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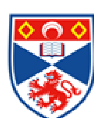

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Schiller's *Glocke* – Mangan's Bell: Mediating German Culture in Ireland, 1835-46

The following essay is intended as a study of a particular case of cultural mediation between Germany and the British Isles in the nineteenth century. It focuses on the part played by James Clarence Mangan (1803-1849), a remarkably prolific translator and interpreter, in bringing German literature to the attention of Irish readers during his time as a contributor to the *Dublin University Magazine* (henceforth: *DUM*). Together with the Edinburgh-based *Blackwood's Magazine* and its counterpart in London, *Fraser's Magazine*, the *DUM* was the foremost conduit for German literature into the British Isles in the Victorian era, and it was also exported to the United States of America. The concern of this article is not, however, with the international reception of the magazine, but with the resonances of Mangan's work within his immediate environment, the city of Dublin in the two decades prior to the Great Famine of 1845-1849. This concern informs our task: that of evoking Mangan as a translator and Dublin as a 'city in translation', a site where translators were engaged in appropriating exogenous ideas and materials and in disclosing the Gaelic cultural substratum.[1]

In order to show how Mangan participated in these processes of appropriation, some restriction of the view will be essential. The study will therefore concentrate on Mangan's translations of Schiller in his *Anthologia Germanica*, serialized in the *Dublin University Magazine* in twenty-two instalments from 1835 to 1846. More specifically, I shall discuss Mangan's translation of Schiller's 'Das Lied von der Glocke' (1799), attending to the use of the anthologist's tools of selection, annotation, commentary and juxtaposition to influence reader reception of the translated material.

[1] The term 'city in translation' is taken from Sherry Simon, *Cities in Translation: Intersections of Language and Memory* (London: Routledge, 2012).

My decision to concentrate on Schiller to the exclusion of the many other authors translated by Mangan is justified by Schiller's status as the representative poet of Germany in the United Kingdom in the mid-nineteenth century.[2]

In order to understand the part played by the *DUM* in mediating German literature to readers in the British Isles, we need to know what place that publication held in the cultural and political life of the Irish nineteenth century. Such clarification requires knowledge of the origins of the Magazine, and the goals of its editors.[3] The *DUM* was established by a group of six Trinity College men, including four undergraduates, the first monthly issue appearing in January 1833. One of the undergraduates, Isaac Butt, subsequently a barrister, and much later 'the Father of Home Rule', would edit the magazine in the period of its most intense commerce with German letters. The immediate impetus for founding the Magazine came from the establishment of the Reform Parliament in Westminster in that year, a development that the conservative Anglicans then governing Ireland regarded with alarm. The

[2] 'As to which German poet was most popular in the pages of the *Dublin University Magazine*, the answer is clearly Schiller, whose popularity in Britain was also climbing toward a peak in the mid-forties.' Patrick O'Neill, 'The Reception of German Literature in Ireland 1750-1850: Part 2', *Studia Hibernica,* 17/18 (1977/1978), 91-106 (pp. 93-94).

[3] The periodical introduction in *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* provides a useful overview of the history of the *Dublin University Magazine*: http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:wellesley&rft_dat=xri:wellesley:intro:JID-DUM [accessed 30 August 2014]. See also: Wayne E. Hall, *Dialogues in the Margin: A Study of the Dublin University Magazine* (Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe, 2000).

extension of the franchise, together with the Catholic Emancipation achieved in 1829, were perceived as significant threats by this elite, the intellectual vanguard of Anglo-Irish society. Out of the galvanizing effect of such anxieties on a coterie of literary men was born the *DUM*. Until 1877, when it ceased publication, the magazine remained true to its anti-reform, Tory credentials, pouring scorn on opponents of the 1800 Act of Union that abolished Ireland's parliament; the populist leader Daniel O'Connell and the poet Thomas Moore were singled out for particular opprobrium. But despite the anti-Catholic invective of its editorials, the *DUM* was a great stimulator of interest in Irish history and literature, gathering in a considerable body of Irish poetry in translation. So great were its merits in this area that it may justly be considered to have paved the way for the Celtic literary revival in the late nineteenth century. The magazine's original cover motifs of a round tower, a harp and a tomb signaled the editors' interests in Irish history, poetry and biography. This cover was soon replaced, however, by a portrait of Elizabeth I, a less ambiguous icon for an organ of conservative and unionist opinion.

