María Losada Friend, José María Tejedor Cabrera,
José Manuel Estévez-Saá, Werner Huber (eds.)

DREAMING THE FUTURE:
NEW HORIZONS / OLD BARRIERS IN 21ST-CENTURY IRELAND

Irish Studies in Europe

Edited by

Werner Huber, Catherine Maignant, Hedwig Schwall

Volume
3

María Losada Friend, José María Tejedor Cabrera,
José Manuel Estévez-Saá, Werner Huber (eds.)

DREAMING THE FUTURE:
NEW HORIZONS / OLD BARRIERS
IN 21ST-CENTURY IRELAND

Umschlaggestaltung: Brigitta Disseldorf

Contents

Acknowledgements

The present volume is the third in the *Irish Studies in Europe* series. It is published under the aegis of *EFACIS: The European Federation of Associations and Centres of Irish Studies* and is meant to reflect something of the multi-disciplinary and international character unique to this organisation.

May 2011

María Losada Friend
José María Tejedor Cabrera
José Manuel Estévez-Saá
Werner Huber

INTRODUCTION

**María Losada Friend, José María Tejedor Cabrera,
José Manuel Estévez-Saá, Werner Huber**

This volume began its life during the course of a few busy days in December 2007 in the Spanish city of Sevilla. It was there that members of the Spanish Association of Irish Studies (AEDEI) combined efforts with the Organising Committees from the Universities of Sevilla and Huelva and the European Federation of Associations and Centres of Irish Studies (EFACIS) to pave the way for the Sixth International EFACIS Conference, a dynamic effort to promote Irish Studies in a broad European context.

In this conference's spirit of creating a Europe-wide forum for diverse and innovative explorations of classic and contemporary issues within Ireland's social, cultural, political, and economic realms, this third volume in the *Irish Studies in Europe* series includes articles and poems that ambitiously reveal the complex academic and artistic challenges of contemporary Irish Studies. The title of "Dreaming the Future: New Horizons/Old Barriers in 21st-Century Ireland," shared by both the conference and this volume, alludes to Walter Benjamin's assertion that "every epoch not only dreams the next but, while dreaming, it impels it toward wakefulness." Already the Irish panorama looks quite different than it did at the turn of the last century – a point ably demonstrated throughout this collection – as "New Horizons" continue to reveal themselves even as many "Old Barriers" stubbornly refuse erasure. As such, it is the challenge of Irish Studies in Europe to trace carefully and elucidate the many and great changes witnessed by both Northern Ireland and the Republic today, as traditional images of underdevelopment, isolationism, sectarianism, and violence are gradually overturned and replaced. This collection meets these challenges through a thoroughgoing and multifaceted recognition and revision of the movements, and figures that, dreaming the future, have led and shaped the island in its non-stop evolution. In this ever-evolving search for Ireland's identity (or identities), the articles selected represent individual and collective critiques of a single vision of Ireland. The fact that a slight dominance of Spanish perspectives and themes can be made out should be seen as a tribute to the genius loci of the conference and the occasion (and not as being in contradiction to the Europeanness of the enterprise as a whole).

Declan Kiberd opens the volume with an exposition of how James Joyce's modernist masterpiece *Ulysses* revitalises the past and makes the ancients

live on in modernity. In "Old Testaments and New: Joyce and Messianic Time," Kiberd unravels the ways in which the Old Testament text was recycled in the New Testament to provide this new narrative with coherence and cohesion. Tracing phrases and instances from both texts in *Ulysses*, and following the "mythical method" perceived by T.S. Eliot as the basic strategy of Joyce's Bloomsday book, Kiberd advances to the heart of the subtle and innovative mechanisms of Joyce's dynamic modernity, which, by cannibalising and rewriting old texts, invests tradition with new meanings.

In "Geography Of Desire and Guilt: Joyce's "Circe" in the Tradition of the Temptation of Saint Anthony," Benigno Del Río similarly approaches Joyce within the European religious tradition. Tracing the imagery of seduction, his close reading of the "Circe" chapter of *Ulysses* reveals a sophisticated game of temptation and desire while evincing the chapter's close relation with Flaubert's *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* and with the pictorial tradition of Saint Anthony's temptation in Hieronymus Bosch's version of *The Garden of Earthly Delights*.

Anne MacCarthy[1] also traces the tradition of European influences in Irish writing through her thoughtful analysis of the influential Irish intellectual Denis Florence MacCarthy, whose translations of Calderón de la Barca's *autos* and careful readings of the Spanish dramatist's religious ideas reveal the existent fondness for Spanish classic literature in Ireland. Admirer of Mangan, translator of Spanish romances, and follower of Shelley's nationalistic yearnings, Denis Florence MacCarthy is also shown to embody the Irish reception of German Romanticism, particularly in following its debates regarding the theoretical and practical techniques of translation.

Alberto Lázaro Lafuente's contribution explores the reception of Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* in post-war Spain, in the process uncovering the subtle political ideology that selected books for "untrained readers." Documenting his case study with censorship files from Alcalá de Henares, Lázaro reveals how Spanish censors in the 1940s faced and resolved the moral ambiguity of the novel, freely manipulating paratextual information and censoring the text so as to offer a book that could be either banned as immoral or offered as an exemplary fable.

Juan Ignacio Oliva analyses the original and subversive means by which the work of Irish author Jamie O'Neill boldly challenges conventional narratives regarding masculinity and morality in Ireland. Cast as shadows of Oscar

---

1   The editors have the sad duty to report the passing away of our esteemed colleague Anne MacCarthy in February of 2011.

Wilde's personal and aesthetic rebellion, O'Neill's novels *Disturbance* (1989), *Kilbrack* (1990), and *At Swim, Two Boys* (2001) are shown to employ metaphors of fractured selves and 'disturbance' in youths as a means of challenging the moral consensus in Ireland with new visions of masculinity, as well as of deconstructing and rewriting traditional narratives of social and ethical Ireland.

José Francisco Fernández further demonstrates the Irish connection with Spain by unveiling Beckett's relation with Spanish language, history, and translation. Methodically tracing Beckett's few incursions into Spanish culture and language, through references to Calderón, Lope de Vega, and Saint John of the Cross, and scrutinising the Irish author's labours as translator in his *Anthology of Mexican Poetry*, Fernández uncovers ambiguous intertextual links that contrast with Beckett's open and clarifying words against the political situation in post-war Spain.

Originating from a different EFACIS event (Vienna 2009), Estelle Epinoux's paper "Irish Cinema and Europe throughout the Twentieth Century: An Overview" surveys the history of Irish-European relations as reflected in the history of Irish cinema. She discusses Irish cinema as a national cinema within the constraints of alterity and inclusion/exclusion (especially with regard to Ireland vs. Britain and the United States) and notes how contemporary Irish cinema has overcome these antagonistic patterns and found its place in a third space marked by hybridity, post-nationalism, and multiple identities.

In "Connolly and his Legacy," Sophie Ollivier traces the political evolution of Irish labour leader and revolutionary James Connolly through the dual aspects of his ideology – a complex blend of socialist and nationalist convictions. Ollivier frames the essay with Pierre Nora's distinction of Memory vs. History so as to carefully explore the ways in which Connolly's ideas and legacy have been conveniently adopted and adapted by different figures and parties since his execution for his role in the 1916 Rising.

In "New Horizons for the Border Areas: From Good Intentions to Good Practice in Cross-Border Cooperation" Marie Claire Considère-Charon examines the goals for cross-border cooperation and development in Ireland in the decade since the Good Friday Agreement of 1998, comparing these hopes against the actual progress made. Reviewing the bases of partition, as well as its practical consequences and psychological impact on the Irish border areas, the author points at the slowly but firmly changing ideas and approaches towards the appropriate processes of reconciliation and reconstruction. Considère-Charon's analysis of the different programmes charged with this

objective is exemplified by the concrete case of the challenges and fortunes of the Blackwater regional partnership.

The volume concludes with an authentic Irish voice, that of Galway-born playwright, translator, and poet Rita Ann Higgins. The three poems included here – "Ask the concierge," "The Immortals," "He knows no artichokes" – signal new creative approaches to excavating Ireland's present for new perspectives on its past, and vice versa. Higgins's simple, unpretentious style avoids a naïve reading, reconstructing with clarity and wit the cruelties, hypocritical attitudes, and values of contemporary Irish society.

OLD TESTAMENTS AND NEW: JOYCE AND MESSIANIC TIME[1]

Declan Kiberd

When asked why he chose Odysseus rather than Christ as a model for Bloom, Joyce was curt. Living with a woman was one of the most difficult things a man could do, and Jesus was a bachelor (Budgen 191). Still, Joyce was haunted by the mystery he flouted. According to Francini Bruni, his friend in Trieste, Joyce "only completely admires the unchangeable: the mystery of Christ and the mute drama that surrounds it. I can well imagine that his head was full of this mystery when he wrote *Ulysses* and that therein lies the allegorical point of this story of new martyrdom" (Potts 35). Bruni noted how Joyce frequented the Catholic churches of Trieste all through Holy Week, "so as not to miss a single syllable" (Potts 35). "As a child he was very religious," recalled his sister Eileen: "I think that all of Jim's loves were really created in the love of God" (Rodgers 29). His brother Stanislaus, a lifelong atheist, remarked sardonically of James's temperament: "he who has loved God intensely in youth will never love anything less" (Stanislaus Joyce 159).

Joyce was a writer who snooped around old texts in hopes of finding a back door through which to effect an entry, and the New Testament was a major element in the creation of *Ulysses*. What fascinated Joyce was the audacity with which the gospel authors had cannibalised and rewritten the Old Testament, much as he himself would reconfigure earlier classics. *Ulysses* is itself both a fulfilment of earlier texts and an open, prophetic book.

Joyce revered the English mystic William Blake as another bard "who present, past and future sees" (Blake 21). As Blake wrote a prophetic book on the understanding that all tenses blend in the no-time of God, so did Joyce. Even in the Old Testament "a saviour is born," as God-time is an eternal now and Jesus always existed (it was not God-the-Father who appeared on Sinai, but Jesus, the pre-existing Word). The lives of the prophets were shot through with a utopian potential not completely realised until incarnated in the figure of the New Testament Jesus, just as *The Odyssey* achieved its destined form in *Ulysses*. Only when Jesus delivered certain lines or performed specific actions did people realise that he was one of the prophets foretold. Only then did the sentences foretelling him become famous as prophecy, more significant than the rest of the testament. Joyce, likewise, selects key lines from the classics,

---

1   A similar version has since been published in *Ulysses and Us*.

even as he submits those texts to "a retrospective arrangement" (*U* 113). The New Testament, in effect, establishes the utopian, forward thrust of the older texts, and Joyce performs a similar service for it, and for them. In one sense, he liquidates all prior works; in another, he shows how much of them can be saved.

T.S. Eliot said that *Ulysses* manipulates a continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity and that this method (which he dubbed "the mythical method") had "the importance of a scientific discovery" (681). Yet such a technique is at least as old as the New Testament. A number of crucial passages culled from the Old Testament helped the first Christians to give shape to the life of Jesus. The Exodus narrative shows that God kept his promises to the people of Israel and gave them hope of better things, despite their occasional mutinies. The mutiny in the wilderness, the falling of manna from heaven, the handing over of the Tables of the Law on Mount Sinai; each has echoes in, respectively, the temptation in the desert, the miracle of the loaves and fishes, and the Sermon on the Mount. The twelve tribes of Israel find their equivalents in the twelve apostles. The edict of Pharaoh that all male babies, including Moses, should die prefigures Herod's killing of first-born males in the attempt to do away with Jesus.

So the Christian life was 'fitted' to the Exodus paradigm, with the forty days spent by Jesus in the desert as a reconstruction of the forty years of wandering in the wilderness by the people of Israel. Jesus, the "agenbuyer" mentioned in *Ulysses* (253), embarked on this period of penitential wandering and waiting to buy back a people, but also to redeem the old texts. As such, Jesus' wanderings recapitulate those of Odysseus, but also anticipate the experience of the Irish diaspora awaiting Home Rule. In their confused passage through the wilderness, those who were once Pharaoh's slaves were transformed into God's free people, and that period of forty years was felt to be necessary to allow for the creation of a generation unaccustomed to bondage.

The mutiny in the desert enrages God but Moses mollifies him, coming down the mountain carrying what in *Ulysses* will be called "the tables of the law […] in the language of the outlaw" (181). That new dispensation on Sinai is not an action subject to any human control. It represents, rather, an irruption of a divine force into the everyday human world, which has been triggered by some sort of involuntary memory (see Alter 75, 104). This gives to the rediscovered past the excitement of surprise, the force of a revelation after a period of denial, brought about through associative mechanisms. It teaches people how to make a past moment contemporary, how to make the ancients live again in

'our' time. The event reverberates back into the past but also forward into an uncertain future.

After Sinai, the people wanted laws, but not too many, as such a truth is less narratable in words than something to be felt from within. The radical innovation of the New Testament is its uncovering of an interiority even more subtle and deep than that known to Homer. Edward Said observed, in one of his final essays, that in *The Odyssey* characters awaken every morning as if to the first day of their lives: and so for them the day becomes the unit to be seized (100-101).[2] In the Christian Bible, however, the lives of characters come heavy with an implication, extending back and forward in space and time.

There a past event is only fully interpreted, and in that sense *completed*, by a present one, which may claim the status of the real, making the past seem mythical by comparison. If the epic bard is the person "who present, past and future sees," then the Blake who noted that now-time is someone who recognises that this further develops Homer's insight that the gods are human creations – hence Blake's phrase celebrating the "human form divine" (29). Certain protagonists, in moments of greatness, can seem both human and godlike, caught up at the mercy of their historical moment, yet somehow enabled to transcend it. For instance, Jesus can weep real tears at the sight of the dead Lazarus, all the time knowing that he has the power to raise him. Similarly, certain literary texts reverberate with predecessors and successors to such a degree that they transcend their time and partake, it seems, in the very creativity of the gods.

The covenant agreed on Sinai is less a legal formulation than a description of a developing relationship. The Egypt fled by the people of Israel, which in *Ulysses* is repeatedly compared to the British Empire, is seen as a rigid bureaucracy fixated on control and order, whereas for the chosen people there is "only the assumption of a life-relationship that is not fixed, and requires Israel to live in freedom before the ever-new tasks of daily life" (Fishbane 96; see also Walzer 53-55). In such a radical order, the new leader could never be charismatic. Hence Bloom's quiet, undemonstrative decency, and the fact that the new order must be developed tentatively during a period of wandering. Galilee thus becomes a symbol of "the periphery becoming the new" (Freyne 271-272), as the pilgrim arrives in a city such as Jerusalem or Dublin and learns how to challenge its codes.

If the manifest content of *The Odyssey* is the scaffolding that eventually falls away to reveal the latent content of *Ulysses*, such a technique is not neces-

---

2   Said acknowledges the priority of Erich Auerbach in this analysis.

sarily taken from Marx or Freud. The same technique can be found where they most likely discovered it too: in the Torah as the root principle of Jewish tradition. "People without understanding see only the narrations, the garment," it was taught; "those somewhat penetrating see also the body; but the truly wise [...] pierce all the way through to the soul" (Fishbane 34). The outer garments of earlier classics are removed from *Ulysses*, like so many teasing veils, to disclose what lies beneath. The reader of a holy book in Jewish tradition must concede to the proposal that there is a divine wisdom in the text before seeking to disrobe the bride in order to unite with her behind her many veils. The Jews, in fact, saw the cycle of literary history as a progressive move toward the revelation of such an unmapped interior (Fishbane 34-40). Homer was poetic but his work was secular. Virgil's writings anticipated the gospels in some elements, but only indirectly. Sacred scripture could, however, contain all the wise lore of predecessor works, retrospectively giving them 'salus.' Everything was in the holy book, including all that had been known to predecessors. It was to this precise model that Joyce worked in *Ulysses*, "*ut implerentur scripturae*" (561), 'that the scriptures might be fulfilled.' The image of Rudy, Bloom's dead son, studying his Hebrew text "from right to left" (702) at the end of "Circe," is based on the notion that revealed teachings are a dead letter unless revitalised in the mouth of those who study them. Joyce understood that for the Jews the act of interpretation itself partakes of, and adds to, the holiness of scripture. A criticism of the text in which God speaks in itself might also be the voice of God. Hence the strongly autocritical element, present in passages throughout *Ulysses*, which supplies the very apparatus by which the book might be interpreted.

Jesus fulfilled the Torah not by abolishing it but by bringing its lore up to date. Joyce's characteristic idea of a text as a work-in-progress is central to the Jewish tradition. The fragments assembled drew strength not so much from a past totality, as from the notion of a perfected work yet to be done. Hence the emphasis on *waiting*. An old Jewish joke concerns an unemployed labourer who is appointed, after many delays, to be the paid watchman on the lookout for the Messiah. He soon grows disgruntled with the long hours and bad conditions. "I can hardly feed my family on what you pay me," he complains, only to be told: "You should take comfort in the supreme importance of the work you do. Besides, unlike almost all others, yours is a permanent job."

The first followers of Jesus used texts of the Old Testament to help make sense of the new one. This textual analysis was not undertaken for the purposes of conversion – after all, as Leopold Bloom rightly recalls, Jesus himself was a Jew. Bloom is as cautious, as was Jesus, in his claims to any form of

divinity. When he sees a handbill about a prophet, he humbly wonders "Bloo..me?" (291), and when interrogated in "Circe" he tactfully counters, "you have said it" – echoing the "Thou sayest it" of Jesus. The humiliating death of a pretender mocked with a crown of thorns threw the claims of his followers into doubt: and so a vast effort was expended to show the basis in ancient literature for the rejection and crucifixion of Jesus. Bloom seems utterly ludicrous when named the new messiah – a title first sarcastically conferred by the Citizen in "Cyclops," before his mock-investiture in "Circe." Yet Jesus himself was called messiah when he least looked like the foretold king of the Jews.

The martyrdom of Jesus was absolutely necessary, as he had to become a martyr to textuality as much as to the Roman officials who condemned him. As Luke wrote, "it is written that Christ should suffer and be raised from the dead on the third day."[3] His followers recycled fragments of the Old Testament before a new, coherent narrative was generated. So the close interpretation of texts became for early Christians what it had long been for the Jews, a method of religious meditation. Each past fragment of text was only considered to be 'completed' or incarnate when understood for the first time within the new framework. Then it was free to disappear into the new narrative, much as Homer, The Bible, Dante, and Shakespeare are intended by Joyce to vaporise into *Ulysses*. Just as *Ulysses* contains many fragments from earlier texts so the New Testament has many interpretations of the Old interpolated into its episodes.

The New Testament shows how the prophetic method works as a form of autocriticism. For example, Jesus foretells that Peter will deny him three times, and even as he is being taunted by his torturers to "Prophesy," one of his most dramatic predictions is being fulfilled "as it has been written." The Book of Psalms is often seen as giving shape and inner momentum to the story of Jesus, as it moves through many moods from complaint to vindication; the same trajectory by which Bloom outfaces his detractors. Bloom exits Little Britain Street in a chariot, restrained in his seat by Jack Power, in a scene which is oddly true to the words of the New Testament, attributed by Mark the Evangelist to Jesus at his own trial: "You will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of Power and coming with the clouds of heaven" (Mark 14:62).

Apart from the blatant equation of Bloom and Jesus in the earlier scene ("I'll crucify him," 445), there are many more subtle echoes buried beneath the textual surface of *Ulysses*. In "Aeolus" the newsboys mimic Bloom's walk,

---

3   For an analysis, see Juel (14).

echoing Psalm 89:51: "with which thy enemies taunt, O Lord, with which they mock the footsteps of thy anointed." The chariot of brightness which bears Bloom to heaven comes out of Isaiah 48:9-10: "You who were taken up by a whirlwind of fire, in a chariot with horses of fire," to turn the head of the father to the son and restore the tribe of Jacob.

So many lines of the New Testament re-echo the Psalms that scholars conclude, as Mark had done, that the speaker of the Psalms must have been Jesus. Whether this could be true or not, all the Evangelists asserted that instances in the life of Jesus persistently recapitulate moments in the Psalms, such as the cry on the cross ("My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?") or the casting of lots for the dead man's garments. The premonitory dream Stephen has of Bloom, holding out melons in the street of harlots ("Come in. You will see," 59) has its source in Matthew 26:64 and Mark 14:62 ("You will see"), and the Jesus who repeatedly calls himself not God but son of man is repeated in Stephen's prophecy of "the man" (59).

A literature that reveals a latent content in this fashion offers something more than a set of analogies, which any reader of external elements might notice. It also makes available a secret lore, but only to privileged insiders or special decoders. The phrases deliberately echoed from the older text take on an extra charge and depth: they are shot through with prophetic potential, only fulfilled much later in the words and actions of a special man. Those words and actions in turn reverberate, as if they can no longer be merely factual records of a witnessed event but may have power to shape future, as yet unwritten, texts.

There is an immense danger in such writing. If a generation has witnessed the fulfilment of prophecies, that recognition can lead to an appalling smugness and complacency, as if 'we' are history's cutting edge. This is the terrible risk taken by the Evangelists: of making Christianity seem a 'trump' over Judaism. Yet latent in the prophetic method was also a warning: if Jesus really surpassed Moses and Elijah, then some day the Christian gospels might themselves be superseded. If the Old Testament could be reconfigured by a reviser, so also in time might the New. Ever the cunning scholar, Joyce knew that some day his book would be cannibalised. He even began that process himself.

The urge to create is also a destructive urge. The story of Jesus led to the superannuation of that very history it 'completed' as prelude to redemption. After Jesus, the Old Testament would be a pre-history open to opportunistic recasting, just as after Joyce all prior forms of realism would be seen as two-

dimensional. There was nothing meek or mild about the technical claims for a new narrative art latent in the work of the Four Evangelists. Dozens of other gospels fell into oblivion, just as many modernist texts never achieved the fame of *Ulysses*. These texts were lost for similar reasons: they did not offer such radical innovations of form – or such wisdom.

Before the New Testament, lowly folk were portrayed in a largely condescending manner. Even Homer does not use his more poetic style on the nurse or the swineherd. The Evangelists were democrats by comparison, the teachings of Jesus warning that whoever exalted himself would be humbled and whoever humbled himself would be exalted.[4] So the language used to describe the fishermen who followed Jesus is the same used for him. This is a truth recalled by George Russell in the Library episode of *Ulysses*: "the movements which work revolutions in the world are born out of the dreams and visions in a peasant's hut in the hillside" (238). Christianity arose from the common people and its narrative art worked to similar effect. Ordinary lines spoken by common persons, such as a carpenter's son, were suddenly filled with world-historical implication.

What was remarkable in subsequent centuries was how few artists seemed to register the underlying point: even Shakespeare tended to treat ordinary people as "rude mechanicals," dropping from poetry to a prose register whenever they came centre stage. Which is simply to say that society itself was still not answering the challenge posed by Jesus. It was only in the later nineteenth century, with the move towards universal franchise, that a realist art, in the hands of authors such as Émile Zola and Thomas Hardy, began to register the deeper after-shocks of the Christian transformation, by which time many of the core elements of the Christian epic were already dying. One explanation of the fashion for modernisations of classic or Celtic stories at the start of the twentieth century may lie in the fact that artists wanted to see how these narratives would change if they were 'democratised.' Synge's use of common speech and everyday psychology in his dramatisation of the Deirdre legend may indeed have given Joyce some pointers for *Ulysses*.

What is greatest in art is often achieved when a people is moving out of a period of primitivism, but has not yet fully submitted to the constraints of a new world. Their most intrepid souls retain some of the old energies even as they seek to contain them in newer forms. Often these new shapes, such as subterranean popular movements, appear on the periphery of great powers, which

---

4   The most brilliant analysis of the new realism in the New Testament gospels is found in Auerbach (72-73).

would help to explain why Dublin produced so many advanced modernists. However, these resurgences often come after a period of trauma, what Gaelic poets called *longbhriseadh* ("shipwreck") or Jewish scribes 'catastrophe,' a terrible but challenging disaster that becomes the precondition of a change to a new future. In like manner, the new form evolved by the Evangelists implies the abolition of the Old Testament, except as a source for the New one.

The entire Jewish bible was to be ransacked and broken up in order to confirm the historical truth of the Jesus story, yet its ultimate authority was necessary to prove the authenticity of Jesus. The earlier texts were to be, in effect, illuminated at that very moment when they were about to be displaced. After all, without these crucial lines being given reverberative power by the life of Jesus, the earlier works might never have been felt to have major significance beyond their immediate place and time. In the act of being made flesh, they were also superannuated. If there seems something humble about Joyce's arrogance, and something arrogant about his humility, that is because he also presents his text as the one which lights up all previous elements of the cycle, according them a new dignity and meaning, even as he renders them subordinate to his own project. Within *Ulysses* itself he performs a similar feat: the closing soliloquy of Molly Bloom, though strictly redundant to the plot-line, gives an unprecedented degree of meaning and coherence to what has gone before.

Even this example is mere pre-text, however, for the whole thrust of *Ulysses* suggests that just as we are the future of the past, with the right to remake the old for a new order, we are also the past of someone else's future, ourselves bound to be remade. In the Library, Stephen ponders, "in the future, the sister of the past, I may see myself as I sit here now but by reflection from that which then I shall be" (249). The incursion of the future, as yet unknown, into a present narrative which shapes that future, even as its own self-accounting is shaped by it – that was Joyce's reason for setting his book a decade and more earlier than the time of its actual writing. This distance allowed him to show how shreds of the future, as well as of the past, are lodged in the present moment.

As an advanced thinker, Joyce was not just ahead of his time. Like the prophets of old, he could see so deeply into the present that the shape of the future might become discernible. Nothing in the story of Jesus becomes fully interpretable until after the resurrection, and Joyce himself was seeking a vantage point in the future from which the present would begin to make sense.

Nietzsche once said that people needed to be able to 'forget' in order to make the 'new' possible, but that the present is always passing into a tradition that tries to maintain its claim on some future (Handelman 154-156). Modernity needs history, even as past texts need present ones. They depend on one another, even as they clash, and the modern text is always rapidly sacrificed to the tradition that absorbs it. This is the deeper meaning of that Eucharist around which not only the life of Jesus but also the meeting of Bloom and Stephen is organised. If bread symbolises union, made of many grains fused by water, its breaking is the breaking-open of the meaning of the words hidden in the texts (Wills 103). Such a 'feast day,' proofed against destruction by ritual acts of remembrance repeated from year to year, not only recalls the first event but also guarantees future acts of remembrance. This may be yet another reason why there are no quotation marks in *Ulysses*, for in a sense *everything* in the book is a quotation.

Bloom is mockingly introduced, a Jew in a gentile city, as new apostle to the gentiles. One of the most innovative injunctions of Jesus concerned this very point: the need not just to embrace traditional enemies of Israel, but also to include and love them in an expanded definition of community. That community was redefined as "whoever does the will of God is my brother and sister and mother" (Swartley 52-53, 93). Hence Bloom's discharge of maternal as well as fraternal roles. The logic was latent in the Exodus narrative: "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger; for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt" (Walzer 140). The new covenant must be wholly free of racial or territorial constraint: and on that basis a narrowly nationalist Messiah would constitute a defeat for the politics of Exodus. Joyce's formula for Bloom as the central presence in *Ulysses*, "jewgreek is greekjew" (266), comes out of a letter of St Paul to the Galatians: "There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither slave nor freeman; there is no male and female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus" (3:26-9).

