Conservative" 173).

[8] "Is there no change in paradise?" asked Wallace Stevens in "Sunday Morning." His answer was to question rhetorically whether the ripe fruit ever falls from the trees in paradise.

[9] Apparently, this represents Vonnegut's version of the Weak Anthropic Principle.

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REVIEWS

Busy Professors in the Barroom: Reading Marianna Gula Re-Reading Joyce

Ákos Farkas

Gula, Marianna. *A Tale of a Pub: Re-Reading the "Cyclops" Episode of James Joyce's* Ulysses *in the Context of Irish Cultural Nationalism.* Debrecen: Debrecen UP, 2012. ix + 164 pages. ISBN 978 963 318 285 7. Npr.

The allusion in the title of Marianna Gula's book-length study of a pivotal section in Joyce's best-known novel is both witty and revelatory. The facetious distortion of the name of Jonathan Swift's satirical allegory on sectarian strife appearing on the cover of Gula's work devoted to the "Cyclops" episode of *Ulysses* highlights the dual character of the centuries-old tradition of Irish culture: the learned and the demotic. This dynamic duality is among the themes that *A Tale of a Pub* further elaborates as it endeavors to demonstrate how shifting perspective, interrupted narration, hyperbolic interpolation, and subversive intertextuality are deployed in "Cyclops." The textual politics served by such means result in turning a bar-side narrative of a carnivalesque clash of characters and opinions into a hilariously serious assessment of how discourses and counter-discourses of Irish nationalism inform the verbal and gestural behavior of a socially and culturally representative gathering of Dublin pub-crawlers at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Narrowly focused in its immediate subject as it is, *A Tale of a Pub* has a lot to offer in terms of thematic complexity, methodological suppleness, and wealth of primary, critical, and archival material surveyed. Relying on archaeological drillings into successive layers of documentary evidence held in the archives of the James Joyce Foundation in Zurich and the libraries of at least two major universities at the far ends of Europe in Cork and Debrecen, on correspondence and personal interviews with almost everybody who is anybody in the Joycean community at home and abroad, and on her own minutely observant rereading(s) of "Cyclops," *Ulysses*, and the Joycean oeuvre at large Gula was in a position to assess how far the professors kept busy by the master had advanced before her.

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From here she was then able to determine in what directions she should proceed with her work in order both to follow and, where possible, transcend the *commodious vicus* of understanding and appreciating a culturally most important segment of *Ulysses*. Her emulative transgressions then enabled her to provide a comprehensive appraisal of the now sympathetic, now subversive, integration into "Cyclops" of mythic, historical, and contemporaneous Irish discourses of nation, nationhood, and nationalism.

Taking her cue from Colin MacCabe, David Lloyd, Marilyn Reizbaum, and others interested in how textual form is tantamount to political content in Joyce, Gula looks at ways in which the apparently straightforward third-person narration is ironically destabilized, hyperbolically counteracted, and epistemologically questioned in the episode. It is carefully traced out, through close attention to textual detail and intertextual allusion, how the frequent and intentionally disproportionate interpolations of a wide variety of generic pastiche, parody, and allusion question any univocal conception of individual or national identity. The elusive spatio-temporal position of the barroom narrator (is the story told simultaneously with the events, in retrospect, or both?), his and some other characters' anonymity or onomastic indeterminacy (what is the Citizen officially called and who or what is his chief opponent and near-victim Bloom's name related to?) are means used to reinforce the main characters' and, possibly, the implied author's inability to find any reliable criteria of national identity while undermining the reader's sense of secure individual subjecthood.

The lack of clear distinctions made between author and narrator, narrator and character, or hero and villain in terms of the manifold instabilities referred to here is not, as I believe, attributable to the lack of due attention on the part either of Gula or of her reviewer. As she convincingly argues, earlier readings of the chapter, humanist and non-humanist alike, setting up neatly arranged pairs of opposites are misleadingly reductive, whatever respectable convictions may have motivated their construction. The long-established binaries of mainstream Joyce-criticism from Budgen, Ellmann, and Parrinder to Cheng, Gibson, and Rodstein pitting the boorishly nationalistic and violently racist Citizen square against the deeply human, peace-loving figure of a "Christ-like" Bloom, on the one hand, and the anonymous narrator's cynical misanthropy against the implied author's universal empathy, on the other, turn out to be wholly untenable in the light of the plentiful textual and contextual evidence amassed by Gula's research.

It is not only that the nationalistic Citizen's unconditional admiration for all things Irish as well as the coldly unsympathetic narrator's undifferentiated sarcasm have a lot to do with a younger Joyce's passionate patriotism here and the mature writer's unsparing, sometimes even malicious, humor there. More importantly, the episode's central contestants, the Citizen and Bloom, emerge from Gula's reading as counterparts of sorts sharing a startling amount of each other's culturally coded limitations. Surprising as it may sound, Bloom and the Citizen are not altogether different from each other when it comes to their self-aggrandizing grandiloquence (the hyperbolic lists of absurdly hybernicized heroes and saints associated with the Citizen and the shorter but no less mindboggling roll-call of Hebrew or hebraised personages hurled at his opponent by a deliberately provocative Bloom), their equally confrontational temper and, most importantly, their insecurity about matters of national identity hidden beneath the surface of ethnic complacency. Just as Bloom is unwilling to turn the other cheek, so does the Citizen shamelessly resort to well-worn strategies of colonial othering borrowed from the British oppressor of his beloved Ireland. It would be a gross case of relativizing guilt to say that neither is any better than the other—Gula herself has little time for the Citizen's xenophobia—but finding traces of the implied author's position in either is central to the monographer's agenda of sidestepping the comfortable but deceptive dichotomies endemic to much of our critical thinking about *Ulysses* to this day.

However important Gula's interventions in Joyce criticism may be, *A Tale of a Pub* accomplishes much more than offer a corrective to the misconceptions characterizing conventional approaches to the twelfth episode of *Ulysses*. Interrogating some entrenched dichotomies of Joyce-scholarship is part of the book's larger agenda of demonstrating how the textual politics deployed in "Cyclops" question the self-deluding binaries, teleology-driven narratives, essentialist, and organicist concepts of Ireland's cultural nationalism variously represented by the patrons of Barney Kiernan's pub.

Gula has an impressive range of information to rely on to support her central thesis. She seems to know practically everything about Irish as well as British and Continental history, Gaelic mythology, local and all-European hagiography, street balladry, Revivalist ideology, the popular press, and turn-of-the century Dublin playacting of the high-, middle-, and lowbrow variety alike. No doubt, the author of *A Tale of a Pub* has more than sufficient knowledge of

her subject. Beyond offering plentiful insight into how subaltern and imperialist discourses of superiority are played off against each other, how superficial analogies of national history are punctured, or how exclusionary conceptions of nationhood are shown up to be adulterated by the self-appointed purifiers themselves, Gula continuously treats her reader to a wide variety of amusing bits of scholarly curiosa, each connected, in one way or another, to her main argument. As she goes along, she explains why, in the episode's interpolated great-names list, "Irish historical heroes rub elbow with such comic absurdities as Goliath, Julius Caesar, William Tell, Patrick W. Shakespeare" (45); what Benjamin Franklin may have had in common with Napoleon for redemptionist discourses of Irish nationhood; why *The Woman Who Did* becomes the Woman Who Didn't; and what Scottish and, most embarrassingly, English, associations contaminate the iconic figure of Dark Rosaleen, that epitome of quintessential Irish purity.