It is to some extent useful to view the Dublin literary scene of the mid-nineteenth century as divided ideologically into two camps, unionist and nationalist. These two camps contended for control over a large body of material being made available by translations from the Irish and from German. It would be wrong, however, to claim that membership in one of two political camps was the defining feature of relations among the Dublin *litterati*. Nor were relations between identifiably unionist and nationalist writers exclusively characterized by animosity. Members of both camps were on familiar, even cordial, terms – and there was some exchange of personnel. One temporary defector from the unionist to the nationalist camp was Samuel Ferguson. The Belfast-born scholar of Irish history, legend and

poetry used the pages of the *DUM* in 1834 to criticize James Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy* for its Catholic and Jacobite appropriation of Irish poetic heritage.[4] In the third year of the Great Famine, 1847, however, Ferguson declared unexpectedly for the nationalist side. He did so by publishing a lament in the pages of the *DUM* for the 'lost leader' of the Young Ireland movement, Thomas Davis, who had died in September 1845. Ferguson soon afterwards renounced nationalist politics at the insistence of his fiancée, Mary Catherine Guinness, whom he married in 1848.

The prevalence of an 'Ireland-first' attitude at a magazine editorially committed to the Union of Great Britain and Ireland and to the established minority Church of Ireland may seem surprising. It stemmed from the conviction that the best way of securing the Union was by putting Ireland on an equal footing with Britain. This could only be achieved by a combination of cultural and economic rehabilitation that would restore a country demoralized by its relegation to subaltern status by the Act of Union. The Protestant Ascendancy then populating Trinity believed that if they could lead such change, their position as an elite could be preserved, even in the face of growing Catholic populism. While the progressive moment in this conservatism was reflected in calls for economic development, the emphasis on the cultural distinctiveness of Ireland as a partner in the British Empire necessitated the rediscovery and propagation of a distinctly Irish literature and culture, which in turn required antiquarian studies. Thus, contributions on educational reform and the railways appeared alongside the didactic series 'By-Ways of Irish History' by the Anglican cleric (and former Catholic) Samuel O'Sullivan, which opened with the

[4] James Hardiman, ed., *Irish Minstrelsy, or Bardic remains of Ireland: with English poetical translations*, 2 vols (London: Robins, 1831).

programmatic statement that 'to render the present intelligible, the past must be consulted'.[5]

From its foundation, the *DUM* was modelled on *Blackwood's* in Edinburgh and *Fraser's* in London, literary magazines whose Tory politics did not prevent them from leading a revival of British interest in German literature from 1820 onward.[6] That revival affected Ireland, but in ways that differed from the reception of German literature in Britain. The bookish founders of the *DUM* were attracted by the special prominence that literature appeared to enjoy in the national life of Germany. The idea, expressed in a lecture on the German educational system, that Germany was 'incontestably the most literary nation in existence'[7] chimed with hopes that literature could play a significant role in the intellectual regeneration of Ireland. The nationalists of the Young Ireland movement were slower to realize the ideological potential of German literature than the unionists of Trinity College. By 1840, however, they had begun to do so. In that year Thomas Davis gave an address to the Historical Society at Trinity that was peppered with references to Herder. Davis's most resonant phrase, 'think wrongly if you will, but think for yourselves', was

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[5] *Dublin University Magazine*, 10 (1837): 205-16; here, 207. Subsequent references to the *Dublin University Magazine*, by volume and page number, appear in parenthesis in the main body of the text, marked as *DUM*.

[6] John Anster's 1820 translation of Goethe's *Faust* (1808) in *Blackwood's* was a significant spur to the upturn in interest in German literature in Britain. Anster, a Dublin lawyer, was one of the founders of the *DUM* in 1833.