St Paul has been described as the first Bolshevik, a radical who wished in this way to universalise the Torah, yet this open-hearted approach led, in time, to that very anti-Semitism which victimises Bloom, for it denied a positive value to Jewish ethnic identity, presenting it instead as a disgrace. By this means, Jews became the Other of Christians (Swartley 252), the sign of a terrible chasm in Christianity. Yet Paul, perhaps not noting the limits he was setting to his own tolerance, presented the oneness in Christ Jesus as the triumphant fulfilment of all previous Jewish tradition. Joyce's Dublin Christians commit similar errors. One asks Bloom "What is your Christian name?" and another asks whether he thinks an acquaintance has a face "like our saviour" (149). Yet

Joyce values Bloom to the extent that he can recognise the 'stranger' within himself. He is more Christ-like than any of his fellow citizens, constantly willing to put himself in the other fellow's position. Joyce was following Paul of Tarsus in the attempt to imagine a world without foreigners, a world made possible once men and women accept the foreigner within the self and the necessarily fictive nature of all nationalisms.

The main emphasis in the New Testament is on the suffering humanity of Jesus. His identity as a foretold king is kept secret, as if its announcement might precipitate even greater persecution. The problem faced by writers of the New Testament was how to present God in a man – the person *and* his thoughts, a God-man (Hanson 281). Unlike Krishna, Jesus is deeply human, his willingness to answer for the sins of the world, despite his own goodness, an even greater sacrifice than his death. Yet by becoming man, Jesus after his death made a higher evolution in mankind possible, that all might find it possible to become "the human form divine." The identity of Jesus was an open space into which people could read what they wanted, and one which disrupted most of the official codes with which it came into contact. He even began to joke about this in moments of relaxation with the disciples. The question "who do men say that I am?" leads to various suggestions: John the Baptist, Elijah, but ultimately "the Christ." Bloom also is an open identity, who often seems at a given moment to be whatever anyone says he is. This, however, is an experience well known to Irish people, whose image in the world has been generated by forces more powerful than they.

Nino Frank said that Joyce's privacy was that of "someone entering a religious order" (Potts 76). It is an apt analogy. His book *could* be a divinely inspired text or a random gathering of words, for he worked on the borderline between religion and nihilism. He liked to joke that the Catholic Church, like the See of Peter, was founded on a pun. When Gertrude Stein joked that *Ulysses* was incomprehensible "but anybody can understand it" (Ellmann 529), she was sarcastically alluding to its growing reputation in Paris as a sort of sacred text. It is a book that may call for years of study by scholars, while being open to all, as were the previous books of civilisations. "You should approach Joyce," said William Faulkner, "as a preacher approaches the Old Testament – with faith" (Stein 77).

Works Cited

Alter, Robert. *Necessary Angels: Tradition and Modernity in Kafka, Benjamin and Scholem.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1991.

Auerbach, Erich. *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature.* Trans. Willard Trask. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1953.

Blake, William. *Poems.* Ed. Ernest de Selincourt. London: Methuen, 1968.

Budgen, Frank. *James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses.* London: OUP, 1972.

Eliot, T.S. "Ulysses, Order, and Myth." 1923.*The Modern Tradition: Backgrounds of Modern Literature.* Ed. Richard Ellmann and Charles Feidelson. New York: OUP, 1965. 679-681.

Fishbane, Michael. *The Garments of Torah: Essays in Biblical Hermeneutics.* Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1992.

Freyne, Sean. *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels: Literary Approaches and Historical Investigations*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988.

Handelman, Susan A. *Fragments of Redemption: Jewish Thought and Literary Theory in Benjamin, Scholem and Levinas*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1991.

Hanson, Anthony Tyrrell. *The Prophetic Gospel: A Study of John and the Old Testament.* Edinburgh: Clark, 1991.

Joyce, James. *Ulysses.* Annotated Students' Edition. Ed. Declan Kiberd. Penguin Twentieth-Century Classics. London: Penguin, 1992.

Joyce, Stanislaus. *My Brother's Keeper.* London: Faber, 1957.

Juel, Donald. *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988.

Kiberd, Declan. *Ulysses and Us: The Art of Everyday Living*. London: Faber, 2009.

Potts, Willard, ed. *James Joyce: Portraits of an Artist in Exile.* Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1979.

Rodgers, W.R. *Irish Literary Portraits: W.B. Yeats, James Joyce, George Moore, George Bernard Shaw, Oliver St. John Gogarty, F.R. Higgins, AE: W.R. Rodgers's Broadcast Conversations with Those Who Knew Them*. London: BBC, 1972.

Said, Edward W. *Humanism and Democratic Criticism.* New York: Columbia UP, 2004.

Stein, Jean. "William Faulkner: An Interview." *William Faulkner: Three Decades of Criticism*. Ed. Frederick J. Hoffman and Olga W. Vickery. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1960. 67-82.

Swartley, Willard M. *Israel's Scripture Traditions and the Synoptic Gospels: Story Shaping Story*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003.

Walzer, Michael. *Exodus and Revolution*. New York: Basic Books, 1985.

Wills, Garry. *The Rosary*. London: Souvenir, 2006.

Geography of Desire and Guilt: Joyce's "Circe" in the Tradition of *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*

Benigno del Río Molina

The influence of numerous artistic works on the "Circe" chapter of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, particularly Gustave Flaubert's 1874 *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, has been widely acknowledged.[1] Flaubert himself was highly influenced by the pictorial version of the *Temptation* by Breughel the Younger (c. 1616), who was in turn an imitator of Hieronymus Bosch's versions (c. 1490-1510). Bosch's pictorial influence reaches Joyce fully through Flaubert's novel. In fact, the number of communal elements between Joyce's "Circe" and Bosch's representations of Anthony's temptation is impressive. Like Saint Anthony, Leopold Bloom is judged, accused, subdued, tortured, and humiliated, in the infamously hallucinatory "Nighttown" episode of *Ulysses*. Political power, personal pride, and the alluring snares of the female flesh tempt both suffering men. Furthermore, as in the pictorial "Temptation," unearthly figures, monsters, devils, ghosts, and a tempting oriental 'queen' appear. Also heretics, a black mass, a simulacrum of Doomsday, and hellish machines, all framed by the henchmen of power, play a significant part in Joyce's surrealistic scenario. Beyond underscoring the echoes between representations of Bloom and Anthony's temptations, and acknowledging, for the first time in Joycean criticism, the influence of Hieronymus Bosch's painting on "Circe", this essay will demonstrate how this chapter constitutes a realm where monsters and torture emerge from the hidden side of desire.

According to the *Lives of Saint Fathers* and *The Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine, Saint Anthony was born in the third century AD and spent twenty years living as a hermit in a hut in the Egyptian desert. During this time he was visited by a host of devils that tortured and attacked him so viciously that he was once thrown into the air. Finally Satan, disguised as a beautiful, pious queen, tried to regain the saint's affections, but as soon as Anthony realised that she was another of the devil's tricks, he rejected her. These devils were, in fact, the dark projections of the mind of a saint who suffered hunger, tedium, chastity, and loneliness in the emptiness and heat of the desert.

---

1   See, for example, Chapter 6 of Richard K. Cross's classic 1971 study of Flaubert and Joyce.

The pictorial tradition of Saint Anthony's temptation depicts the double nature of his desires. On the one hand, projections of erotic drives, such as images of naked women, appear on trees, inside a flooded house, and in a pool to tempt him and make him submit. On the other hand, the devils become painful, torturing impersonations of his unbearable guilt and repentance, in an attempt to conquer the saint's will. This double nature of Anthony's torturous temptations is made clear by the exclamations of Flaubert's Saint Anthony. Remembering Amonaria, a childhood girlfriend, he thinks: "What! My flesh rebels again! Even in the midst of grief am I tortured by concupiscence? To be subjected thus unto two tortures at once is beyond endurance! I can no longer bear myself!" (166). Devils and monsters appear thus as the dark forces the saint carries hidden deep within himself. When he realises the presence of these demanding drives, he unconsciously makes grotesque beings emerge onto the surface in order for them to attack him furiously. A temptation, in fact, manifests itself as a fiery spiritual conflict between the evil forces that we carry inside ourselves and our good will and saintly inclinations. Thus, the saint's body becomes the fiery theatre, the battlefield where those fearful meetings take place. The struggle appears as a painful passion, as a cup of sorrow and bitterness that must be exhausted and consumed. The only way of winning the combat is by imitating the behaviour of Christ and the Holy Fathers: their fasts and vigils, their prayers and holy thoughts, their secret means of regaining their strength. In Bosch's central panel, in an open building shaped like a tower or chapel, Christ points at a crucifix on an altarpiece, situated next to a lit candle. Christ looks at Saint Anthony, who, kneeling, invites viewers of the canvas to participate in the redeeming gesture. Anthony, amid a disorder of heresiarchs, monsters, devils and naked sinners, overcomes the temptation and prays to the crucifix.[2] The excess of evil fantasies depicted in the painting produces an atmosphere of chaos and confusion that expresses the work of the demon in opposition to the well-arranged divine order.

---

2   Saint Anthony, as early versions of his life make clear, will be tempted by the devil disguised in all the tremendous variety of shapes and appearances that a woman can assume. On the right panel of Bosch's Lisbon triptych, for example, a naked woman is bathing as an evil spider's web covers her sex. From such a sight, however, the saint will turn his pious eyes away. Then, the same woman shows herself as a religious widow who leads the saint to her luxurious town to be rejected. The left panel depicts some grotesque religious figures walking towards a surrealistic brothel which is formed by a gigantic man's body over a grotto-house. Beyond that, in a wide bay, souls are allegorically represented as ships being shipwrecked due to their sins. Above them all, Saint Anthony appears flying and praying among a group of devils that are torturing and attacking him.

The space in Joyce's "Circe" is likewise infused with the promiscuity of beings and scenes, the rebellion of objects asserting their autonomy, a carnivalesque inversion of roles, and, above all, absolute disorder. Seductresses also feature prominently. Molly Bloom, for example, appears idealised as an oriental and luxurious lady between a palm tree and a camel. Bloom's anxiety about being in the brothel district triggers her exotic apparition: "He breathes in deep agitation, swallowing gulps of air, questions, hopes, crubeens for her supper, things to tell her, excuses, desire, spellbound. A coin gleams on her forehead" (*U* 15.439). Molly appears as a subtle temptress – after bidding her lover farewell, she must start regaining, or reconquering, her husband. After insinuating herself into Bloom's affections, she asks if he has cold feet (*U* 15.439) or if his heart is trembling: "*Ti trema un poco il cuore*?" (*U* 15.441), but her husband mainly ignores her. After this rejection Molly departs in an arrogant fashion, like the Queen of Sheba in Flaubert's *Temptation*: "*In disdain she saunters away* […]" (*U* 15.441). Even his old flame Mrs. Breen, after scolding Bloom for being in such a morally unsafe area, tries to seduce him:

MRS BREEN

(*Her pulpy tongue between her lips, offers a pigeon kiss*) […] Have you a little present for me there? (*U* 15.446)

There is, however, something grotesque about her "smiling in all her *herbivorous buckteeth*" (*U* 15.442; emphasis added); a disquieting detail that communicates that something beastly is hidden beneath her apparently appealing, familiar figure. As Gilbert Lascault makes clear of Bosch's seductions:

Muchas de las mujeres seductoras y cortesanas son, en ocasiones, casi monstruosas. Disimulan una pata de macho cabrío, de oca, o bien las garras de un ave rapaz, y hay algunas, provocativas, que esconden la cola de un animal por debajo de las colas o los lazos de su vestido. En los relatos hagiográficos y en los cuentos, a veces se nos habla de los trajes de la hermosa deslumbrante y de su piel desnuda. Pero, por debajo de los vestidos y de la piel, están los huesos y la carne podrida, putrefacta. (239)

[Many of the courtesans and seducers are sometimes almost monstrous. They hide a he-goat's or a goose's leg, and even the claws of a bird of prey. Some of them are provocative, and they hide an animal's tail under the trains or ribbons of their dresses. In stories and narratives of saints' lives, we are often told of the dresses of the dazzling beauty or about her naked skin. But under the dresses and the skin, bones and rotten, putrefying flesh, appear.] (My translation)

Several prostitutes also try to seduce Bloom as he walks along the streets. Some of the calls are real, while others are simply psychic projections of Bloom's anxious mind. Nevertheless, he manages to overcome the temptation.

When a harlot named Bridie assaults him, the seductive woman is attached to something dark and disquieting, as in the pictorial "Temptation." Like one of Bosch's devils, she suddenly appears, pursues and harasses sinners, and just as suddenly disappears, as "With a squeak she flaps her bat shawl and runs" (*U* 15.441). The bat is symbolically related to black magic, to dragons and evil, and the capital enemy of the alchemical process. This is the other side of temptation: the dangers of being figuratively transformed into an animal, or, indirectly implied, of being infected with a venereal disease. Further on, Bloom will suffer a hallucination opposite Bella Cohen's ill-famed house. Zoe approaches Bloom with a greeting that links mourning and death with playful sex: "You [Bloom and Stephen] both in black. Has little mousey any tickles tonight?" (*U* 15.475). Zoe, then, with Bloom's permission slips her hand into his pocket looking for his genitals, but instead brings out a shrivelled potato that another Higgins (Ellen, Bloom's mother) had dropped earlier on.

As in some of Bosch's figures, the agents of seduction not only conceal a beastly tail or some other animal feature, but even "mouldering bones." When Zoe approaches Bloom, "*She bites his ear gently with little goldstopped teeth sending on him a cloying breath of stale garlic. The roses draw apart, disclose a sepulchre of the gold of kings and their mouldering bones*" (*U* 15.477). From underneath seduction's garnish and embellishments, rotten flesh and bones emerge. Finally, before Bloom and Zoe enter Bella's so called music room, the centre of the labyrinth of Nighttown, the prostitute once again attempts to seduce the married man. Zoe's seductive, sexual display that momentarily appeals to Bloom hides, like the naked women who appealed to Saint Anthony, something anomalous. Under the folds of Zoe's slip, the bestial reek of those rough males that have mounted her throughout the years appear personified as "the male brutes" who exude sulphur and dung stink, odours traditionally associated with devils. The reader only has to evoke the stinks of Hell as depicted with such tremendous rhetorical energy in one of father Arnall's sermons in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (Chapter 3) to get a clear picture of this miasma. All the smells of the men figuratively transformed into animals by a Circean Zoe seem to pulse under the harlot's garments as a warning to this Bloom/Odysseus who can also be transformed into a drugged brute. The uncanny appears half-concealed beneath the seductive, dubious appeal of beauty. Shadowy appearances, in this case in the subtle form of smell, emerge from the dark side of desire.

The torturous strengths of such desire finally reach a climax in Bloom's encounter with Bella/Bello. Like Saint Anthony after his first combat with the ferocious and vicious devils, Bloom will emerge bruised, exhausted, half-dead, and

crying in desperation.[3] This recalls "Hell," the right panel of Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights*, in which a collection of bodily assaults, rapes, and personal violations, appear. A man is crucified on a lute mast, another in the strings of a giant harp. Men are devoured by monsters while others are tortured by devils. The devilish disorder is everywhere. Capsules and spheres consume or expel sinners indifferently; the internal and the external do not correspond. The minute infernal choreography implies a sudden liberation of repressed drives, as the hunters and the persecuted run on earth, water, or air. It seems that pleasure, both on Bosch's canvas about the earthly delights and in "Circe," cannot emerge without a crown of thorns to overwhelm it, frustrating its realisation, and adding a final, all too painful resolution, this time in Hell. The massive whore-mistress Bella Cohen prolongs, as her fan announces, the "petticoat government" that Bloom underwent earlier that morning in "Calypso," dramatising that aspect of the chapter's narrative to the point of transforming it into a surrealistic theatre of cruelty and inhumanity. Bloom becomes a submissive female, standing on four legs promising never to disobey. Bello twists "her" arm, making Bloom scream; Bello sits on Bloom's face and quenches "his" cigar on "her" ear. Like one of Bosch's comically cruel devils that torture Saint Anthony in the air, or ride sinners on the ground, Bello tortures this feminised Bloom in order to make him confess his sexual-scatological sins. Bloom is accused of having a clandestine marriage, of sending dirty messages to prudish ladies, of coprophilia, of perverted voyeurism, and of being a complaisant, cuckolded husband. Bello imperiously harasses and publicly humiliates Bloom, calling "her" impotent, and inserting his hand inside Bloom's vulva as Bloom calls him "Master! Mistress! Mantamer!" (*U* 15.538).

As with the stink of Zoe's male brutes and Mrs. Breen's smile of "herbivorous buck teeth," under Bello's sadomasochistic "seductions" a beastly member appears. Like one of Bosch's seductive ladies, it appears from under the skirt, as "*Bella raises her gown slightly and, steadying her pose, lifts to the edge of a chair a plump buskined hoof […] Bloom, stifflegged, ageing, bends over her*

---

3   In their search for originality Bosch and Joyce come – it must be a happy coincidence – extremely close. In *A la pintura [To Painting]* (1948), Rafael Alberti devotes a poem to Bosch that starts: "El diablo hocicudo / ojipelambrudo / cornicapricudo / perniculimbrudo/ y rabudo…/ peditrompetea por un embudo" (62). These lines are comparable to the Spanish translation of a Circean passage in which Ben Dollard suddenly appears on stage: "narizpeludo, barbicorrido, coliorejudo, pechipeludo, desmelenado, gordipezonudo, se adelanta, los lomos y los genitales apretados" (*U* 15.597). Not only do the semantic depictions of the hyperactive and playful devils come extremely close in both passages, but so do the linguistic forms in which they are expressed; a series of compound words constructed from names and adjectives that ends in a conventional phrase whose uneven, unexpected rhythm deflates the previous vigorous cadenza.

hoof and with gentle fingers draws out and in her laces" (*U* 15.529). The apparition of a devilish, bestial member makes Bloom's sexuality shrink; momentarily sucking his youth like a thirsty vampire. Even worse, the hoof becomes an authoritarian projection of the whore-mistress, and, like some objects in Bosch's hell, reaches a fiendish autonomy:

THE HOOF

Smell my hot goathide. Feel my royal weight. (*U* 15.529)

According to Krafft-Ebing, one of the most common cases of fetishism is the worshipping of female shoes, which implies a masochistic desire to be humiliated (Gifford and Seidman 501). Bello's hoof, linked to a later accusation by Bello of Bloom as "Dungdevourer" (*U* 15.530), suggests, through the connection of dung and goat's smell, a devilish adoration. Therefore, the seductions, with their devilish touches, their vicious and brutal aspects, become a preview of the tortures of Hell, as in Bosch's *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*.

In conclusion, in "Circe" Joyce invents a pattern of sexual encounters, bodily contacts, and seductive words, that conforms to a sexuality that continuously appears and disappears under many strange disguises. Sex seems to emerge from an experimental laboratory where coition, with the exception of the veterinary's visit and Bloom's hallucination about Molly and Boylan, never appears. Sexuality in "Circe," as in Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights*, constitutes an 'as if' situation. Men and women dance, they become close, they bend and touch arms or legs, and exchange libidinous looks and absurd words of seduction. Availability, expectation, and promises of promiscuity float everywhere, but are never fulfilled, as seduction is frustrated by unresolved internal traumas. Therefore, wooing and courting appear as a complicated pantomime, a coded riddle, by turns a scenery of gestures and a theatre of sadomasochistic practices, in an often-abject Kristevian scenario.

Works Cited

Alberti, Rafael. *A la Pintura.* 1948. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1978.

Cross, Richard. *Flaubert and Joyce: The Rite of Fiction*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1971.

Flaubert, Gustave. *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*. 1874. Trans. Lafcadio Hearn. New York: Random House, 2001.

Gifford, Don, and Robert Seidman. *Ulysses Annotated: Notes for James Joyce's Ulysses*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989.

Joyce, James. *Ulysses.* 1922. New York: Random House, 2002.

-----. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.* 1916. London: Penguin, 2000.

Lascault, Gilbert. "Las tentaciones: seducción y terror". *El Bosco y la tradición pictórica de lo fantástico*. Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg: Círculo de lectores, 2006. 235-245.

DENIS FLORENCE MACCARTHY'S TRANSLATIONS
OF CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA[1]

Anne MacCarthy†

Denis Florence MacCarthy, a nineteenth-century Irish poet, translator and biographer, is perhaps best remembered today by Joycean scholars, owing to the fact that a copy of his *Poems* is to be found in Leopold Bloom's personal library. Nevertheless, MacCarthy was quite well known in his own time. This paper will argue that although he was not particularly politically active, MacCarthy's translations from seventeenth-century Spanish poet and dramatist Calderón de la Barca provide insight into the nationalistic attitudes of the Irish writer's early patriotic verse. This aspect of MacCarthy's translations will be highlighted by exploring his relation to contemporary admirers of Calderón, such as James Clarence Mangan and Percy Bysshe Shelley. MacCarthy's views on translation will also be explored to these ends.

Born on Sackville Street (now O'Connell Street), Dublin, in 1817, MacCarthy entered St. Patrick's Seminary, Maynooth, in August 1832, but was not ordained as a priest. In 1834, MacCarthy began publishing his verse in the *Dublin Satirist* periodical, going on to contribute to important journals such as *The Dublin University Magazine* and *The Nation*, to which he contributed patriotic verse under the pseudonym "Desmond." He was associated with the revolutionary Young Irelanders, but does not appear to have been an active nationalist. According to Charles Gavan Duffy, one of the Young Ireland leaders, MacCarthy "counted for little in the political counsels of the party" (126), although he had earlier quoted Lecky's assertion that "what the *Nation* was when Gavan Duffy edited it, when Davis, M'Carthy, and their brilliant associates contributed to it, and when its columns maintained with unqualified zeal the cause of liberty and nationality in every land, Irishmen can never forget" (71). In 1846, MacCarthy compiled an anthology of Irish writing for "Duffy's Library of Ireland." Written while he was associated with the Young Irelanders, his preface to *The Poets and Dramatists of Ireland* is tinged with the political feelings of the time. The anthology was intended to counteract a literary act of union that had occurred long before the political union with England in 1800, in so far as "the principles of imperialism had been applied to our literature,"

---

meaning that the best Irish poets and intellectuals had gone to London (vii). The objective of the anthology, then, was to redefine Irish writing by including works by writers born in Ireland, but not usually associated with it. In this way the anthology is an experiment to see whether "the men of intellect who have gone out from amongst us" can "supply the literary wants, and support the dignity of a nation" (ix).

In his introduction to *The Book of Irish Ballad*s, also published in 1846, MacCarthy indicates his moderate nationalism, stating "we can be thoroughly Irish in our feelings without ceasing to be English in our speech" (25). This view directly contradicts the stance of Young Ireland leader Thomas Davis, who argued that "to lose your native tongue, and learn that of an alien, is the worst badge of conquest − it is the chain on the soul" (55). However, MacCarthy wrote in his 1846 preface to *The Poets and Dramatists of Ireland*: "we have to acknowledge with grief and shame, that we are ignorant of the native language of our country" (x). In *The Book of Irish Ballads*, MacCarthy further recognises the advantage to the Irish nation of recovering her Irish-language literature, even in translation, when he asks how difficult it would be for "the best disposed and the most patriotic amongst us to free our minds from the false impressions which the study (superficial as it was) of the history of our country, as told by those who were not her children or her friends, had made upon us" (24). In other words, a sense of cohesion and national dignity is found in a study of the native literature to counteract the negative view imposed by the cultural pressures from England.

Before his first translation from Calderón, MacCarthy had expressed his admiration for the Spanish romances in his introduction to *The Book of Irish Ballads* (18-19). Whereas the romances he mentions might not be considered ballads in the strictest sense of the term, he treats them as such here. The essay provides a clear illumination of the nationalistic importance of ballads generally to MacCarthy, who writes that "the most ponderous folio that ever owed its existence to the united efforts of industry and dulness, must fail in giving a perfect idea of the character of a people, unless it be based upon the revelations they themselves have made, or the confessions they have uttered." Without the ballads, then, history is but a "dry dead catalogue of dates and facts, useless either as a picture of the past, or as a lesson for the future" (15). It is this idea that ballads tell the history of a country, and are "a lesson for the future," which shows the nation-forming function that they have for the author.

After his attention was directed to Calderón by a passage in an essay by Shelley, MacCarthy's first translation of Calderón's work, a translation of scenes from *El Purgatorio de San Patricio* accompanied by an introductory

essay, was published in *Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine* in 1847. In *Calderón's Dramas* MacCarthy quotes Archbishop Trench's remarks about an English translation of Calderón's *Mago prodigioso* by J.H., that "'the writer did not possess that command of the resources of the English language, which none more than Calderon requires'" (xiii).[2] This lexical requirement was even more difficult for an English-speaking Irishman. In *Dramas of Calderón*, however, MacCarthy writes tellingly of the "delight with which a translator is driven impulsively, almost as by an original inspiration, to reproduce in his native tongue, those harmonies which have so enchanted him in another," a decidedly incongruous statement for a Young Irelander, who would have realised the significance of terming English his native tongue (iv). The year before his death, MacCarthy won a medal in a competition organised by the Real Academia Española for an English translation of the Spanish writer, in celebration of the tri-centenary of Calderón's death. MacCarthy had been a *correspondiente* of the Real Academia Española before this. He died in Blackrock, Co. Dublin, in 1882 and is buried in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin.

MacCarthy's interest in Calderón was mirrored in, and complemented by, the work of contemporaries in Ireland, England, and on the continent. In Ireland, MacCarthy's contemporary James Clarence Mangan translated from many languages for the pages of the *Dublin University Magazine*, and among them we find his translations of Spanish romances. Like Mangan, MacCarthy also translated Spanish romances in the *Dublin University Magazine*. MacCarthy's admiration for Mangan is remarked upon by the latter's biographer, D.J. O'Donoghue, who claims that MacCarthy "held Mangan in high esteem, and despite his follies, which strained the good feeling of even his greatest admirers and friends, never ceased to speak well of him" (O'Donoghue 178). In fact, Duffy quotes a letter from John O'Hagan in which he feels that MacCarthy emulated Mangan unsuccessfully:

> '*Apropos* of rhymes, MacCarthy in that long poem of his about Ceim-an eich, some stanzas of which were exceedingly beautiful, fell into a great mistake in trying to ride Mangan's phooca. In the original himself there is a curious felicity which prevents us from being annoyed at his forced rhymes, but in any one else it does not do at all.' (Duffy 137-138)

O'Donoghue writes that MacCarthy and Mangan did meet occasionally at Father Meehan's Presbytery in Lower Exchange Street, Dublin, and so were at least acquainted (146). It would be mere speculation, however, to deduce from this professional and personal relationship that MacCarthy followed Mangan's

---

2   The translation was *Justina* (1848).

example as a translator of Spanish verse, although it might be seen that both writers shared a common source in their interest in Spanish writing.

Mangan, although he knew Spanish, most likely became interested in the romances due to the enthusiasm for Iberian topics in early nineteenth century English journals such as *The Quarterly Review*. In *Dramas of Calderón*, MacCarthy himself makes clear that the publication of Black's "translation of the 'Dramatic Literature' of Augustus W. Schlegel, about the year 1815, imparted to a wider public the intelligence that the lost Pleiad of the great European constellation of dramatists had reappeared" (*Dramas of Calderón* xx). In other words, Calderón's dramatic works came to the attention of the English public largely as a result of the translation of Schlegel's work. The enthusiasm shown for Calderón's writings in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Germany, when German writers translated extensively from the Spanish writer, aroused great interest in Calderón among the Romantics, and particularly Percy Bysshe Shelley. MacCarthy maintains that "among poets" Shelley appears to have been "the one who appreciated most highly the importance of the discovery" (*Dramas of Calderón* xx). By analysing MacCarthy's interaction with Calderón through Shelley, a number of important insights into his nationalism arise.

