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East-Central Europe in the Writing of James Clarence Mangan

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Abstract. This study explores the significance of East-Central Europe in a range of James Clarence Mangan's poetry and prose from 1838–1847, focusing particularly on his depiction of Biedermeier Vienna (in the short story "The Man in the Cloak"), revolutionary uprisings in Poland and Albania (in the poems "Siberia" and "Song of the Albanian"), and his translations from the work of Bohemian-born Viennese poet Joseph Christian Freiherr von Zedlitz (1790–1862). I argue that Mangan's interest in this region is twofold. On the one hand, it stems from the amenability of East-Central European culture and writing to the themes and tropes of the gothic, a genre central to Mangan's imagination; on the other, from an underlying affinity in the historical position of the Irish and East-European poet in negotiating complex and contested politics of identity. While Mangan is a poet keenly conscious of "the importance of elsewhere," and closely engaged in contemporary continental politics, I suggest that these European elsewheres also function as Foucauldian heterotopias, mythopoetic mirrors that enable the poet both to participate in Irish cultural nationalism and to register his dissent and distance from it.

Keywords: James Clarence Mangan, Gothic, Vienna, Napoleon, Zedlitz

Introduction

The cosmopolitanism of the imagination and work of James Clarence Mangan is now well established in literary criticism. There are few other writers of the period for whom "the importance of elsewhere" – to use the phrase of the English poet Philip Larkin – is so clearly central to their work (Larkin 1988, 104). This is all the more striking given that Mangan never left Ireland in the course of his lifetime; indeed, he only rarely left Dublin and – eschewing the common practice of his contemporaries, who turned by necessity to the greater opportunities and marketplace of London – published solely in Ireland. The bulk of his prolific oeuvre is in translation: from

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Western Europe (France, Spain, Italy, and particularly Germany), from the Persian, Arabic, and Turkish (then becoming available in Europe via the work of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall), and from the Irish. Critics have learned to be wary of Mangan's sophisticated and frequently misleading translation practice; often his translations turn out to be original poems, or "pseudotranslations," as they are now termed. In a self-penned obituary published shortly before his death, Mangan writes that he has been "overmuch addicted" to this practice, described as "the antithesis of plagiarism." He dryly adds: "I cannot commend it. A man may have a right to offer his property to others, but nothing can justify him forcing it upon them" (Mangan 2002b, 224). While he also produced more conventional renderings, Mangan was consistently creative in his translation practice; such changes will be attended to in the argument below as a means of understanding the Irish writer's interest in East-Central Europe. While Mangan scholarship has now produced a diverse and fascinating body of work on his German and Oriental translations, the "Anthologia Germanica" (1835–1846), the "Literæ Orientales" (1837–1846), and his translations from the Irish, the role of East-Central Europe in Mangan's work remains largely overlooked.[1]

The omission is surprising, given the established connections between Ireland and Eastern Europe which have become increasingly visible in recent years. This study contends that there are two leading and interrelated aspects to Mangan's interest in this part of the world: one is political, the other more purely imaginative. The purview of the first can be usefully condensed by another, more recent Irish poet. In *The Government of the Tongue* (1988), Seamus Heaney writes that he keeps returning to the poets of Eastern Europe "because there is something in their situation that makes them attractive to a reader whose formative experience has been largely Irish" (Heaney 1988, xx). The affinity seems to lie in the particular burden of the poet born into a small country that is dominated by a larger, more powerful neighbour, and in a period of volatility and unrest. These are literary traditions which perforce demand a public role of their poets, however unwilling or uncomfortable they might be of the prospect. This study will argue that this politico-poetic affinity is central to understanding the significance of East-Central Europe as it is depicted in Mangan's prose and poetry from the late 1830s, becoming more urgent towards the end of his life in 1849, as nationalist momentum gained in Ireland, and the devastation of the Great Famine unfolded. There is also the other more purely imaginative attraction of East-Central Europe for a writer of Mangan's sensibilities and susceptibilities. To begin with, then, East-Central Europe makes its way into Mangan's imagination via the gothic.

1 For Mangan's practice of translation, his translations from the German and the Irish, and its relation to Irish cultural nationalist politics, see David Lloyd's groundbreaking *Nationalism and Minor Literature* (Lloyd 1987). Michael Cronin's study *Translating Ireland* valuably contextualizes Mangan's translation practice within an Irish tradition (Cronin 1996); for Mangan's Oriental translations, see Lloyd 1986 and Fegan 2013; for his translations from the Irish, see Welch 1988 and Chuto 1976.