[7] [John Francis Waller], 'Herr Zander's lectures on German literature,' *Dublin University Magazine*, 1 (1833), 335-37; here, 335. An account of seven public lectures on German literature recently given in Dublin by 'Herr Zander of Berlin'.

borrowed from Lessing.[8] Two years later Davis helped establish *The Nation*, the weekly newspaper of the Young Ireland movement, whose name indicated filiations with *La Giovine Italia* and *Junges Deutschland*. In its second issue, *The Nation* set about overcoming Irish ignorance of modern European literature, remarking that 'some of the greatest works that have ever seen the light have, within the last few years, been published in Germany and France'.[9]

Contributors to *The Nation* were no less self-consciously engaged in the appropriation of German materials and the emulation of German models than were the unionists of the *DUM.* In particular, nationalists of the calibre of Thomas Davis and John Mitchel were keenly aware of the part that the consolidation of German letters had played in promoting a shared sense of Germany as *Kulturnation* with aspirations to national statehood. John Mitchel wrote in a review of Mangan's *Anthologia Germanica* in *The Nation*: 'History, metaphysics, aesthetics, criticism, prose fiction, dramatic, didactic and lyric poetry, in all Germany has *in one century* succeeded. What cheering to all humanity – but especially to an infant nation – shines from this fact!'.[10] Mitchel's fairly extensive knowledge of German literature is attested by the frequent references to German authors in his *Jail Journal* (1854). Mitchel also provides detailed comments on the merits of Mangan's translations from the German

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[8] Mary M. Colum, *From These Roots: The Ideas that have made Modern Literature* (London: Cape, 1938), 241.

[9] *The Nation*, 22 October 1842. Quoted from Patrick O'Neill, *Ireland and Germany: A Study in Literary Relations* (New York, Berne, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1985), 100.

[10] *The Nation*, 9 August 1845. Quoted from O'Neill, 'The Reception of German Literature', pp. 96-97.

in his 1859 edition of Mangan's poems. For Denis Florence MacCarthy, who, together with 'Speranza' – Jane Francesca Elgee, later Lady Wilde – was the principal translator from the German for the *Nation*, the appropriation of exogenous materials was part of the task of building an Irish national literature. MacCarthy is quoted here by Duffy:

> In Ireland literary men must be content with a limited celebrity and moderate reward, that they might endeavour to do for their country what Scott had done for Scotland, and what Schiller and Goethe had done for Germany. Why should not the Barrow and the Bann be as famous as the Clyde? Why should not the majestic Shannon, or the wild Blackwater, which rivals the Rhine in beauty, rival it also in fame? The work had begun and must be continued, till the beautiful face of Ireland, like the face of Undine, was illuminated with the soul of poetry.[11]

In Ireland, as in Belgium, another small, young European nation, translators and other cultural mediators took the lead in striving to establish a canon of national literature. Nele Bemong uses Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystems theory to illustrate the techniques employed by the Belgians to construct a national literature after 1830.[12] Polysystems theory provides a useful vocabulary for discussing cultural transfer, one that is adequate to the heterogeneity of literatures, the dynamic relations among their

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[11] Charles Gavan Duffy, *Four Years of Irish History, 1845-1849* (London; New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin [1883]), 73.

[12] Nele Bemong, 'Internal Chronotopic Genre Structures: The Nineteenth-Century Historical Novel in the Context of the Belgian Literary Polysystem', in Nele Bemon, et al, eds., *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope: Reflections – Applications – Perspectives* (Ghent: Academia, 2010), pp. 159-78.

components, and their interactions with adjacent systems. For our purposes it is sufficient to note that Even-Zohar defines the socio-semiotic system of literature as a polysystem, that is, a system made up of systems. Thus, the polysystem of literature is made up of canonized and non-canonized systems of prose, poetry and other genres representing different yet interdependent strata of the polysystem. Canonized systems occupy a central position while non-canonized systems are peripheral. Movement is possible within the system of a genre: peripheral properties can penetrate the centre of a genre when the centre has lost its capacity to perform certain functions. Equally, inter-systemic movement is possible within the polysystem, as when a genre moves in from the periphery to complement or displace others at the centre. As we shall see, it is this latter kind of movement that accompanied the work of cultural mediators in the construction of the national literature of Ireland.