MacCarthy was taken with Spanish literature before his first translation of Calderón, yet his interest in this particular author is due to his admiration of Shelley. In *Dramas of Calderón* MacCarthy admits that it was the "resplendent pages" of Shelley's writings to which he was "indebted for [his] first introduction to the, till then unknown, world of Calderón's poetry" (vii).[3] This admiration, however, took into account what MacCarthy termed Shelley's faults. He remarks in *Dramas of Calderón* that the poet would have been a competent translator of Calderón as his translations could contain "much of the charm of his own original compositions," yet would be free from those "peculiarities of opinion and expression which must always be an obstacle to their universal popularity" (xiv). Shelley shows his radical politics, for example, in his treatment of the 1820 Spanish liberal revolts in "Ode to Liberty." It was not, however, Shelley's support of revolutions against tyranny that concerned MacCarthy, but rather the poet's anti-Catholicism. Susana Hernández-Araico writes that Shelley admired the imagery in Calderón's *autos*, variations on the mystery play that were performed for Corpus Christi, but did not accept them as dramatic works on account of their "rigidly defined [...] idealisms of a dis-

---

3   Although it was Maria James Raveley Gisborne who first introduced him to Calderón's work.

torted superstition" (484).[4] In contrast, MacCarthy states in the introduction to his translation of *The Sorceries of Sin* that Calderón's *autos* are the "most wonderful of all his productions," and laments that they have been "passed over […] in almost utter silence" (145). In *Mysteries of Corpus Christi,* MacCarthy further maintains that a Catholic understands these plays better than a non-Catholic (35), and in this he is of the same opinion as Franz Lorinser, who, according to Henry W. Sullivan, "was using the *autos* as a weapon of religious polemic just as Eichendorff had used them as a weapon of literary polemic" (320). As a matter of fact, seven of MacCarthy's translations from Calderón are of dramas with openly religious subject-matter.

In *Shelley's Early Life*, in which MacCarthy describes Shelley's sympathies with the national cause in Ireland, the Irish poet speculates that while first-hand evidence proves that Shelley did not meet the Irish political leader Daniel O'Connell during his visit to Dublin in 1812, if the two *had* met "O'Connell would have repudiated [Shelley's] political support until he had withdrawn the atrocious calumnies on the religion of the people of Ireland, which Shelley had so innocently put forward in both of his Irish pamphlets" (xiv). This statement reveals both MacCarthy's attempt to defend Shelley and his condemnation of his attacks on Catholicism as "atrocious calumnies." Thus, MacCarthy's interest in Shelley's interaction with Calderón's *autos* is coloured with nationalism, which for MacCarthy is defined in religious terms contradictory to Shelley's views.

MacCarthy's views on Shelley also offer insight into the Irish poet's views on translation. Shelley and Coleridge, MacCarthy maintained, were able to make translation a "divine" art, having "taken away the despair which began to be felt of English poetry ever being able to produce any of those perfect facsimiles of foreign works of genius which form so important and interesting a portion of German literature" (*Dramas of Calderón* ix). MacCarthy reveals his conviction that translation should be given a new status equal to original writing when he avers that, in metrical questions, "English-translated verse" should be able to "compete either with the perfection of English original poetry or with the photographic fidelity of German translation" (*Dramas of Calderón* xii). Such an approach to translation would dignify the translator's work, which had, to his mind, "as a distinct branch of the poetical art, […] fallen, perhaps not undeservedly, low in the opinion of the public" (*Dramas of Calderón* viii). Generally speaking, MacCarthy argues that English-language translation can be ren-

---

4   Hernández-Araico is quoting from a letter to John Gisborne, November 1820 (see Ingpen and Peck 221, and Jordan 44).

dered more versatile when the translator endeavours to reproduce the different poetic rhymes and metres found in the source language. As such, translation, for MacCarthy, is essentially creative work, although translators would have to "struggle against their own instincts, which prompt them to original composition" (*Dramas of Calderón* viii-ix). Speaking of Shelley as a translator, MacCarthy maintains that "his translated poetry is, no doubt, clothed in a more subdued drapery of words than that 'flaming robe of verse' in which most of his original conceptions are enfolded; but perhaps no other English poet's style could so well bear those occasional diminutions of splendour which the necessary restrictions of translation occasion" (*Dramas of Calderón* vii-viii). For MacCarthy, then, one can be a faithful translator without surrendering creativity, as absolute fidelity is not merely a mechanical reproduction of the source text.

MacCarthy's idea that one can reproduce "perfect facsimiles" of source texts, when speaking of German translators in 1853, does seem rather naïve to us nowadays. Writing in 1861, however, MacCarthy still maintained that the translator should be faithful to the source text. However, he feigns a disinterest in taking sides in the famous debate on translation between Francis W. Newman and Matthew Arnold, arguing "it is by no means my intention to enter into the oft-debated question as to the principles which should guide or coerce the translator in his task," although he does actually declare his support of Newman (*Three Dramas of Calderón* viii). Weissbort and Eysteinsson hold that Newman advocated fidelity to the source text. Arnold responded that "probably both sides would agree" on this, but the question "at issue between them is, in what faithfulness consists" (227). While MacCarthy agrees "with what Mr. Newman has said upon this subject," it remains a "matter of taste" whether one translates faithfully or freely. As such, "no definite rule can ever be arrived at in the matter," as the effect produced will "depend upon the capacity and culture of the reader" (*Three Dramas of Calderón* viii). In *Three Dramas of Calderón* MacCarthy quotes from the preface to *The Iliad of Homer* to show that he is of the same mind as Newman, who alludes to critics of his work who lay down the axiom that the reader ought to forget that he is reading a translation and "be lulled into the illusion that he is reading an original work." This view considers that all that has "a foreign colour is undesirable, and is even a grave defect," and entails the translator "obliterate all that is characteristic of the original, unless it happens to be identical in spirit to something already familiar in English" (*Three Dramas of Calderón* viii-ix). Newman states his opposition to this view, writing "I aim at precisely the opposite," namely to retain every "peculiarity of the original, as far as I am able, *with the greater care, the*

more foreign it may happen to be, whether it be matter of taste, of intellect, or of morals" (*Three Dramas of Calderón* ix). MacCarthy asserts that he has acted on this principle in *Three Dramas of Calderón*. He adds that "the peculiar feature" of his translation is its "adherence to the metres of the original" (*Three Dramas of Calderón* ix). As a specimen of MacCarthy's efforts to reproduce the "peculiarities of the originnal" we have his assertion in *Calderón's Dramas* that he translates Calderón with an eye to reproducing the large variety of metres the Spanish author used:

> all the forms of verse have been preserved; while the closeness of the trans-
> lation may be inferred from the fact, that not only the whole play but every
> speech and fragment of a speech are represented in English in the exact num-
> ber of lines of the original, without the sacrifice, it is to be hoped, of one impor-
> tant idea. (*Calderón's Dramas* vii-viii)

This, according to André Lefevere, is a difficult task, as a metrical translator tends to prolixity (39). MacCarthy feels he is opening new ground in trying to reproduce Spanish metrical patterns in English, writing that he "takes posses-sion of almost unoccupied ground" (*Dramas of Calderón* vii). He could be re-ferring to English or Irish literature here. In the nineteenth century, Irish writers using the English language often did not make the distinction between British and Irish literature clear, highlighting that definitions of Irishness were still at an embryonic stage.

What, on first sight, seems pedantry is actually a decision invested with the viewpoint of a writer from a minor culture, and can be interpreted as a counter-argument to the tendency among English translators to anglicise all aspects of foreign texts, thus erasing their national "peculiarities." It is a statement of cul-tural superiority. On the other hand, the attempt to reproduce all the "pecu-liarities" of the source text is a statement of cultural equality, and an interest in all that is foreign. It is a characteristic of new cultures and new literatures that need to look beyond colonial power.

In summary, while MacCarthy was a moderate nationalist associated with the Young Irelanders, he was not active politically. His translations, however, demonstrate certain nationalistic feelings, although his is a nationalism that empathises more with the Catholic Calderón than the sceptic Shelley. Viewed from this perspective, MacCarthy's translations are literary works that enrich not only English literature, but also Irish literature in English, and can be seen as a literary effort to dignify a Catholic Irish nationalism, as well as to further dignify Irish literature and enlarge its corpus. Furthermore, while his objective in adapting Calderón was to be a faithful translator, through this fidelity he hoped to adhere to the foreign text, adapting it as little as possible to the target

culture, showing that he did not see translation as a means of requisitioning the source literature, but rather as a means of opening up the target literature and culture to new worlds.

Works Cited

Davis, Thomas. "The National Language." *Thomas Davis: The Thinker and Teacher*. Ed. Arthur Griffith. Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, 1918. 53-55.

Duffy, Charles Gavan. *My Life in Two Hemispheres*. Volume I. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898.

Hernández-Araico, Susana. "The Schlegels, Shelley and Calderón." *Neophilologus* 71.4 (October 1987): 481-488.

Ingpen, R., and W.E. Peck, eds. *The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley. Vol. X: Letters 1818-1822*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926.

Jordan, J.E., ed. *A Defence of Poetry*. New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1965.

Lefevere, André. *Translating Poetry: Seven Strategies and a Blueprint.* Assen and Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1975.

MacCarthy, Denis Florence. *The Poets and Dramatists of Ireland*. Dublin: James Duffy, 1846.

-----, ed. *The Book of Irish Ballads*. 1846. Dublin: James Duffy, 1869.

-----. *Dramas of Calderón, Tragic, Comic, and Legendary.* Translated from the Spanish, Principally in the Metre of the Original, by Denis Florence M'Carthy, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Author of "Ballads, Poems, and Lyrics," etc. In Two Volumes. Volume 1. London: Charles Dolman, 1853.

-----. *Three Dramas of Calderón, from the Spanish: Love the Greatest Enchantment, The Sorceries of Sin, and The Devotion of the Cross.* 1861. Dublin: W.B. Kelly, 1870.

-----. *Mysteries of Corpus Christi*. Dublin: James Duffy, 1867.

-----. *Shelley's Early Life from Original Sources with Curious Incidents, Letters and Writings.* Now First Published or Collected. London: John Camden Hotten, 1872.

-----. *Calderón's Dramas: The Wonder-Working Magician, Life is a Dream, The Purgatory of Saint Patrick.* London: Henry S. King, 1873.

O'Donoghue, D.J. *The Life and Writings of James Clarence Mangan*. Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, 1897.

Sullivan, Henry W. *Calderón in the German Lands and the Low Countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983.

Weissbort, Daniel, and Astradur Eysteinsson, eds. *Translation: Theory and Practice: A Historical Reader*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006.

READING OSCAR WILDE IN POST-WAR SPAIN: *THE PICTURE OF DORIAN GRAY* UNDER THE MICROSCOPE[1]

Alberto Lázaro

When Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* first appeared on 20 June 1890, in the July issue of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*, some reviewers were outraged by what they took to be the story's advocacy of perverse behaviour and immorality. A critic in the *St. James's Gazette* called the work "vulgar" and suggested the possibility that the Treasury or the Vigilance Society might "think it worthwhile to prosecute" (qtd. in Beckson 68-69). Another anonymous reviewer of the *Daily Chronicle* called it "a poisonous book" that abounds in "moral and spiritual putrefaction" (qtd. in Beckson 72).[2] However, the story of a beautiful young man who sells his soul in exchange for eternal youth was praised by a reviewer of the *Christian Leader*, who believed that Wilde's intention was laudable and added that the novel "may be the means of pre-serving many young lives from the temptations by which they are surrounded" (qtd. in Mason 137-138). When *Dorian Gray* appeared in book form in 1891, Wilde had added a preface and six chapters and had revised the story so as to omit some overly explicit allusions to homosexuality in the relationship be-tween Basil Hallward and Dorian Gray (Raby 69). These changes did not sub-stantially affect the nature of the novel, and controversy continued for some years.

The author argued that some readers had not understood the meaning of *Dorian Gray*. He stated that the novel included a clear moral teaching, arguing that "the real moral of the story is that all excess, as well as all renunciation, brings its punishment" (*Letters* 263). Although Dorian's tragic end suggests Wilde's critical view on sensual and aesthetic pleasure, from the number of contradictory sentiments the novel awakened in its readers it seems that the narrator did not provide clear guidance to these conclusions. As one reviewer in the *Scots Observer* remarked, "it is not made sufficiently clear that the writer

2   The story was used as evidence of Wilde's "immorality" in the trial that ended in his imprisonment for a breach of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, which made indecencies between men, even in private, a criminal offence; see Ellmann.

does not prefer a course of unnatural iniquity to a life of cleanliness, health and sanity" (qtd. in Beckson 75). Undoubtedly, the preface contributed to the moral ambiguity of the novel by contending that "there is no such thing as a moral or immoral book. Books are well written, or badly written. That is all" (xxiii). What is more, the fact that Wilde's personality can be identified in the three main characters of the story – Basil Hallward, the painter obsessed with his model; Dorian Gray, the handsome young vicious gentleman; and Lord Henry Wotton, the witty hedonistic observer – surely adds to the moral ambivalence of *Dorian Gray*.[3] Perhaps the most damaging similarity is the latter. The biographer Hesketh Pearson, for instance, suggested that the novel "contains a full-length portrait of [Wilde] as a talker in the character of Lord Henry Wotton, with many of his most searching comments on life" (145). If Wilde is to be associated with this amoral dandy, who corrupts Dorian with hedonistic counselling such as "live the wonderful life that is in you," or "be always searching for new sensations" (18), then it is perhaps understandable that some Victorian critics found both the novel and the author disgraceful. But how was *Dorian Gray* received in Spain? How did the Spanish censors operating under Franco's regime react? Taking into account the severity of the censorship policy established by Franco in 1938 and Wilde's reputation, this essay examines the files from the censorship office to see how the censors read and understood Wilde's novel in post-war Spain.[4]

Dorian Gray first arrived in Spain in a 1918 translation by Julio Gómez de la Serna, published by Biblioteca Nueva. It would appear that there was a receptive reading public, as the publishing house Atenea brought out another version of the novel the following year, in a volume of the *Obras completas de Oscar Wilde* ("Complete Works of Oscar Wilde"), this time in a translation by the well-known literary critic and journalist Ricardo Baeza. A Catalan version by Rafael Tasis Marca was issued in 1930, together with a new Spanish edition in *El Libro de Todos* ("Everyone's Book"), a popular publication that appeared on a fortnightly basis. The number of editions and reprints of this novel during the first decades of the twentieth century speaks for its popularity in Spain. Wilde also caught the attention of several Spanish critics of the time. In her article "Oscar Wilde in Spain," Lisa Davies discusses the reception of

---

3   The author himself saw the three characters as reflections of his own life: "Basil Hallward is what I think I am: Lord Henry what the world thinks me: Dorian is what I would like to be – in other ages, perhaps" (*Letters* 352).

4   On censorship in post-war Spain, see Abellán, Beneyto, and Cisquella. Most censorship files of this period can be found in the Archivo General de la Administración Alcalá de Henares, Madrid). I am indebted to the archive staff for their unstinting help and friendly guidance on how to find my way through the complexities of these files.

Wilde at the turn of the twentieth century and shows that the generation of Pío Baroja, Unamuno, Maeztu, and the Machados were already familiar with Wilde, although the heyday of Wilde's popularity in the Peninsula coincided with the years of the First World War (137).[5]

The interest in Wilde continued during the first years of Franco's regime. The Biblioteca Nueva edition was reprinted in 1939 and 1941. By then, the Spanish Civil War was over and the censorship system had already been established.[6] In both cases, *Dorian Gray* was authorised without any problem. The same can be said of two other editions that the publishing house La Nave issued in 1940 and 1941. The confidence that the publisher had of obtaining the authorisation was such that for the 1940 edition he did not even send the text for the censor to read, as was the usual practice. The following note was included in the application form: "we only have one copy of this book. Given the popularity of the author and the novel, we think that it would not be necessary to send it" (File T-473-40).[7] Indeed, Wilde and his novel must have been considered very well known, as authorisation was granted the following day. The explanation for this permissive attitude of the Spanish censors towards a story that had caused so much commotion in England might lie in the image of the author and the novel outlined in the prologue included in these editions (File Y-313-41). This prologue, entitled "Los tres momentos de la vida de Oscar Wilde" ("The Three Moments of Oscar Wilde's Life"), was a piece by the Catalan writer Agustí Calvet, also known by the pseudonym of "Gaziel." There he maintains that Wilde never tried to cause any scandal with his novel and that he had been unjustly accused of immorality, since his only aim had been "to narrate a story whose fundamental issue or plot had an edifying exemplary nature" (Calvet y Pascual 19).[8] Quoting Wilde's words, Calvet stresses the existence of a clear final moral: all excess, as well as all renunciation, brings its punishment. This is why, it is explained, the painter Basil Hallward, who is obsessed with beauty, dies at the hands of his own creation; Dorian Gray, who leads a dissipated life, kills himself when he tries to eliminate his conscience; and Lord Henry Wotton tries to be a mere observer.

---

5   For a list of articles and reviews on Wilde in the Spanish press, see Toro Santos and Clark.

6   It is interesting to note that the application form for the first reprint is dated 17 April 1939, just a few days after the end of the war (File C-914-39).

7   "No tenemos más que un solo ejemplar de este libro. Dado lo conocido del autor y la novela, estimamos que no sería necesario enviarlo." All translations from the Spanish are my own.

8   "Narrar una historia cuyo fondo o armazón tuviese una ejemplaridad edificante."

In this way, Calvet emphasises the poetic justice of the ending and argues that the amoral and corrupting character of Lord Henry Wotton does not bear any resemblance to Wilde, even if some contemporary critics erroneously tried to see autobiographical traits in the story (Calvet y Pascual 20). The Spanish censors seemed to accept the "edifying exemplary nature" of the novel and did not question its publication. Even another edition by the Madrid publisher Aguilar, included in *Obras completas*, was authorised in 1941 (File Z-147-41).

Nevertheless, not all censors were convinced of the positive potential of *Dorian Gray*. The first problems with the Spanish censorship office occurred in 1944, when the publishing house Aguilar wanted to issue the second edition of Wilde's complete works. Though it had been authorised three years previously, the censor's report now hinted at some kind of objection, stating, "since it is a luxury edition, unattainable for the untrained reader, I believe it can be authorised."[9] This implied that, if it were a more popular edition with large-scale distribution, they would reconsider the decision. It is difficult to know with certainty which of Wilde's works included in the collection might have been controversial, but a look at the later files suggests that perhaps *Dorian Gray* had something to do with that censor's judgment. When one year later, in 1945, the same publishing house requested permission for the publication of *Dorian Gray* and *Lord Arthur Savile's Crime* in one volume, the censors raised no objection to the short story, but banned the publication of the novel (File 1869-45). Unfortunately, the censor's report is missing, so the grounds for this change of opinion cannot be ascertained. However, there is a detail that may throw some light on this mystery. The file includes the galley proof of the book and, though it is the same translation by Gómez de la Serna that had already been authorised on several occasions, a new piece entitled "Prefacio del artista" ("The Artist's Preface") had been added. It is signed by one of the characters of the story, the painter Basil Hallward, with a footnote in which the translator explains that the preface was taken from the American volume of *Novels and Fairy Tales of Oscar Wilde*[10] and was included in a Spanish edition for the first time. Gómez de la Serna explained:

> I publish it because I find it amusing and interesting and because it represents a small "fiction, superior to reality," according to the repeated theory, so pleasing to the author of *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. If Basil Hallward, the painter, did

---

9   "Por tratarse de una edición de lujo, no asequible al lector poco formado, creo que no hay inconveniente en su autorización" (File 6141-44bis).

10   The edition referred to is *Novels and Fairy Tales of Oscar Wilde*, published in New York in 1915 by H.S. Nichols.

not write this Preface, he should or could have written it. *That is all*, as Wilde would say.[11]

When first considered, this preface does not seem to contain anything immoral or politically incorrect. It simply explains what might have been the origin of the novel in the words of the painter, Basil Hallward.[12] He remembers one spring day of 1884, when he was painting a young man of exceptional beauty called Dorian Gray in the company of Wilde, who was a regular visitor to his studio. At one point, while watching the work advance, Wilde says that it is a pity that such a glorious creature should ever grow old. Basil agrees and wishes Dorian could remain as beautiful as he is, while the picture should age instead of him. After some time, the book about Dorian's tragic story falls into Basil's hands, and he imagines that it was written by his friend Wilde. In this seemingly innocent preface one might find the reason why the Spanish censors banned the novel. Until then, the text had been read and understood, according to Agustí Calvet's essay, as the story of the moral decadence of the protagonist, who eventually takes his well-deserved punishment. However, the moralising message disappears as soon as Wilde is associated with Lord Henry, the cynical and immoral character of the novel who is present when Basil paints Dorian's picture and convinces him to look for eternal youth and to enjoy the pleasures of life. If the censors saw in this wicked character Wilde's *alter ego*, their reading of the novel would surely come closer to that of the Victorian critics who branded the story as filthy and immoral.

From this moment, other attempts to publish *Dorian Gray* in Spain were frustrated. In July 1946, the importation of 1,000 copies of an Argentine edition of the novel was banned (File 2623-46). That same month, the publishing houses Albón and Bruguera also received a negative answer from the censorship office (File 2644-46 and File 3009-46 respectively). In the first case, it was Baeza's translation; the other one was by Gómez de la Serna, though with some modifications by the writer Eugenia Serrano Balaña.[13] It is important to note the explanations given by Eugenia Serrano in the application form. She pointed out, for instance, that some of the changes in this translation had been made to modify "the nuance of the words, replacing the word 'love'

---

11   "Lo publico por parecerme gracioso e interesante y porque representa una pequeña 'ficción, superior a la realidad,' según la repetida teoría, tan grata al autor de *El retrato de Dorian Gray*. Si Basilio Hallward, el pintor, no escribió este Prefacio, debió o pudo escribirlo, *That is all*, que diría Wilde" (galley proof of the book, see File 1869-45).

12   The passage is similar to the episode referred to by the biographer Hesketh Pearson as the 'real' origin of the novel (44-45).

13   She is the author of novels such as *Perdimos la primavera* (1952) or *Antonio: novela napolitana* (1954), and the biography *El libro de las siete damas* (1943).

with 'friendship' or 'affection' there where the term might seem equivocal."[14] In this way, Serrano attempted to remove any trace of homosexuality from the original text. On the other hand, she tried to convince the censors, once more, of the significance of the novel's moral message, insisting on Dorian's final punishment and the fact that Wilde carefully depicted this character as "loathed by all honest people." She added that the story did not contain "the slightest sign of crudity or morbidity," although she admitted that there was a snag in the manner in which the character Lord Henry is drawn: the villain and the cynic are portrayed as witty people. Nevertheless, she explained that the honest characters of the story were similarly represented and that thus the novel was just a reflection of real life.[15] Still, despite these justifications, a reminder that the book had already been authorised to other publishers before, and the fact that the "The Artist's Preface" was not included, the response of the censors was negative once more. Although, curiously enough, the censors' reports of the three 1946 files are missing, from other documents included in the files I am inclined to think that this ban may be related to, firstly, the image of immorality represented by Lord Henry, now clearly associated with the author, and, secondly, to the suggestive language of the first chapters of the novel, which points to an intimate relationship between Basil and Dorian.

At the end of the 1940s, Wilde's fortunes changed and censors again gave the green light to publishing *Dorian Gray* in Spain, first in a luxury edition entitled *Novelas de Oscar Wilde* ("The Novels of Oscar Wilde"), which comprised Wilde's novels and short stories (File 144-47), then on its own by Ediciones Siglo XX, after the publisher had insisted once more on the moral values of the story (File 4052-47). From this moment, the censors authorised many other editions of the novel, sometimes, admittedly, with a number of cuts here and there. In 1952, for instance, a censor asked the publisher to remove a critical comment on bishops in Chapter 1 and a negative view of religious beliefs in Chapter 11 (File 5213-52). It comes as no surprise that, in a regime that supported the traditional values of the Catholic Church, censors did not like Henry Wotton's witty remark about successful intellectuals never being phys-

---

14   "[…] el traductor ha cambiado el matiz de las palabras, sustituyendo donde el término amor pudiere resultar equívoco por amistad o afecto" (see File 3009-46). A look at the new version shows that these changes were indeed made. See, for instance, the famous dialogue between Basil and Lord Henry at the end of the first chapter.

15   "El autor tuvo buen cuidado de pintar a Dorian Gray execrado por todas las personas honradas. […] No hay en toda la novela la mínima crudeza o morbosidad, ni siquiera eso que hoy se llama 'fuerza' y suele ser grosería. Cierto, creo que este es su único pero, los 'malos' y los cínicos, se pintan como ingeniosos, pero también se hace lo mismo con las personas honradas. Y en eso, la novela es pintura de la vida. O pretende serlo" (see File 3009-46).

ically attractive, "except, of course, in the Church. But then in the Church they don't think. A bishop keeps on saying at the age of eighty what he was told to say when he was a boy of eighteen, and as a natural consequence he always looks absolutely delightful" (2). Similarly, the censors asked for that passage to be removed in which the narrator stresses that Dorian "never fell into the error of arresting his intellectual development by any formal acceptance of creed or system […]" (109), thus countering rumours that he was to join the Roman Catholic Church. Once these two cuts had been made the book was eventually authorised and published.

All this goes to show that, despite the gaps in some of the files I have discussed, the surviving data offer an interesting insight into the way *The Picture of Dorian Gray* was read and understood in post-war Spain. The same kind of controversy and objection stirred up by Victorian critics reappeared in Spain during the first years of Franco's regime, as the novel's moral ambiguity was once again at the centre of controversy. If there was no agreement among nineteenth-century British reviewers as to the author's moral or "poisonous" intentions, interpretations of the work by Franco's Spanish censors were not in agreement either. While some read the novel as an edifyingly exemplary story in which all excess is eventually punished, a view sustained in Spanish prefaces to the novel at the time, other censors banned the book, clearly associating Wilde with the amoral and corrupting character of Henry Wotton. Undoubtedly, the novel's multiple levels of meaning produced conflicting interpretations of Wilde's moral and ethical outlook, both in Victorian Britain and in Francoist Spain. Therefore, the fluctuations in the censors' decisions over the publication of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* in Spain should not be explained by the arbitrariness of the censorship office or by a change in the degree of control exerted by the regime, but rather by the novel's multiple interpretive possibilities.

Works Cited

Abellán, Manuel L. *Censura y creación literaria en España, 1939-1976*. Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 1980.

Beckson, Karl, ed. *Oscar Wilde: The Critical Heritage*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970.

Beneyto, Antonio. *Censura y política en los escritores españoles*. Barcelona: Plaza y Janés, 1977.

Calvet y Pascual, Agustí. "Los tres momentos de la vida de Oscar Wilde." *El retrato de Dorian Gray*. Madrid: La Nave, 1942. 7-44.

Cisquella, Georgina, José Luis Erviti, and José A. Sorolla. *Diez años de represión cultural: la censura de los libros durante la ley de prensa (1966-76)*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1977.

Davis, Lisa E. "Oscar Wilde in Spain." *Comparative Literature* 25.2 (1973): 136-152.

Ellmann, Richard. *Oscar Wilde*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988.

Lázaro, Alberto. "La narrativa inglesa de terror y el terror de la censura española." *Tiempo de censura: La represión editorial durante el franquismo*. Ed. Eduardo Ruiz Bautista. Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 2008. 197-232.

Mason, Stuart. *Oscar Wilde: Art and Morality; A Record of the Discussion which Followed the Publication of* Dorian Gray. 1908. London: Frank Palmer, 1912.

Pearson, Hesketh. *The Life of Oscar Wilde*. 1946. London: MacDonald and Jane's, 1975.

Raby, Peter. *Oscar Wilde*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988.

Toro Santos, Antonio Raúl de, and David Clark. *British and Irish Writers in the Spanish Periodical Press / Escritores británicos e irlandeses en la prensa periódica española (1900-1965)*. A Coruña: Netbiblo, 2007.

Wilde, Oscar. "The Picture of Dorian Gray." *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* [Philadelphia and London] 46.271 (July 1890): 3-100.

-----. *El retrato de Dorian Gray*. Trans. Julio Gómez de la Serna. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1918.