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From Paris to Vienna: Mangan's "The Man in the Cloak" (1838)

Austria first appears as a significant presence in Mangan's work in his short story "The Man in the Cloak," published in the November 1838 issue of the *Dublin University Magazine*, a conservative, unionist, and anti-Catholic journal. The story is subtitled "A Very German Story," but it is in fact a translation of Honoré de Balzac's *Melmoth Réconcilié*, first published in 1834 (Balzac 1901). This was a kind of sequel to the influential gothic masterpiece *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820), written by the Irish novelist and clergyman Charles Robert Maturin, one of Mangan's literary heroes (Maturin 2008). While Mangan follows the essential contours of Balzac's story, there are some significant alterations, as I have discussed more fully elsewhere (see Sturgeon 2010). The most consequential of these changes is also the one most relevant to our interest here: Mangan changes Balzac's setting from Paris to Vienna, and repeatedly draws attention to this relocation in the course of the narrative. "I would rather abandon life itself almost than my dear, darling delightful, native town, W***" (Mangan 2002a, 246), Livonia tells her lover Braunbrock. Jacques Chuto notes that, as "Vienna" appears in full in the preceding paragraph, Mangan here makes use of the city to wink at the contemporary convention of disguising place-names (Mangan 2002a, 378–379). The repetition in two languages further serves to underscore the relocating of the story as well as to encode textually a kind of doubling or ghosting of identities that is central to the story itself, at least as it emerges in Mangan's hands. It is worth noting that Mangan is exacting about the period, too: "'we live in the second quarter of the nineteenth century,'" Braunbrock tells the Man in the Cloak; "'such a compact is not possible'" (2002a, 252). The switch from Paris to Biedermeier Vienna has thus far escaped critical attention despite increasing interest in the story as a kind of foundational text for Irish Catholic Gothic writing (see Haslam 2006). To what ends, then, does Mangan move Balzac's story from Paris to Vienna?

The ancient city of Vienna had long been one of the most pre-eminent in Europe, a prestige reasserted at the Congress of Vienna in 1814–15, where the continental political map was redrawn following the downfall of Napoleon. The ancestral home of the Habsburg dynasty, Vienna's significance derived in no small part from its location at the centre of the continent, a long-standing geographical and cultural meeting-point of East and West. In Mangan's time, Vienna was the capital of the formidable Austrian Empire, which brought the Kingdom of Hungary firmly under Habsburg control. Most obviously, Mangan's relocation of the story to Vienna anticipates the migration of the Irish gothic genre to Eastern Europe, as exemplified in the seminal gothic texts of Sheridan Le Fanu and Bram Stoker. Le Fanu, whose gothic story "Passage in the Secret History of an Irish Countess" appeared in the same issue of the *Dublin University Magazine* as Mangan's "The Man in the Cloak,"

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sets his vampire tale *Carmilla* (1871–72) in the Austrian state of Styria, some ten leagues "from our little capital of Gratz" (Le Fanu 2013, 38); the narrator's father has served in the Austrian military. This Eastern trajectory was extended yet more emphatically and influentially still in Stoker's *Dracula* (1897). While the Eastern European setting to these Irish gothic texts has long been regarded by critics as little more than a cultural lens by which to more evocatively amplify Irish colonial history and political crisis, Matthew Gibson has argued that it is in fact evidence of a rather more straightforward engagement with the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, and Balkan politics of Central and Eastern Europe, albeit with the Irish situation still in mind. Both Le Fanu and Stoker, Gibson concludes, take conservative positions on political developments in the region. Read as an anxious response to the Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich* of 1867, when Hungary at last gained its own parliament independent of Vienna, *Carmilla* negatively frames Hungarian resistance to Austrian domination as a dangerous destabilizing of the status quo and a harbinger of Ottoman power in Europe: "the embedded national allegory represented by the vampire is of a brutal Hungarian past set to destroy an orderly present" (Gibson 2006, 44). The danger of the *Ausgleich* to conservative unionists such as Le Fanu manifests itself subsequently in Ireland. Arthur Griffith used Hungary's achievement of equal status with Austria under Empress Elisabeth to argue for a similar political solution for Ireland in his 1904 book *The Resurrection of Hungary: A Parallel for Ireland*, the founding document of his new nationalist party, *Sinn Féin* (Ourselves Alone). In *Dracula*, Gibson contends, Stoker is concerned to undermine the idea of Balkan freedom by the depiction of his titular vampire as "a blood-thirsty vampire and sexual deviant, and the further denigration of his warlike activity as being no more than the behavior of a childlike criminal" (Gibson 2006, 95). It should be pointed out, however, that the first critic to focus a reading of the much-studied *Dracula* on the "Eastern Question," Eleni Coundouriotis, reads the novel in a manner opposite to Gibson: that Stoker is setting in motion a de-legitimation of the Ottoman history of Eastern Europe through the figure of the vampire (1999–2000).