Another interpolated list deflating as much as illustrating the body text of the "Cyclops" episode with its grossly disproportionate dimensions and widely random associations also stitched into Gula's book in the shape of a color-coded pull-out sheet provides the reader with further, far from irrelevant, marginalia besides moving forward the book's main argument. The hagiographic tidbits offered in the study's related explanatory passages include detailed information on the history and background of St. Martin of Tours, former bishop of what was once Savaria in the Roman province of Pannonia. At this juncture the reader's attention is drawn to the fact that although the fourth-century saint was of Celtic stock, "he was born in what today is Szombathely, Hungary, the birthplace of Rudolph Virag, Bloom's father" (100).

The short chapter devoted to the Celtic bishop who earned his canonized status in the land that Bloom's people hailed from ends with a joco-serious remark that highlights another trait relevant to the themes of the "Cyclops" episode. If the geographical aspect of St. Martin's background shared with Bloom the despised alien "should discredit him in the eyes of the barflies, the hagiographic fact that he is the patron of penitent drunkards would surely make them restore his glory," as we are reminded by Gula (101).

This would nicely tie in with the important observation made by Ferenc Takács in his 1987 study addressing the "Hungarian theme" in the Joyce-oeuvre that "Hungary and Hungarians . . . seem to constitute a system of objective

correlatives in matters connected with the human body and more immediate sensuous processes" (167). That the bodily side of the episode's Hungarian strain, copiously elaborated by Tekla Mecsnóber, another Joyce-scholar of Hungarian background, remains overlooked in a monograph treating the merely corporeal dimensions of cultural nationalism as something of marginal relevance to its mostly intellectual inquiries would perhaps be understandable. What I find more puzzling, though, is Gula's lack of interest in (or, less probably, lack of familiarity with) passages in the two articles cited here touching on issues of quite immediate pertinence to the political themes of *A Tale of a Pub*. Takács's comment, for example, on the importance of how "'it was Bloom gave the idea for Sinn Fein to Griffith' and [how], later in the same episode, Martin Cunningham confirms that 'it was he (=Bloom) drew up all the plans according to the Hungarian system'" (163) remains just as unacknowledged as Mecsnóber's textually documented remark that a younger Joyce, "[l]ike Griffith and many other contributors to the *United Irishman*, . . . was clearly fascinated by national characteristics" (344).

It is certainly curious that a study by an author who goes out of her way to highlight the relevance of her own, Hungarian, background to the exegesis of the chapter in *Ulysses* that "draws attention in a ludicrous manner to the historical intersection between Ireland and Hungary by revealing Bloom's Hungarian origins" should lack any reference to the valuable work done in the field by her compatriots before her (ix). I find it one of the few, but all the more conspicuous, failures of her otherwise truly excellent contribution to Joyce criticism that neither Takács's groundbreaking "Joyce and Hungary" nor Mecsnóber's remarkably erudite "James Joyce, Arthur Griffith, and the Hungarian National Character" deserves a single mention in her book. It can only be hoped that a second edition will, at a later point, provide the author with an opportunity to incorporate into her most perspicacious work the relevant findings of her fellow-Hungarian fellow-Joyceans.

Having said that much, I am fully convinced that this highly readable and yet uncompromisingly professional treatment of one particular episode in *Ulysses* and, through it, the larger issues of cultural nationalism in and outside Joyce's Ireland will be as indispensable to the academic specialist as it will be enlightening to the general reader. The publication of *A Tale of a Pub* is yet another indication

of how "the professors," together with their students and colleagues, will indeed be kept busy for centuries by James Joyce.

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A Mirror Held up to a Shifting Subject

Ildikó Limpár

Morse, Donald E., ed. *Irish Theatre in Transition: From the Late Nineteenth to the Early Twenty-First Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. xvii + 265 pages. ISBN 978-1-137-45068-5. Hb. £55.

Irish Theatre in Transition undertakes the task of interpreting and paying tribute to the unique nature of the Irish theatre, showing its power and ability to reflect on reality in alternative ways. Understanding that acting, as Shakespeare argues with Hamlet's words, has the purpose "to hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature" (3.2.22), this volume of essays by sixteen established Irish theatre scholars from all over the world made sure that the pieces of this particular mirror do add up to a grandiose mirror both in size and in quality. Showing the diverse strategies with which Irish theatre reflects on segments of Irish reality, the heap of glass splinters are masterfully installed beside each other, allowing us to see a complex image. The essays, though varying in focus and approach, form a satisfying unity that few essay collections on a similarly broad theme may claim.

The unifying force behind the collection is the essay that alone constitutes part 1, and which is fundamental for all readers who engage with Irish drama. Christopher Murray's "The Irish Theatre: The First Hundred Years, 1897-1997" is a revised version of the author's article that originally appeared in the *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* 4.1-2 (1998). Beyond Donald E. Morse's effort to group the essays thematically to create a coherent volume, his editorial intent that all articles should use Murray's essay as a point of reference is also clear and enhances the experience of reading interrelated texts.

In his foundational essay, Murray observes how Irish theatre's initial slant mode of truth telling, foregrounding myth as opposed to history, transformed into "demythologization and revisionism" in the 1920s, practicing formulaic realism for decades (28), and how it opened up again to embrace both the mythological heritage and the modern world experience.

Murray's cultural-historical contextualization of the development of Irish theatre is followed by part 2, featuring four essays that highlight how Irish plays draw awareness to various social issues that constitute portions of Ireland's painful reality. In his detailed introductory essay, Eamonn Jordan in "Black Hole

Experiences: Moochers, Smoochers, Dig Outs and the Parables and Spasms of Time in Conor McPherson's *The Night Alive*," surveys the nation's banking and economic crisis-generated situation that followed Ireland's Celtic Tiger period and displays how the focused issues, such as "eviction, homelessness, sanctuary, generosity, and communal sharing" (33), have become topics to be addressed on stage, as well. Jordan's in-depth analysis of *The Night Alive* connects the treatment of these themes with McPherson's special use of time that offers "the possibility of simultaneous and different timeframes" (49), highlighting the characters' black hole experience, where causality seems to be non-existent. While the economy-induced problems are clearly articulated in McPherson's drama, queerness, which José Lanters in "Queer Creatures, Queer Place: Otherness and Normativity in Irish Drama from Synge to Friel" examines in four Irish plays, is an issue that often finds its way to the stage in subtle ways. Lanters's readings of Mary Manning's *Youth's the Season...?*, Brendan Behan's *The Quare Fellow*, Thomas Kilroy's *The Death and Resurrection of Mr Roche*, and Brian Friel's *The Gentle Island* convincingly show the common notion of "a correlation between social crisis and the repression of sexual otherness" (65). The examined plays, all written before homosexuality became officially decriminalized in Ireland in 1993, demonstrate that there was a constant need to confront the Irish audience with what may be in the closet to urge an acceptance and thus to reconsider Irish identity. Sexual queerness is also touched upon in Mária Kurdi's "Troubled Relations of Gender and Generation in Celtic Tiger Drama: Stella Feehily's *Duck* and *O Go My Man*," which similarly deals with a neglected part of Irish reality: women's position in Irish society and on the Irish stage. Kurdi's examination of Feehily's plays demonstrates that there has been a transition in how women are presented on stage in their relationships after the Irish sexual revolution, which becomes evident in the manners in which these dramas highlight the violent aspect of women's lives. The closing essay of this section shifts emphasis to problems of an aging Irish population, dramatized by the notion of dementia. ""The Politics of Aging': Frank McGuinness's *The Hanging Gardens*" by Donald E. Morse is a profound analysis that manages to show that the play "holds a mirror up to an [aging] nation" (84) by bringing "dementia into the light as a social ill that Irish society continues to neglect" (91), while making use of the Ibsenian heritage that keeps having an influence on Irish theatre.