-----. *El retrato de Dorian Gray*. Trans. Ricardo Baeza. *Obras completas de Oscar Wilde,* Vol. 2. Madrid: Atenea, 1919.

-----. *El retrato de Dorian Gray*. Trans. Rafael Tasis Marca. Badalona: Ediciones Proa, 1930.

-----. *El retrato de Dorian Gray: novela*. El Libro de Todos, Vols. 54-55. Madrid: Cosmópolis, 1930.

-----. *Novels and Fairy Tales of Oscar Wilde*. New York: H.S. Nichols, 1915.

-----. *The Letters of Oscar Wilde*. Ed. Rupert Hart-Davis. New York: Harcourt, 1962.

-----. *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. 1891. Ed. Isobel Murray. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998.

REWRITING IRELAND THROUGH FRACTURED MALE SELVES IN THE WORKS OF JAMIE O'NEILL

Juan Ignacio Oliva

Jamie O'Neill's three novels, *Disturbance* (1989), *Kilbrack* (1990), and *At Swim, Two Boys* (2001), are unified thematically in their portrayals of tormented relationships between and within male selves, and of the hostile environments that impede their quests for true identities. As a writer, Jamie O'Neill (*1962) is primarily concerned with both introducing a new voice to the Irish discourse on morality and with new ways of representing canonical masculinity. To this purpose, his novels are populated by alternative personalities that make non-canonical, personal, and heroic choices and engage in problematic and fringe ethical behaviour. Consequently, this paper will demonstrate how O'Neill questions the moral absolutes of his culture in order to regain independence from the familiarised eye of mainstream Ireland. This shall be achieved by highlighting that homoeroticism and dissidence latently underpin each of these narratives in ways that ultimately parallel Oscar Wilde's biography and aesthetic. This dynamic will be approached from the perspectives of personality disorders, paternal disturbances, the conflict between real and imaginary worlds, and, finally, the ways in which Oscar Wilde casts his shadow across these aspects of O'Neill's work.

Personality Disorders

Disturbance, O'Neill's short and surprising first published work,[1] concerns young Irish maternal orphan Nilus Moore's struggles with mental and physical breakdown in a house that is both literally and figuratively crumbling around him. His is the hypersensitive mind of a would-be creator, filled with imagination and daydreams, yet his urges to impose and maintain order in this hostile milieu are slowly revealed through a series of obsessions that are repeated daily: the folding of his bedroom sheets, the making and unmaking of a jigsaw puzzle, and the constant ordering of the elements in his bedroom. This visceral need for constantly arranging, dismantling, and rearranging reveals a desire to

---

1   In a plenary talk at the AEDEI-IX Conference held in Tenerife in April 2010, O'Neill explained that *Kilbrack*, the second novel to be published, was, indeed, his first novel to be written. This would explain the differences in style and content between *Kilbrack* and his two other works, which share many more parallels and similarities.

undo and remake the lack of affection and understanding he suffers in his every-day life:

> In the back of my mind, I knew, I was fiddling with something close to a mad-ness. I had a notion to tamper with the jigsaw. Just, say, a quarter of a quarter of a corner of it. The idea was outrageous. Disrupting all that beautiful sym-metry. My fingers were tingling with the mere conception. […]
> I sat on my bed. To engage my errant thoughts I reached under the mattress to check the sheet-folds. They were reasonable enough. A nurse would be satis-fied, if a matron perhaps wouldn't. I wiped my glasses. I decided the only thing for it was to venture down to the bathroom, splash cold water on my face. I didn't get to the bathroom, however.
> On my way to the door, inching past the table with the fifty-thousand-piece matt black jigsaw laid out squarely in the middle, my hand dashed out and, before I even knew it, my fingers had tugged on the bottom right-hand corner.
> A tiny segment came away. I worked feverishly. It was a close-run thing, but in the end, after seven anguished minutes, I had the jigsaw completed again. (10)

As this passage demonstrates, this impulse towards order is precisely what provokes Nilus's neurotic fits, resulting from his immersion in the turmoil of dis-turbances in familial, social, and national spheres.

Some neurotic hints can also be observed in *Kilbrack*, O'Neill's second novel, but these occur at a secondary level, for the sake of the descriptive comic tone of Irish rural life. In this case, the severe amnesia suffered by the male prot-agonist, O'Leary Montagu, provokes in him a fixation on the rural village of Kilbrack, as it appears in Nancy Valentine's novel *Ill Fares the Land*. After some years, he has the opportunity to travel there and face his obsession.

The potential of such personality disorders for introducing new voices into the Irish discourse is broadened and deepened in O'Neill's third novel *At Swim, Two Boys* through the character of Anthony MacMurrough, who suffers from a benign process of schizophrenia that splits him into four distinct and symbolic personalities. This dissociative identity disorder seems to arise from his need to release his inner guilt and shame, after a lifetime of morally dubious deeds had led to accusations of antisocial activities and, ultimately, incarceration. In-deed, to the strict norms of the time of the novel's setting – directly before and during the 1916 Easter Rising – MacMurrough would have seemed a per-verted dandy, with a 'dangerous' attraction to younger boys. To alleviate his remorseful conscience, then, MacMurrough initiates plural dialogues with other *personae* that inhabit his mind: the ghost of his deceased friend Scrotes; an unnamed religious figure, addressed as the Chaplain; an elderly grandmother and consummate matchmaker named Nanny Tremble; and the personification of his virile member, appropriately named Dick. This device successfully

serves as a means of deconstructing the actual identity stereotypes that affect a social reading of Ireland. The four personalities can be read under psycho-analytic parameters, for example, as they embody class, gender, sexual troubles, and other problematic issues connected to the recent history of Ireland.

Their complex relationship operates within three different dynamics. Firstly, in the larger confrontation between MacMurrough and the four *personae*, they perform the dichotomous struggle between the *conscious* and the *unconscious*. Secondly, there is a confrontation between the three entirely fictitious and psychological characters and Scrotes, a 'real' character in the novel's universe. Thirdly, there is opposition between each of their individual traits, as one is the only female character (Nanny Tremble), another is a symbolic synecdoche (Dick), the third is a religious figure (the Chaplain), and the last of them a masculine entity (Scrotes). These alter egos depict a social mosaic of the forces that interact in the national panorama, with Nanny Tremble as a representative of the family, Dick as the motor of the sexual impulse, the Chaplain as a symbol of the Catholic religion, and Scrotes as the dissidence, though crushed, of the Irish citizenship. Scrotes happens to be the only one to develop a definite personality, to soothe MacMurrough's remorse and provide him with a certain relief. At the same time, Scrotes becomes MacMurrough's counterpart in a permanent debate between both, in a Jekyll-and-Hyde-esque dialogue in which Scrotes represents the easy-going and rational *ego,* and MacMurrough the violent and rebellious side. The other three position themselves like shadows, tormenting him with lost childhood, animal instinct, and religious repression. Although these voices constitute a constant source of anguish for MacMurrough, a quest for a new and truer identity for Ireland can be glimpsed in their ample and polemic debates. Through the social dialogue undertaken by this plurality, a more concise identification of the Irish issue is proposed, highlighting alternative voices that had been silenced in other literary works and representing a more modern view of the nation, opening up new contexts for reading Ireland beyond the more customarily traditional and conservative ones.

Paternal Disturbances

One of the most interesting sources of disturbance and repression in O'Neill's novels is that of paternal relationships, which are paramount to the formation of the fractured selves of the protagonists. In *Disturbance*, Nilus lives with his alcoholic and broke father while suffering the absence of his deceased mother. The boy grows increasingly isolated from his father as he begins to understand

that he is an unfit example of a masculine prototype. This is obvious, for instance, at the beginning of the novel, when, addressing the issue of nudity among males, Nilus's father chastises him that "there is nothing to be ashamed of" because "men don't need to hide themselves. We've all got the same mechanics. No need for locked doors." As a consequence, "he took to walking around naked upstairs. He stopped locking the door when he took a bath" (1). This natural behaviour contrasts with the feelings of apprehension and decency felt towards the naked body.[2] Nilus, a boy of fourteen, full of doubts about his sexual orientation, uses these words as an alibi to display his voyeurism in front of his father:

> My father then took to leaving the door open. I didn't go upstairs after that, not on Saturday afternoons. When my father started calling for tea to be taken to him in his bath, I decided enough was enough. I brought him his tea, then explained that I was feeling all hot and itchy with the weather, did he mind if I just splashed myself from the basin?
> Not at all, said my father. Carry on.
> I stripped off, splashed some soapy water round my groin, and lathered away, making cooing noises about the lovely cold sensation. My father turned up the volume on the radio. I started towelling myself with the small hand towel, slowly and ever so thoroughly, with my bum stuck almost point-blank in my father's face.
> After five minutes of this, my father said, "I think you're probably dry now."
> And I had no more lectures about nudity. (1-2)

With this little rebellious act Nilus reverses the natural order, pretending to teach his father a lesson: Nilus demonstrates his maleness, but also his sexual awareness and complacency, which are precisely what the father disguises under a veil of authority. He is, then, trying to demonstrate that what he starts to feel as his weakness, that is, his burgeoning sexuality, has nothing to do with his father's perversions (among them, alcohol and women). Thus, a dividing wall is erected between them, as the impossibility of following the paternal ethical model forces Nilus to find alternative routes in order to survive and improve his chaotic situation.

The paternal characters of the Dublin boys, Jim Mack and Doyler, of *At Swim, Two Boys* are also relevant, especially Jim Mack's father. Contradictory feel-

---

2   The influence of religion arises here, as Catholicism considers nudity as something normal only immediately before the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the garden of Good and Evil, for having committed the original sin. Thus, covering one's body is a means of avoiding the macula of abomination that all human beings have carried within themselves ever since.

ings are shown towards him; at first, he appears to be a pretentious lower-middle class man with many flaws:

> *There goes Mr Mack, cock of the town. One foot up, the other foot down. The hell of a gent. With a tip of his hat here and a top of the morn there, tip-top, everything's dandy. He'd bare his head to a lamppost.*
> *A Christian customer too. Designate the charity, any bazaar you choose, up sticks the bill in his shop* "One Shilling per Guinea Spent Here Will Aid the Belgian Refugees." "Comforts for the Troops in France." "Presentation Missions up the Limpopo." *Choose me the cause, he's a motto to milk it. See him of a Sunday. Ladies' Mass by the sixpenny-door, stays on for the Stations for his tanner's worth. Oh, on the up, that's Mr Mack, a Christian genteelery grocerly man.* (3)

Later on, Mr. Mack's pretentiousness is shown up as the sign of his fallibility as a human being and, in this way, he becomes a sympathetic character. Doyler's father, who had fought in the Boer War in his youth, shares some of the characteristics of Nilus's father, as he is also a broke alcoholic. The differences between Mr. Mack and Mr. Doyle are striking, but crucial to the plot of the novel is that these old men are to be seen in connection to their sons. Both couples had friendly relationships, both had made contrary decisions regarding their place in society, either assimilating themselves into it or rebelling against it, and both feel the necessity for change in Ireland. Ultimately, however, it will be the younger couple who will fulfil their expectations by performing heroic deeds in the romantic setting of the 1916 Easter Rising and by making love in the symbolic setting of Muglins Rock, after a year of Doyler teaching Jim swimming lessons to reach it. In summary, then, the paternal characters foreshadow the 'disturbances' that split the personality of each of the young protagonists apart, as the pathetic condition they epitomise makes them a point of reference for ascertaining the offspring's reactions afterwards.

The Conflict Between Real and Imaginary Worlds

Despite these thematic similarities, what clearly differentiates *Disturbance* from *At Swim, Two Boys* is the setting. On the one hand, the lugubrious, crumbling paying guesthouse of the former provides an environment adequate for dark humour and melodrama, on the basis of an individual portrait of social injustice. On the other hand, the historical facts concerning the 1916 Easter Rising offer a specific panorama in which the homosexual relationships of the three young men and the urban guerrilla warfare of the Irish dissidents can come together in the form of a neo-romantic epic. At this point, it seems clear that a general characteristic of O'Neill's style is the creation of imaginary worlds that

work as a supra-text to the 'real' settings of the novels. As we have seen, MacMurrough's split self comprises four 'r' elements: reality, romance, religion, and repression. This spectrum offers a clear mosaic of the contemporary social context, with social depression and the church appearing at the core of the fracturing elements in O'Neill's texts. This sense of fractured selves, however, not only shapes the characters, but also the worlds around them. Thereby, the clash between the ideal and the real world also represents an instrument of 'disturbance,' which provokes feelings of mental dislocation and personal rebelliousness in equal parts.

In *Disturbance*, the intertwining of Nilus's psychological reality and that of the crumbling house seems obvious enough. This connection between the objects of the house and his mental instability is clear from the very beginning: "I had known all along that my mother was going to die. The crockery on the dresser in the kitchen had told me" (4). Later on, the jigsaw puzzle also acquires a symbolic meaning, as it comes to jeopardise Nilus's thoughts and, at the same time, it seems to gain life, almost as if it were made from the grey matter of the brain: "After rosary, I went to my bedroom. I stared a long time at the jigsaw. Sometimes it was more grey than black, sometimes it was blacker than midnight. Tonight it was just ordinary" (10). Accordingly, Nilus's tiny room seems to become his own body, alone and safe from the hostile environment that surrounds him, and the house stands for the fatal milieu that is crushing him, whose decadence and crookedness offer a paragon of the moral, social, and religious pressure, represented by the authority figures (father, priest, teacher) that exert an oppressive influence in his formation. This is demonstrated when, after his mother's death,

> the days and weeks that followed were an anguish to me. I would return from school and with a ghastly certainty I'd check on the dresser. And true enough the cup was there with its chipped side showing. No matter how many times I might turn it, always if I checked again – morning, evening, evening, morning – driven by a hideous fate, the chip had worked its way to the front. Worse, the phenomenon began to spread to the other cups, then to the saucers. Even the plates suffered, rolling around in their grooves till an inexorable chip was showing. I felt that the world itself was cracking […]. (26)[3]

The main argument of *Kilbrack* resides precisely in the parallel structures between reality and fiction and in the neurotic commingling of the actual and the dreamed visions of the insomniac Montagu and the alcoholic Nurse Mary. The

---

3   Those moments of reverie are the key to understanding Nilus's mental disturbances, and they are usually connected almost symbiotically with the objects that surround him at home, that is, the real and the imaginary melting in everyday life.

characters in this novel are as mysterious and cryptic as the actual Kilbrack appears to be in the eyes of the diverse narrators. In this sense, the creation of alternative realities and the metafictional recalling of literary texts become a recurrent device in O'Neill's novels. In *At Swim, Two Boys*, the intertext is evident, as the very title (which alludes to Flann O'Brien's famous novel *At Swim-Two-Birds*) indicates that the rewriting of Ireland, both diachronically and ethically, operates as a supra-text in these stories. *At Swim, Two Boys* shares with O'Brien's masterpiece the complexity of multiple voices and perspectives, together with a taste for deconstructing identity stereotypes that affect a social reading of Ireland. This reference is not at all irrelevant, for O'Brien's title mentions a specific place on the river Shannon, full of literary and nationalistic echoes, called "Swim-Two-Birds" (or Snámh-dá-éin).[4] Therefore, both novels use water as the perfect symbol of idealism and daydreaming. On the one hand, water supposes the romantic element *par excellence*: a force of nature to be fought and ultimately tamed; on the other hand, water is conceived as the realm of symbols and disturbances of the mind: a place to create castles in the air.[5]

Sexual Dissidence and Oscar Wilde

Sexual dissidence, represented symbolically through the figure of Oscar Wilde, proves integral to O'Neill's fractured male selves. Its importance is both stylistic – in the use of ironic and subversive humour and in the aristocratic and defiant views of Anthony MacMurrough – as well as political. In this way, O'Neill's dandy purportedly declares himself one of Wilde's co-religionists in a longlasting moral fight that still affects the image of Ireland.[6] Therefore, sexual defiance and the statement of the sexual condition of the individual become inseparable from the cause of Irish independence and romantic national ideals. Wilde himself, the epitome of the refined Irish dandy, ties together the themes of the novel, and his works recurrently act as intertexts. In the same way that

---

4   O'Brien also makes use of the Chinese box technique, a mirror image of which can be seen in *Kilbrack*, though at a much more elementary level.

5   Following symbolic interpretations, Cirlot defines water as "a symbol of the collective or of the personal unconscious, or else as an element of mediation and dissolution" (366).

6   Wilde's name also appears as a famous and polemic historical figure: "I was thinking: Parnell and Wilde, the two great scandals of the age: both Irish. It's good to know Ireland can lead the world in something" (*At Swim, Two Boys* 308).

Wilde's life is echoed in those of some of the characters of his own work,[7] MacMurrough is represented as another of Wilde's *alter egos*. Their tragedies are not caused by their desires, but rather by the historical moment in which they happen to be born. Section 61 of the 1861 Irish Offences-Against-the-Law-Act reads: "whosoever shall be convicted of the abominable crime of buggery, committed either with mankind or with any animal, shall be liable […] to be kept in penal servitude for life" (qtd. in Ferriter 715).[8] To continue tracing similarities, MacMurrough is an ex-convict, imprisoned for homosexual acts. His imprisonment has affected his social relationships, and he suffers his inner drives and divisions as the result of that traumatic experience. In spite of being physically free, MacMurrough has the feeling that he will be imprisoned by that repression for the rest of his life. His cynical attitude towards the nation can be easily deduced, for instance, in a party organised by MacMurrough's aunt, at which she hopes to find him a bride to silence the rumours about his 'condition.' In a conversation with a former classmate and friend, in which hypocrisy and secrecy prevail, he states:

> "It's quite true. I was guilty as charged."
> Kettle swayed on the soles of his feet. He appeared to waver between outburst and conciliation. An indignant compromise prevailed: "You can't imagine I didn't know? God's sake, man, I took silk years back. I am informed you have since – how to say? –put away the things of a child."
> MacMurrough's eyebrows lifted. "Truth, for instance?"
> "You are telling me that there is a flaw in your character?"
> "I am telling you that I do not think it is a flaw."
> The empty glass went down the table. "There's nothing more to be said." But there was just the tiniest drop at the bottom of the glass. He lifted it, bottomed it, banged it down. "Damn it, MacMurrough, are you telling me you are an unspeakable of the Oscar Wilde sort?"
> "If you mean am I Irish, the answer is yes." (309)

None of these implications would change the political issues of the statement, yet they do specify the connection between nationalism and sexual orientation. If the relation established between sex and revolution is not one of sexual freedom, but rather one between the ideals that sustain that revolution and some form of Puritanism (Hobsbawm *passim*), then the relationship between Jim Mack and Doyler Doyle (and, even more, between the two of them and

---

7   Inevitably, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* comes to mind. The story of the immoral dandy who keeps his image intact while his corrupted self becomes more and more perverted every day proves that the logical structures of reality can be reversed by art.

8   It is important to point out that as recently as 1993 homosexuality was still a crime in Ireland.

MacMurrough), which they relate to the freedom of Ireland, would have been completely unacceptable to mainstream morality of the time. Consequently, the connection between a sexual orientation that is still considered marginal and the struggle for ostensibly normative ideals such as self-determination and patriotism appears especially scandalous (González and Oliva 217).

However, the subtlest of all the parallels between Wilde and MacMurrough concerns their respective incarcerations, as MacMurrough's tone of melancholy and profound sadness finds a correlate in Wilde's writings after he had suffered the solitude of Reading Gaol. MacMurrough is tantalised by this trauma, to the point that he is haunted by it even during sexual intercourse with Doyler:

> He slipped off the boy and collapsed on his back. His head fell on the pillow and, sinking through the down, he heard the pounding of his heart; and every pound was a footstep, as down the iron-railed hall the warder clanged, calling out the numbers of cells and the cell doors slammed as he called them rebounding, and the bawling and banging and hounding steps came closer till his door was resoundly next.
> C.3.4, called the warder.
> Slam. This cannot be. Prison. But it is. (181)[9]

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to analyse the tormented relationships between male selves in the hostile environments that surround their quest for true identities in Jamie O'Neill's fiction. Through metaphors of disturbance and fracture, a clear view of the main problems that affect the life of ordinary citizens in provincial Ireland can be discerned. At the same time, however, O'Neill challenges these mental struggles by offering possible alternatives to the concepts of Irish masculinity. In doing so, he is acting against other canonical and normative readings that are imbued with religious and social rigidity. O'Neill seems to emphasise the generational gap between fathers and sons in order to show the social paralysis of the country, but also to investigate how the impossibility of following the paternal ethical model makes the sons find alibis in order to survive and improve their chaotic situation. Through personal and unorthodox choices they invent unreal worlds that coexist with the tensions of the real ones in order to soothe their anguish. Parallel to this, a revision of the his-

---

9   It should be kept in mind that it was same-sex intercourse that brought him into prison, so in his mind he associates it with shame and danger. One of MacMurrough's central conflicts is that he does not accept his homosexuality because of the moral education he received, but his rational mind finds absolutely no guilt in it.

tory of Ireland is undertaken, reversing some Manichean codes of conduct and dignifying problematic Irish figures such as Wilde and Parnell. Oscar Wilde, in this sense, stands as a model to follow, that of the aristocrat, gifted with wit and belonging to the 'best,' and his shadow is cast over most of O'Neill's narrative style. Ultimately, O'Neill's works offer the redemption of both the personal and the national traumas of the country by means of love, though a different and subversive kind of love: a love filled with "passionate intensity," as Yeats would put it.[10] Thus, the traditional idea of Ireland as a nation that destroys her offspring can be reinterpreted and rewritten for the sake of stability and modernity but, above all, of ultimate happiness.[11]

Works Cited

Cirlot, Juan Eduardo. *A Dictionary of Symbols*. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1971.

Ferriter, Diarmaid. *The Transformation of Ireland: 1900-2000*. London: Profile, 2005.

González, M., and Juan Ignacio Oliva. "Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys* and the Formation of the Heroic Romantic Self." *Insights and Bearings: Festschrift for Dr Juan Sebastián Amador Bedford*. Ed. Manuel Brito et al. La Laguna: SPULL, 2007. 211-219.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *Revolutionaries: Contemporary Essays*. New York: New Press, 2001.

Joyce, James. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. 1916. *The Essential James Joyce.* Ed. Harry Levin. St. Albans: Triad, 1977. 175-365.

O'Brien, Flann. *At Swim-Two-Birds*. 1939. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990.

O'Grady, Thomas B. "Insubstantial Fathers and Consubstantial Sons: A Note on Patrimony and Patricide in Friel and Leonard." *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 15.1 (1989): 71-79.

O'Neill, Jamie. *At Swim, Two Boys*. 2001. London: Scribner, 2002.

-----. *Disturbance*. 1989. London: Scribner, 2003.

-----. *Kilbrack*. 1990. London: Scribner, 2003.

---

10   This sentence is included in the poem "The Second Coming," which directly mentions the Dublin Rising of 1916.

11   Traditionally, Mother Ireland was depicted by a wide range of symbols; most of them allude to the image of a nurturing female (O'Grady 71). One of the most dystopian, however, is that of a saturnine sow that devours her own children: i.e. "Ireland is the old sow that eats her farrow," as Stephen Dedalus declares in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (203).

Wilde, Oscar. *The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*. Introd. Merlin Holland. London: Harper Collins Classics, 2003.

Yeats, W.B. *The Collected Poems*. London: Wordsworth, 2000.

SPANISH BECKETT[1]

José Francisco Fernández

The aim of this paper is twofold. Firstly, it will attempt to establish and catalogue the appearances of the Spanish language, and of Spanish-language literature, in Samuel Beckett's literary output. Although not essential for a full understanding of his larger body of work, this connection will be found to have left an indelible mark on some of Beckett's early works. Secondly, the paper will expand on Beckett's translation of Spanish-language poems in his *Anthology of Mexican Poetry*, a singular work that, considering his literary production as a whole, stands out as a strange episode in Beckett's writing career.

The first reference to Spanish language or literature in Beckett's work appears in *Proust*, a 1931 essay on the French novelist, in which a Calderón line from *La vida es sueño* ("Pues el delito mayor/Del hombre es haber nacido") is found unattributed (540). Beckett most likely did not read this line in the original, but rather in Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Idea*. As Rupert Wood writes, "half-remembered snippets of these expressions of pessimism, all taken from Schopenhauer, reappear with some regularity in Beckett's later drama and prose" (6). The central idea behind the Calderón quote, that man's greatest crime is being born, re-emerges in Beckett's second novel, *Murphy* (1938), when Neary leans "against the Pillar railings and curse[s], first the day in which he was born, then – in a bold flash-back – the night in which he was conceived" (46). A similar reflection appears in the famous dialogue from *Waiting for Godot*:

> VLADIMIR: Suppose we repented.
> ESTRAGON: Repented what?
> VLADIMIR: Oh… [He reflects.] We wouldn't have to go into the details.
> ESTRAGON: Our being born? (13)

Echoes of the same idea can be found as late as 1979 in *A Piece of Monologue* when the speaker begins by saying:

> Birth was the death of him. Again. Words are few. Dying too. Birth was the death of him. Ghastly grinning ever since. Up at the lid to come. In cradle and crib. At suck first fiasco. With the first totters. From many to nanny and back. All

---

the way. Bandied back and forth. So ghastly grinning on. From funeral to fu-
neral. (425)

These are just a few examples of how pervasive Calderón's idea and formula-
tion are in Beckett's work. However, while the primary source may be a Span-
ish author, it cannot truly be said to point to a larger influence of Spanish litera-
ture in Beckett's work.

The next reference to the Spanish language in his work is taken from more
direct sources. Beckett wrote his first novel *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*
in Paris in the first half of 1932 in a state of deep personal crisis. He had
abandoned his promising career as an academic at Trinity College Dublin and
recent sentimental affairs had ended unsatisfactorily. The prospects of becom-
ing a writer and, more pressingly, the decision of what kind of writer he wanted
to be were matters of great distress to him. This may go some way to explain-
ing why the novel is so self-deprecating, particularly towards Belacqua, the
main character based on Beckett himself, yet a feeling of unease is extended
to all characters. One of the female characters in the novel, the Alba, is based
on Ethna MacCarthy, a girl with whom Beckett fell in love at Trinity College.
"She was probably the first woman for whom he felt real love," writes James
Knowlson, "and the fact that this love *was* never consummated, as his later
amorous relationships with women mostly were […], may well have ensured
that his own feelings would remain in a different category from the rest" (61).

Ethna MacCarthy was a student of Modern Languages and specialised in
French and Spanish, and most of the Spanish Beckett acquired in his youth
most likely came from her.[2] In the novel, the Alba is prone to speaking in
Spanish, as exemplified by her uttering the words "Adios" [sic] (175) and "niño"
(194), as well as giving way to vulgar expressions such as "hijo de la puta
blanca!," "Carajo!" (152), "Trincapollas!" (154), "Mamon!" [sic] (171). She is de-
scribed at one point as "our Lope flower," thus connecting her character with
the heroines in the plays of Lope de Vega (Pilling, *Companion* 263) and
stressing her Spanish roots. More surprisingly, the Alba is depicted singing to
herself an extremely vulgar and obscene Spanish "jota":

> No me jodas en el suelo
> como si fuera una perra,
> que con esos cojonazos
> me echas en el cono [sic] tierra … (209)

---

2   Ethna MacCarthy provided Beckett with more than just a basic knowledge of the Span-
    ish language. In a letter to his friend Tom McGreevy (dated 5 May 1935), Beckett wrote
    that Ethna had lent him two piano scores of Isaac Albéniz (Beckett, *Letters* 265). By
    this time he was already acquainted with the music of Manuel de Falla.