In a similar vein to Gibson's readings of Le Fanu and Stoker, there is a distinct and intriguing political aspect to Mangan's use of Vienna, though my analysis will position Mangan in a subversive rather than a conservative light. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, Vienna was the centre of a repressive political government under the iron fist of Metternich. The Austrian-American writer and journalist Karl Anton Postl gives a vivid sense of this regime in his 1828 polemic, *Austria as It Is* (published anonymously in London): "Never, perhaps, has there been exhibited an example of so complete and refined a despotism in any civilized country as in Austria" (1828, vi). Metternich's crackdown on liberalism and the Romantic politics of reform was markedly focused on the city's press and its rich cultural life, as critiqued by Postl:

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> A more fettered being than an Austrian author surely never existed. A writer in Austria must not offend against any government; nor against any minister; nor against any hierarchy, if its members be influential; nor against the aristocracy. He must not be liberal – nor philosophical – nor humorous – in short, he must be nothing at all. […] Should an Austrian author dare to write contrary to the views of the Government, his writings would be not only mutilated, but he himself regarded as a contagious person, with whom no faithful subject should have an intercourse. (1828, 209–210)

Metternich's strict censorship had an inevitably stultifying effect on Viennese writing, journalism, and debate; clubs of any kind were quickly infiltrated by a wide network of police spies. The artists and writers of the *Ludlamshöhle* group in the 1820s are perhaps the best known; the club was under police surveillance from 1822. In 1826, the members were interrogated and placed under house arrest, the society disbanded under suspicion of being a centre of political activity (Yates 1977, 112). Appropriately for this charged context, the period's most notorious cultural rebel and champion of the oppressed, Lord Byron – a sworn foe of Austrian hegemony – makes a brief appearance in "The Man in the Cloak." In another digression from Balzac's original, Mangan's version features a phrenologist, the pointedly-named Baron Queerkopf, who discusses Byron's head as a kind of scientific exemplar as to the unreliability of beauty.

> The truth is, that to a common observer the head is any thing but an index to the nature of the man. Look, for example, at Byron's head. It is a positive and undeniable fact that what we imagine the superior appearance of that head is solely attributable to its deficiency in several of the most beneficial organs, and its redundance in some of the most morally deteriorating. It lacked Faith, Hope and Veneration, and exhibited but moderate Benevolence, while, on the other hand, though Conscientiousness was fair, an undue and preponderating proportion of cerebral development manifested itself in Self-esteem, Combativeness, and Firmness. (Mangan 2002a, 242)

Byron was regarded with deep suspicion by the Austrian authorities; they watched him closely when he was in Northern Italy and banned many of his works, including *Childe Harold* for its criticism of Austrian tyranny (see Dowden 1955). Himself a devoted admirer of Byron, Mangan delights here in depicting the famously handsome English poet as viewed by the Viennese state authorities with whom Baron Queerkopf is aligned and who find him, unsurprisingly, much less good-looking than commonly supposed.

Under Metternich's regime, Vienna's renowned theatrical culture was strictly circumscribed; indeed, as W. E. Yates observes, "the very centrality of the theatre

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in the life of Vienna meant that the censorship laws were imposed with particular severity in the theatre" (Yates 1977, 110). The pivotal narrative scenes of "The Man in the Cloak" are set in the Viennese theatre, where, in rapid succession, Braunbrock sees staged before him his forgeries discovered by the Minister of Police and documents drawn up "deposing to all the facts, and which were to be forthwith transmitted to the official authorities" (Mangan 2002a, 249). Braunbrock then watches with mounting horror his own arrest and "the trial scene in the assize-court, which terminated in his condemnation to his twenty years of hard labour in a stone fortress at G***" (Mangan 2002a, 251). The final scene of his imprisonment at Gratz carries distinctly Foucauldian overtones:

> […] after being branded on the arm and breast by the common executioner, he saw himself loaded with irons, in the midst of sixty other criminals, and driven along into a side and drear court-yard—the place of labour and punishment—under the *surveillance* of an overseer, who carried a knotted knout in his hand for the instruction and advantage of the lazy or the refractory. (Mangan 2002a, 251)

The reference to the *knout*, a brutal whip used for corporal punishment with often fatal effects in Czarist Russia, again emphasizes the story's relocation to the East, with an associated interest in repressive and tyrannical regimes. This theatrical spectacle of crime and punishment is staged only for Braunbrock; the rest of the audience enjoys a conventional vaudeville performance. The theatre, with its associated art forms of drama, music, and opera, is thus made an executive arm of the judicial and penitentiary organs of the state. This suppressive and punitive Austrian context is also amplified in a subplot concerning Livonia's lover Rudolf, who has been scheming against the Government (presumably agitating for reform) and now faces arrest and execution. Braunbrock's forged bank-notes, Livonia's faithlessness, Rudolf's treasonous plotting – on one level, the story could be read as a moral lesson on the inevitable punishment of crime and deceit, enacting the kind of rigid sociopolitical and cultural control for which Austria was well known. The environment of urban Vienna is made distinctly carceral from the offset: the story begins with a panoptical view of Braunbrock as he forges bank-notes at his desk: surrounded by "the iron safes and sealed strong boxes imbedded in the walls of his temporary prison […] he saw peering through the grated door of his box two dark, burning and searching eyes" (Mangan 2002a, 239). The police state of Vienna swiftly accommodates gothic themes of criminality, guilt, and paranoia which develop from the central Faustian plot.

Yet the agent for uncovering all these crimes and misdemeanours, the man in the cloak, is also the means for subverting and ridiculing state authority in his effortless evasion of the Viennese police, those "dogs of justice," as he describes

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them (Mangan 2002a, 253). In a carnivalesque episode which does not occur in *Melmoth Reconcilié*, the Viennese police arrest the man in the cloak and imprison him in a coach, but subsequently discover their prisoner to be "a bag of feathers," "a bag of devils," "a sack of chaff," "a bundle of hay," and finally "a mere man of straw, with very thick legs of about ten inches in length, and a hollow pumpkin, stuffed with old rags, for a head" (Mangan 2002a, 254). This spectacle of the disintegration of identity is emphatic, and the means of a relished humiliation of the police-state, as the "rotund and spectacled sergeant" complains: "Upon whom the blame of this rescue may fall I know not, but it will be no wonder, if, after a circumstance of this kind, our police should sink in the estimation of Europe, Australia, and the two Americas!" (Mangan 2002a, 254).[2] While Mangan is clearly satirizing the authoritarian policies of the Austrian state, this matter of tyrannical rule also struck much closer to home for the Irish writer. Demand for political reform dominated Irish public debate in the 1830s as the country grew increasingly restive under repressive British rule. Catholic Emancipation had been largely negated by the government's raising of the franchise and in 1831 Mangan's name appears on a list of law clerks petitioning for parliament to consider repealing the 1800 Act of Union. In a series of satirical pieces published in the radical newspaper *The Comet*, he attacked Westminster and the British aristocracy as despotic and corrupt: "The Two Flats; or, our Quackstitution" (3 June 1832); "Sonnets—by an aristocrat" (24 June 1832); "Very Original Correspondence" (13 January 1833); "The *Ass*embly" (23 December 1832). Mangan's version of "The Man in the Cloak" allows him to comment refractively on Irish issues and events, but this subtext is firmly subordinated to the story's primary interest in the repressive Austrian regime and its amenability to the tropes and themes of the gothic.

Revolution and Starvation: Mangan's "Siberia" and "Song of the Albanian"

East-Central Europe reappears in Mangan's work in the mid-1840s in poetry more soberly engaged with contemporary nationalist struggles in Poland and Albania. "Siberia" and "The Song of the Albanian" mark Mangan's accelerating attention to Eastern Europe both as a topical interest in and of itself and as a prism through which Irish events might be more evocatively and effectively expressed. First published in the *Nation*, on 18 April 1846, and frequently hailed as his masterpiece, Mangan's "Siberia" has been well described by Heaney as "a poem that belongs

2 The *Oxford English Dictionary* records the first usage of "police State" in its modern sense with reference to nineteenth-century Austria: "Austria has become more of a police State than she was before" (*The Times*, 15 August 1851). *https://www-oed-com.queens.ezp1.qub.ac.uk/view/Entry/146832?redirectedFrom=police-state#eid* (last accessed: 26 August 2020).