As Murray notes in his essay, the Irish theatre was founded "to counter the commercialism which had robbed the heart out of the old classical and romantic traditions" (14). Such a principle of foundation inevitably enhances anti-commercial gestures and presentation modes of the theatre, thus it is not by chance that part 3 is dedicated to the theme of theatricality. In "Theatricality and Self Reflexivity: The Play-within-the-Play in Select Contemporary Irish Plays," Csilla Bertha provides inspirational readings of Frank McGuinness's *Carthaginians*, Jim Nolan's *Blackwater Angel*, and Tom Kilroy's *The Secret Fall of Constance Wilde*, showing the diversity in which this metatheatrical device has been applied in the plays as well as demonstrating how "the self-reflexivity is partly directed at the function, failures and possibilities of art and artist" (100). Using performance video recordings, Eric Weitz's "When the Mirror Laughs: Face to Face with Three Recent Irish Stage Worlds" examines theatre productions that much rely on audience participation. Weitz interprets the mechanism of "laughter response [that] makes a performative appearance on its own behalf" (22) in Barabbas Theatre Company's *City of Clowns*, The Company's *Politik*, and Anu Production's *The Boys of Foley Street*. In the last essay in this part, "Then Like Gigli, Now Like Bette: The Grotesque and the Sublime in Mark O'Rowe's *Terminus*," Ondřej Pilný consistently argues for seeing the grotesque and the sublime as two concepts that are not in opposition to each other (144). Pilný analyzes *Terminus*'s nature of the grotesque, coming from the combination of neo-Jacobean and Hollywood culture, and its special form of the sublime, resulting from its grotesque components.

Part 4 explores further transitions that have taken place on the Irish stage, interpreting Irish theatre as broadly as possible. In "Shakespearean Productions at the Abbey Theatre, 1970-1985," Patrick Lonergan looks at the "alteration in the status of Shakespeare at Ireland's national theatre" (149), connecting it to Joe Dowling's directing. He selects *The Merchant of Venice* production in 1984 for a case study, pointing out how Dowling's resetting of the play to the eighteenth century aided the performance in placing specific Irish issues in focus. Nicholas Greene in "Snapshots: A Year in the Life of a Theatre Judge" reinforces our notion of the Irish theatre as very broad and multidimensional. This chapter is exactly what it claims to be, a series of snapshots that show "an experience of Irish theatre in the flux of a given year" (163), but I missed a concluding paragraph evaluating this experience. The essay that follows also shows a rare but

valuable approach to the examination of Irish theatre, relying on statistics. In his "The Irish Play on the London Stage: An Overview from Independence to the Present," Peter James Harris provides evidence for "a remarkable stability of Irish plays as a proportion of the total number of productions staged in London theatres" (181) and then analyzes data to suggest which Irish playwrights appear to make their way into the canon.

Part 5 explores some of the ways Irish theatre has gone beyond what we usually think of as conventional Irish theatre. Helen Heusner Lojek investigates the "Diverse Dramatic Contributions of Frank McGuiness" (191), in which she observes how "[d]efying expectations, McGuiness has looked beyond the cult of Irishness represented by much of the late twentieth-century Abbey" and how he poses "a challenge to down-in-the-country drama" (202). Another version of presenting Irishness in an unconventional manner is given a thorough analysis in Joan FitzPatrick Dean's essay, "Pat Kinevane's Forgotten and Silent: Universalizing the Abject." As Dean contends, Kinevae's one-man shows with dance and mime elements target "non-traditional theatre audiences" (206) and present "the extreme abjection experienced by the characters" (214) in the examined plays. The following two chapters highlight diverse aspects of how the medium of film may extend and deepen our understanding of Irish drama. In "Writing for 'the real national theatre': Stewart Parker's Plays for Television," Clare Wallace argues that Parker's television plays challenge the way his dramatic oeuvre is acknowledged, not the least because Parker was very conscious of the difference in the audience for theatre and for television, and was keenly aware of the importance of popular culture. In "Playing with Minds: Beckett on Film," Dawn Duncan draws attention to the importance of film adaptations of plays in understanding hidden layers of dramas that may come foregrounded on screen. By giving an account of how she made use of Anthony Minghella's film version of Beckett's *Play* in her Film & Literature Course, Duncan demonstrates "the power of visual focus and the importance of Reception Theory" (230) and highlights the significance of being inventive in pedagogy to give a boost to the study of Irish drama.

The last section of the volume, just like part 1, consists of a single essay. These framing essays suggest not a beginning and an end, but instead a beginning and a new beginning, thus reinforcing the notion that Irish theatre is indeed in a continuous flux, in incessant transition. Stephan Watt's "Sam Shephard: Irish

Playwright" enters into a fruitful dialogue with Murray's opening article and seeks to answer the question of how "Shephard contribute[s] not to the foundation of modern Irish drama, but to its 're-foundation'" (243). By providing a profound analysis of *Ages of the Moon* (2009), Watt claims that "the assertion of Sam Shephard as an Irish writer requires an assessment of affinity and a parallel investigation of such terms as 'mythic,' 'liminal' and 'local'" (254), thus marking, I suggest, a transition also in how scholars may work with these key concepts in their research on Irish drama.

As the scholarly contributions to understanding and acknowledging Irish theatre inevitably have an impact on the never-ceasing transformation and worldwide presence of Irish drama, this mirror of the Irish stage is, I believe, a significant academic achievement that will influence the further transition of Irish theatre and Irish theatre study alike. Therefore, I strongly recommend *Irish Theatre in Transition* for college and university libraries, as well as any libraries that have collections on drama or Irish studies.

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Addressing the Audience for Irish Historical Pageantry

Finian O'Gorman

Dean, Joan FitzPatrick. *All Dressed Up: Modern Irish Historical Pageantry*. New York: Syracuse UP, 2014. 335 pages. ISBN 978-0-8156-3374-7. Hb. $66.52.

Joan Dean's latest book focuses on four periods in twentieth-century Ireland when historical pageantry flourished: 1907-14, when a wave of cultural nationalism encouraged widespread participation and interest in the arts; 1924-32, when the new Irish Free State employed pageantry to reinforce its legitimacy; and the mid-1950s, when the early Tóstal festivals aimed to attract international tourists to Ireland. The book concludes with a focus on the pageantry of the Galway-based theatre group Macnas at the end of the twentieth century.