It is uncertain where Beckett might have become acquainted with this old ditty. Camilo José Cela, in his *Diccionario Secreto*, attributes the same verse with a slight variation to the eighteenth-century writer Tomás de Iriarte (57), although de Iriarte probably found it in popular folklore. John Pilling suggests that Beckett learnt it from Ethna MacCarthy, who "may possibly have come across the poem by way of Walter Starkie" (*Companion* 329). What is clear is that Beckett knew the obscene nature of the verse and that it fitted his conception of the novel he was writing, as he wanted to produce a violent reaction to the long-standing tradition of the novel. With the inclusion of such marginal, distasteful, and illogical excerpts, he would explode the whole concept of the novel from the inside.

Another more subtle influence of Spanish literature exists in the novel. Beckett includes the poems "Calvary by Night" and "Night of May" in this atypical narrative text, which, according to Mary Lynch, are based on passages from mystic poems by St. John of the Cross (65-66). This fact by itself would not be extraordinary, as the novel abounds in allusions to Beckett's readings at that time. Texts from St. Augustine, Robert Burton, and many others are interspersed throughout the text without acknowledgement of their origin. As Daniela Caselli highlights, "in *Dream of Fair to Middling Women* intertextuality is both a dismantling practice and a verbal game. By establishing a constellation of texts of reference while reacting against that same literary legacy, *Dream* constructs a canon in order to question it" (35).

In his notes on the book, Pilling does not make any reference to the influence of St. John of the Cross on these two poems, mentioning instead the influence of Joyce's villanelle in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Ruby Cohn does not comment on this possible influence either, although she admits that the poem "Calvary by Night" might be based on the apocryphal legend of Christ's death by drowning (41). In any case, the presence of St. John of the Cross in these poems might not be completely misplaced. When *Waiting for Godot* was performed for the first time in Spain, by a small independent company on 28 May 1955, Walter Starkie, the director of the Instituto Británico in Madrid, who as a Professor of Modern Languages at Trinity College had taught Beckett Italian literature, wrote a few lines on the young author for the theatre programme. There he stated that Beckett had been inspired to translate the Spanish mystic poets (London 132; Monleón 127). Some justification can be found, therefore, that Beckett might have read St. John of the Cross and that he had felt inspired by him in the composition of his poems "Night of May" and "Calvary by Night." Mary Lynch first established the connection between these two poems and some fragments of St. John of the Cross's poetry

in an English translation, and here the same comparison is established with the original Spanish poems:

NIGHT OF MAY

At last I find in my confused soul,
Dark with the dark flame of the cypresses,
The certitude that I cannot be whole,
Consummate, finally achieved, unless

I be consumed and fused in the white heat
Of her sad finite essence, so that none
Shall sever us who are at last complete
Eternally, irrevocably one,

One with the birdless, cloudless, colourless skies,
One with the bright purity of the fire
Of which we are and for which we must die
A rapturous strange death and be entire,

Like syzygetic stars, supernly bright,
Conjoined in the One and in the Infinite!

(Beckett, *Dream* 70-71)

CALVARY BY NIGHT

the water
the waste of water
in the womb of water
an pansy leaps
rocket of bloom flare flower of night wilt for me
on the breasts of the water it has closed it has made
an act of floral presence on the water
the tranquil act of its cycle on the waste
from the spouting forth
to the re-enwombing
an untroubled bow of petal and fragrance
kingfisher abated
drowned for me
Lamb of my insustenance
till the clamour of a blue flower
beat on the walls of the womb of
the waste of
the water

(Beckett, *Dream* 213-214)

GLOSA A LO DIVINO

Sin arrimo y con arrimo,
sin luz y ascuras viviendo
todo me voy consumiendo.

1

Mi alma está desassida
de toda cosa criada
y sobre sí levantada
y en una sabrosa vida
sólo en su Dios arrimada.

2

Por esso ya se dirá
la cosa que más estimo
que mi alma se vee ya
sin arrimo y con arrimo.

3

Y aunque tinieblas padezco
en esta vida mortal
no es tan crecido mi mal
porque si de luz carezco
tengo vida celestial
porque el amor da tal vida
quando más ciego va siendo
que tiene al alma rendida
sin luz y ascuras viviendo.

4

Haze tal obra el amor
después que le conocí
que si ay bien o mal en mí
todo lo haze de un sabor
y al alma transforma en sí
y assí en su llama sabrosa
la qual en mí estoy sintiendo
apriessa sin quedar cosa,
todo me voy consumiendo.

(San Juan de la Cruz 268-269)

CANTAR DE LA ALMA QUE SE HUELGA
DE CONOSCER A DIOS POR FEE

¡Qué bien sé yo la fonte que mana y corre,
aunque es de noche!

(San Juan de la Cruz 272)

ROMANCE V. DE LA CREACIÓN.

Regad nuves de lo alto
que la tierra lo pedía
y ábrase ya la tierra
que espinas nos produzía
y produzga aquella flor
con que ella florecía.

(San Juan de la Cruz 280)

The "confused soul" of Beckett's "Night of May" is similar to the "Mi alma está desassida" of the Spanish mystic poet. St. John of the Cross refers, of course, to the union with God, and Beckett's voice in the poem expresses his desire to be united with his lover, but the characteristic state of "being" and "not being," living in a state of anxiety caused by love (here expressed in "mi alma se vee ya / sin arrimo y con arrimo" or in the opposite concepts of light and darkness in "Y aunque tinieblas padezco […] su llama sabrosa / la qual en mí estoy sintiendo"), is found in Beckett's poem in the oppositions "I cannot be whole" – "be entire"; "finite essence" – "Conjoined in the One and in the Infinite"; "Dark with the dark flame" – "bright purity of the fire." Finally the line "I be consumed" finds a correspondence in "todo me voy consumiendo."

Similarly, "Calvary by Night," with its titular religious connotations and references to a source of water that runs at night and produces a flower, evokes fragments of at least two poems by St. John of the Cross in which "la fonte que mana y corre, / aunque es de noche" and "Regad nuves de lo alto […] y produzga aquella flor."[3]

Despite the obvious commonalities between the poems by St. John of the Cross and Beckett in *Dream*, many elements surrounding the poems suggest that the influence of the Spanish religious poet was not taken seriously. In Section Three of the book, Belacqua, back in Dublin after his stay on the Continent, learns from a newspaper report that his friend Nemo has drowned in the

---

3   In an unpublished short story, "Echo's Bones," written in 1933, Beckett includes two words in Spanish, "aguas" and "iluminaciones," which also bring to mind the themes in St. John of the Cross's poems.

river. Afterwards he undergoes a "mystical experience" in a pub where he even floats and feels "disembodied" (185). In the comment that follows this experience, there are unambiguous references to the Spanish saint:

> On this emotion recollected in the tranquillity of those celebrated bowers he scaffolded a theory of the mystical experience as being geared […] to the vision of an hypostatical clysterpipe, the apex of ecstasy being furnished by the peroration of administration and of course the Dark Night of the Soul. (185)

Belacqua later mockingly describes himself to "Mr. Beckett," the author of the novel as a character, as "a dud mystic […] John […] of the Crossroads, Mr. Beckett. A borderman" (186). According to Pilling, Beckett found this material in W.R. Inge's *Christian Mysticism* (*Companion* 304-305; *Dream Notebook* 100) and also took material from the article on "Mysticism" in the 1929 *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (*Dream Notebook* 88). Therefore, while he might have read St. John of the Cross in the original, it seems more likely that Beckett constructed this piece of baroque prose from factual information he obtained from reliable sources. Indeed, most of the Spanish literature he read probably consisted of translated texts.[4] The so-called "Whoroscope" notebook, for example, which contains notes on his readings of the mid-1930s, refers to Cervantes's *Don Quixote* in a French translation.[5]

A related issue is his knowledge of the Spanish language. Beckett, as is well known, did not study Spanish for his Arts degree, but rather Italian and French. He also studied classical Italian literature: Machiavelli, Petrarch, Ariosto, and, above all, Dante (Knowlson 52), as well as Latin, English literature, and contemporary French poetry. While Beckett did not take Spanish as an academic subject, we do know for certain that he studied it on his own, as evidenced by a 1933 letter, in which he wrote that "he started to 'work hard at Spanish'" (Knowlson 226), and further suggested by the fact that in the mid-1930s he had been thinking of going to Spain, although in a letter dated 8 October 1935 he wrote to his friend Tom McGreevy that the journey was "unlikely for some time" (Beckett, *Letters* 283)

Opinions differ as to his command of the language. When Spanish theatre director Trino Martínez Trives visited Beckett in his Paris flat in 1959, he was able to say that the Irish author spoke Spanish (Martínez Trives 39), and Beckett

---

4   Beckett makes Belacqua decline a list of "dark" poets in a moment when he feels particularly low of spirit. Among them there are two Spanish Romantic poets: "Espronceda" and "Becquer" (62).

5   According to Fernando Arrabal, Beckett had a great sense of humour. Laughter was present in his writings and in their private conversations, too. For Arrabal this was because they alluded to other humorous writers, Cervantes included (4).

also corrected Martínez Trives's first versions of his plays. Beckett's first biographer, Deirdre Bair, however, believes that Spanish for him was "a language of which he knew only a smattering" (398). Probably the truth lies somewhere in between. He had an ample command of Spanish grammar, but perhaps he was not fluent or did not feel confident enough to do serious work with it. Antonia Rodríguez Gago, a translator of Beckett's work and a personal friend of his, offers this intermediate and likely explanation: "I know that he understood Spanish because of his remarks in answer to my questions about my own translations. But he did not speak it" (qtd. in van der Weel and Hisgen 351).

For at least some periods in his life, Beckett kept an interest in what was happening in Spain. He was, for instance, aware of the fratricide war that began in 1936. He famously expressed his views against the rebellious army in Nancy Cunard's pamphlet *Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War* (published in *The Left Review* in 1937) with his coinage "¡UPTHEREPUBLIC!"[6] Later on, he did not remain indifferent to the establishment of a Fascist regime by General Franco in the first years after his victory in the Civil War. In the summer of 1967, Beckett wrote a letter to the president of the Court of Justice, who was in charge of the case against his friend Fernando Arrabal. He even offered to appear in the trial for the defence, although ultimately this was not necessary (Knowlson 552-553). Arrabal was accused of having offended the Spanish nation for something he had written to a reader when signing one of his books. In his letter, Beckett praised the literary merits of Arrabal and insisted on the Spanish character of his work, stressing the fact that he was not a traitor to his country: "Elle va juger un écrivain espagnol qui, dans le bref espace de dix ans, s'est hissé jusqu'au premier rang des dramaturges d'aujourd'hui, et cela par la force d'un talent profondément espagnol. Partout où l'on joue ses pièces, et on les joue partout, l'Espagne est là" (qtd. in Arrabal 8). It should be noted, however, that Beckett always expressed his disgust and horror of injustice regardless of the kind of government it came from: "It did not matter to him whether the regime perpetrating the oppression was left-wing (like the Communists in Eastern Europe) or right-wing (like the Fascists in Spain or the

---

6   Years later, Beckett included the same expression in *Malone Dies*, when the narrator-protagonist says: "I simply believe I can say nothing that is not true, I mean that has not happened, it's not the same thing but no matter. Yes, that's what I like about me, at least one of the things, that I can say, Up the Republic! for example, or, Sweetheart! for example, without having to wonder if I should not rather have cut my tongue out, or said something else" (*The Beckett Trilogy* 216). The phrase here obviously loses a great part of its force, as Leslie Hill writes: "While on one level it still no doubt functions – as slogans do – as a memory of political conviction or commitment, it does so with evident scepticism, not to say mocking irony" (912).

National Party in South Africa). It was enough that they were behaving with inhumanity, barbarity and injustice" (Knowlson 641). In spite of his interest in Spanish current events, I have not found any records that may prove that he ever visited Spain, not even after the arrival of democracy.[7]

The story of his 'Mexican Anthology' (1958) may prove illustrative of his ambiguous relation to the Spanish language and to the larger Spanish culture. Early in 1950, the UNESCO commissioned him to translate around one hundred Mexican poems compiled by Octavio Paz, and in a few months he had finished the work.[8] According to Deirdre Bair, he asked a friend who could speak Spanish to translate the poems into English, and Beckett later gave them poetic form (the earnings would be split among both of them) (409). He then asked Gerald Brenan to revise the final result and in the printed book included a note of gratitude to him: "I should like to thank Mr Gerald Brenan for kindly reading the entire manuscript and for making a number of useful suggestions."

Beckett had accepted the task of translating the Mexican poems into English solely for economic reasons. Years later he wrote to a friend, "that lousy Mexican anthology was undertaken to take the chill of [sic] the pot in the lean winter of 1949-50 and with scant Spanish" (qtd. in Cohn 184). Beckett nevertheless undertook the task of translating with great professionalism. The Sam Francis Notebook manuscript at Reading University Library testifies that he had done some work on the language.

The original corrected typescript of the Mexican anthology resides at the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin, and is preceded by a handwritten note by Beckett addressed to Jake Schwartz, a bookseller and manuscript dealer. In this note, written in Paris in February 1959, Beckett gives a few basic dates relating to the translation and the publication of the book.[9] The document is also preceded by two handwritten sheets of paper with lists of words and notes on the language. All of them are words taken from the poems

---

7   When the "Beckett Festival" was held in Madrid from 28 March to 5 May 1985, Beckett sent a note to one of the organisers, Jesús Campos, thanking them for honouring his work and lamenting not being able to attend (Campos García 105). As is well known, Beckett avoided any public event in which he might be the centre of attention.

8   Apparently, there had been a previous translation made by Beckett for UNESCO. According to Deirdre Bair, before the Mexican anthology he had translated a number of essays and poems for a celebration of Goethe's anniversary, among them a poem in Spanish by Gabriela Mistral (398). On that occasion Beckett would have asked Octavio Paz and Gerald Brenan for help for the first time.

9   I am grateful to the staff at the Reading Room of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center for their help.

that he translated and which he had doubts about (some of them are Mexican Spanish terms). The first sheet has the heading of "PAZ," and the second has as its title the word "SELF," both in capital letters. The words are written in blue ink and the corrections are marked in red. He probably took these papers to Octavio Paz and asked him questions about the words, which Beckett himself copied in a disorderly manner, mostly with arrows pointing to the meaning of the terms. According to Deirdre Bair, Paz met Beckett a few times in a café, "where Beckett explained that he had taken the job because he, too, needed the money" (695).

The translation of the Mexican anthology must have been an extremely demanding and tiring job. There are poems by thirty-five authors, and in most cases more than one poem is assigned to each poet. Some of the texts are of the utmost complexity and probably Beckett spent long hours working on them. In the final document there are some handwritten corrections even on the typed poem, which indicates that Beckett kept revising them until the end. It is no wonder, then, that, after finishing the translation, he decided he would do no more jobs of that kind in the future. In an unpublished letter to Aidan Higgins, dated 24 March 1959, he bitterly wrote that the Mexican anthology was not worthy of his attention, adding that most of the poems were "shit."

Samuel Beckett's last important experience with the Spanish language left him exhausted and the anthology remains an atypical item in his list of works. The very process of composition, a mixture of duty and necessity, of professionalism and disgust, illustrates his ambiguous relationship with the Spanish language and Spanish literature, characterised by an indirect approach and a lack of real engagement on his part.

Works Cited

Anthology of Mexican Poetry. Comp. Octavio Paz. Trans. Samuel Beckett. London: Thames & Hudson, 1958.

Arrabal, Fernando. "Beckett." *L'Atelier du Roman* 59 (Sept 2009): 3-8.

Authors Take Sides on the Spanish War. London: Left Review, 1937.

Bair, Deirdre. *Samuel Beckett: A Biography*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1978.

Beckett, Samuel. *Murphy*. New York: Grove Press, 1957.

-----. Letter to Aidan Higgins. 24 March 1959. Samuel Beckett Collection. Box 8, folder 9. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center. The University of Texas at Austin.

-----. *The Beckett Trilogy. Molloy. Malone Dies. The Unnamable*. London: Picador, 1979.

-----. *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*. Dublin: The Black Cat Press, 1992.

-----. "A Piece of Monologue." *The Complete Dramatic Works*. London: Faber, 2006. 423-429.

-----. "Proust." *Samuel Beckett: The Grove Centenary Edition*. Vol. IV. Ed. Paul Auster. New York: Grove Press, 2006. 511-554.

-----. "Waiting for Godot." *The Complete Dramatic Works*. London: Faber, 2006. 7-88.

-----. *The Letters of Samuel Beckett, 1929-1940*. Ed. Martha Dow Fehsenfeld and Lois More Overbeck. Cambridge: CUP, 2009.

Campos García, Jesús. "Muestra Beckett. Entre el eco y la huella." *República de las letras* No. 99 (Nov 2006): 93-109.

Caselli, Daniela. *Beckett's Dantes: Intertextuality in the Fiction and Criticism*. Manchester and New York: Manchester UP, 2005.

Cela, Camilo José. *Diccionario Secreto*. Madrid: Alianza/ Alfaguara, 1989.

Cohn, Ruby. *A Beckett Canon*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005.

Hill, Leslie. "'*Up the Republic*': Beckett, Writing, Politics." *MLN* 112.5 (Dec 1997): 909-928.

Knowlson, James. *Damned to Fame: The Life of Samuel Beckett*. London: Bloomsbury, 1997.

London, John. *Reception and Renewal in Modern Spanish Theatre: 1939-1963*. London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1997.

Lynch, Mary. "In This Behold Me: Beckett's *Dream of Fair to Middling Women.*" *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 88.349 (Spring 1999): 61-68.

Martínez Trives, Trino. "Retrato Frustrado de Samuel Beckett." *La última cinta. Acto sin palabras*, by Samuel Beckett. Barcelona: Aymá, 1965. 38-42.

Monleón, José. "Cuando Beckett era un camelo." *República de las letras* No. 99 (Nov 2006): 121-136.

Pilling, John. *Beckett's Dream Notebook.* Reading: Beckett International Foundation, 1999.

-----. *A Companion to* Dream of Fair to Middling Women. Tallahassee, FL: Journal of Beckett Studies Books, 2004.

San Juan de la Cruz. *Poesía.* Ed. Domingo Ynduráin. Madrid: Cátedra, 1983.

Van der Weel, Adriaan, and Ruud Hisgen. "Unheard Footfalls only Sound: 'neither' in Translation." *Beckett in the 1990s*. Ed. Marius Buning and Lois Oppenheim. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1993. 345-364.

Wood, Rupert. "An Endgame of Aesthetics: Beckett as Essayist." *The Cambridge Companion to Beckett*. Ed. John Pilling. Cambridge: CUP, 2001. 1-16.

IRISH CINEMA AND EUROPE THROUGHOUT THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: AN OVERVIEW

Estelle Epinoux

This article intends to undertake an analysis of twentieth-century Irish cinema in order to explore the nature of Ireland's relationships and exchanges with Europe and to appraise how these relationships have impacted upon the way Irish cinema has developed, or at least 'imagined' itself, as a national cinema.[1] This analysis, however, does not intend to rely overly on the concept of the nation, which is not its main topic, but rather proposes to consider Irish cinema primarily as an industry.[2]

From Dublin's first public film screening, held by the Lumière brothers in April 1896, until the turn of the twentieth century, exchanges between Irish cinema and Europe existed in the fields of aesthetics (influences, themes), economics (the production of films), and culture (festivals). It is worth reflecting on this complex relationship, which has, at various times, been characterised by Ireland's isolationism from, influence by, cooperation with, or dependence on, Europe. In spite of the fact that Ireland is a "European country in terms of geography, democracy and ancient and medieval history" (O'Sullivan 42), the relationship between Irish cinema and Europe is best characterised as both binary and paradoxical. Within this binary dimension the Anglo-Irish colonial relationship will be alluded to in so far as it sheds light on the European focus of this article. However, this issue will not be at the centre here, since the particular nature of that relationship goes well beyond the scope of this article's concerns.

The Irish/European relationship can be defined, first and foremost, by the notion of exclusion. Indeed, Irish cinema tried to define its identity by preserving itself from external influences, relying on some of the constituents of the Irish national identity pattern which organised itself along the six elements of "uniqueness, historical nationalism, Gaelic, rural, catholic and self-sufficiency"

---

1   "My point of departure is that nationality, or […] nation-ness, as well as nationalism are cultural artefacts of a particular kind" (Anderson 4). Such a definition can be used to link cinema with nation and Irish cinema with its national dimension.

2   The theorist Gilbert Cohen-Séat distinguishes between 'cinema' and 'film' – 'cinema' and 'cinema industry' referring to different stages of production and film exploitation (53).

(McLoone, *Irish Film* 12). There is, of course, an inclusive side linked with the dimension of exclusion that was either implicit or explicit, chosen or rejected. Irish cinema defined itself according to the various European exchanges that shaped it over the years, before and after 1973, while the "accelerating pace of European integration within the EEC gave rise to debates about regions, nation and supranational identities" (McLoone, "National Cinema" 148). In the 1980s, Irish directors redefined both their image of Irish society and the specificity of Irish films. Ireland's inclusion in the EEC accompanied that move, highlighting that the "nation-state had become too large and too small as a model of contemporary Irish identity" (Kearney, *Postnationalist Ireland* 20).

Irish cinema also developed beyond the Irish/European relationship to position itself within a wider global framework, as various international influences helped shape its definition. The United States played a particularly prominent role in this process, as Ireland's historical links with the U.S. through emigration and the numerous American films made about Ireland established a special relationship between the two countries. In the early 1980s, the increasing interrelationships between Irish directors, actors, producers, and the United States contributed towards the relocation of Irish cinema at the crossroads of new European and international exchanges, which had a share in the transformation of its identity.

Exclusion: A Political Motivation

For a long time Irish cinema was envisioned and modelled according to the nationalist ideology that prevailed before and after the creation of the Irish Free State in 1922. For D.G. Boyce, nationalism in the Irish context is "the assertion by members of a group of autonomy and self government for the group [often, but not invariably in a sovereign state], of its solidarity and fraternity in the homeland, and of its distinctive history and culture" (19). In other words, Irish national identity was being "limited to a people whose distinctive character derived in relation to other, different nationalities" (Pettitt 29). Indeed, after 1922 the attitude of the government consisted of isolating Ireland from the rest of the world (The Editor 424). By then, Europe was not considered a specific cultural or political partner. The main aim at the time was to make and to produce films in Ireland that were different from those made by British and American companies in order to assert Irish cultural independence mainly vis-à-vis Britain. Indeed, the Irish nation was conceived at this time as "a community" that was both "limited" and "sovereign" (Anderson 7). The Film Company of Ireland aimed at building an Irish cinema, but its vindication as an Irish art form

became superseded by more radical and overtly political motives, often rele-gating art to a position inferior to politics.[3] The American film director James Mark Sullivan, who had settled in Ireland, wanted to fight against the hegem-ony of the American cinematographic image of Ireland, as he considered that those images, which were screened all over the world, conveyed a distorted view of Ireland.[4]

Under the policy of isolationism from both Britain and the rest of Europe, cin-ema was used to depict the Gaelic cultural and artistic choices of the new Irish state. Cinema as a popular form of entertainment did not, however, easily fit in with Gaelic culture. This cultural confrontation frequently led to strong censor-ship measures on the part of the state. If separation and differentiation (Tovey & Share 33) were not the only concepts around which the Irish Free State built itself, they enabled it to erect barriers against what was deemed the modern world (Epinoux, "Le renouveau" 361). Censorship was supported not only by the Irish State, but also by the Catholic Church and nationalists. In 1909, The Cinematograph Bill was enacted under the pressure of several Catholic Irish priests.[5] From that piece of legislation it appears that beyond the regulation of theatres it was also an opportunity to control the films themselves, since "a County Council may grant licences to such persons as they think fit" ("The Cinematograph Bill" 18). In 1923, the Irish Free State implemented The Cen-sorship of Films Act ("The Censorship of Films Act" 651-663), which supported Irish values and protected Gaelic culture.

Despite these strong isolationist tendencies, the Irish cinema industry also modelled itself according to the concepts of insiders/outsiders. This concept played a key role in differentiating Ireland from Britain (on the grounds of their colonial relationship). The dichotomy was also used to conceptualise Ireland's relation with Europe (Hayward 3). Between 1922 and 1955, Irish cinema tried to develop itself within what Brian McIlroy defined as "insular states" (McIlroy, *Irish Cinema* 20). In the definition of an Irish cinema and of a national cinema (a term that barely seems appropriate for describing the way Irish cinema saw itself prior to the 1980s) the insular dimension was recurring, limiting its defini-

---

3   The Film Company of Ireland was created shortly prior to the Easter Rising, and this context defined the political dimension of its films. In 1915, the Gaelic League also be-came more overtly political, leading to Douglas Hyde's resignation.

4   The Film Company of Ireland produced the following films, among others: *Willy Reilly and His Colleen Bawn* (1920; dir. John MacDonagh) and *Knocknagow* (1918; dir. Fred O'Donovan).

5   The priests wanted "to make better provision for securing safety at cinematograph and other exhibitions!" ("The Cinematograph Bill" 18-19).

tion to state, territory, and ethnicity (Kearney, *Postnationalist Ireland* 213).[6] In the 1960s, the Irish Film Industry Committee repeatedly defined what an Irish film was, or, more precisely, when a film was *not* Irish: namely, when its crew, its technique, its actors, directors, and main actors came from abroad (*The Irish Film Industry Committee Report* 26). By defining its conception of a foreign film thus, the committee provided, in reverse, a definition of what an Irish film could be. Facing the 'insular' conception of Irish cinema in the 1930s, several film enthusiasts created the Irish Film Society in 1936 with the intention of opening Irish people's minds towards foreign cinema and its various artistic aspects.[7]

Even though isolationism from Britain and Europe was mainly politically motivated, it was also due to cultural choices. The Film Company of Ireland, as well as The General Film Supply, wanted to counter British and American films with their own Irish films. *The Irish Limelight* described the Film Company of Ireland's mission as follows:

> Its work is not only to entertain with Irish humour, legend and stories, the purpose of the Company is to make Ireland known to the rest of the world as she has never been known before; to let outside people realise that we have in Ireland other things than the dudeen, buffoon, knee breeches and brass buckles. (qtd. in McIlroy, *Irish Cinema* 12)

By the 1930s, the Irish government had come to understand how useful cinema could be to convey its conception of an Irish identity. In 1935, Robert Flaherty was commissioned by the Ministry of Education to make an Irish language documentary film: *Oidhche Sheanchais* (*Storyteller's Night*).[8] Through that project, De Valera's government wanted to broadcast a rural, Gaelic, and Catholic image of the West of Ireland and to familiarise Irish audiences with the use of the Irish language in films. Yet, the government of the time did not mind asking a 'foreign' director to make such a film.

In order to present itself to the rest of the world, the Irish State financed several films made by bodies such as Gael Linn, Radharc, and the National Film Institute, as they mirrored Catholicism and Gaelic culture in their films.[9] Gael Linn was created in 1953, with the aim of spreading the use of the Irish lan-

---

6   John Hayes, who was the censor in 1941, declared that he would like to see Irish films made on Irish history (113).

7   The film critic Edward Hogg, who wrote for *The Bell*, mentioned *Birth of a Nation* (320).

8   The Irish government commissioned that film after the success of the previous year's *Man of Aran* (1934).

9   In the 1940s and 1950s, The National Film Institute was the official production agency for the government (Rockett, "Documentaries" 79).

guage in order to promote Irish culture and the Gaelic tradition through documentaries on Irish history for instance.[10] As for the Catholic Church, it did not confine its role to controlling cinema through censorship but also made films that promoted its morals; it wanted to convey its own Gaelic and Catholic image of Ireland in films.