In nineteenth-century Europe, unlike in other parts of the world, possessing a literature was felt to be part of the indispensabilia of power, usually in combination with a codified national language. When Belgium attained independence in 1830, the creation of a national literature was a priority for the young nation's authors, yet there were gaps in the repertoire of the Belgian literary polysystem. In its first decades Belgian literature was a weak polysystem: one that could not function adequately by drawing on its own inventory.[13] Such a system will readily borrow items that it is lacking from neighbouring polysystems in order to increase the size and diversity of its own stock of genres, or 'systems'. Bemong shows that this is precisely what happened in the case of Belgium, and that the historical novel, in various forms, was

[13] Itamar Even-Zohar, *Papers in Historical Poetics.* Papers on Poetics and Semiotics 8 (Tel Aviv: The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, 1978), p. 55.

the first generic system to be borrowed from the neighbouring polysystems of France, Germany, Britain, and the Netherlands.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the weak polysystem of Irish literature also had the option of borrowing from neighbouring source polysystems to build its canonized systems. Borrowing from the adjacent polysystem of Britain was largely tacit, or unreflected, probably because of the relative ease with which many Irish authors moved between Dublin and London. Unlike Britain, however, Germany was sharply profiled as an exogenous polysystem from which materials might usefully be appropriated. The relatively sharp profile of Germany as opposed to France is remarkable. We cannot account here for why Germany should have been so overtly favoured over France as a source of borrowing, except to suggest that cultural mediators in both the nationalist and unionist camps appear to have regarded Germany as the more attractive model, if evidently for subtly different ideological reasons. John Mitchel's remarks, quoted above, suggest that the attraction had to do with the model of a national literature that had succeeded in distinguishing itself from the more prestigious letters of a powerful neighbour, France, by unearthing and reworking indigenous materials.

This latter option – plugging gaps in the literary polysystem by using the home inventory to produce what is lacking – is the second of the two means of strengthening a weak polystem outlined by Even-Zohar. The Irish literary polysystem was bilingual, embracing a canonized English-language centre, and a non-canonized Irish-language periphery. Translations from the German and other languages also formed a non-canonized peripheral system. The work of constructing a national literature involved transporting selected material from the periphery and codifying it in anthologies like Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy* (1831), Thomas Davis's *Ballad*

Poetry of Ireland (1845), and Denis Florence MacCarthy's *Book of Irish Ballads* (1846). English was both the dominant language of codification and the language of the canonized system of Irish literature, or of 'polite letters' as it was then called. Irish-language material was peripheral also in the sense that it was largely uncodified, with the result that it formed a substratum of the literary polysystem then under construction. Obstacles to the publication of Irish-language material and the rise of literacy in English – reinforced by the establishment of an exclusively English-language national school system in 1831 – meant that poems, biographies, histories and other materials in Irish continued to circulate largely in the form of manuscript copies.[14]

Dublin was the privileged site for these activities of translation, codification and interpretation. The situation in pre-1850s Dublin is very nearly captured by Sherry Simon's term 'dual city', a city whose special character 'lies in the existence of two historically rooted language communities who feel a sense of entitlement to the same territory', with the difference that in Dublin's case each language was not 'supported by institutions of equal authority – universities, writers' associations, publishing houses, governmental recognition' (Simon, *Cities in Translation*, 3). Moreover, in Dublin the presence of Gaelic was spectral, shadowing the Hiberno-English of the city's inhabitants. Beyond the historic territory of the English Pale, however, Irish Gaelic was still the vernacular of about half of the island's population, and here the cultural goods of Gaelic Ireland, ballads, proverbs, idioms and other oral

[14] Neil Buttimer, 'Literature in Irish, 1690-1800: from the Williamite wars to the Act of Union', in Margaret Kelleher and Philip O'Leary, eds., *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature,* 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), I, 320-371 (p. 320).

elements, continued to circulate, though almost completely deprived of the technologies of codification.

Although many Irish speakers resided in Dublin, the linguistic reality of the city was not bilingual; but it was certainly ‘translational’ in the sense that translation was being employed in the recuperation and appropriation of cultural goods to the ends of national identity formation. Indeed, the Irish national identity being thereby constructed was of its essence translational, since it posited Irishness not in terms of dwelling but of movement back and forth between two cultural spheres, the English and the Gaelic. Moreover, for the majority of readers, access to the Gaelic part of the identity equation would increasingly be mediated by English as the century progressed. This was true even for cultural go-betweens like Mangan and Ferguson: neither had sufficient knowledge of Irish to access the Gaelic cultural substratum directly, and both relied on the work of translators like John O’Donovan and James Hardiman who had the requisite competence in the source language.