This survey of modern Irish historical pageantry arrives at a particularly apposite moment. The so-called "decade of centenaries" in Ireland is in its fourth year. Each year presents new opportunities to reflect upon the social and political events between 1912 and 1922 that played a crucial part in forging modern Irish society. However, each opportunity for reflection raises difficult questions relating to how exactly such reflection should be encouraged. At the heart of this debate is an understanding that the aspects of our history that we choose to emphasize not only reflect our view of the past, but also reveal how we evaluate and shape our present. It should be noted that Dean does draw a distinction between commemoration and Irish historical pageants. Where commemoration is often solemn, historical pageantry is "festive, celebratory, even carnivalesque" (15). Commemoration targets an individual, an event, or a date, while historical pageantry spans decades, centuries, even millennia, with a view of the past that can sometimes be anodyne, inoffensive, or inviting (15). Nevertheless, a striking point to emerge from this study is the way performative engagements with the past often reveal more about the context in which they are performed than the events they aspire to portray. Thus, while Dean is careful to distinguish pageantry from commemoration, valuable lessons can be drawn from the way the pageants covered in this study mirror the ideologies and aspirations of their writers, performers, and audiences.

During the most intense period for historical pageantry in Ireland, 1907 to 1914, a wave of cultural nationalist groups such as the Gaelic League instigated a spirit of voluntarism and an awareness of Irish history and legend, which greatly encouraged the surge in popularity of pageantry. What is striking about this period is the manner in which various groups used the pageant form to perpetuate competing ideologies. For example, in June 1907 two pageants were performed in Dublin's St. Stephen's Green in the space of three weeks. The first of these was the Gaelic Language Week Procession and the second was *A Twelfth-Century Pageant Play*. Both performances were alike in form, location, and in their awareness of the very different cultural and political stances of their respective audiences. The Language Week Procession was characteristic of the majority of historical pageantry surveyed in this book in the way that it offered no distinction between mythological figures and persons from recorded history. Thus, the mythological hero Cuchulainn appeared in the same procession as the sixteenth-century chieftain Red Hugh O' Donnell. The point of the procession was to project an image of a peaceful, stable and, more importantly, Gaelic past. In contrast, the *Twelfth-Century Pageant Play* presented by Lord Iveagh later in the same month celebrated the English presence in Ireland, in particular the tradition of philanthropy amongst the Anglo-Irish aristocracy. A clear implication was that the granting of Home Rule would be a detrimental break from this beneficent tradition.

The point is that historical pageants cater very carefully to their audiences. As Dean argues, historical pageants "construct narratives . . . shaped less by empirical research or professional historians than by the appropriation of key events and figures to suit the immediate purposes of a community" (1). While this may suit the purposes of those for whom the pageant is produced, it also risks alienating others by offering a skewed version of history. For example, Dean describes the 1927 *Grand Pageant of Dublin History*, produced just three years after the formation of the Irish Free State. The five episodes of the pageant depicted the resilience of Dublin through waves of attack from foreign invaders throughout history: Ulstermen, Vikings, Danes, Normans, and, finally, American pirates (103). However, conspicuously absent from the pageant was any trace of the English colonial presence. Such blatant elision of history was also evident in the 1929 Military Tattoo, which failed to reference Irish participants in World War I (117).

A further danger is that historic spectacles which cater solely to the majority can give rise to polarizing counter-demonstrations. Dean points out that the 1932 Eucharistic Congress of Dublin, celebrated in part to honor the fifteen hundredth anniversary of St. Patrick's return to Ireland, gave rise to two Church of Ireland pageants of St. Patrick later that year. Both pageants attempted to prise St. Patrick from an exclusively Catholic designation by tracing an historic lineage that linked Ireland's patron saint with contemporary Irish Protestants. The author is careful to note the attempt by both Church of Ireland pageants to be inclusive and conciliatory (142). Nevertheless, the ideological tug of war over St. Patrick in the 1930s could be seen as a deceptively benign portent of the grievous battles of the Troubles.

The Tóstal pageants of the 1950s again foreground the importance of audience in the production of pageantry. The Tóstal was a tourism campaign that ran from the early to late 1950s. Through the coordination of cultural and artistic events, its goal was to capitalize on the increased availability of transatlantic travel, while also stimulating an earlier start to the tourist season. The Tóstal not only aimed to attract international tourists, but also to act "as a rallying point for Ireland's exiled children from all parts of the earth" (189). In a break from the isolation instigated by the protectionist policies of the 1930s and 1940s, the Tóstal pageants looked outwards and recognized the potential benefits in appealing to a considerably large diaspora. While the popularity of pageants declined in the late 1950s, the Tóstal pageants were an early prototype of products such as Riverdance, Enya, and the Irish pub: easily consumable packages of Irishness aimed at a global audience.

Throughout Dean's book both the historical pageants and the cultural and social contexts in which they were produced are described in a way that encourages and invites further inquiry. For example, the final chapter describes the 1992 production of the *Tain*, by Galway-based street theatre group Macnas. The *Tain* was a major breakthrough for Macnas as a company, both nationally and internationally, as it garnered a nomination for an UNESCO award and attracted avid coverage in the Irish Press (253). A question that is deftly touched upon without being explicitly raised is whether this acclaim was achieved at a cost. A great strength of the Macnas parades is their ability to appropriate public spaces in a way that takes theatre to the people. As a stage show, albeit one that was performed outdoors, the *Tain* may have departed slightly from this ideal by

confining the production to a traditional stage setting. Furthermore, rather than relying on a large cast of community members like the more expansive and inclusive street spectacles, the cast of the *Tain* was drawn from "the company members that gave Macnas its core stability in the late eighties and nineties" (252). Finally, the exigencies of stage performance demand a more narrative-based production that, arguably, limits the carnivalesque ideal perpetuated in the street performances.

In the final pages, the author astutely points out the myriad avenues of possible inquiry provoked by this survey (258). The engagement of artists and craftspeople in the historical pageants under scrutiny provides a wealth of detail for art and design historians as well as musicologists. Folklorists and anthropologists may draw links between the hagiographic portrayals of historical figures in the majority of the pageants and their appropriation in other mediums. Furthermore, Irish theatre historians are invited to read these pageants in dialogue with the mainstream of Irish drama, particularly in light of the participation of key figures from Irish theatre in the twentieth century such as Hilton Edwards and Micheál Mac Liammóir (259). Appealing as it does to a range of disciplines, this book would be a valuable addition to research libraries while its rich, uncomplicated prose makes it a publication that will also appeal to the reader with a more general interest.

Finally, *All Dressed Up: Modern Irish Historical Pageantry* acts as a well-timed reminder of why it is so important to encourage constructive debate around the ways in which Ireland looks to the past during its decade of centenaries. A consistent point that emerges in each chapter is the close tie between public spectacle and its perceived audience. With this in mind it becomes clear that in commemorating our past we are also speaking volumes about our present: who compose the Irish audience of today? What version of the past do they want to see? What version of the past should they face? These questions are not only essential to defining the past, but are important steps towards the shaping of Ireland's future.

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Bodies of Power

Ureczky Eszter

De Boever, Arne. *Narrative Care: Biopolitics and the Novel.* New York, London, New Delhi, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2013. 181 pages. ISBN 978-1-6289-2524-1. Hb. £19.95.