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not in the past but in the eternal present of living art" (Heaney 2003, 16). The poem has long been read by critics, including Heaney, as an allegory for *an Gorta Mór*, the Great Famine, that was then beginning to decimate the Irish populace. Jacques Chuto, however, points out that "Mangan had no doubt been reading in the *Nation*, specifically in the issue of 11 April, about captured revolutionary leaders in Russian Poland;" those who were spared execution were "degraded from their rank, and condemned to exile and hard labour in Siberia" (Mangan 2002c, 449). Furthermore, Chuto reveals the poem to be an unacknowledged translation from the German poet Ernst Ortlepp's "Sibirien" (Chuto 1999, 208). Ortlepp was just the sort of writer to attract Mangan's interest: a translator of Byron and Shakespeare, Ortlepp's poetry grew increasingly radical as agitation for political reform coursed through Europe in the 1830s and 40s. Like Byron, Ortlepp fell foul of Metternich in 1836, who banned the poet's *Fieschi* (concerning the would-be assassin of the French king Louis-Philippe I). Ortlepp was sympathetic to the Polish nationalist cause, and his "Sibirien" protests the fate of its leaders; Mangan's version seems to work, Matthew Campbell argues, "from suggestion as much as direct translation or even plagiarism," offering "an invented prosody of frozen numbness, a kind of zombie metre" (Campbell 2013, 120).

As Campbell concludes, Mangan's "Siberia" "might just be about Poland and Russia and not Ireland at all" (Campbell 2013, 120). Poland, divided up between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, was of particular interest to Irish nationalists, who saw in the country's struggle to regain sovereignty a parallel to their own position under union with Britain (see Healy 2017). Mangan's imagination is piqued not by military conflict or nationalist rhetoric but by the punishing exile endured by the Polish revolutionaries, which stills their dissent as effectively as execution: "Therefore, in those wastes / None curse the Czar. / Each man's tongue is cloven by / The North Blast" (Mangan 2002c, 158). Much like Braunbrock's vision of his incarceration in "The Man in the Cloak," "Siberia" lays bare the gothic ability and will of the imperial state to imprison the individual it deems transgressive, condemning them to a kind of living death that becomes literally indistinguishable from a carceral landscape: "When man lives and doth not live, / Doth not live—nor die" (Mangan 2002c, 158).

Mangan's "Song of the Albanian. 1826," published in the *Nation* the following year (15 August 1847), is an original poem, appearing under the signature of "J.C.M." The poem is a kaleidoscopic merging of several national scenes of revolt and distress; it addresses the Albanian uprising against the Ottoman Empire by way of referencing the Greek War of Independence, the titular date of 1826 denoting the famed Siege of Missolonghi (also the place of Byron's death, as would have been of no small interest to Mangan) (Mangan 2002c, 477–478). Several of the poem's nightmarish passages also seem to comment upon the plight of the Irish in "Black '47," the worst year of the Famine.

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> Gaunt Famine rideth in the van,
> And Pestilence, with myriad arrows,
> Followeth in fiery guise: they spare
> Nor Woman, Child, nor Man!
> The stricken Dead lie without barrows
> By roadsides, black and bare.
> […]
> Oh, God! It is a fearful sign,
> This fierce, mad, wasting, dragon Hunger! (Mangan 2002c, 339–340)

Citing the example of Albania's neighbour "Glorious Greece […] Reborn from that drugged Sleep of Death," the poem seems to incite nationalist revolt:

> Come, Charon, then, and crown thy work!
> The few heroic souls thou leavest
> Surviving still are strong to wrest
> Their birthright from the Turk!
> Slay on! Perchance the task thou achievest
> Is one Heaven's Powers have blessed! (Mangan 2002c, 340)

Yet the call to arms is undercut by the repeated invocation of the Greek psychopomp "ghastly Charon;" the reality of the Famine, as Ciara Hogan observes, "beggared the romantic consciousness before historical fact" (Hogan 2010, 9). Mangan pairs the starving Albanian and Irish masses in an imagined community that is marked by suffering and death rather than the heroic romantic nationalism of the kind espoused by the *Nation*. "Song of the Albanian," as Hogan writes, "is a very caustic evocation of the national perfectionist paradigm, and, in its mode of figuration – its 'myriad arrows' – it appears both self-implicating and self-lacerating" (Hogan 2010, 10).