Mediation in English put translations from indigenous and exogenous sources on the same footing, with the result that the non-canonized system of translations became a zone of cultural syncretization. Such a peripheral zone within which the combination of lexical items, motifs and tropes from English, Gaelic and German-language sources could take place is a hypothesis that may be introduced here, but not further developed or verified. As we shall see, the stimulus given to the creation of an Irish national literature in English by the critical reception of James Hardiman’s *Irish Minstrelsy* provides ample evidence that ‘the canonized system got its popularity, flexibility and appeal by a constant and positive struggle with the non-canonized one’ (Even-Zohar, 14).

Hardiman's anthology became part of the canonized system, but not before it was subjected to astringent criticism in four review articles written by Samuel Ferguson and published in the *DUM* from April to November 1834. Ferguson deprecated the quality of the English translations collected by Hardiman and regretted what he regarded as a false classicizing tendency that tended to smooth over the characteristic and idiomatic. As a corrective to these perceived deficiences Ferguson included his own poetic versions of twenty of the *Minstrelsy* poems in an appendix to the fourth review article. These poetic versions, together with Ferguson's 'The Fairy Thorn', subtitled 'An Ulster Ballad', which had appeared in the *DUM* in March 1834, were to suggest a style of Irish poetry in English that was polyglot in its mixing of Ulster Scots, Hiberno-English, and Anglo-Saxon elements. The theme, the abduction of a farm girl by fairies, though well-established in Irish poetry, had equivalents in Goethe's 'Erlkönig', and in Robert Browning's 'Pied Piper'. Ferguson opposed the movement of Hardiman's *Minstrelsy* from the peripheral zone of translation into the canonized centre in vain, but the unforeseen consequence of his opposition was to inaugurate what Thomas Kinsella has called the 'gapped, discontinuous, polyglot tradition' of modern Irish poetry.[15] Poets from Mangan to Hyde working within that newly established tradition would rapidly expand the canonized system of Irish poetry in English. W.B. Yeats would later emphatically align his own work with the first

[15] Thomas Kinsella, 'The Irish Writer', in W.B. Yeats and Thomas Kinsella, *The Spirit of the Nation* (Dublin: Duffy, 1845; repr. Poole: Woodstock, 1998), pp. 58, 66 [quoted in Matthew Campbell, 'Poetry in English, 1830-1890: From Catholic Emancipation to the Fall of Parnell', in Margaret Kelleher and Philip O'Leary, eds., *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature,* 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), I: 500-543 (p. 500)].

generation of translator-poets, the developers of this distinctive translational poetic idiom when he asked that he 'be counted one / With Davis, Mangan, Ferguson'.[16]

Mangan was the most prolific of the Germanizing contributors to the *DUM*, though the Victorian practice of appending abbreviated or pseudonymous signatures to periodical contributions meant that his identity was known only to a few. Mangan is principally remembered in this context for his *Anthologia Germanica*, a series of critical translations which appeared in the *DUM* in twenty-two installments from 1835 to 1846, and published as a single volume in 1845. Schiller is the best-represented poet, but many others are present: from Bürger, Hölty and Matthison to Goethe, Kerner, Heine and Uhland: Mangan translated over 500 poems from the German. Writing in the 1980s, Patrick O'Neill could say of the *Anthologia Germanica* that 'Mangan's anthology is still, after nearly a century and a half, the most representative selection of German verse ever published in Ireland.'[17]

Neither of the two book editions of the *Anthologia Germanica* (1845, 1885) has preserved the critical commentary that framed the translations in the *DUM*.

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[16] W.B. Yeats, 'To Ireland in the Coming Times', in *Yeats's Poems*, ed. by A. Norman Jeffares, 3rd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1996), p. 85.