In the 1950s and 1960s, film enthusiasts such as Liam O'Leary, Vincent Corcoran, Patrick Carey, and George Morrison wanted to propose an alternative to the films screened in Ireland and to those made by the National Film Institute. They filmed scenes from everyday life while aiming to present a secularised version of Irish identity. They challenged the Catholic, historical, and nationalist images of Ireland, showing that the national "always creates a spurious image of unity, it tends to deny internal differences" (Declan Kiberd; qtd. in Pettitt 18). These enthusiasts attempted to define an Irish cinematographic image of their country and to include cinema within Irish national culture. This effort had very little impact until 1992, when the first film archives were finally opened in Dublin, acknowledging cinema as a fundamental part of Ireland's cultural heritage.

The work of Irish film directors Bob Quinn and Joe Comerford is exemplary of this choice to keep away from English language films and, more precisely, from big-budget films coming from Hollywood, in the process of defining Irish cinema. In the late 1970s, Quinn developed his concept of an Irish cinema based on a local dimension, shooting films in the Irish language and editing them in the West of Ireland. None of his films were screened outside Ireland except at festivals. Maintaining distance from Europe and the rest of the world was, in this case, motivated by artistic and political choices. This attitude tended to enclose Irish cinema within national and local spheres, cutting it off from the rest of the world. Through this process, Irish directors wanted to propose an alternative to the stereotyped American and British images of Ireland, through a specific technique and through specific means of production. Everything 'national' was put under scrutiny by these directors, who called into question an essentially rural and Catholic image of their country. It should also be noted that Bob Quinn's attempt to offer an alternative cinematic representation of Ireland was not limited to the specific linguistic context in which he worked. Films such as *The Courier* (1988; dir. Frank Deasy and Joe Lee) or *Pigs* (1984; dir. Cathal Black) conveyed new images of Ireland that distanced themselves from the artistic or commercial patterns of Hollywood. Overall, these

---

10   Between 1956 and 1964, Gael Linn was the body to produce the highest number of films in Irish.

films represented "a practice of cultural self-reflection where the whole concept of a homogeneous identity national or linguistic came into question" (Brown 82).

Irish Cinema within a European Dimension

To limit Irish cinema to its natural geographic borders is to ignore the fact that as "waterways connecting us [Ireland] with others," the seas surrounding Ireland *de facto* join the island to mainland Europe (Kearney, *Navigations* 323). Bob Quinn himself also explored this dimension of water as a shared border in his documentary series *Atlantean* (1981), in which he demonstrated that the Irish have cultural and historical links with North Africa through the Atlantic sea lanes.

Indeed, exchanges between Ireland and Europe have existed since the Middle Ages; the intellectual 'exodus' mentioned by Kearney has prevailed for years and is still valid today for many Irish directors and actors (*Navigations* 24). Throughout the twentieth century, this link was always either cultural or artistic, and it led to recurring exchanges between Ireland and Europe. These links and exchanges also developed along the specific relationship between Ireland and Britain, creating different passage ways between Ireland, the British Isles, and the Continent.

From its very beginning, Irish cinema was dependent on European, American, or British money to finance its films (Epinoux, *Le cinéma en Irlande* 350). Such dependence was criticised by some directors and rejected by others, as it was considered an obstacle to the development of an indigenous Irish cinema. In the 1980s, the word 'europudding' referred to those films financed by different European countries. Often, directors had to comply with the specific demands on the part of the producers concerning target audiences, for instance.[11] The money coming from abroad was at least an opportunity to make films. Indeed, the Irish state often relied on foreign money to finance cinema in its country. Ardmore (which opened in 1958) and, later, the Irish Film Board (which opened in 1981) were considered cornerstones for developing Irish cinema. Indeed, they laid the foundations for relationships between Ireland, Europe, and the rest of the world, but they were not first and foremost intended to foster Irish cinema, but a film industry in Ireland. Those two institutions pinpointed how vital the links with foreign countries were. The first Irish Film Board was

---

11 *Spaghetti Slow* (1997; dir. Valerio Jalongo), not highly praised by critics, is one of those films often referred to as examples of europudding films.

primarily set up for foreign companies.[12] Exclusion was simply impossible if the Irish state wanted to develop cinema in its country. The state set up several means of attracting foreign money through Section 35 of the Finance Act (1993).[13] Europe also played an important role in financing Irish cinema through different grants.[14]

The choice of a policy of exclusion also had its limits concerning the way cinema was organised. Irish cinema has always belonged to the British/English distribution network. Ireland and Great Britain are considered one and the same territory for distribution – while a few major studios have their offices in Dublin, decisions concerning release dates for titles are generally taken in London (at least this was the case until the beginning of the 1990s) (Rockett, "Culture" 138). The same is true for censorship, which was dealt with by Britain and to a lesser extent, until the 1950s, by Rome (namely Pope Pius XI in 1936 and Pope Pius XII in 1957).[15] Censorship, which was supposed to protect Ireland from foreign influences, also showed its limits, since cinema has always been a popular form of entertainment in Ireland, where mainly American movies have been screened.[16] These examples highlight how developing an Irish cinema based on a confined national area was difficult, even impossible, to sustain.

The link between Irish cinema and Europe was developed in a progressive way, but it was more obvious once Ireland became integrated within the European political framework. In 1973, Ireland became a full member of the EEC, which offered a new means of reaffirming Irish identity at large (Hayward 123). A clear cultural framework was finally instigated through the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.[17] The new concept of a cultural identity in Europe was to be: "diverse but harmonious" (Peten, Sojcher & Thiec 116). Ireland's membership in an

---

12   "An important role in ensuring that the influx of off-shore production taking place here is properly balanced by the priorities of Irish film-making" (Bord Scannán na hÉireann 3).

13   *Widow's Peak* (1993; dir. John Irvin) was one of the first films to have benefited from Section 35 of the Finance Act (Epinoux, *Le cinéma en Irlande* 350).

14   Viz. *European Script Fund* (1989), *Eurimages* (1992), and *Media* (1995), which helped with distribution and training.

15   Films were first examined by the British Board of Film Censors, then by Ireland's Film Censors Office. Irish authorities were also highly influenced by the declarations coming from Rome. In 1936, Pope Pius XI demanded that censorship be strengthened, and in 1957 Pope Pius XII wanted films to have a spiritual and moral aim and asked for more control on the part of the priests (Epinoux, *Le cinéma en Irlande* 348).

16   In 1991, Irish cinemas made 91.5% of their benefits thanks to American films (Riché 4).

17   For an analysis concerning the development of the cultural dimension among different member states, see Peten, Sojcher & Thiec.

economic and political European union meant that Irish identity could be considered beyond the binary relations of exclusion and inclusion. Even before joining the EEC, Ireland's inclusion within a European cinema was implicit through its similarity with other peripheral national cinemas, such as Welsh and Scottish cinemas, also known as the "Celtic periphery" (McIntyre 90). Within the European framework there was recognition of "multidimensional identities including regional, national and European" (Hayward 29).

Despite the intention of the Irish state to develop an indigenous culture within its borders, various influences and exchanges took place between Ireland, Britain, and the Continent. National borders could not guarantee the development of a cinema in total isolation from abroad. For instance, Ireland was a recurring theme in numerous European films, such as *Odd Man Out* (1947; dir. Carol Reed), *La jeune folle* (1952; dir. Yves Allégret), and *Ryan's Daughter* (1970; dir. David Lean). With Ireland joining Europe, the question of a national cinema divided between core and periphery, indigenous and cultural influences from outside, was also raised (McLoone, "National Cinema" 146).

> A national cinema used to be based on the idea of homogeneity, representing a common, unitary and distinct identity to the exclusion of other national cinemas and also to the exclusion of those *within* who did not conform to this identity. (Pettitt 29)

As formulated by the cinema historian Michèle Lagny, "if a national art exists it exists within a frame where culture goes beyond a geopolitical stratification."[18] The geographical limits of the national are unstable, and one could add that they may have always been thus (Lagny 102). Ireland's accession to Europe only made clear what had already been present in Irish cinema history, namely the divergences in the ways in which Irish cinema was to be conceived and developed in front of the rest of the world.

To establish its national limits, Irish cinema was shaped through a process of "sifting, including and excluding" (McLoone, "National Cinema" 146), but to limit Irish cinema to its geographical and European borders would ignore its relationships with the rest of the world. Such a specificity can be considered an opportunity for Irish cinema, which had access to another layer of relationships to enter a more "abstract and complex space" (Considère-Charon 198).

---

18   "Un art national existe, il existe dans un cadre où la culture dépasse la stratification géopolitique" (Lagny 98).

Beyond Europe

The inclusion of Irish cinema within an international framework moves it beyond a binary dimension of 'them' vs. 'us,' Ireland vs. Britain, Ireland vs. the United States. Yet, Ireland is often described as a "'new' European country and not as an 'old one'" (O'Sullivan 49). This sentiment emphasises the special, if at times awkward, position of Irish cinema within the European dimension. It also stresses Ireland's membership of the English-speaking world, which has contributed to creating strong links with Britain and the United States. However, while this linguistic dimension could have been an opportunity, it has not made the international screening of Irish films any easier. In the 1990s, 80% of European films were not distributed beyond the borders of their country of production (Hill 57).

Politically, throughout the twentieth century, Ireland also strengthened several important links with the rest of the world, starting with its Proclamation of Independence, which made it a part of Europe but also of the world at large (Hayward 79). In 1923, Ireland joined the League of Nations, and in 1936 it passed the External Relations Act, which had a national dimension since it severed the links with Britain but also confirmed Ireland's international position. In 1922, De Valera clearly referred to the specific position of Ireland, which was "situated at the very focus of trade routes between Europe and America" (Hayward 168). This international dimension can also be found in Irish cinema, as mentioned previously, in its dependence on foreign money and in its aesthetic influences from both the United States and Europe.[19] The development of an Irish cinema also happened for cultural reasons. Michael D. Higgins, the Irish Minister for Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht from 1993 to 1997, who was opposed to the GATT, vindicated the 'exception culturelle,' mainly concerning cinema (M.B. 16). In the 1990s, several Irish film festivals took place both in the United States and in Europe under the auspices of President Mary Robinson, who wanted Irish culture to be discovered abroad.[20] The Irish film festival which took place at New York's Lincoln Centre in 1994 is said to have been the most important ever to take place outside Ireland (Mulkerns 8).[21]

---

19   *Ailsa* (1994; dir. Paddy Breatneach) is often referred to as an example of an Irish film influenced by *Three Colours* (1993/1994; dir. Krzyzsztof Kieslowski).

20   "Cette idée de projeter l'image d'une culture moderne est très importante pour nous aujourd'hui, alors que nous avons une perception plus positive et plus large de notre identité" (Bédarida 24).

21   In 1996, during the French *Imaginaire irlandais*, numerous Irish films were screened and meetings with Irish directors organised. Clermont-Ferrand also devoted a great part of its festival to Irish films.

This particular relationship with the United States and Britain has been a specificity of Irish cinema and, as mentioned in *Across the Frontiers*, Ireland can be considered "a province of the London region of the New York empire, and is dependent also on the Brussels confederacy which a group of major west European power-centres dominate" (qtd. in Fennell 104). The American directors James Mark Sullivan, Sydney Olcott, as well as the English director Norman Whitten, contributed to that 'international' dimension of Irish cinema, creating a cinematographic image of Ireland in the early twentieth century. From the very beginning of Irish cinema, most images of Ireland were projected by foreign directors, and that trend has largely remained unchanged until now.

The peculiar in-between position of Irish cinema with regard to the United States and Britain can be considered a positive element that nourished its identity without losing its specificity in this "leap over national borders" (Kearney, *Postnationalist Ireland* 59). In the 1990s, Irish cinema developed a web of relationships which were anchored in Europe but which also reached far beyond.

In his book *Irish Cinema: An Illustrated History*, Brian McIlroy refers to the global evolution that took place throughout the 1950s as 'Internationalism.' From the 1990s onwards, that process was referred to as 'globalisation.' It appears that Irish cinema has been included in this process of globalisation, which can be defined as

> a process of economic restructuring that has diverse cultural impacts: it fragments social groupings and identities, constructs new ones without local or territorial references. The identities associated with the nation and hence the nation state collapse in the face of new collective identities. (Tovey & Share 530)

That such new collective identities have no "local or territorial references" undermines, or excludes altogether, the role of the local in their definitions. Yet, Irish cinema has been able to develop through the global web of exchanges and cross-currents which take their roots in the specificity of Irish culture and history. Moreover, such a definition does not take into account the contribution of the Irish diaspora, which has established connections between the Irish and other nations (Hayward 122-123). The understanding of the Irish nation today comes under the rubric of "the migrant nation as an extended family" and as an inclusive process embracing "all those emigrants and exiles who live beyond the territory of the nation-state *per se*" (Kearney, *Postnationalist Ireland* 5).

Thus, the dialectic between exclusion and inclusion which used to characterise Irish cinema has now been replaced by hybridity,[22] which can be defined as appearing "at the junction, as the contact zone between two cultures which represent the space for the quest of identity."[23] Accordingly, the identity of Irish cinema has evolved and can now be understood as "a dynamic process, not as a fixed point, and part of the process is the assimilation of, and thus change of, outside influences" (McLoone, "National Cinema" 153). In its 1987 white paper on cultural policy, the coalition government of Fine Gael-Labour referred to a move towards a "third space" for Irish cinema that should be "responsive to fresh directions […] challenging social norms, complacencies of taste, extending the boundaries of the possible" (*Access and Opportunity* 24).[24]

To come back to Europe and to its second motto of 'unity in diversity,' it becomes all the more vibrant and meaningful for Irish cinema, travelling in the so called Fifth Province, which "can be imagined and re-imagined" and where "it is always a question of thinking *otherwise*" (Kearney, *Postnationalist Ireland* 100). According to Brian McIlroy, globalising processes have had an impact on films and on the conception of the identity of Irish cinema if analysed through the "cultural transnational flows and gentrification" (*Genre and Cinema* 4).[25]

In the process of globalisation, Irish cinema appears to be well-anchored in the local – especially when one thinks of such recent films as *Garage* (2007; dir. Lenny Abrahamson) or *Once* (2007; dir. John Carney) – as opposed to a definition of globalisation which claims that the world has become "relativised" to the point that "all perspectives and cultural meanings are equally valid and all have become interchangeable" (Tovey & Share 349). Such a stance, however, does not take into account the way the global and the local seem to merge without annihilating the local. Relying on Kearney's metaphor of the seas linking Ireland to the Continent and to the rest of the world, "that journey to the

---

22   It should be stressed that this study employs the term *hybridity* with reference to the definition provided by the postcolonial theorist Robert Young, denoting "a third space […] where elements are *neither the one nor the other but something else* which contests the terms and territories of both" (23).

23   "L'hybridité apparaît à cette jonction, cette zone de contact de deux cultures qui forme l'espace d'une recherche d'identité (…)" (Hanquart 9).

24   "A vibrant Irish film industry reflecting Irish values could influence the perception of Ireland overseas as well as reaffirming Irish national identity" (*Access and Opportunity* 24).

25   The same can be said about distribution: "Two-thirds of UK distribution is accounted for by just two companies – UIP and Warner Brothers – which are in turn controlled by five of the seven top US studios" (McIntyre 95).

other place harbours the truth of homecoming to our own place" (Kearney, *Navigations* 323).

Ireland's relationship with Europe appears to be part of that journey but not the only port of call. The identity of Irish cinema thus seems to have been nourished by the 'particular' and the 'universal,' which intermingle "as an interpenetrating discourse" (McLoone, "National Cinema" 153). The globalising process has had an impact on the identity of an Irish cinema which defines itself within, but also beyond its borders, as explained by Lance Pettitt:

> Rather than being fixated in a singular identity (Irish), a discrete territory (the whole island of Ireland) whose origins lie in history (past-orientated), post-nationalism foregrounds the potentially liberating ideas of multiple identities (regional, federal, communal), the concept of dispersed geo-affiliations (including Ireland's diaspora) […]. (17-18)

An analysis of the relation between Irish cinema and Europe reveals that there have always been political, economic, and cultural exchanges. That relation was based on the notions of exclusion and inclusion, but also on those of exchanges and influences that have not been limited to a unilateral process or to a confined relation. To the contrary, an analysis of Irish cinema throughout the twentieth century has shown how the Irish-European relationship also inserted itself within a wider international framework, highlighting the "international, cosmopolitan, universalist dimension of Irish art" (Kearney, *Postnationalist Ireland* 227). Twentieth- as well as early-twenty-first-century Irish cinema has been operating in between those multi-layered relationships that nourished its identity through its local, regional, national, and international influences. What remains now to be studied is the impact of Irish cinema on European cinema. To quote Joyce, one may wonder to what extent Irish cinema has managed to "hibernicise Europe and to Europeanise Ireland" (qtd. in Kearney, *Postnationalist Ireland* 23).

Works Cited

Access and Opportunity: A White Paper on Cultural Policy. Dublin: Stationery Office, January 1987.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 10th ed. London: Verso, 2000.

Bédarida, Catherine. "L'Irlande exporte sa révolution culturelle en France." *Le Monde* 16 mars 1996: 24.

"The Bellman Meets Dr Hayes or the General Film Censor." *The Bell* 3.2 (Nov 1941): 113.

Bord Scannán na hÉireann. *Review and Annual Report.* Galway: Bord Scannán na hÉireann, 1993.

Boyce, D.G. *Nationalism in Ireland*. 3rd ed. London: Routledge, 1991.

Brown, Terence. "Awakening from the Nightmare: Irish History in Some Recent Literature." *Irishness in a Changing Society.* Ed. The Princess Grace Irish Library. Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1988. 64-77.

"The Censorship of Films Act." *The Acts of the Oireachtas*. Dublin: Stationery Office, 1923. 651-663.

"The Cinematograph Bill." *Bioscope* 8 April 1909: 18-19.

Cohen-Séat, Gilbert. *Essai sur les principes d'une philosophie du cinéma.* Paris : PUF, 1958.

Considère-Charon, Marie-Claire. *Irlande, une singulière européenne*. Paris: Economica, 2002.

The Editor. "Ireland and the Modern World." *The Bell* 5.6 (March 1943): 424.

Epinoux, Estelle. *Le cinéma en Irlande, la genèse difficile d'un cinéma national*. Thèse 3ème cycle. Université de Caen, 1999.

-----. *"*Le renouveau de la politique cinématographique en République d'Irlande*." L'Irlande aujourd'hui: renouveau et tradition/Ireland Today: Change and Tradition.* Ed. Christian Mailhes. Toulouse: Presses de l'Université des sciences sociales de Toulouse, 2003. 359-375.

Fennell, Desmond. "Towards a World Community of Communities." *Across the Frontiers: Ireland in the 1990s*: *Cultural, Political, Economic*. Ed. Richard Kearney. Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1988. 99-116.

Hanquart, Évelyne. *L'hybridité.* Ivry-sur-Seine: Éd. A3, 2001.

Hayward, Katy. *Irish Nationalism and European Integration: The Official Redefinition of the Island of Ireland.* Manchester: Manchester UP, 2009.

Hill, John. "The Future of European Cinema: The Economics and Culture of Pan-European Strategies." *Border Crossing: Film in Ireland, Britain and Europe*. Ed. Paul Hainsworth, John Hill, and Martin McLoone. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies/University of Ulster/British Film Institute, 1994. 53-80.

Hogg, Edward. "Hollywood Grows Up." *The Bell* 10.4 (July 1945): 320.

The Irish Film Industry Committee Report. Dublin: Stationery Office, 1968.

Kearney, Richard. *Navigations: Collected Irish Essays, 1976-2006*. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2006.

-----. *Postnationalist Ireland: Politics, Culture, Philosophy*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997.

Lagny, Michèle. *De l'Histoire du cinéma, méthode historique et histoire du cinéma.* Paris: Armand Colin, 1992.

M.B. "M.D. Higgins, ministre, poète et partisan." *Le Monde* 9 août 1996: 16.

McIlroy, Brian. *Genre and Cinema: Ireland and Transnationalism*. London: Routledge, 2007.

-----. *Irish Cinema: An Illustrated History*. Dublin: Anna Livia Press, 1988.

McIntyre, Steve. "Vanishing Point: Feature Film Production in a Small Country." *Border Crossing: Film in Ireland, Britain and Europe*. Ed. Paul Hainsworth, John Hill, and Martin McLoone. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies/University of Ulster/ British Film Institute, 1994. 88-111.

McLoone, Martin. *Irish Film: The Emergence of a Contemporary Irish Cinema.* London: British Film Institute, 2000.

-----. "National Cinema and Cultural Identity: Ireland and Europe." *Border Crossing: Film in Ireland, Britain and Europe*. Ed. Paul Hainsworth, John Hill, and Martin McLoone. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies/University of Ulster/British Film Institute, 1994. 146-173.

Mulkerns, Helena. "Films Conquer Virgin Territory." *The Irish Times* 2 July 1994: 8.

O'Sullivan, Michael J. *Ireland and the Global Question.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse UP, 2006.

Peten, Soon-Mi, Sojcher, Frédéric, and Yvon Thiec, eds. *Cinéma audiovisuel, nouveaux medias: la convergence – un enjeu européen?* Paris: Harmattan, 2001.

Pettitt, Lance. *Screening Ireland, Film and Television Representation*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000.

Riché, Pascal. "Un film de guerre entre Europe et Amérique." *Libération* 18 octobre 1993: 4.

Rockett, Kevin. "Documentaries." *Cinema and Ireland*. Ed. John Hill, Luke Gibbons, and Kevin Rockett, London: Routledge, 1987. 71-94.

-----. "Culture, Industry and Irish Cinema." *Border Crossing: Film in Ireland, Britain and Europe*. Ed. Paul Hainsworth, John Hill, and Martin McLoone. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies/University of Ulster/British Film Institute, 1994. 126-139.

Tovey, Hilary, and Perry Share. *A Sociology of Ireland.* Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2003.

Young, Robert J.C. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race.* London: Routledge, 1995.

CONNOLLY AND HIS LEGACY

Sophie Ollivier

While the political ideas of Irish socialist leader James Connolly have been studied at length, few scholars, with the notable exceptions of William Anderson and Roger Faligot, have tackled the problems of his complex legacy. With the contention that these problems can be alleviated through a clearer understanding of the thought and action of this significant Irish political theorist, the first part of this paper shall explore the different stages of Connolly's political evolution diachronically by drawing on both his theoretical works and his political activities. From this perspective the central question arises how Connolly accomplished a union between the ideologies of socialism and nationalism. In the second part the various parties and organisations that claim to follow his ideas shall be analysed. In this way the paper will explore how Connolly's ideas have impacted, and continue to impact, the Irish left, and inquire as to whether there are elements in his thought and action that might explain why so many parties claim his legacy. To these ends, the distinction between "memory" and "history," as made by Pierre Nora in *The Sites of Memory*, should be kept in mind. "Memory," which is rooted in the concrete space, is a perception of the past as though it were not past and could be resurrected easily. "History," on the other hand, is the reconstruction of the past that destroys spontaneous memory and transforms it into "memory archives," "memory duty," and "memory distance." Nora further defines "the sites of memory" as belonging to both collective memory and historical memory (Ollivier, "Presence and Absence" 175). As we shall see, this definition may be profitably applied to Connolly's legacy.

James Connolly (1868-1916) was the third son of Irish migrants to Scotland. At the age of fourteen, Connolly enlisted in the 1st Battalion of the King's Liverpool Regiment and encountered the land of his ancestors for the first time when his brigade was sent to Ireland in July 1882. After returning to Scotland in February 1889, Connolly entered socialist politics. This new affiliation with the left was attributable, in part, to the influence of John Leslie, the secretary of the Independent Labour Party (ILP) of James Keir Hardie (Edinburgh section) and author of *The Present Position of the Irish Question* (1894), a Marxist study of Ireland. In May 1896, Connolly moved to Dublin where, with the aid of some fellow socialists, he founded the Irish section of the ILP under the moniker of the Irish Socialist Republican Party (ISRP). From the outset Connolly

was confronted with the seemingly incongruous dual aspects of his political ideology. On the one hand, as a Marxist he believed the proletariat, as a product and condition of the existence of the capitalist regime, to be the only revolutionary class. On the other hand, his political outlook was greatly influenced by the United Irishmen John Mitchell, James Fintan Lalor, and Wolfe Tone. In essays written during this period, such as "Socialism and Nationalism" (*Shan Van Vocht*, January 1897), "Socialism and Irish Nationalism" (*L'Irlande libre*, Paris, 1897), and "Erin's Hope: The End and the Means" (pamphlet, March 1897), Connolly attempted to demonstrate that the two currents "are not antagonistic, but complementary," as the struggle for the liberation of Ireland must be *both* social and national (Preface to *Erin's Hope* 1). Socialism, Connolly maintained, is impossible without nationalism and vice versa: "Nationalism without Socialism – without a reorganisation of society on the basis of a broader and more developed form of that common property which underlay the social structure of Ancient Erin – is only national recreancy" ("Socialism and Nationalism" 4).

In his party manifesto Connolly defined his political objective as the establishment of an Irish Socialist Republic based upon "the public ownership by the Irish people of the land, and the instruments of production, distribution and exchange" ("Irish Socialist Republican Party" 1-2). This programme is expounded in ten points: the nationalisation of railways and canals; the abolition of private banks, and the establishment of state banks; a graduated income tax on all incomes over £400 per annum to provide funds for pensions to the elderly, the infirm, widows, and orphans; legislative restrictions of hours of labour to forty-eight a week, and the establishment of a minimum wage; free maintenance for all children; free education up to university level; universal suffrage; gradual extension of public ownership to "all the necessaries of public life"; public control and management of national schools by boards elected by popular ballot; the establishment of rural depots for agricultural machinery. Although he was to have no electoral success, standing as a candidate for the Wood Quay Ward in Dublin municipal elections in 1902 only to be defeated, Connolly advocated the ballot box toward the establishment of such a Socialist Republic. In this aspect he differentiated himself from the Irish Republican Brotherhood, who advocated military action. "The immense difference between the Socialist Republicans and our friends, the physical force men," Connolly maintained, lay in the question of physical force, which he considered of "very minor importance" ("Physical Force in Irish Politics" 4).

In 1907, Connolly migrated to the United States, joining the Industrial Workers of the World (the infamous "Wobblies," which had been founded in June 1905)

and thus the union movement. He considered this emigration an error and upon his return to Ireland in 1910 joined the Socialist Party, which had been founded by William O'Brien and former members of the ISRP in 1909 and which merged with four Belfast branches of the Independent Labour Party and the Belfast branches of the British Socialist Party to form the Socialist Party of Ireland. The party's manifesto also advocated the use of the polling box, promoting the election of socialist representatives to parliament. As Home Rule appeared imminent, Connolly wished to link the party with the Irish Labour Party in Belfast, and entered into a controversy with party leader William Walker in the columns of the Glasgow newspaper *Forward* from May to July 1911. After the failure of this attempted fusion, mainly owing to Walker's conservative views and his hostility toward Connolly's nationalism, Connolly founded the Irish Labour Party at Easter 1912, which he conceived as the "political weapon of the Irish working class" (Ellis 20). At the Irish Trade Union Congress in Clonmel in May 1912, Connolly declared that the party should support the unions. The party entered into close communion with the Irish Trade Union Congress (ITUC), which in 1913 was renamed the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party (ITUCLP). At this stage of his evolution, Connolly attached primary importance to the conquest of economic power by the workers, writing that "the real battle is being fought out, and will be fought out, on the industrial field" ("The Language Movement").