Both "Siberia" and "Song of the Albanian," then, sit somewhat uneasily in the pages of the radical *Nation*, whose editors demanded rousing nationalist ballads to inflame the patriotism of its readers – "racy of the soil," as the paper's motto stated, and written by poets that "neither fear nor doubt for their country" (*Nation*, 25 March 1843, 376). David Lloyd has identified "a certain nervous tension" in Mangan's nationalist exhortatory verse, one "that is generally absent from Young Ireland balladry" (Lloyd 1984, 185). As Lloyd has demonstrated, Mangan – addicted to masks, aliases, literary posturing and parody, immersed in the foreign, incorrigibly multiple – challenges the homogeneity of cultural nationalism. While Mangan is evidently interested in these European elsewheres for their own sake, Siberia and Albania also function as a kind of Foucauldian heterotopic space, mirroring Irish history and allowing the poet both to participate in the cultural nationalism that

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was dominating Irish politics in the 1840s while still registering a muted dissent and distance from it.

Byron, Napoleon, and La Poète Hongrois: Baron Zedlitz and Bohemian Gothic

In the same intensely prolific period that produces "Siberia" and "Song of the Albanian," Mangan publishes a clutch of translations from the Bohemian-Viennese poet Joseph Christian Freiherr von Zedlitz (1790–1862). Zedlitz was born in Javorník in "Austrian Silesia," as Mangan terms it in the potted biography he provides of the poet in his 1846 anthology "Stray Leaflets from the Oak of German Poetry," published in the *Dublin University Magazine* (Mangan 2002c, 445). Silesia, along with Bohemia and Moravia, formed the three historical Czech lands, then part of the Austrian Empire (the present-day Czech Republic). Zedlitz served in the Austrian army during the Napoleonic wars before settling in Vienna, where he became a poet of some note and in the late 1830s joined the Austrian court as a diplomat. His Eastern European roots persisted however; in 1829, he was still described by the French poet Barthélemy as the "poète Hongrois" (Raschen 1926, 257). In her travelogue *Vienna and the Austrians* (1838), Frances Trollope describes Zedlitz as "the admired translator of *Childe Harold*, and the author of many greatly esteemed original poems," who "appears at present to be the poet par excellence of Austria" (Trollope 1838, 250). Zedlitz's literary interests seem to have existed in a somewhat strained or even antagonistic relation to his government career: he was a member of the *Ludlamshöhle*, and his admiration of Byron and Napoleon (see Spink 1931 and Raschen 1926) was at odds with the authoritarian temperament of Metternich and the Austrian Empire. As noted above, Mangan too was a devoted admirer of Byron, an interest that draws him in part to Zedlitz. He comments approvingly on Zedlitz's "excellent translation" of *Childe Harold* and selects the stanzas on Bryon from Zedlitz's *Todtenkränze* (1828) – in which the poetic speaker lays poetic wreaths on the graves of great figures from history – for inclusion in "Stray Leaflets from the Oak of German Poetry" (*Dublin University Magazine*, March 1846). Mangan was likely also attracted by the susceptibility to the gothic of Zedlitz's dreaming nightscapes and revenants, which nostalgically conjured the heady memory of romantic heroic nationalism, as personified in the figure of Napoleon, as analysed in the poems below.

Zedlitz makes a brief but memorable appearance in "Anthologia Germanica XXI" (*Dublin University Magazine* September 1845), where Mangan concludes his selection "of the later German poets" with "The Midnight Review," his version of Zedlitz's "Die nächtliche Heerschau," first published in 1828 and later included in his collection *Gedichte* (1832). The poem imagines a ghostly reveille of Napoleon

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and his imperial troops; in general, Mangan's translation is reasonably faithful though some key differences emerge with the entrance of Napoleon in the ninth and tenth stanzas.