[17] O'Neill, *Ireland and Germany*, 97. O'Neill has calculated that the *DUM* contained 137 references to German literature in the period 1833 to 1850, an average of eight references per twelve monthly issues, or an average of 65 pages per year. Of these an average thirty-one pages a year was contributed by Mangan, whose total contribution amounted to at least 558 of the 1179 pages devoted to German literature in this period. (Patrick O'Neill, 'German Literature and the *Dublin University Magazine*, 1833-50: A Checklist and Commentary', *Long Room*, 14-15 [Autumn 1976 – Spring /Summer 1977], 20-31 (pp. 20-21)).

Indeed, Mangan's anthology calls out for a critical edition that would restore it in its original form to interested readers. Such an edition would serve readers unable to access the original volumes of the periodical and unwilling to avail of the haphazard digitization available on the internet.

If we are properly to understand the impact of Mangan's translation of 'Das Lied von der Glocke' in its Irish environment we need to leave aside the German-language reception history of Schiller's 'berühmt-berüchtigt' poem.[18] The conservative and patriarchal attitudes in Schiller's poem, its sententiousness, and its retrograde gender politics confine its effective reception to the long nineteenth century. The criticisms made of the poem's stylistic defects by Hans-Magnus Enzensberger and Emil Staiger need not detain us here.[19] Instead our interest is in Mangan's manner of appropriating Schiller's poem, and in the functions fulfilled by his translation. It is true, the 'philistinism' of Schiller's 'Glocke' was already derided by August Wilhelm Schlegel and other Romantics, but their scorn in no way reflected the views of the mass of ordinary burghers who made the work their own. This popularity, born of its effective embodiment of values that are undeniably artisanal and *kleinbürgerlich*, was a key factor in motivating Mangan's turn to the poem. He was not the only Irish poet to take inspiration from this source. Samuel Ferguson had already made his literary debut with 'The Forging of the Anchor', published in *Blackwood's* in 1832, and Denis Florence MacCarthy's 'The Bell-Founder' would

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[18] Peter-André Alt, *Schiller: Leben – Werk – Zeit*, 2 vols (Munich: Beck, 2005), I, 11.

[19] Hans Magnus Enzensberger, 'Festgemauert aber entbehrlich: Warum ich Schillers berühmte Balladen wegließ', *Die Zeit*, 28 October 1966, p. 26; Emil Staiger, *Friedrich Schiller* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1967), pp. 206-209.

appear in 1857, wearing epigraphs both from Schiller's original, 'Arbeit ist des Bürgers Zierde', and Mangan's translation: 'Toil is polished man's vocation'.[20]

Let us now turn to consider Mangan's translation, and the translator's use of the techniques of selection, juxtaposition, commentary and annotation to create a particular receptional constellation. The second instalment of Mangan's *Anthologia Germanica*, published in the *DUM* in February 1835, consists of the following: a preface; the poem, 'The Lay of the Bell'; explanatory footnotes (including one comparing Schiller's versification to the translator's); an editor's note; a second preface on Schiller's ballads; a concluding translation of the ballad 'Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer'. Taken together these elements form the *proximal* context for 'The Lay of the Bell'. But there is a *distal* context as well: this is made up of the other contributions in each monthly issue of the magazine, and of contributions in earlier and subsequent issues.

The first instalment of Mangan's anthology, published in January 1835, opens with an essay on the belated triumph of German letters in the face of French incredulity and superciliousness. In the concluding commentary Schiller's 'Lied von der Glocke' is characterized as a 'poem without a parallel in the anthology of any country' (*DUM*, 5, 57). The instalment closes with a translation from Goethe's

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[20] Denis Florence MacCarthy, *The Bell-Founder, and other poems* (London: Bogue, 1857), p. 1. John Anster, the translator of Faust mentioned above, noted the 'peculiar interest' that 'Das Lied von der Glocke' held for Irish readers, citing two poems inspired by it: 'Mr Ferguson's "Forging of the Anchor" and Mr Starkey's "Death of the Oak"' (John Anster, 'German literature at the close of the last century and the commencement of the present', in *The afternoon lectures on literature and art*, ed. anon. [London: Bell & Daldy, 1864], pp. 151-195 (p. 185)).

‘Epilog zu Schillers Glocke’, with verses selected to emphasize Schiller’s transcendence of personal suffering, his ‘ardent faith’ and idealism.