The explosive events of 1913, including the formation of the Ulster Volunteer Force in January and the initiation of the great Dublin Lock-Out Strike in August, gave Connolly the opportunity to radicalise his position on violence and redefine his relations with the Nationalists. When he became Commander in Chief of the Irish Citizen Army (ICA), created by Larkin in November 1913 as a workers' self-defence force against the police, he had at his disposal "a weapon he could fashion at his own use" (Lyons, 285). Political violence, now possible and tangible, became an integral part of his programme. Hostile to partition, which he viewed as a means of dividing the working class, he was in favour of collaboration with the Irish Volunteers, a military organisation also founded in November 1913. In August 1914, Connolly denounced "the imperialist war." His pacifism and his refusal of conscription brought him close to the minority of the Irish Volunteers who refused to fight among the ranks of the British. He hoped that a local insurrection for national independence could "set the torch to a European conflagration, that will not burn out until the last throne and the last capitalist bond and debenture will be shrivelled in the funeral pyre of the last warlord" ("Our Duty in this Crisis" 238). 1915 marked the moment of an intense preparation of the ICA and of a reflexion on various revolutionary

tactics.[1] His army was small but well-trained, and Connolly became a renowned strategist. After a secret meeting with members of the Military Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, it was decided that the IRB and the ICA would act together towards staging an uprising: the 1916 Easter Rising, in which Connolly would be severely wounded and, ultimately, executed by the British government in Kilmainham Jail on 12 May.

In the final analysis, then, Connolly's ideology was a blend of Marxist Socialism and Nationalism, his means towards establishing a Workers' Republic changing from the ballot box to the use of "physical force." Connolly thus hesitated between dual conceptions of the party. Roger Faligot contends that "he felt a contradiction between trade unionism and the struggle for a national liberation" that he did not know how to overcome (167). Historians are similarly divided on his attitude towards syndicalism after 1914. According to Marxist scholars, such as Greaves and Kolpakov, Connolly abandoned syndical action (Ellis 43), yet others paint a more complex picture of his post-1914 politics. For Ellis, Connolly advocated industrial unionism in *The Re-Conquest of Ireland*, published in December 1915, a few months before his death, in which he argued for considering the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU) as a union that was *both* an industrial and a military force (43). Kieran Allen further argues that "while certain tensions arose in the ITWGU about his role in the ICA, the striking fact is how he managed to operate in two virtually distinct spheres of influence" (138). Historians also disagree as to consequences of Connolly's involvement in the 1916 Easter Rising for a full analysis of his political ideology. For Morgan, it was at this moment that Connolly ceased to be a Socialist. Greaves, however, asserts that for Connolly the struggle for socialism would start after the creation of a free Irish State and that the alliance with the Republican Nationalists was only a temporary one. To Allen's mind, Connolly "liquidated his politics into the general nationalist movement" (159). It is the contention of this paper, however, that, like Patrick Pearse, Connolly went to a "blood sacrifice" (Pearse 91) for the love of Ireland. Without renouncing his socialist ideas, and aware that the Rising was doomed to failure, the revolutionary socialist joined the mystic nationalist and died for the cause of Ireland (Ollivier, "James Connolly" 114). Given these complexities in Connolly's political ideology, however, political activists who claim to be his heirs clearly inherit a difficult legacy.

---

1 Articles on the insurrections of Moscow and Tyrol, as well as on the 1830 and 1848 revolutions in France, were published from May to July 1915 in the *Workers' Republic*.

In the aftermath of his execution by the British in the 1916 Easter Rising, William O'Brien and Cathal O'Shannon revived Connolly's Socialist Party of Ireland (SPI), although their primary concern was the ITUCLP. Their leadership, however, was challenged by the party's left wing, which, in a report sent to the Amsterdam Sub-Bureau of the Third International, claimed that the party was "controlled by men who are Trades Union officials first, anything else second, last (and very least) Socialists" (Anderson 126). In September 1921, Roddy Connolly was elected Party President, and Nora Connolly Party Treasurer. O'Brien and O'Shannon were expelled on the grounds that "they did absolutely nothing to build a strong Socialist Party to direct the Labour movement" (Anderson 127). The SPI was reorganised and renamed the Communist Party of Ireland (CPI), a Comintern-affiliated Party that aimed to establish a Workers' Republic. Its party newspaper conspicuously bore the name of Connolly's paper, *The Workers' Republic*, although "by November 1923, the Party had made so little progress that it could no longer support the Workers' Republic and the paper ceased publication" (Anderson 129). The Comintern ordered that the party be dissolved and join the Irish Workers' League (IWL), created by the well-known militant leader James Larkin upon his return from the United States in 1923. In Anderson's estimation, this action indicated that the CPI was moving away from Connolly, as

> although the CPI claimed descent from the ISRP and the SPI, it is clear from its response to the Comintern that a distinct qualitative change in the spirit of independence had occurred over the years. It is inconceivable that James Connolly would have meekly accepted an order from outside the Party – to dissolve any of the parties with which he had been involved. (129-130)

According to Mike Milotte, a specialist on communism in Ireland, the weakness of the CPI was due to

> the ever-present tension within the party between those who saw the national question as the starting point for all activity and those who sought to concentrate on economic issues [...] neither faction seemed to have grasped James Connolly's point that the two aspects were inseparable. (69)

The Irish Workers' League became the Irish section of the Comintern. However, due to Larkin's chaotic leadership it never acted as a political party and eventually collapsed. In 1926, Roddy and Nora Connolly, along with P.T. Daly, founded the Workers Party of Ireland (WPI). The party declared in the first issue of its journal *Hammer and Plough* that it intended to re-publish Connolly's works and follow their central aim of destroying the capitalist system so that a republic controlled by the workers might be created. The Party was never accepted by the Comintern, however, and had disappeared by the end of 1927.

Jim Larkin Jr., who had studied in Moscow, became chairman of the Revolutionary Workers Groups, founded in 1929, which became the Communist Party of Ireland (CPI) in June 1933. This small party, consisting of only a few hundred members, opposed the Blueshirts and played an active part in the Spanish Civil War. International Brigade veteran Michael O'Riordan's 1979 book *Connolly Column: The Story of the Irishmen Who Fought in the Ranks of the International Brigades in the National-Revolutionary War of the Spanish People, 1936-1939* would later be devoted to the activities of the "Connolly Column" in Spain. The CPI suspended its activities in 1941, while a Communist Party remained in existence in the North. It was re-established in the South in 1948 as the Irish Workers' League and in 1962 as the Irish Workers' Party, which was to merge with the Communist Party of Northern Ireland in 1970 to become the Communist Party of Ireland. The party went into decline at the end of 1980, only to be revived in 1990. It professes to draw its ideology from Connolly, sharing the goals of his 1896 party manifesto of collapsing capitalism and replacing it with a system in which the means of production, distribution, and exchange would be publicly owned. The party is against liberalism and the European Union and has had no electoral success to date. Since 1942, the party has owned the Connolly Books bookshop, which publishes Connolly's works, and is linked with the Connolly Youth Movement.

After the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in December 1921, divisions grew in Connolly's Labour Party between the Treaty's supporters and detractors and between its left and right wings. In Larkin's absence, William O'Brien became the dominant figure in the ITGWU and enjoyed great influence in the Labour Party. After his return from the United States in 1923, Larkin was expelled from the ITGWU. He then formed the Workers' Union of Ireland, which was only accepted in 1945, and returned to the Labour Party in 1944. O'Brien denounced the communist influence in Labour, founded a National Labour party, and withdrew the ITGWU from the Trade Unions Congress. According to Anderson, these splits were damaging for the Labour Party,

> but probably even more damaging was the fact that many, probably most, ITGWU members saw the union as a 'mere wagegetting machine' rather than as an organisation committed to an OBU economic and political strategy. Finally, although the union leadership cannot be accused of lacking intellectual commitment to the OBU, O'Brien, O'Shannon and the other leaders were dedicated to Connolly's teachings and were moreover men of real ability and courage they lacked the revolutionary fire, the wild opportunism which might have allowed their beliefs to be translated into concrete form. (106)

The history of the Labour Party is marked by internal feuds and coalitions with Fine Gael and Democratic Left, such as the *Rainbow Coalition,* from 1994 to

1997. Democratic Left had its origins in a split within the Officials. A faction led by Proinsias De Rossa wanted to move towards the acceptance of free market economics. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, they thought that the communist stance was an obstacle at the polls. Moreover, they wanted to distance themselves from suspected paramilitary action, as the official IRA was suspected to remain armed. In 1999 the Labour Party merged with Democratic Left, and by the 2004 elections it stood as the largest party in Dublin and Galway.

Two other parties bearing Connolly's influence were formed in the 1930s. In 1931 Saor Éire ("Free Ireland") was founded, with the support of the IRA's left wing, with objectives "based on the writings of James Connolly" (Cronin 156). The party, however, was condemned by the Church and soon collapsed. 1934 saw the founding of the Republican Congress. Although its members professed their shared faith in Connolly's teachings, a split occurred at its first Congress in September 1934. Roddy Connolly, Nora Connolly, and Michael Price wanted the Congress "to be a tightly organised Workers' Republican Party" that would fight for a Workers' Republic (Anderson 127). IRA veterans, such as Peadar O'Donnelly and Frank Ryan, believed rather that a United Front could form "a republic." Their disunity led to the collapse of the Republican Congress, which finally ceased to exist in 1936. Thus, it can be seen in the fates of the communist, labour, and nationalist movements that followed Connolly that the tensions between socialism and nationalism that informed his ideology are irreconcilably echoed in those who claim his legacy.

This leads us to the question of whether Connolly's legacy is to be found in Sinn Féin. The name of Sinn Féin, coined by Arthur Griffith in 1905, was incorrectly applied to the 1916 Rising, which was referred to as the 'Sinn Féin Rebellion' despite the fact that the party was not involved. Sinn Féin won the 1918 general elections, and on 21 January 1919 thirty Sinn Féin MPs assembled at Mansion House to proclaim themselves the Parliament of Ireland. The Irish Volunteers, organised by Michael Collins, pledged allegiance to Dáil Éireann and became the IRA that was to take part in the War of Independence. Sinn Féin was split between opponents and supporters of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, and again in 1926 when Éamon de Valera left the party to form Fianna Fáil. Pro-Treaty Sinn Féin changed its name to Cumann na nGaedhael and merged with the national centre party and Blueshirts to form Fine Gael. In the aftermath of World War II, the IRA, recognising the necessity of a political organisation, decided to revive Sinn Féin, which had become marginal. In 1949, it ceased military action in the Republic to concentrate its activities on the North. After the failure of the IRA's 1956-62 "Border Campaign," the party

moved to the left. Cathal Goulding, Séan Garland of the IRA, and Tomás Mac Giolla of Sinn Féin, became associated with the Communist Party of Great Britain's organisation for Irish exiles, called "the Connolly Association." Their objectives were to shift away from the issue of partition, emphasise political and socio-economic questions, and engage Ulster's protestant workers in an anti-imperialist popular front. After the violent response of the state to the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), in addition to the wave of riots and sectarian attacks, the leadership of Sinn Féin and the IRA decided not to follow the traditional nationalist approach. According to Agnès Maillot, their "language of reform was not necessarily incompatible with that of revo-lution," as "the type of revolution that they had in mind was probably one where the class struggle, and not the nation, would be placed centre-stage" (17).

At the IRA Convention in December 1969, and again at the January 1970 Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, the delegates voted to participate in the Parliaments. This caused a split in the IRA, which was soon followed by a split in Sinn Féin be-tween the Officials and the Provisionals. The Official IRA declared an end to offensive action and refocused to build a revolutionary Marxist Party. It associ-ated itself with Official Sinn Féin, renamed Sinn Féin the Workers Party, the name under which the party won its first seats in the Dáil. In the North they were organised under the name of Republican Clubs, which then became the Workers Party Republican Clubs. In 1982 the two sections became The Workers Party of Ireland, a party affiliated with the International Communist and the Workers' Parties that inherited the historic Sinn Féin Headquarters on Gardiner Street. It achieved its best electoral results in West Belfast, where it gained 1.26% of the vote.

On 3 December 1974, a coalition of former Official Republican Movement members, independent socialists, and trade unionists, founded the Irish Revo-lutionary Socialist Party, the name of the party founded by Connolly in 1896, and its paramilitary wing, the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA). Both were founded in reaction to the Officials who had "abandoned" the national struggle. Seamus Costello was the president of the party and the army's first chief, until he was expelled from the Official IRA and Official Sinn Féin after a court mar-tial. In 1977, Costello was murdered by Official IRA member Jimmy Flynn. At his funeral, Jim Daly, one of the leaders of the IRSP, praised Costello for hav-ing understood the interrelations between national struggle and class struggle (Faligot 279). The INLA continued to be a presence, with three of its members dying in the Maze Prison hunger strikes, and the INLA's perpetration of the Droppin Well bombing in December 1982. In the nineties, however, most

members of the IRSP and of the INLA joined Sinn Féin and the IRA. The IRSP was against the Good Friday Agreement and the Peace Process. The INLA is currently on a cease-fire. At its 2000 convention the Party affirmed that it stands in the tradition of Marx, Engels, and Connolly. It advocates class conflict as the motive force in human history and asserts that a Socialist Republic can only be established through the mass revolutionary action of the working class. Its formula, "there is no socialism without national liberation, nor national liberation without socialism," echoes Connolly's exactly.

A third tendency was represented by the creation of People's Democracy (PD) by Michael Farrell and Bernadette Devlin, two Belfast students, in October 1968, during the Civil Rights Movement. PD moved towards Trotskyite positions in 1970 and was recognised by the reunified Fourth International as its Irish section in 1976. PD dissolved in 1996 and reconstituted itself as Socialist Democracy. This small Belfast-based party prioritises the struggle against imperialism over nationalism. For Michael Farrell, Connolly's legacy has been distorted both by the new dominant class that extolled Connolly as a nationalist hero and suppressed his socialism, and by syndical militants who left aside his struggle against imperialism. A real revolutionary party, Farrell maintains, must go beyond those two stances (9).

Under the leadership of Seán Mac Stíofáin and Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, the traditionalists formed the Provisional IRA in December 1969 and its political wing Provisional Sinn Féin in January 1970. The provisional movement advocated abstentionism and armed struggle, insisting on the failure of the Goulding leadership in defending nationalist areas (at the time the acronym IRA was read as "I ran away"). Gerry Adams, who comes from a strongly nationalist family, joined Sinn Féin at Fianna Éireann in 1964 at the age of sixteen, after the Divis Street riots during the general election campaign. Adams supported the civil rights campaign as it developed in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s and joined the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association in 1967. In 1970, he aligned himself with the Provisional wing and, in 1978, became the party vice-president, under president Ruairí Ó Brádaigh. In 1983, Adams became president of Sinn Féin.

The 1980-81 hunger strikes were a turning point for Sinn Féin. In late 1975, the British Labour government withdrew "the special category status that republican and loyalist prisoners had been granted in 1972" (Maillot 20), which had stipulated that they need not wear uniforms or do prison work, and by doing so assimilated them into criminals. The nationalist prisoners refused to conform to the new rules. They organised blanket, dirt and hunger strikes. In Bobby Sands the Republican movement had a near-mythical figure who le-

gitimated its ideas. The election of Sands and Kieran Doherty to the British House of Commons and Dáil Éireann further legitimated the struggle of the Republican movement. On 5 November 1981, director of publicity Danny Morrison announced that the Provisionals were going to employ a double strategy, with "a ballot box in one hand and an armalite in another one" (*An Phoblacht/Republican News*). From that point, the movement no longer focused on national independence but on a political agenda.

The change was made gradually. At the 1986 Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, the party's constitution was amended to drop the abstentionist tactic in the Republic, a change the IRA Convention condoned. Sinn Féin was abstentionist because Republicans claimed that the only legitimate Irish State was the Irish Republic declared in the Proclamation of the Republic of 1916, and, as such, the legitimate government was the IRA Army Council, which had been vested with the authority of that Republic in 1938 by the anti-Treaty deputies of the Second Dáil. Sinn Féin won seats but abstained from taking them.

The politics of the ballot box, with electoral performances from 1982 to 1992, led to the 1994 IRA ceasefire. This ceasefire enabled negotiations between Sinn Féin and John Hume's Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), which led to the famous 1998 Good Friday Agreement between the Ulster Unionist Party, the SDLP, Sinn Féin and representatives of loyalist paramilitary organisations, under which a Northern Legislative Assembly was created. Sinn Féin became an organised political party both in the Northern Ireland Assembly and in the Dáil, where a Sinn Féin candidate was elected in May 1997 for the first time in forty years. During the 2002 general election, Sinn Féin obtained 6.5% of the national vote, and five of its candidates were elected. These results were achieved while competing with Fianna Fáil for the republican vote, and with the Labour Party for the socialist vote (Maillot 100). The "armalite" strategy was abandoned before the legislative elections in Northern Ireland (the first day was on 5 May). On 6 April 2005, Gerry Adams asked the IRA to take the historic decision to stop the armed struggle. On 8 April 2007, the British Army withdrew from Northern Ireland after a thirty-eight-year presence.

On 1 May 2007, Sinn Féin leaders Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness, and Mary Lou McDonald, marked the dual anniversaries of the death of the hunger striker and IRA Volunteer Francis Hughes and of the execution of James Connolly. At the event, which took place at Connolly's monument opposite Liberty Hall in Dublin, Gerry Adams declared:

> Today we gather to remember two brave Irishmen who contributed so much to this country – James Connolly and Francis Hughes. Although they died 65 years apart, they were united in their support for Irish freedom and justice. IRA

Volunteer FH died on this day 26 years ago after 39 days on Hunger Strike in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh.

Ninety-one years ago James Connolly left Belfast on Good Friday 1916 to travel to Dublin where he was in command of the GPO during Easter Week and was severely wounded. He was arrested and court-martialled following the surrender. At dawn on 12 May, Connolly was taken by ambulance from Dublin Castle to Kilmainham Jail, carried on a stretcher into the prison yard, strapped into a chair, and executed by firing squad. ("Sinn Féin leaders")

In his speech Adams is arguing for understanding the IRA's fight for a united Ireland, as well as the hunger strikes leading to the death of some of their members, as the continuation of Connolly's fight during the 1916 Rising. Adam's political progress, however, is the reverse of Connolly's, as Adams repudiated violence to engage in constitutional politics, whereas Connolly abandoned the ballot box he advocated in the 1890s and turned to armed action. Adams, moreover, has been cautious not to stress Connolly's socialist ideology. In a 1979 interview with the magazine *Hibernian*, Adams declared that Sinn Féin was not a Marxist party (Maillot 103), arguing rather that class struggle is revisionism, and as such he had never advocated public ownership of the means of production, exchange, and distribution. In this aspect, Adams differentiates himself from the Communist Party, the Trotskyite parties (the Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party), and from his main rival, the Labour Party, which he accuses of not defending the rights of the workers. On 10 December 1986 he said, "I don't think that socialism is on the agenda at this stage except for political activists of the left. What's on the agenda at this stage is an end to partition. You won't get near socialism until you have national independence. It's a prerequisite" (qtd. in Maillot 104).

Connolly's formula was different in so far as he viewed socialism and nationalism as "complementary." In the 2002 Sinn Féin manifesto, Adams declared that the economic growth of the country had worsened inequality and injustice, and, at the 2003 Ard Fheis, that "equality is the most important word in the Republican vocabulary" (Maillot 101). In 2007 Adams argued that

Connolly's core values and principles are what guides Sinn Féin today. Like Connolly, we believe that the measure of any society is how it treats its most vulnerable citizens. Irish society, North and South fails this test miserably [...]. Like Connolly, equality remains Sinn Féin's watchword. This means ensuring that all citizens have equality of opportunity and access to healthcare, education, housing and employment [...]. Connolly believed that a united, independent Ireland based on equality for all could set an example and be 'a beacon' to the rest of the world. That remains Sinn Féin's vision. ("Sinn Féin leaders")

Adams also advocates the defence of multiculturalism, such as the rights of asylum seekers and migrant workers, as the legacy of Connolly's ideas.

As we have seen, Connolly's legacy has been manipulated and divided into small pieces. Each party puts an emphasis on one or two elements of his ideology; the struggle against imperialism, the building of a system based on public ownership of the means of distribution, production, and exchange, class struggle, equality, independence. As to the means, which are never clearly defined, they vary from revolutionary violence to the ballot box strategy. Collective memory is common to all the parties mentioned above, yet historical memory varies, as each party wishes to build its own identity, reconstructing Connolly's writings at its own will and for its own purpose. By so doing, each party stresses the distance between its own ideology and Connolly's.

Works Cited

Allen, Kieran. *The Politics of James Connolly*. London: Pluto Press, 1990.

Anderson, William. *James Connolly and the Irish Left*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994.

Connolly, James. "James Connolly Internet Archive."
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/connolly/index.htm> (22 Feb 2011).

-----. "Erin's Hope." 1897.
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/connolly/1897/erin/hope.htm> (22 Feb 2011).

-----. "The Irish Socialist Republican Party." 1896.
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/connolly/1896/xx/isrp.htm> (22 Feb 2011).

-----. "The Language Movement." 1898.
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/connolly/1898/10/language.htm> (22 Feb 2011).

-----. "Our Duty in This Crisis." 1914.
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/connolly/1914/08/dtycrsis.htm> (22 Feb 2011).

-----. "Physical Force in Irish Politics." 1899.
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/connolly/18<99/07/physforc.htm> (22 Feb 2011).

-----. "Socialism and Irish Nationalism." 1897.
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/connolly/1897/xx/scirenat.htm> (22 Feb 2011).

-----. "Socialism and Nationalism." 1897.
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/connolly/1897/01/socnat.htm> (22 Feb 2011).

Cronin, Séan. *Frank Ryan: The Search for the Republic*. Dublin: Repsol, 1980.

Ellis, Peter Berresford. "Introduction." *Selected Writings* by James Connolly. Ed. Peter Berresford Ellis. London: Pluto Press, 1997. 7-53.

Faligot, Roger. *James Connolly et le mouvement révolutionnaire irlandais.* Rennes: Terre de Brume, 1997.

Farrell, Michael. *Connolly, Revolutionary Socialist.* Belfast: People's Democracy, 1973.

Greaves, C. Desmond. *The Life and Times of James Connolly*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1972.

Lyons, F.S.L. *Ireland After the Famine*. London: Fontana Press, 1985.

Maillot, Agnès. *The New Sinn Féin: Irish Republicanism in the Twenty-First Century.* London: Routledge, 2005.

Milotte, Mike. *Communism in Modern Ireland: The Pursuit of the Workers' Republic Since 1916.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1984.

Morgan, Austin. *James Connolly: A Political Biography*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.

Morrison, Danny. *An Phoblacht/Republican News* 5 Nov 1981.

Nora, Pierre. "Entre Mémoire et Histoire." *Les lieux de mémoire.* Paris: Gallimard, 1984. Vol. 1: xv-xlii.

Ollivier, Sophie. "Presence and Absence of Wolfe Tone During the Centenary Commemoration of the 1798 Rebellion." *Rebellion and Remembrance in Modern Ireland*. Ed. Laurence M. Geary. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001. 175-184.

-----. "James Connolly: entre nationalisme et socialisme." *Études Irlandaises* 33.1 (Printemps 2008): 99-114.

O'Riordan, Mike. *Connolly Column: The Story of the Irishmen Who Fought in the Ranks of the International Brigades in the National-Revolutionary War of the Spanish People, 1936-1939.* Dublin: New Books, 1979.

Pearse, Patrick. *Political Writings and Speeches*. Dublin: Maunsel and Roberts, 1922.

"Sinn Féin leaders mark anniversaries of James Connolly and Francis Hughes." Sinn Féin General Election Website. 12 May 2007.
    <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/victims/docs/political_parties/sf/adams_120507.pdf>   (22 Feb 2011).

NEW HORIZONS FOR THE BORDER AREAS:
FROM GOOD INTENTIONS TO GOOD PRACTICE IN CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION

Marie-Claire Considère-Charon

Introduction

This paper will examine the significance and progress of cross-border cooperation and development in Ireland in the decade after the Good Friday Agreement.[1] Signed on 10 April 1998 and brought into force on 2 December 1999, the Agreement (also known as the Belfast Agreement) has commonly been hailed as the crowning achievement of the reconciliation process. Whatever its flaws and shortcomings, it has certainly opened up new opportunities for, and confirmed a new logic of, peace-building and reconciliation in the region. Prior to this landmark agreement, Irish cross-border cooperation had been gradually emerging in the wake of the first provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) ceasefire in 1994. This increased cooperation, it was hoped, would establish a new ethos of trust, reconciliation, and solidarity between and within estranged and fractured communities. Over the decade or so since the establishment of the devolved Northern Ireland Assembly, such cross-border cooperation increasingly has become the concern of many disciplines, including political science, economics, education, sociology, anthropology, and history. Geographical concerns have also played a major role in the process, and as such a spatial approach can be enlightening when tackling cross-border issues. In addition, understanding the current status of border communities will be significantly enhanced by an overview of the historical background of the border areas prior to the ceasefire. Analysing these diverse factors, this paper shall assess the degree of progress achieved in cross-border cooperation in Ireland, as well as the new perspectives reached in the border areas. The central question in this regard remains whether the good intentions that guided the reconciliation policies at the top level have led to good practice at the ground level between and within fractured communities. To these ends, the case of the Blackwater partnership shall be analysed as an example of good practice

---

1   The EU defines cross-border cooperation as neighbourly cooperation in all areas of life between regional areas straddling borders, therefore involving two types of administration and local or regional bodies, which, in the case of Ireland, entails both British and Irish authorities.

that may serve as a guiding model for other cross-border areas in Ireland and Europe.

The Border Areas North and South

The Irish Border, the only land frontier in either the Republic of Ireland or the United Kingdom, runs for a total of 360 kilometres (224 miles) from Lough Foyle in the north to Carlingford Lough in the east. Overall, this border area accounts for 15% of the population of the island, incorporating the district council areas of Derry, Strabane, Omagh, and Fermanagh in Northern Ireland and the counties of Cavan, Monaghan, Donegal, Louth, Leitrim, and Sligo in the south. The 1921 division of Ireland into two distinct political units on the basis of a sectarian rationale, separating the predominantly Protestant population of the six Ulster counties from the predominantly Catholic population of the rest of Ireland, had been considered the only means to containing and reducing conflict.[2] The partition, however, has institutionalised division and further fractured the communities adjacent to the border, as the two populations, as well as Catholic and Protestant communities within both populations, have been alienated from one another by a thirty years' conflict.[3] In the early 1970s, a substantial number of watchtowers, bases, and checkpoints were installed all along the northern side of the border, their presence contributing to a climate of tension, unease and fear among the border communities. Indeed, during the Troubles the Irish border was the most militarised area of Europe, west of the Iron Curtain (Harvey et al. 60), and isolation and peripherality have defined the situation of the border areas over these years of conflict.

In the decades since, little contact has existed between neighbouring villages and communities, owing in part to the increasing number of blocked and bombed roads. The psychological impact of partition on the border people has led to what Anke Strüver has termed "borderscaping" (12), referring to the way people construct psychological borders in a self-centred approach to their territory, which signifies an inability to see beyond the border. The concept of "peripherality" can also help to explain the marginalisation of the territories strad-

---

2   According to Kevin Rankin, partitions are set up "to contain and resolve conflict by separating hostile ethnic groups and meeting national demands by endowing them with a state structure" (5).

3   However, partition alone does not achieve homogenisation. Post-partition India and Pakistan are still heterogeneous and the border areas in Ireland contain significant minorities that have become increasingly frustrated with the dominance of one group over the other.

dling the border. As the centres of power and decision-making, London and, to a lesser degree, Belfast developed the region down to the borderline, while Dublin developed the region up to the same line from south. With most of the high-level economic activities and innovations located in these capitals, the border areas had poor accessibility to resources and sources of investment. Furthermore, economic experiences differed greatly north and south of the border, and the two contiguous regions have drifted apart over the years. As a result, the border has generated what is referred to as a "back to back" evolution and development, with no common perspective. Consequently, deprivation indices, such as levels of unemployment (particularly youth unemployment), poor educational qualifications, skills shortages, and the dependency rate, have been particularly high in the border areas. Other such problems include dependence on agriculture, poor transport infrastructure, and over-reliance on European funds.[4] As a result, the border areas have been locked into patterns of low productivity, low efficiency, and low entrepreneurial activity during the thirty years' conflict.