Biopolitics has recently become the new buzzword of cultural studies and the humanities in general, which can be regarded as a truly cross-fertilizing tendency for the arts and sciences, initiating mutually revealing dialogues about the cultural meanings of power structures and the body. It is important to emphasize, however, that the idea of the body does not exclusively imply the living human body here, but also the animal body, the cyborg body, and the dead body. Beside this broad notion of the body as the ultimate site of political and ideological control, biopolitics is also characterized by a markedly transdisciplinary stance due to its inherent terminological and discursive connections to bioethics, bioart, gender studies, medical ethics, medical sociology, the medical humanities in general or biopower—to use the lesser known Foucauldian term. In the wake of Michel Foucault's strangely evasive lectures on governmental and disciplinary power in the 1970s (now published as a separate volume entitled *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Picador, 2010), such thinkers as Giorgio Agamben, Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, and others have marked out the territory of a new discourse on an age-old problem: embodiment and power. Despite its disturbingly protean academic background, the basic preoccupations of the field still have an up-to-date common denominator, insofar as it examines the ways various forms of power and knowledge contribute to creating, managing, manipulating, pleasing, and destroying bodies and agency by means of surveillance or epistemological and representational violence. The major danger of the relatively swift rise of biopolitics as a critical discourse could be its being emptied out as an all-pervasive and thus groundless way of interpreting historical and contemporary somatic dilemmas. Still, within literary and film studies the application of biopolitical readings has been clearly necessitated by the sheer number of artistic works devoted to biopolitical and bioethical questions, and Arne De Boever's book can thus be regarded as a timely and insightful example of this interpretive approach.

In terms of the theoretical-philosophical background, *Narrative Care: Biopolitics and the Novel* recurrently refers to Plato and the first notions of "biopolitics" by Greek philosophy, such as the *pharmakon*, on the basis of which a so-called pharmacological theory of care emerges in Derrida's 1968 essay "Plato's Pharmacy," outlining the simultaneously curative and poisonous effects of the *pharmakon*. The major terminological grounding of De Boever's work, however, relies on Agamben, Foucault, Jean Baudrillard, Walter Benjamin, and J. M. Coetzee. The basic theoretical terms introduced are, among others, Agamben's "bare life" (2) and Fréderic Worms's "state of exception" from *Le moment du soin* [*The Moment of Care*], suggesting that "in a time of emergencies, crises and exceptions, care rises to the surface not simply as an ethical concern about how one is supposed to go on living but also as a political one, given politics' relation with exception and catastrophe" (2). Moreover, the book capitalizes on Eric Santner's idea of "creaturely life," Judith Butler's term "precarious life," as well as "biological citizenship" (3) from Nikolas Rose's *The Politics of Life Itself*. Thus, *Narrative Care* does not seem to take sides in the crucial debate of biopolitics, namely, the superior position of βιος, that is, "life" or politics, as Thomas Lemke's *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction* explains:

> The advocates of naturalism regard life as being "beneath" politics, directing and explaining political reasoning and action. The politicist conception sees politics as being "above" life processes; here, politics is more than "pure" biology, going beyond correction, exclusion, normalization, disciplining, therapeutics, and optimization. (4)

From a structural point of view, the volume is not overambitious in its undertaking: it offers tightly focused close readings of five fictional works (four novels and a film), utilizing the author's central concept of "narrative care" to argue how biopolitics can serve as a master code to open up several contemporary works by revealing the dynamics of individual and state power exercised over bodies. Instead of offering a comprehensive history of biopolitics, the opening chapter starts with an anecdote about the book being partly inspired by a break-up letter's last line, "Take care of yourself." Thus the piece of advice eventually lead to an exhibition where the French artist Sophie Calle expected answers to the question: what does it mean to "take care of oneself?" The irony

of the antique advice of "*Epimeleisthai sautu*"—turned into a breakup line and a Garnier advertisement, one could add—is unmistakable, providing an effective opening for the volume. More importantly, De Boever's thesis statement emphasizes "the relation between the contemporary novel, the history of the novel as a genre, and care" (2), while also pointing out a recent "political turn" or a "vitalist turn" in the humanities—as a recent conference entitled "Theories of Life in the 20th and 21st Century" has emphasized. The first thematic chapter focuses on J. M. Coetzee's *Slow Man* (2005), the next one on Kazuo Ishiguro's *Never Let Me Go* (2005), followed by Paul Auster's *The Book of Illusions* (2002) and Tom McCarthy's *The Remainder* (2005), with the conclusion on Pedró Almodóvar's *Talk to Her*. De Boever does not risk selecting lesser known authors or less openly biopolitical works (and chooses Coetzee and Ishiguro instead) or to work towards a more varied corpus of biopolitical dilemmas. She even reflects on this when saying that all the relationships in the interpreted books are about heteronormative couples (156). Dystopias like Chuck Palahniuk's *Lullaby* or Margaret Atwood's *Oryx and Crake* could have given a challenging twist to the volume, let alone, *Children of Men* (Alfonso Cuarón, 2006) or *Womb* (Fliegauf Benedek, 2010) could have also appeared as revealing cinematic examples in the conclusive chapter.

De Boever approaches the genre of the novel as a body with its own life cycle, quoting Edward Said's *On Late Style* arguing that "for its first century, the novel is all about birth, possible orphanhood, the discovery of roots, and the creation of a new world, a career, and society. Robinson Crusoe. Tom Jones. Tristram Shandy" (9). The author also relies on Ian Watts's *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding* pointing out that this fictional form is not based on stories from mythology, legend, history, or previous literature but it rather functions like an autobiographical memoir (44). On the whole, similar theoretical reflections like these on the novel form itself seem somewhat ad hoc and lacking depth. It is not a fertile approach today to think in fixed genre categories, because the very nature of this approach goes against the logic of rigidly contained frameworks of expression—this may explain why the author mainly quotes theoretical sources on eighteenth-century fiction. Zadie Smith's opinion that McCarthy's *Remainder* suffers a "nervous breakdown," as the narrative becoming interrupted and exposed as false (154) appears to reinforce my observation.

In relating to the literary tradition it is rather literary life or, as De Boever puts it, "scriptive selves" which are a shared feature of the chosen texts. In spite of conjuring up examples like the Faustian pact, Orpheus and Eurydice, Kafka's oeuvre, and Walter Benjamin's "The Storyteller," the Auster chapter devoted to life as literature may be considered as the least successful, since its focus seems just as elusive as the re-enactments, fake hold-ups, and doubles in the metafictional allegorical world of *The Book of Illusions*.

Life and politics, especially the roles and the rights of the state also seem to occupy a central position in the volume, as the gripping Baudrillard motto of the Coetzee chapter indicates:

> We are not succumbing to oppression or exploitation, but to profusion and unconditional care—to the power of those who make sovereign decisions about our well-being. From there, revolt has a different meaning: it no longer targets the forbidden, but permissiveness, tolerance, excessive transparency—the Empire of Good. For better or worse. Now you must fight against everything that wants to help you. (qtd. in De Boever 29)

In De Boever's reading of *Slow Man*, the antique notions of *eros*, *agape*, *philia*, and *caritas*, as well as contemporary anti-statism seem to evolve around this argument, emphasized by the automaton imagery of the novel and the central role of the ethics of companionship. The protagonist does not want any welfare state interference in his life, but after his accident he is still reduced to the bare physiological fact of his handicap. Marijana, the Croatian nurse taking care of the amputated protagonist, promises "no cure, just care" (30), and as it turns out, the woman quite tellingly has a diploma in restoration. Here is where Agamben's concept of "zoe bios" becomes relevant, since it "suggests that the essential activity of sovereign power is the production of bare life" (70), that is, docility, effacement, and amenity dominate in contemporary culture as depicted in the novel. In *Never Let Me Go* these problems are pushed to the edge, where the uncannily political correct vocabulary of donating, completion, and deferrals regulates the clones' lives. The clones are the ultimate examples of the above mentioned "scripted lives," whose humanity is overwritten by state authority, and the very notion of care appears like a drug: "The care they receive dulls the pain of their existence, and it might be that if it were not for this care, their pain would

develop into something more explosive that would overthrow the dubious biopolitical system that the novel represents" (60).