The preface to the second instalment takes up the point about the unparalleled nature of Schiller’s ‘Glocke’, developing it into a Herderian assertion of the particularity of genius and its bondedness to national context: ‘It is an isolated production, because it is a purely *local* production. That is, it could only have been produced by a German. This conclusion will at once be acceded to when the nature of the poem is understood’ (*DUM*, 5, 140). Mangan goes on to provide further context to guide the reader’s reception of the poem:

> In the German towns the founding of a bell is, be it recollected, an event that excites considerable interest. The founder publicly notifies his intention several days beforehand; he advertises it in the newspapers, specifies time and place, and invites the people to come and witness the process. A little festival is, as I have mentioned, also solemnized on the occasion, and a name is formally bestowed on the bell, by which name it is ever afterwards recognised. (*DUM*, 5, 141)

The message to the poets among Mangan’s readers is clear enough: a viable national literature must serve to embody the customs, institutions and manners of the nation in all their distinctiveness.

How does Mangan influence the reader’s perception of German letters by selection? Selection manifests itself in his decision to open his anthology with translations of Schiller, beginning with the lyrical poems and moving on to narrative poems. The choice of author carries its own significance: Schiller lacks the ‘sovereign control’ and ‘grace’ of Goethe; he lacks the latter’s ‘playful vein, the versatility, the Protean, Voltairean faculty of metamorphosis and self-multiplication’, and yet ‘his

great individuality is, by reason of this very deficiency, only the more conspicuously developed' – as a poet Schiller 'is fairly the compeer of the other' (*DUM*, 5, 42). Schiller's strenuousness, and what today we might call his conflictedness, make him in Mangan's eyes a fitter role model for Irish poets that Goethe in his Olympian calm.

Mangan is equally judicious in his evaluation of Schiller the balladeer. While acknowledging the view among German critics that Schiller 'did not eminently excel in the Ballad' he affirms that 'taken as narrative-pieces Schiller's Ballads are invested with a grace, a pathos, and occasionally a majesty rarely equalled in the most finished efforts of other writers' (*DUM*, 5, 151). Mangan's interest in the ballad form anticipates and accompanies the movement of this generic system into the centre of the Irish literary polysystem. His critical translations of German ballads would likely have provided translators and anthologists of narrative poems in Irish with valuable criteria of comparison and with a point of reference that was external to English literature.

Schiller's 'Lied von der Glocke' is perhaps unique among the works of Weimar Classicism in its evocation of the milieu of artisanal production. Its eight technically-detailed verses depicting the founding of a bell are interspersed with verses containing the master craftsman's observations on the stages of human life. The whole is an allegory of culture in its broad and etymological sense. Mangan observes that 'the cardinal beauty of the poem consists in its episodes', noting that 'the junction of the metals suggests one episode, the possibility of fusion another, the danger of explosion a third' (*DUM*, 5, 141). In 'The Lay of the Bell' Mangan preserves the forward-driving trochaic metre of the eight verses dealing with the founding of the bell.

--Firmly walled within the soil

Stands the firebaked mould of clay,

Courage comrades! now for toil,

For we cast THE BELL to-day.

Sweat must trickle now,

Down the burning brow,

If the work may boast of beauty,

Still 'tis Heaven must bless our duty. (v.1-8)

The exhortations of the master are a call to the work of culture, and by implication to the labour of founding a national literature. Mangan echoes the voice of the master in a footnote devoted to the problem of rendering the frequent double rhymes of the German original. Mangan often uses annotations in parody of scholarly conventions, but in this case the footnote is meant to underline the translator's diligence and bear witness to the values of good workmanship.

The dynamism and vigour of the eight bell-founding verses alternates with the calmer iambic rhythm of the reflective verses:

Fire works for good with noble force

So long as Man controls its course;

And all he rears of strong or slight.

Is debtor to this heavenly might.

But dreadful is this heavenly might

When bursting forth in dead of night,

Unloosed and raging, wide and wild

It ranges, Nature's chainless child. (v.158-165)

Where these reflective passages are concerned the reception has been kinder to Mangan than to Schiller. Unlike the 'gute Reden' of the original, the 'cheerful

conversation' (v.11) of Mangan's master never congealed into cliché. Mangan's phrases retained a freshness that made them readable long after 'wohltätig ist des Feuers Kraft' had become a tired staple of autograph albums.