> Und um die zwölfte Stunde
> Verläßt der Feldherr sein Grab,
> Kommt langsam hergeritten,
> Umgeben von seinem Stab;
>
> Er trägt ein Fleines hütchen
> Er trägt ein einfach kleid
> Und einen fleinen Degen
> Trägt er an seiner Seit. (Zedlitz 1832, 17)

> And when midnight robes the sky,
> The EMPEROR leaves his tomb,
> And rides along, surrounded by
> His shadowy staff, through the gloom.
>
> A silver star so bright
> Is glittering on his breast;
> In an uniform of blue and white
> And a grey camp-frock he is dressed. (Mangan 2002c, 92)

Zedlitz's description invokes Napoleon as "the little corporal," whose modest, simple dress recalls his demotic origins. Mangan's Napoleon is a more remote figure, whose aloofness is stressed in his military uniform and grey "camp-frock" (an unusual term that Mangan seems to have coined for the occasion) and glittering "silver star." The allusion to the Légion d'honneur, the award created by Napoleon to commend those of non-noble birth, sits uneasily with the translation of "Feldherr" as "EMPEROR," in emphatic font (a more accurate equivalent might be "general" or "commander"). This is a reminder of how Napoleon's revolutionary idealism later turned to monarchical tyranny. In the final stanza, Zedlitz places Napoleon's ghostly return "Im Elyseischen Feld," the Elysian fields reserved by the Greek gods for the righteous and the heroic (Zedlitz 1832, 18); Mangan, however, recreates "Elyseichen" as "the wolds," the kind of rolling, open uplands more fitted to a ghost story, in keeping with his richly gothic and atmospheric version.

Despite having fought against him, Zedlitz is a fervent admirer of Napoleon, and "Die nächtliche Heerschau" is typically read as an evocative and popular example of the Napoleon cult that gained momentum throughout Europe after the death of the Emperor on Saint Helena (see Raschen 1926, 254). It was the revolutionary

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politics of Napoleon, the sweeping liberal reforms set out in his *Code Civil*, that seem to have won Zedlitz. Otto W. Johnston compares "Die Nächtliche Heerschau" to the "poetic portraitures created by Pierre Jean de Béranger, the French poet chiefly responsible for transforming Napoleon into the 'little Corporal' – the soldier of fortune and friend of the little people to whom he had shown the road to greatness" (Johnston 1974, 619). In Zedlitz's *Todtenkränze*, Napoleon is among the honoured dead; Raschen records that Zedlitz's "fulsome eulogy made him a doubtful patriot in the eyes of many of his compatriots, who had fought with him against the invader Napoleon at Wagram and Aspern" (Raschen 1926, 256). Zedlitz's sympathy with romantic ideals of liberty and democracy perhaps lay more with the "poète Hongrois" than with Zedlitz the Austrian government employee; in Metternich's Vienna, such allegiances and aspirations had to be negotiated with care, especially in the era of the Czech National Revival. In "Die nächtliche Heerschau," Zedlitz cloaks his admiration for revolutionary politics in a kind of Bohemian gothic scene, centred on a mythopoetic Napoleon and his spectral battalions.

Mangan returns to Zedlitz at greater length the following year with a short biography of the poet and two further translations in the anthology "Lays of Many Lands" (*Dublin University Magazine* September 1847), published just a month after "Song of the Albanian." The first one of these, "The Phantom Ship" ("Das Geisterschiff"), again features the ghostly return of Napoleon, this time combined with the legend of the Flying Dutchman. The poem envisions Napoleon returning to "his belovèd France" on the phantom ship only to find his legacy vanished: "But, how changed seems all! That land resembles / The wreck, the shell of a burnt-out star!" (Mangan 2002c, 342). The most significant alteration comes in the final stanza, where Mangan once again renders Napoleon rather differently to Zedlitz.

»Wo bist Du,« – so ruft er, »o Kind, das schon
In der Wiege mit Kronen gespielt?
Die Tage des Glücks, sie sind entflohn,
Als im Vaterarm ich Dich hielt!
Meiner Liebe Weib, meines Herzens Sohn! –
Dahin mein ganzes Geschlecht!
Der Knecht war, sitzt auf des Königs Thron
Und der König ist wieder Knecht!« (Zedlitz 1832, 83)

"All, all are gone!" cries the Desolate-hearted—
"My glory, my people, my son, my crown!
Oh, how are the days of my power departed!
How lost is the nation I raised to renown!
My house and my hopes alike lie prone
In an all-engulphing Grave—

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A slave now sits upon Cæsar's throne,
And Cæsar hath sunk to a slave!" (Mangan 2002c, 342–343)