Closely interrelated with state power over bodies is a striking recurrence of the Holocaust in the volume, since De Boever identifies it both in Coetzee's *Elizabeth Costello* and Sebald's collection of essays, *On the Natural History of Destruction*, as a haunting presence. The introductory chapter, for example, uses W. G. Sebald's making up for "the shocking absence within German literature of such descriptions of the violence that Germany suffered" (16) and concludes that "this project fails in the academic essay where it is successful in the novels" (18). The Sebald reading also utilizes Sontag's arguments in *Regarding the Pain of Others* and her theory of the "ecology of image" (19), implying that there are ethical limits to representation and certain things are literally obscene, that is, they should be off the scene. A separate chapter on the Holocaust motifs of the chosen texts would have been an intriguing venture, but this question only remains a lurking issue instead, and thus the volume consciously or unconsciously repeats the fragmented narrative technique of the above mentioned Sebald and Coetzee texts.

Sexuality, however, does appear as a meaningful aspect of interpretation. *Narrative Care* again relies on Foucault when quoting *The History of Sexuality:* "we have arrived to a point where we expect our intelligibility to come from what was for many centuries thought of as madness: the plenitude of our body from what was long considered its stigma and likened to a wound; our identity from what was perceived as an obscure and nameless urge" (qtd. in De Boever 75-76). Based on this insight, the book poses the following question: "Might it be that the brain has replaced sex as the secret of life?" (75). Basically all the chapters are about works in which sexuality becomes the disruptive counter-discourse of state power, but the book never articulates this clearly, even though it even quotes a revealing sentence from *Never Let Me Go:* "Neither art nor love can save them for the fate that has been set out for them" (66).

Although Almodóvar is generally not regarded as a political filmmaker, the last, concluding chapter is based on one of his best known works, *Talk to Her* (thus, the subtitle of the volume should more appropriately be *Biopolitics in Fiction and Film*). This final section is introduced by a motto from Douglas Coupland's *Girlfriend in a Coma*: "Comas are rare phenomena, Linus told me once. They're a by-product of modern living, with almost no known coma patients existing prior

to World War Two. People simply died. Comas are as modern as polyester, jet travel, and microscopes" (qtd. in De Boever 151); and accordingly, coma in *Talk to Her* is interpreted by De Boever as a disturbing encounter with "only anatomy in motion" and sexual violence. Briefly mentioning the Terri Schiavo case and the American pro-life movement as opposed to the idea of "soul murder," this last chapter contextualizes the issue of comatosed subjecthood in a contemporary culture of euthanasia debates and thanatopolitics. The author also points out a shocking parallel between Terri Schiavo's story and the Guantánamo prisoners: "In one case we have human life stripped of the cover of a symbolic status/value, in the other the intrusive imposition [of] a symbolic value/status in the absence of sentient life" (153); and these questions lead on to issues of bio-terrorism and the bio-defence industry—dilemmas which are definitely beyond the scope of this volume, but still remain threateningly part of our symbolic and cultural-historical reality.

Narrative Care is a uniquely revealing book for anyone engaged in body, gender, ethical, or health studies and naturally also for researchers of the discussed authors. Its clearest strong point is the tight focus of the individual readings and the interpretive application of biopolitical theories, while it might not necessarily satisfy the curiosity of those readers who are looking for a wider social, historical, and medical contextualization of the potential applications of a biopolitical readings. However, it is a much-needed point of departure for similar future interpretations of film and fiction about bodies that matter in contemporary culture.

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Perforating the Perspective of Superpowers: Détente and Minor Powers
Máté Gergely Balogh

Villaume, Poul, and Odd Arne Westad, eds. *Perforating the Iron Curtain: European Détente, Transatlantic Relations, and the Cold War, 1965-1985.* Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 2010. 272 pages. ISBN 978-87-635-2588-6. Hb. $61.

The scope of analysis of the vast majority of Cold War scholarship is considerably restricted; most works concentrate almost exclusively on the two superpowers, their relationship, their behavior, and their part in shaping events. The role of minor powers during the entire Cold War period is usually ignored or, at best, is considered to hold only marginal importance. Since the fall of communism in Europe, however, the traditional interpretation of the Cold War has been challenged. The opening up of archives in the former Eastern Bloc is far from complete, and several pieces of the puzzle are still missing on both shores of the Atlantic. Still, the sources that have already become available have changed the perception of the Cold War. *Perforating the Iron Curtain* is a collection of studies that presents a new interpretation of *détente*, one that focuses mainly on the minor powers. By examining how these countries contributed to the building of *détente* in Europe, this work offers valuable insights for scholars studying the foreign policy of the United States.

In recent years there have been attempts to widen the scope of analysis of the Cold War to include perspectives other than those of the Soviets and the Americans. Internationally, more and more scholars have realized the importance of examining the role of minor countries in this conflict. The present collection consists of papers delivered by scholars from Germany, Poland, the United States, Switzerland, Italy, Norway, and Denmark at the "Copenhagen Cold War Conference 2007: European and Transatlantic Strategies to Overcome the East-West Division of Europe." The editors are among the most highly respected international historians of the Cold War: the Norwegian Odd Arne Westad and Poul Villaume from the University of Copenhagen.

Wielfried Loth presents the complexity of the terminology of the Cold War and argues that the scholarly perception of this conflict has changed since 1989. He claims that the term "Cold War" itself is already misleading, as this era

was not really a war, except at the peripheries; the true objective was not to destroy the opponent but to push it to change internally. He proposes a view of the period as an "East-West conflict," a "long peace," of which the "Cold War" is only one, recurring stage.

The essays that follow each present an aspect of European *détente*, a feature of the foreign policy of a country or an organization, describing its motivations, actions, and contributions to the process. The topics and countries covered include Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Denmark, the relationship of the United States and West Germany, the European Political Cooperation, the neutral and non-aligned countries, the Helsinki Network, the relationship between human rights and transatlantic relations, and French support for Eastern European dissidents. These diverse topics are bound together by the common ground of European *détente*: we get to see how this process fits into the more general foreign policy of the players, how they perceived the issues and influenced the events.

The Helsinki Process forms the main focus for the book, in which many of the minor allies—and also the neutral and non-aligned countries—could participate, several of them playing an active role, others occasionally influencing the outcome. The idea of a broad European security conference already contradicted American notions about superpower *détente* and, as Giovanni Bernardini argues, served the interests of West Germany and other countries. The result of the Conference on Cooperation and Security in Europe was the Helsinki Final Act, which gave rise to various movements and organizations in the West as well as in the East. These organizations concentrated mainly on the issue of human rights that had been included in the Final Act; thus, in this way, the Helsinki Process substantially contributed to the organization and support of dissenters in the Eastern Bloc.