By juxtaposing individual works and framing them with commentary Mangan engineers receptional constellations. The juxtaposition of 'The Lay of the Bell' in the second instalment of the *Anthologia* with the ballad 'The Message to the Iron Foundry' ('Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer', 1797) blocks or at least inhibits a particular kind of appropriative reading, one that would enlist Schiller as an icon of the Anglican Enlightenment in Ireland. The 'Iron Foundry' is connected to 'The Lay of the Bell' by the motifs of the forge and of fire, and by the theme of labour, but the elevated diction and Enlightenment sublimity of the latter poem are replaced by a self-consciously medieval language and by a darker, pathos-laden mood. Inclusion of the poem is justified by its claimed status as 'one of the most extensively popular of the author's minor poems' (*DUM*, 5, 151), and by Mangan's encounter with the ballad in his youth in a translation by 'the learned Spanish Jesuit, Rodriguez'. The 'Iron Foundry' tells the tale of the 'God-revering youth' (v.1), 'gentle Fridolin' (v.2), the protegé and devoted servant of the Countess von Savern. Fridolin's position as the favourite of the countess's menials arouses the envy of the huntsman, Robert, who skilfully plants the seeds of doubt in his master's mind. Convinced of his wife's infidelity, the enraged count engages two ruffians at the iron foundry to set a murderous trap for Fridolin.

The dark behest the monsters twain
Enjoyed with bloody zest,
For anvil-dead had longtime lain
The heart in either's breast,

And fiercelier now they blow the fire,

Till palier shoots its flame higher and higher,

And glare thereon with gloating eyes,

Impatient for the sacrifice. (v.105-12)

Instead of proceeding immediately on the false and deadly errand given him by Robert in his master's name, the 'duteous boy' (v.7) calls on his lady, who asks him to attend 'the holy Mass' (v.133) in her stead. Fridolin complies and, taking the place of the absent sexton, assists the priest at the ceremony. In the meantime, of course, Robert has been consigned to the furnace flames, and the unsuspecting Fridolin returns to his master with the news that his will has been done.

"And, Robert?" asked the Count—

and strange

Sensations iced his blood—

"Didst thou not meet him on thy

range?

I sent him to the wood."

"My Lord, in wood or mead around

No trace of Robert have I found."

"Then," cried the Count with reverent

fear,

"God has Himself passed judgement

here!" (v.225-232)

In this case the poem is intended to resonate with the *distal* context of the *DUM*, and especially with its anti-Catholic editorializing. It chimes also with another frequently

occurring element of the distal context: a translational genre regularly served up to the magazine's eager readers – the ostensibly 'German' Gothic tale. The first instalment of the *Anthologia Germanica* is preceded by 'Walter Marten; or, the Three Cups of Weimar' – a production that Mangan would have classed as an example of 'the style Germanesque', as opposed to 'the style German' of his own poetical translations.[21] Tales of this kind comprised an informal, subcultural system *sui generis*, existing in tension with the canonized system of Irish prose and periodically reinvigorating it with its wayward energies.

James Clarence Mangan is a key figure to understanding mid-nineteenth century Dublin as a city in translation, and the role of translation in developing and contesting national identity in the same period. As an employee of the Ordnance Survey from 1838 to 1841 Mangan was officially a servant of the government's endeavours to catalogue and standardize the placenames of Ireland. That great project of toponomastic domestication brought Mangan into contact with John O'Donovan, John O'Daly and other translators from the Irish, stimulating his own versions of their work. At the same time Mangan's work as a translator from the German led him to treat translation not as a technique of assimilation, but as a means of complicating the politics of identity, personal and political. It was in this respect that Mangan was to prove such a liberating influence for Yeats and Joyce.

Andrew Cusack

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[21] *The Collected Works of James Clarence Mangan*, ed. Jacques Chuto, Augustine Martin, et al., 5 vols. (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1996-2002). This edition contains Mangan's collected prose in two vols: *Prose 1, 1832-39*; *Prose 2, 1840-82*. The quotation is taken from *Prose 1,* 105.

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