From Borderscaping to a Cross-Border Vision

Cross-border cooperation is a relatively recent trend in Ireland, the idea gradually appearing in the wake of the first provisional IRA ceasefire in 1994, tentatively with the Temporary Cessation of Hostilities of April 6, and more substantially in the aftermath of the ostensibly permanent ceasefire of August 31. The purpose of cross-border cooperation, which was part of the general discourse concerning conflict resolution and peace-building, was "to reverse the trend and see different, even opposite cultures interact with one another in a positive way" (Maher & Basanth 15). In the aftermath of the Good Friday Agreement, which established the North-South Ministerial Council and North-South Implementation Bodies to effectuate cross-border cooperation in policy and programmes on a variety of issues, the objective was to increase contact between communities in order to restore the border space on both social and economic grounds. To these ends the processes of reconciliation and reconstruction, equally important for the regeneration of the border areas, are intrin-

---

4   The problems of the border areas in Ireland are similar to those of the Mezzogiorno region in southern Italy, which, in contrast with the northern Italian regions, is confronted with the consequences of underdevelopment.

sically linked.[5] The first steps in these dual processes were to restore the visibility and attractiveness of the border areas, before building up contact on both cross-border and cross-community bases. This could be achieved only if the barriers of mutual ignorance and incomprehension between the two economic spheres were reduced or, ideally, removed. To strengthen links between the two administrations and labour markets a new dynamism had to be infused through innovations, the hope being that such joint initiatives would eventually lead to economic and social cohesion.

There have been a number of actors in the development of cross-border cooperation at European, intergovernmental, and local levels. The EU, for example, has been a major driver in the process of internationalising the problems of the border areas. Since the beginning of the integration project, cross-border issues have ranked high on Europe's policy agenda, with EU-funded programmes injecting substantial funding into the border areas. The INTERREG Community Initiative, which was adopted in 1990, was intended to prepare border areas for a community without internal frontiers. INTERREG III specifically concerns cross-border cooperation between adjacent regions and aims to develop better relations through common development strategies. The *EU Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation*, or *Peace I*, followed by *Peace II*, was launched in 1995 to focus on issues relevant to the healing of communal divisions and to position cross-border cooperation in Ireland to the fore. One of its measures, "Promoting Pathways to Reconciliation," focused directly on community relations projects. The *Special European Union Programmes Body* (SEUPB), which will lead to *Peace III*, is intended to manage and oversee various EU cross-border programmes, with support in Ireland from the National Development Plan for Ireland and the Northern Ireland Structural Funds Plan.

At intergovernmental level the *North/South Ministerial Council* was created within Strand II of the Good Friday Agreement. The Council brings together Ministers of the Northern Ireland Executive and the Irish Government on matters of mutual interest, on both all-island and cross-border bases. The areas of cooperation for the implementation of cross-border policies were identified as Agriculture, Health Policy and Research, Rural Development, Education and

---

5   As one member of the Cavan group said, "The whole process of reconciliation can only succeed if socio-economic reconstruction and development forms part of the building of a constructive civil society." Cavan Family Resource Centre Group, interview quoted in Maher & Basanth (106).

Social Issues, Environment, Tourism and Transport.[6] In the economic sphere, the IBEC/CBI Joint Business Council, a partnership between the *Confederation of British Industry* in Northern Ireland and the *Irish Business and Employers Confederation* in the Republic, has endeavoured to improve trade and business links in the cross-border areas. In 2000 the Council was given new momentum with a special focus on helping small and medium companies develop business linkages in an improved business environment and infrastructure.

Progress has also been made through a number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), which either have been set up or given a new momentum over the last decade. Examples include the *Border Minority Group* (BMG), the *Centre for Cross-Border Studies*, and *Cooperation Ireland* (formerly *Cooperation North*).[7] A cross-border consortium has also been established, made up of *Cooperation Ireland* (CI), *Community Foundation for Northern Ireland* (CFNI), the *Area Development Management*, and *Combat Poverty Agency*, an intermediary body responsible for administering funds under the EU Special Programme for Peace and Reconciliation. The common function of these organisations is to encourage, support, and promote, community initiatives.

The Network Culture

Three tiers of cross-border cooperation have been identified; namely the intergovernmental, the local/regional, and the grassroots (or community) levels. In 1995, the Irish Central Border Area Network (ICBAN) was established so that local authorities on both sides of the border could develop cross-border cooperation networks. By providing the basis for contact and cooperation between the representatives of all counties directly situated along both sides of the border,[8] ICBAN allows for a wide range of cross-border projects to be estab-

---

6   Under the Good Friday Agreement six North/South bodies were created, which operate on an all-island basis and are responsible to the North-South Ministerial Council, the *Oireachtas* and the Northern Ireland Assembly.

7   The BMG was formed in 2001 to facilitate community and cultural development within the Protestant minority community in Cavan, Leitrim, and Monaghan and to work for human rights and equality. The *Centre for Cross Border Studies*, based in Armagh, was set up in 1999 to research and develop co-operation across the Irish border in education, health, business, public administration, communications, and a range of other practical areas. *Cooperation Ireland* promotes people-to-people cooperation in areas such as business, education, the arts, and sport.

8   i.e. Armagh City & District Council, Cavan County Council, Donegal County Council, Dungannon District Council, Fermanagh District Council, Leitrim County Council, Monaghan County Council, Omagh County Council, and Sligo County Council.

lished, involving voluntary participants such as community activists and peace-builders. As a result of these mid-level initiatives a network culture has emerged over the last decade, bringing with it an extraordinary growth in cross-border exchanges between societies, parishes, schools, youth groups, entrepreneurs, teachers, and citizens. In practical terms, the creation of such networks simply entailed creating environments in which people could meet and talk to one another who otherwise would not have done so. For successful cross-border cooperation to occur, however, it is also necessary to create an environment for real interaction and communication between the intergovern-mental, local, and grassroots levels, as well as good relations between citizens and the policy-makers and authorities involved.

Towards an Evaluation Process

The crucial issue remains whether the principles that have governed the new policies at top and intermediate levels have led to genuine cross-border devel-opment at the grassroots level, with communities actually reaching out to each other and founding common projects. The first obstacle has been the lack of a central harmonising force. In the absence of such an agency, there has been extraordinary development of small-scale cross-border projects, which has posed a number of problems in terms of monitoring, decision-making, day-to-day project management, funding, and sustainability. The proliferation of so many small projects and initiatives has produced a very complex and patchy landscape, and this erratic development has generated duplications as well as gaps.

Another major problem has been how best to monitor and administer the dis-tribution of funding. Initially substantial focus was placed on administration, with small-scale projects requiring a large number of staff to be administered and monitored, which siphoned off much necessary funding. The project man-agers used to apply directly to the EU for funding as it was then commonly agreed that the local councils did not understand the needs and aspirations of the communities and were more concerned with structural issues. EU funding was, however, granted for a specific time period, resulting in the problem that dividends, especially in the case of innovations, could be lost as soon as the funding stopped.

Cross-border work has also been hindered by social, ideological, and cultural attitudes associated with the legacy of the conflict. The political background at

the top level has been largely unfavourable to the building of trust and confidence in opposing communities. The suspension of the institutions, the ambiguities of the Good Friday Agreement, and the delays in its implementation have also created major hurdles. Surveys have provided evidence of increasing suspicion and fear towards other communities since 2000. Instead of being enhanced, the idea of reconciliation therefore tended to decline. According to Avila Kilmurray, Director of the *Community Foundation for Northern Ireland,* the major difficulty that border people have faced is "seeing the other's point of view as valid,"[9] demonstrating the degree to which the mental border still contributes towards a reluctance to establish links with the other side. For Unionists cooperation can mean a united Ireland "by the back door," while for staunch Nationalists there is a sense of having been betrayed.

However, the restoration of the institutions with the return of the devolved government on 8 May 2007 has given a boost to cross-border cooperation. On 6 December of the same year Minister for Foreign Affairs Dermot Ahern, First Minister Ian Paisley, and Deputy First Minister Martin McGuinness launched a new website for those wishing to move across the border to live, work, or study ("Border Ireland"). Financial distribution has also been refocused so that EU funds will be delivered to local governments for redistribution, which means that project managers will have a lot less control and will have to apply through the local councils.

How Might Better Practice in Cross-Border Cooperation Be Achieved?

Project officers have realised that cross-border cooperation will require greater planning, more focused management and funding schemes, and realistic expectations. The major concern is to reduce the number of small-scale projects and to administer the funding through existing administration. In this model projects need to be more modest in scale, yet cater to larger communities.

What is needed, according to Fr. Sean Nolan from the Blackwater Regional Partnership, "is to move away from the language of peace, which can become obsessive, off-putting and counterproductive."[10] Fr. Nolan contends that activi-

---

9   Quoted in Logue (64). Avila Kilmurray, who helped found the *Northern Ireland Women's Coalition*, took part in the negotiation talks that led to the Good Friday Agreement.

10   Interview with Fr. Sean Nolan, the primary architect of the cross-border project Truagh Development Association, 17 July 2007.

ties should be more informal, related to people's needs and concerns and not framed in a complicated and elaborate programme. He asserts that

> the types of programmes that the government agencies come up with are valid, but they do not get down to the people because they are too intellectual. The ordinary people don't want that. What is needed is to engage with ordinary people in ordinary ways.

According to Fr. Nolan the biggest challenges are:

> How you can reach out to the ordinary people across the cultural, social political or religious divide. What opportunities does the community want to pursue and to avoid? Where does the community want to be in ten years? Also how does the environment fit into the equation?

Clearly, cross-border programmes require a thorough understanding of the community's objectives and needs. Owing to the broad variety of programmes it is now commonly agreed that an evaluation should be undertaken to differentiate successful programmes from unsuccessful ones to avoid squandering funding on programmes that do not deliver. Additionally, more regular funding is required for the programmes that have delivered.

The Blackwater Area Regional Partnership: An Example of Good Practice

There have been a number of examples of good practice in cross-border development, including the Blackwater Regional Partnership. This partnership can be rated as a 'work in progress' which has already delivered, the best performance indicator being the range of contacts created between people who previously would not have met or interacted.

The Blackwater valley is a micro-region located on the border at the main intersection of the North/South (Letterkenny-Dublin) axis and East/West (Belfast-Sligo) axis and covering regions of County Monaghan in the Republic and of the three northern counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone, and Armagh. The area was confronted with challenges generated by inter-community alienation resulting from road closures during the Northern Ireland conflict and by the many traumatic experiences undergone by its inhabitants. In spite of a high level of heritage, the area had a very poor national image, which reflected on a dramatically low level of self-confidence among the population.

In 2000, the Blackwater Catchment Scheme,[11] a co-operative of three local authorities (Armagh City and District Council, Dungannon and South Tyrone Borough, and Monaghan County Council), was established under INTERREG II with a focus on the Blackwater River and the communities served by the catchment. This scheme was intended to act as a development agency through partnership with the Local Authorities, the voluntary sector, and the private sector. The primary aim was to address the negative effect of the border on the area and to reverse this trend by developing heritage tourism on a cross-border basis, thus contributing to the economic regeneration of the area. There has also been a commitment from councillors, officials, and voluntary sectors to increase contacts between the border communities and to maximise opportunities for economic and social interaction.[12]

The impact of the project has been evident, with the scheme generating a new perception of the environment and establishing a dialogue between people from different denominations and backgrounds. Through a network of approximately twenty-five people, the project has managed to break through into the communities and involve an ever-increasing number of people. The crowning achievement has been the Blackwater Valley Learning, Cultural, ICT & Peace Centre, built in 2005. The centre incorporates a crèche, a pre-school, a primary school, and the lifelong learning centre, which provides a forum for debate and dialogue for the inhabitants of the area, the local and county representatives, and for people from business and economic circles. The Truagh development partnership in County Monaghan has been particularly proactive in making the lifelong learning centre a focus of interest through community learning adult education. The Centre's purpose, under the management of the Northern Ireland organisation Workers Education Authority (WEA), is to give people the tools and techniques necessary for cross-community and cross-border reconciliation.

---

11   The Blackwater Catchment incorporates the Blackwater River and its tributaries. The project officers have used the Ravella Bridge over the Blackwater River as a symbol of the link between the area of Aughnacloy in South Tyrone and Truagh in North Monaghan.

12   The areas of development and cooperation have been identified as the environment and common heritage, tourism, trade and business, education and skills. Besides the enhancement of the environment, the series of activities include seminars and talks on the history and literature of the area, community leadership, and website construction.

Conclusion

The aim of cross-border cooperation over the last decade has been to reverse the history of mistrust and to counteract communication gaps between the two regions. The deepening of North-South links has been successful in making these two regions less peripheral and less isolated from each other. The Good Friday Agreement and the new structures implemented under Strand II created an impetus for people to feel concerned and involved. There is now a real appreciation of the climate for peace and a sign of change with people increasing their contacts along the border corridor. The continued growth of the southern economy over the given period also led the two economies to bear a greater degree of social and economic resemblance. According to Fr. Nolan, who received the Hall of Fame Award in November 2007:

> Today we are seeing the beginning of the resolution of a conflicting situation which lasted for 400 years, starting back to the flight of the Earls in 1607 and the plantation in 1609. The thirty years' conflict was just a very sharp conflict but one in a series of conflicts.[13]

There is also a growing awareness that an island-wide agenda cannot develop with an inward-looking Ireland, but rather requires a successful integration into the global world. As such, the European commission has decided to pay extra attention to cross-border integration over the period 2007-2013, considering border areas as laboratories in which to test the ideal of a "Europe without frontiers." The Blackwater partnership, which has been highlighted as an exemplary model for the Cyprus border area, is a perfect illustration of the slogan: "Think local act global!" However, despite substantial progress, the persistence of parochialism and the resistance to cross-border initiatives at the grassroots level can still be identified as major obstacles to cross-border development.

Works Cited

"Border Ireland." 2007. Centre for Cross Border Studies.
    <http://www.borderireland.info/index.php> (15 Oct 2007).

Harvey, Brian, et al. *The Emerald Curtain*. Carrickmacross: Triskele Community Training and Development, 2005.

Logue, Paddy, ed. *The Border: Personal Reflections from Ireland North and South*. Dublin: Oak Tree Press, 1999.

---

13   Interview with Fr. Sean Nolan, 2 November 2007.

Maher, Helen, and Basanth Yuri. *Good Practice in Community-Based Peacebuilding*. Monaghan: ADM/CPA, 2006.

Rankin, K.J. "Theoretical Concepts of Partition and the Partitioning of Ireland, Mapping Frontiers, Plotting Pathways." *Working Papers in British-Irish Studies* No. 67 / *MFPP Working Paper* No. 17. Dublin: Institute for British-Irish Studies, University College Dublin, 2006.

Strüver, Anke. *Stories of the Boring Border: The Dutch-German Borderscape in People's Minds.* Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2007.

THREE POEMS

BY RITA ANN HIGGINS

ASK THE CONCIERGE

The demented walk tricky step here
jittery footfall, fractious jibe.
They bicker in the 'everything for a dollar shop'
later when the energy is spent
they sit with their own selves
their underweight psyche.

One begs outside a shop called 'Seduction'
underwear to raise the Titanic.
Healthy looking mannequins with brazen breasts
balefulls of Canadian promise.
They come hither you
but you never come hither them.
Their chilling look deceptive,
their cherry lips,
kiss me kiss me,
but only in your dreams, loser.

Further down the street of the black squirrel,
a shop owner boasts about the underground.
You should see our underground
safest in the world,
no one ever gets plugged here.
In a doorway above Hades,
a policeman tells a man with no legs,
my name is zero tolerance
have you a licence for that rig?
My name is zero tolerance,
where is your mud guard?

The concierges have the real power here;
they take one look at your baggage,
one look at you, haversacks disgust them,
owners and trainers of haversacks
disgust them more.

Cross them and you will never see
one drop of Niagara fall.

They wide step and side eye you,
in their loose suits, hair oil up their sleeves,
their feet are made of sponge.
They deal in looks and eyebrow raising
The Concierge code,
uncrackable to the luggage losers.

Back down on the high street
I ask the man outside 'Seduction'
if I can take his picture.
Don't ask me,
I have no picture to give or take,
what you see is what you get,
you see nothing you get less.

What the concierge seeks he finds
he pirouettes, he plucks, he spins he flies
where the concierge lives, the beggar dies.

HE KNOWS NO ARTICHOKES

She didn't mind his toxic tan
or his weasel taste in toothpaste.
What she did mind was
the way he'd Cheshire cat
the woman from the council
and the way vice versa
would Cheshire cat him.

It was on the tip of her tongue
to tell vice versa
that he was poison on the inside
and not to be fooled by his silk sheet face
or them hammer your knickers to the ground eyes.

And furthermore when he tells you
he likes the Jerusalem artichokes
forget it, the liary yoke knows no artichokes.
She has a good mind to tell vice versa
about his guacamole hole
only she'd probably pity him.
He had a way of making the females pity him
a toxic tan way of touching the pity spot.

If they really knew,
his favourite food was
dried pigs blood with a thistle on top
and if he's not having a collision with a fry up
he's traumatized.

Jerusalem artichokes my crack,
don't be fooled
by his silk sheet face, she'd say
he's rotting from the inside out
I know it and the street knows it
the council should know it too.

THE IMMORTALS

The boy racers
quicken on the Spiddal road
in Barbie Pink souped-ups
or roulette red Honda Civics.
With few fault lines or face lifts to rev up about
only an unwritten come hither of thrills
with screeching propositions and no full stops –
if you are willing to ride the ride.

Hop you in filly in my passion wagon.
Loud music and cigarette butts are shafted into space.
We'll speed hump it all the way baby
look at me, look at me
I'm young, I'm immortal, I'm free.

Gemmas and Emmas
stick insects or supermodels
regulars at 'Be a Diva'
for the perfect nails
eyebrows to slice bread with
and landing strips to match.

They wear short lives
they dream of never-slowing down-pours
while half syllable after half syllable
jerks from their peak capped idols lips.
Their skinny lovers melt into seats
made for bigger men
Look at me, look at me
I'm young, I'm immortal, I'm free.
The boy racers never grow older or fatter.

On headstones made from Italian marble
they become 'our loving son Keith'
'our beloved son Jonathan,' etcetera etcetera.
On the Spiddal road
itching to pass out the light
they become Zeus, Eros, Vulcan, Somnus.

Notes on Contributors

Marie-Claire Considère-Charon is Professor Emeritus at the University of Franche-Comté and part-time lecturer at the National School of Administration, Strasbourg (ENA), and at the Institute of International and Strategic Relations in Paris (IRIS).The subject of her doctoral thesis (1992) was the history of the Southern Irish Protestants. But she has not confined her research to religious and sociological issues. She has also published profusely on the Irish economy and Irish-European relations. Her book *Irlande une singulière integration européenne* was published in 2002. In 2008, she also co-edited a book entitled *The Irish Celebrating*.

Dr. **Estelle Epinoux** lectures in the English Department of the University of Limoges (France), where she teaches contemporary Irish history as well as British and Irish cinema. She is working on the images of contemporary Irish society in Irish films as well as on film production. She has published several articles on Irish cinema and is co-author, with I. LeCorff, of *Cinemas of Ireland* (2009) and, with J.P. Garcia and K. Gerke, of *Cinémas irlandais* (1996). She is also represented in collections of essays such as *L'Irlande aujourd'hui: renouveau et traditions* (2003) and *Inclusion/exclusion* (2002).

Dr. **José Manuel Estévez-Saá**, Ph.D. (English), LL.M.Eur. (Law), M.Phil. (Politics & Sociology), is Associate Professor at the University of A Coruña and the *Amergin University Institute of Research in Irish Studies*. He has enjoyed previous teaching positions at the University of Santiago de Compostela and at the University of Seville, where he also acted as Vice-Dean until January 2008. His main fields of research are Contemporary Literature and Irish Studies, Literary Anthropology (The Irish Famine), and Cultural Studies, in which he has published several books such as Cultura de Supervivencia vs. Cultura de Progreso (2002), Oscar Wilde: el alma del hombre bajo el socialismo y notas periodísticas (2002), Popular Culture and Popular Literature: Expressions and Approaches in Irish, Anglo-American and Other (Con) Texts (2005), Joyceana: Literaria Hibernica (2005, with E. Jaime de Pablos), Mujeres: espacio y poder (2006), Escritoras y pensadoras anglosajonas (2008), JoyceSbylia (2011, with J.M. Tejedor and María Losada). He has published several articles and book chapters on writers such as James Joyce, Samuel Beckett, Edna O'Brien, W.B. Yeats, Sean O'Reilly, Joseph O'Connor, Dermot Bolger, and William Trevor. Currently he is Vice-President of the Spanish Society of Literary Studies and Popular Culture (*SELICUP*), columnist in various Spanish media, managing editor of the scholarly journal *Garoza*, and a member of the Spanish James Joyce Society.

José Francisco Fernández is Senior Lecturer in English Literature at the University of Almería, Spain. He has edited two books on the short story in English and is co-editor of *Irish Landscapes* (2003). His publications include the volume *Contemporary*

Debates on the Short Story (2007). His most recent work focuses on the narrative prose of Samuel Beckett and Beckett's reception in Spain, including "A Long Time Coming: The Critical Response to Samuel Beckett in Spain and Portugal" in *The International Reception of Samuel Beckett* (2009). He is review editor of *Estudios Irlandeses*, the e-journal of the Spanish Association for Irish Studies (*AEDEI*).

Rita Ann Higgins published her first five collections of poetry with Salmon Publishing. Bloodaxe Books published her next three, including *Throw in the Vowels: New and Selected Poems*, which was reissued in 2010 with audio CD. She has written several plays. In 2010, Salmon published *Hurting God: Part Essay Part Rhyme*. "*Hurting God* is an extraordinary statement bearing witness to a life fearlessly and fully lived" (Des Kenny). Forthcoming from Bloodaxe in 2011 is a new collection of poetry: *Ireland is Changing Mother*. She lives in Galway.

Werner Huber is Professor of English at the University of Vienna. He is the author of a study of James Stephens's early novels (1982) and of a monograph on modern Irish autobiography (forthcoming). He is co-author of *Critique of Beckett Criticism*: *A Guide to Research in English, French and German* (1994) and co-editor of *Contemporary Drama in English: Anthropological Perspectives* (1998), *Biofictions: The Rewriting of Romantic Lives in Contemporary Fiction and Drama* (1999), *Alternative Romanticisms* (2003), *The Corvey Library and Anglo-German Cultural Exchanges, 1770-1837* (2004), *Self-Reflexivity in Literature* (2005), *Ireland: Representation and Responsibility* (2007), *Place and Memory in the New Ireland* (2009), and *Staging Interculturality* (2010). He is currently a member of the *EFACIS* Steering Committee.

Declan Kiberd is Keough Professor of Irish Studies at the University of Notre Dame. Among his books are Synge and the Irish Language, Men and Feminism in Irish Literature, *Idir Dhá Chultúr*, Inventing Ireland, Irish Classics, The Irish Writer and the World, and Ulysses and Us. *He is a director of the Abbey Theatre in Dublin.*

Alberto Lázaro is Professor of English Literature at the University of Alcalá in Madrid, Spain, where he has been teaching English literature since 1987. He has done extensive research on contemporary British and Irish fiction, devoting particular attention to critical reception and censorship. He edited *The Road from George Orwell: His Achievement and Legacy* (2001) and published *James Joyce in Spain: A Critical Bibliography, 1972-2002* (2002, co-authored with Antonio Raúl de Toro), *H.G. Wells en España* (2004), and *El modernismo en la novela inglesa* (2005). He is also the author of essays on Virginia Woolf, James Joyce, and H.G. Wells in three volumes of *The Reception of British and Irish Authors in Europe* series.

María Losada Friend is Senior Lecturer in English and Irish Literature at the University of Huelva (Spain). She has co-authored *Estudios sobre Literatura y Suicidio* (2006), edited the volume *Teaching Ireland: New Didactic Approaches to Culture, Linguistic and Literary Issues* (2010), and published essays on various aspects

of Irish literature: Oliver Goldsmith (in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, 1998), Jennifer Johnston (in *Re-writing Boundaries: Critical Approaches in Irish Studies*, 2007), Goldsmith and Cervantes (in *Gran Enciclopedia Cervantina*, 2009), James Joyce and Edna O'Brien (in '*Silverpodwered olivetrees': Reading Joyce in Spain*, 2003), or Goldsmith and Washington Irving (in *Glocal Ireland*, 2011). She is a member of the board of the Spanish Association for English and American Studies (*AEDEAN*) and a member of the Spanish James Joyce Association and the Spanish Association for Irish Studies (*AEDEI*).

Dr. **Anne MacCarthy**† was a senior lecturer in English Literature at the University of Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, Spain. She published book-length studies on Irish literature such as *James Clarence Mangan, Edward Walsh and Nineteenth-Century Irish Literature in English* (2000) and *Identities in Irish Literature* (2004).

Dr. **Benigno del Río Molina** is a writer and scholar. He has worked in the Hispanic Studies Department at Edinburgh University and at present is a member of the English Literature Department of Seville University. He has published numerous papers on James Joyce (mainly in relation to visual arts and "the uncanny"), British Modernism, Borges and Fantastic Literature. Currently he is editor of *JoyceSbilia: Joycean Studies in Spain*. He was awarded the Essay Prize Miguel de Unamuno 2008 for his book *La invención del paisaje: un estudio sobre la condición humana*.

Dr. **Juan Ignacio Oliva** is full Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Philology at the Universidad de La Laguna (Tenerife, Canary Islands), where he currently teaches Postcolonial Anglophone Literatures (with an interest in Irish, Canadian, Indo-English, and Chicano/a cultures) at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. He has published extensively on contemporary authors, such as James Joyce, John Fowles, D.M. Thomas, Angela Carter, Salman Rushdie, Sunetra Gupta, Ana Castillo, Sandra Cisneros, and others. He is presently the Head of the La Laguna Center for Canadian Studies, the current editor of *Canadaria (Revista Canaria de Estudios Canadienses)* and the current secretary of *RCEI (Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses)*. Recently, he has been elected Member of the Advisory Board of *EASLCE* (European Association for the Study of Literature, Culture and the Environment), secretary of *AEDEI* (Spanish Association for Irish Studies) and committee member of *AEEII* (Spanish Association of Interdisciplinary Studies about India).

Sophie Ollivier is an honorary professor of Russian at Michel de Montaigne University, Bordeaux 3, and the Vice-President of the *IDS* (International Dostoevsky Society). She has been writing articles and essays in French, English, and Russian on Russian literature, comparative literature (Seamus Heaney and Mandelstam, Paul Duncan and Pasternak), Irish history (agrarian movements, James Connolly), and orthodoxy in Ireland. Her latest book is *Paoustovski, l'homme du dégel* (2009). She is currently working on revolutionary movements in Ireland.

José María Tejedor Cabrera is a senior lecturer at the University of Seville and founding member of the Seville-based James Joyce Research Group. He is also a founding member and current treasurer of the Spanish James Joyce Society, as well as part of the Editorial Board of the international periodical *Papers on Joyce*. He co-edits the official web-page of the Spanish James Joyce Society, *Iberjoyce.* He has co-translated *Anna Livia Plurabelle (Finnegans Wake I, viii)* (1992) into Spanish, published *Guía a Dublineses de James Joyce* (2002) and co-edited *Silverpowdered Olivetrees: Reading Joyce in Spain* (2003) and *JoyceSbilya: A Miscellany of Joycean Studies* (2011). He has published several book chapters such as "'A Mother' y una Hija" in *James Joyce: Límites de lo diáfano* (1998) or "Algunas ventanas en Joyce" in *The Scallop of Saint James: An Old Pilgrim's Hoard* (2006). He has also published in *Atlantis* and in *Papers on Joyce* and lectured on James Joyce, James Stephens, Bernard MacLaverty, and Colm Tóibín in several universities.