As several authors point out, the relationship between Western Europe and the United States was crucial to the success of *détente* in Europe. It seems obvious from the most common understanding of the Cold War situation that there could have been no rapprochement between the two blocs without the support or at least the quiet acceptance of the superpowers. The real novelty is that it presents the contributions of the smaller countries to *détente*, their respective goals and agendas. In the early 1980s, considerable tensions arose between the two superpowers while *détente* in Europe continued to flourish even

after the superpowers had quit. This signified a shift in the relationship of the United States and her European allies. In the previous periods of the Cold War, the United States conducted the bulk of the negotiations with the Soviet Union (the Partial Test Ban Treaty, the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties, and so forth), but with the Helsinki process, the European allies took the lead, and the United States often merely followed, thus reversing the regular transatlantic "division of labor."

This change in the relationship dynamics between the members of the transatlantic alliance represents one of the key questions of European *détente*. Why did the United States not take the lead at the negotiating table in Helsinki and after? Why did it instead let the European allies represent the interests of the Western Bloc? Were the Americans forced to make this decision, or were there other motives? What was the extent of American withdrawal? The question of the role of the United States in European *détente* is always present in the background and is discussed in most of the articles.

Bernardini argues that initially the United States did not support *détente* as much as the European allies did. When Nixon came to power, he had to re-evaluate the United States' international role; the country was no longer in the same position as after the end of the Second World War. By this time Western Europe had appeared on the world market as a commercial and economic rival and become increasingly active on the international stage. This was especially true for the Federal Republic of Germany, whose *Ostpolitik* emerged as a political challenge to the bipolar worldview. The United States still had to take her place at the negotiating table. Nixon and Kissinger initially did not want to include the European allies in *détente*, as they imagined a thaw between the two superpowers. But as the status of the Europeans rose in the Western alliance, they were no longer as subordinate to the United States as before, while economically Europe emerged as an important partner and a serious rival. The Americans were forced to cooperate because they needed to improve the transatlantic relationship. The European countries, in turn, found their own voice to a certain extent, could also move more freely, and some of them were more inclined towards *détente* than the United States.

Skjold G. Mellbin, the head of the Danish delegation during the preparatory talks leading up to the Helsinki Conference as well as at the follow-up meeting in Belgrade, along with some of the scholars in the volume, was

puzzled by the fact that during the initial stage, the Americans seemed to leave the negotiations with the Eastern Bloc to their European allies. While he remains in the dark about why this happened, his theory is that the Americans reacted to the fact that initially, during the preliminary talks, the Europeans were the ones who had been pressing for the conference, they pressured the United States to be more forthcoming. Once the conference was an accomplished fact, the Americans let the Europeans deal with the Soviet Union themselves and provided support; thus, the Europeans were mainly responsible for the results.

Thomas Fischer tells a story somewhat different from Mellbin's. On the surface, the compromise about "Basket III" of the Helsinki Accords on humanitarian and cultural cooperation in July 1974—which broke the deadlock between East and West and made the final round of negotiations possible—was an achievement of the neutral and non-aligned countries and was originally proposed by neutral Finland. But, the proposal was actually suggested to Helsinki by Moscow after negotiations with the United States. The superpowers had already come to an agreement on a compromise on the issue of "Basket III" before the Finnish proposal in May 1974, when US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko met in Cyprus. They decided that Gromyko would approach Finland and ask it to propose the compromise that the Americans and the Soviets had already agreed upon. Both superpowers speculated that it would be easier to get the proposal through the conference, avoid the appearance of giving concessions to the other side, and save a lot of negotiations if they used a smaller, neutral country as an intermediary. When Finland came out with the proposition, all sides supported it. As this example demonstrates, although the United States seemed to have retreated from the conference and the Helsinki process to a certain extent, this withdrawal was not complete, and the Americans were often quite active behind the scenes. Even when the United States was not directly involved in the negotiations, her influence was always present.

Perforating the Iron Curtain is a notable new addition to the international discourse on the Cold War. The emergence of the smaller countries' perspectives in Cold War scholarship is a development that also concerns students of American foreign policy. Because of this new perspective, I would recommend the book for researchers as well as students interested in the Cold War or in American foreign policy after World War Two in general. This innovation widens

the debate and makes it easier for scholars from smaller countries to enter the scholarly discussion. Some of the academics included in the volume are already well known, others are still junior scholars, more inclined to look at the finer details of the Cold War. Through learning more about the minor players and looking at the same events from a new, different perspective we can also understand more about the United States. A new periodization of the Cold War, presenting *détente* as a longer process involving many sides, signifies a new interpretation of events: here the Cold War is suggested to be not so much a binary opposition between East and West as a rather complicated web of relationships within the two blocs and across their boundaries. While the two superpowers clearly assigned the direction, the minor powers also had a certain room for maneuver to pursue their own goals.

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ABSTRACTS

Positioning Analysis of Intercultural Information Processing in a Multicultural Borderland: Rudolfo A. Anaya's *Bless Me, Ultima*
Zoltán Abádi-Nagy

The cognitive map that Anaya designs for the reader in the Chicano growth-novel *Bless Me, Ultima* charts the multicultural borderland of the American Southwest for the controlling fictional mind, Antonio Márez, with a much higher number and much more intricate pattern of borders, border-operations, and border-dilemmas than the storyworld or the textual discourse can reveal at first sight. What the narrative processes is: the narrator (Antonio) processing the multicultural borderland, which is a land of conflicting and interlocking border-zones rather than a "borderland." By examining how exactly Antonio is mentally processing intercultural information the reader can develop a better sense of how and why this young Chicano keeps positioning and repositioning himself interculturally, through inter- and intramental processes, mental maneuvering, inner knowledge-representations, cognitive strategies of action, and by sorting through cognitive scripts as well as overwriting them. Some of the guiding theories will be multi- and intercultural theory, borderland studies, cognitive science, cognitive cultural studies, cognitive psychology, cultural narratology, cognitive narratology, and possible worlds theory. (ZA-N)

Popular and Critical Taste
Don Gifford

The development of the cheap book in 1792 and an increase in literacy combined to create the impression of a considerable divide between popular and critical taste in nineteenth-century America. "Popular and Critical Taste" investigates the gap between the two as reflected in the reception of the domestic and sentimental novel compared with that of Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* and Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* and *An American Tragedy*. Both Hawthorne and Dreiser drew extensively on and even exploited the popular taste and expectations created by commercially successful sentimental and domestic novels. But both also undermined these same expectations by manipulating them for their own artistic

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purposes. Hawthorne may have been annoyed and frustrated by popular fiction's commercial success but "did not directly attack its titillating prudery and moral vacuity," whereas Dreiser mounted a "frontal assault" against the sentimental-domestic novel in *Sister Carrie* and then against the Horatio Alger success novel in *An American Tragedy*. Both of these important novels count on their reader's expectations derived from popular fiction—as countless other American writers have done over the years. (DEM)

"The no doubt calm language of the no": Samuel Beckett's Poetics in Light of his Published Correspondence
Erika Mihálycsa

The essay traces the evolution of Beckett's poetics of language as well as the ethical issues of responsibility that his (bilingual) writing foregrounds in light of his published correspondence, two volumes of which have appeared to date. The essay focuses primarily on Beckett's letters to Georges Duthuit and examines their aesthetic debate on the possibilities of disrupting mimetic representation, which would feed into one of the key texts in the Beckett canon, "Three Dialogues with Georges Duthuit." It discusses Beckett's own disquisitions about writing responsibility in his letters, at a time when he was engaged in writing his core oeuvre, as well as his observations on a theatre of poverty, reduced to its means, which he sets out to create both as a playwright and as a theatre-maker who gives "his kind of hand" to directors wishing to collaborate with him, and on a textual surface of poverty that he shapes, with singular intensity, both in French and English. (EM)