With emotive references to his wife and son, Zedlitz emphasizes Napoleon as a grieving family man, whereas Mangan's "Desolate-hearted" is again removed from the quotidian, an icon of history. The evocation of Caesar, whose statecraft also slipped into tyranny, is double-edged and again intimates ambivalence towards the French leader. A poem that was published not long before Mangan's death, "For Soul and Country" (*Irishman*, 28 April 1849), keeps moderate nationalism alight in the aftermath of the failed 1848 Young Ireland uprising. The speaker reflects on the Napoleonic cult, concluding that:

Napoleon sinks today before
The ungilded shrine, the *single* soul
Of Washington:
Truth's name alone shall Man adore
Long as the waves of Time shall roll
Henceforward on! (Mangan 2002d, 123)

Another iconic figure of European history is revisited in Mangan's second translation from Zedlitz in "Lays of Many Lands." This is "Wilhem Tell," a poem in which a father-son dialogue relates the story of Switzerland's fourteenth-century folk hero, who assassinated the tyrannical Albrecht Gessler and thereby launched Swiss rebellion against Austrian domination. In Zedlitz's original, the tyrannical Landvogt remains unnamed; in Mangan's version, he is given the odd amalgamation of "Herr Percy, the Bailey," combining the German honorific with a surname of English, aristocratic and judicial connotations. It also involves a punning play on bailey, which at once suggests *bailiff* (phonetically summoned by the use of the archaic *caitiff*), a public administrative authority, the architecture of a feudal castle, and the British seat of the Central Criminal Court.

»Sieh dort, herjagend auf stolzem Roß,
Den Landvogt reiten, noch fern sein Troß.«
»»Still, Knab'! so Gott Dir helfen mag! –
Landvogt, dieß war Dein letzter Tag! –«« (Zedlitz 1832, 39)

"Look, my dear father! Herr Percy, the Bailey!
Rides he not hitherward bravely and gaily?" –
– "Ha! The grand villain! … Now, caitiff Herr Percy,
Bless the good God if He shew thy soul mercy!" (Mangan 2002c, 343)

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Hugh Percy, Third Duke of Northumberland, known for his anti-Catholic views and opposition to Catholic Emancipation (see Thompson 2004), was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1829–30, when Emancipation became law. This seemingly progressive step was immediately negated by Westminster's raising of the franchise, adding fuel to the campaign to repeal the Act of Union between Britain and Ireland. By 1847, tensions were running high: the Irish confederation was formed in this year, a breakaway faction from Daniel O'Connell's Repeal Association of Young Irelanders who brooked no compromise in their demand for an Irish Parliament with full legislative and executive powers. Zedlitz's "Wilhelm Tell" allows Mangan to again mobilize a cultural-political attack on the Austrian Empire which resonates with the political ferment in Ireland, on the cusp of the 1848 Young Ireland rising against tyrannical British rule.

Conclusion

Exploring Mangan's interest in Austria, Poland, Albania, and – via Zedlitz – Bohemia, reveals a poet very much engaged with contemporary European politics, a salutary reminder of the wider continental networks in which some Irish poets worked over the centuries. Indeed, "The Man in the Cloak" is interesting simply for its somewhat rare representation of an Irishman (as the eponymous character is often described in the course of the story) at home in mainland Europe. Mangan's story, it has been argued here, satirically subverts the efforts of state authorities to police the living stream of culture; much like the man in the cloak, my narrative ultimately contends that such anarchic energies cannot be contained. The relationship of culture to politics, particularly that of nationalism, is also at the heart of Mangan's poetic excursions to Siberia (via Poland), Albania, and the Bohemian gothic nightscapes of Zedlitz; these European elsewheres are a heterotopic space for Mangan, mirroring the Irish nationalist struggle while enabling the poet to articulate a muted wariness of the human costs such political movements entailed. For the Irish as well as the East European poet, writing is a navigation of the entangled histories and identities of place and being, shaped by similar pressures of overbearing imperial politics. There is, as Heaney writes of this long-standing affinity between Irish and Eastern European poets, "an unsettled aspect to the different worlds they inhabit, and one of the challenges they face is to survive amphibiously, in the realm of 'the times' and the realm of their moral and artistic self-respect" (Heaney 1988, xx). For Mangan, working in the febrile volatility of Ireland in the 1830s and 40s, East-Central Europe was a means to both explore and contest the imperative of "the times."

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