"Animals rule! Timothy conquered!" Escape, Capture, and Liminality in Werner Herzog's Grizzly Man
Zsolt Győri

Grizzly Man (2005), directed by Werner Herzog, is a film about Timothy Treadwell, a self-proclaimed protector of bears who spent thirteen seasons with wild grizzlies on the Alaskan peninsula. During these visits he captured over a hundred hours of video footage filming both the bears and himself. In October 2003, while camping out with his girlfriend Amie Huguenard, the couple was

attacked and killed by a rogue bear. Herzog accidentally accessed the material and decided to make the film structured around the recordings of Treadwell and interviews he conducted with relatives and friends. This article explores the degree to which *Grizzly Man* can be considered a Herzog film. The argument takes into account previous films of the director, his somewhat controversial ideas about documentary cinema and notion of ecstatic truth. Relying on the existing critical literature the essay proposes that the film can be comprehended as an unequal wrestling match between Treadwell's and Herzog's conflicting concepts of nature; however, it also argues that the main focus of *Grizzly Man* is the contemporary sociocultural landscape, its social rituals, mechanism of domestication, and its fascination with performativity. Concentrating on the body of the footage portraying Treadwell's adventures in Alaska it examines how Herzog's textual interventions help us reconstruct Treadwell's border crossings and liminal states with regard to geography, mediality, and identity construction. (ZsGy)

Engulfing Mirroring in *To the Lighthouse*
Gabriella Moise

To the Lighthouse's overt compositionality, among others, evokes the motif of repetition, duplications, reflectivity, and internal mirroring (mise en abyme). The occurrence of the protean *mises en abyme* becomes instrumental in the exploration of themes the novel is emphatically occupied with, such as subject formation, the artistic creation as a process (inevitably including the sense of failure), the fluidity and emergence of identities and genres, and the defiance of conventional language and communication. Due to its unique structural locus, that is, being stretched out between the vertical pillars of the framing chapters, and its inherently abysmal quality, appearing as ultimately dark, engulfing, and liminal, "Time Passes" emerges as the mirror of the text, the node of the intertwining that makes fulfillment and *To the Lighthouse*'s subversive verbal and visual capacity possible. Thus, the mechanism of verbal and visual *mises en abyme* and the structural role of "Time Passes" appear to be analogous. Both serve as the repository of the verbal/visual interplay and subsequently the reciprocal relationship of categories such as the temporal and the spatial, the visible and the invisible, the seer and the seen, all unalienable characteristics of the modernist masterpiece. (GM)

"The spirit has been well caught": The Irish Dimension of the Canonical Hungarian Translation of *Ulysses* (1974) and Its Remake (2012)
Marianna Gula

Translations are inescapably shaped by the historical moments and the cultural milieux in which they are produced. Since 1974 when Miklós Szentkuthy's seminal Hungarian translation of *Ulysses* was published, pushing Endre Gáspár's first translation (1947) into almost complete oblivion, several dimensions of the cultural context have radically changed, as a result of which thirty years later a four-member translator-editor team embarked upon reworking his translation (published in 2012). This essay hihlights how one dimension of the radically changed cultural context, what Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes have dubbed "the Irish turn" in Joyce criticism, influenced the translator team's attitude to the task. While both Gáspár's and Szentkuthy's translations were produced in an interpretative climate that emphasized the universal valence of Joyce's texts, the revision of Szentkuthy's translation was significantly informed by readings of *Ulysses* that bring into sharper focus the Irishness, the historical and cultural specificity of the text. (MG)

Self–Respect Restored:
The Cultural Mulatto and Postethnic American Drama
Lænke Németh

This essay argues that the post-Civil Rights period from the 1980s onward produces a new kind of American who is not only conscious and proud of the various cultural, ethnic, and racial forces shaping his/her identity but can also freely navigate between them. Trey Ellis's concept "cultural mulatto" appropriately describes this new type of American, whose self-respect is restored by freely negotiating between multi-racial and multi-cultural legacies as shaping factors of his/her identity.

The essay also discusses the theatrical representations of the cultural mulatto as dramatized in African American Suzan-Lori Parks's Pulitzer Prize-winning *Topdog/Underdog* (2002) and Asian American David Henry Hwang's autobiographically inspired *Yellow Face* (2007), as these plays offer some of the most provocative explorations of this new type of cultural identity. By

establishing a taxonomy of the cultural mulatto archetype, it may be seen how the experimental methods of Parks and Hwang challenge essentialist interpretations of race and ethnicity as well as the historical binaries of cultural identities. (LN)

Senator William Edgar Borah and the Question of Treaty Revision
Éva Mathey

The United States followed the policy of political isolation relative to the affairs of Europe after World War I. This notwithstanding, Hungarians cherished the hope that the United States would support Hungary's efforts to revise the terms of the Trianon Peace Treaty, which dismembered historic Hungary radically reducing both her population and territory. This belief, however, proved to be totally unfounded; American support for the revision of the Treaty of Trianon was never a viable option. The United States strictly adhered to the program of political non-entanglement throughout the interwar period: the Department of State, as well as the official American representatives to Hungary in the interwar period, consistently represented this policy. Official America did not fall in line with Hungarian revisionist expectations. One curious exception, however, seems to be Senator William Edgar Borah of Idaho, who repeatedly gave voice to his conviction that the post-war treaties, and among them the Treaty of Trianon, should be revisited. This essay offers an analysis of Borah's views and explores whether he really represented a different approach to the question of treaty revision. (ÉM)

"Proof of what a Hungarian woman is capable of": Travels of Mrs. Mocsáry in the United States and Mexico
Balázs Venkovits

This essay explores the unique travel accounts of Mrs. Béla Mocsáry in an inter-American context, studying the changing images of the United States and Mexico and the possible effects of the author's gender on the depiction of these North American countries. The essay presents how travel, tourism, and travel writing became intertwined with the life of Mrs. Mocsáry and how the novel voice she assumed provided a new type of travel writing in Hungary on the US and Mexico.

Besides offering a case study of a little-known but important female traveler, the article touches upon other issues as well: the position of women in nineteenth-century Hungarian society, transportation history, the development of Hungarian travel writing, while also highlighting how Hungarian travelogues differed from Western European travel accounts studied more extensively in Anglophone scholarship. (BV)

Kurt Vonnegut: *The* Representative Post World War II American Writer
Donald E. Morse

This essay attempts to situate Vonnegut's novels within the post-WWII milieu arguing that in them Vonnegut has reflected his generation's experiences with the war, the advent and use of the atom bomb, the aftermath of the Great Depression and the rise of the consumer society, the Vietnam War, and the weakening of social bonds and institutions after the 1960s. Yet Vonnegut also reflects American optimism: although often disillusioned with his country and fellow countrymen, he refuses to give up on America and tenaciously clings to his dream of a better society, with a genuine culture and a real community. In doing so, he offers alternatives for American society in the twenty-first century. (DEM)

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the postmodern to intermediality and adaptation studies, his abiding interest in things Joycean acts as something of a Wakean vicus of recirculation repeatedly bringing him back to the master's work. Among his many publications is *Will's Son and Jake's Peer: Anthony Burgess' Joycean Negotiations* (2002). He is committed to highlighting aspects of his native Hungary's scholarly and cultural engagement with English-language literatures and cultures.
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