

ANOMALOUS STATES

IRISH WRITING AND
THE POST-COLONIAL MOMENT

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available to the Irish nationalist.⁷ For the nationalism of a colonized people requires that its history be seen as a series of unnatural ruptures and discontinuities imposed by an alien power while its reconstruction must necessarily pass by way of deliberate artifice. Almost by definition, this anti-colonial nationalism lacks the basis for its representative claims and is forced to invent them.⁸ In this respect, nationalism can be said to require an aesthetic politics quite as much as a political aesthetics.

Historically, this constitutive paradox of Irish nationalism has not been practically disabling, though in cultural terms it leaves the problem that Ireland's principal writers have almost all been remarkably recalcitrant to the nationalist project. I have discussed this more extensively elsewhere in relation to the extreme demand for identification with the nation that nationalism imposes upon the Irish writer.⁹ Here, I wish to explore more fully how not only the anti-representational tendency in Irish literature but also the hybrid quality of popular forms constantly exceed the monologic desire of cultural nationalism, a desire which centres on the lack of an Irish epic. Both the popular and the literary forms map a colonial culture for which the forms of representational politics and aesthetics required by nationalism begin to seem entirely inadequate, obliging us to conceive of a cultural politics which must work outside the terms of representation. Incidentally, this colonial situation may also suggest the limits of the Bakhtinian formulations on which this analysis will in the first place be based.

I

At several points in *The Dialogic Imagination*, Mikhail Bakhtin isolates as a definitive characteristic of the novel its capacity to represent the heteroglossia internal to an apparently unified but nonetheless stratified national language.⁶ Requiring the depiction of the conflictual, dialogic nature of social relations, this characteristic underlies the generic mobility and, at given historical moments, subversiveness of the novel, opposing it to the epic, as well as to other stabilized and 'monologic' genres. The epic belongs to a closed and completed world, and characteristically represents the unity of that world and the integration of its exemplary heroes (p. 35). Typically, the epic casts backwards to 'an absolute past of national beginnings

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Irish cultural nationalism has been preoccupied throughout its history with the possibility of producing a national genius who would at once speak for and forge a national identity. The national genius is to represent the nation in the double sense of depicting and embodying its spirit — or genius — as it is manifested in the changing forms of national life and history. The idea could be reformulated quite accurately in terms derived from Kantian aesthetics: the national genius is credited with 'exemplary originality'.¹ That is to say, the national genius not only presents examples to a people not yet fully formed by or conscious of their national identity, but does so by exemplifying in himself the individual's ideal continuity with the nation's spiritual origins. True originality derives from the faithful reproduction of one's origins. Thus far, Irish nationalism represents, as indeed does Kant, merely another variant on the Enlightenment and Romantic critical tradition for which the originality of genius is understood as the capacity to reproduce the historical or individual sources of creativity itself. The Irish nationalist merely insists on a different notion of what is to be formed in the encounter with genius: not so much the intermediate subject of taste as, directly, the political subject, the citizen-subject, itself.

Unlike Kant, however, the Irish nationalist is confronted with a peculiar dilemma, succinctly expressed by Young Ireland's most influential aesthete, D.F. MacCarthy, as the great national poet's being 'either the creator or the creator of a great people'.² The expression points to an unavoidable aporia for the doubly representational aesthetics of nationalism, since the poet must either be created by the nation which it is his (always his) function to create, or create it by virtue of representing the nation he lacks. Neither a continuous national history, which could connect the individual to the national genius, nor even nature, on whose invocation in the form of *Naturgabe* the category of genius has traditionally been grounded, are easily

and peak times' (p. 15), correlative to which is its stylistic closure: unlike the novel, the epic is a genre closed to development and therefore insusceptible to the representation of historical development (pp. 16-17). Intrinsic to Bakhtin's discussion of epic and novel is, accordingly, an historical periodization which derives the novel from the disintegration of the epic and its culture.⁷ In the long term, the dialectic of the novel form leads to the disintegration of the myth of 'a unitary, canonic language, of a national myth bolstered by a yet-unshaken unity' (p. 370), and a concomitant displacement of the ideological by the human speaking subject.

Bakhtin, as that last citation serves to recall, posits the moment of unitary national culture in the past. The instance of a decolonizing nationalism, such as Ireland's throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, leads us to pose the question in slightly different terms. What if the epic of a nation has yet to be written and if the unity of the nation is desired as a prerequisite to the anti-colonial struggle? In such a case, exactly what seems to be required is the monologic form of the epic as a means to rather than a mere legitimating record of national unity, while the function of the epic may be seen not only as the unification of a culture but also, in a quite specific sense, as the production of a dialogic subversion of the colonizing power. For these purposes, which are integral to the politically mobilizing project of cultural nationalism, the *heteroglossic* mode of the novel could be seen as distinctly counter-productive. Precisely that which, according to Bakhtin, the novel is constantly adapted to represent, the multiplicity of contending social voices, is what Irish nationalism must, for entirely coherent political reasons, seek to supersede in the form of a unified national identity. For the cultural nationalists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, believing 'that Irishmen were enslaved because they were divided',⁸ the principal task of nationalism was to overcome the sectarian, class and ethnic divisions that split Ireland. The task of producing representations of a common identity was accordingly entrusted to literature, and to a literature whose very rationale was monologic insofar as it was intended to produce exactly the 'national myth' that Bakhtin envisages as having collapsed when the novel supplanted the epic.⁹

As I have argued elsewhere, the literary project of Irish nationalism, stemming from the Young Ireland movement of the 1840s, involves a quite sophisticated theory of generic development linked to a universal history of cultural developments. In this argument,

fully developed cultures such as England's can rely on a political constitution which expresses the underlying unity of their conflicting social forces, whereas underdeveloped cultures such as Ireland's must turn to literary institutions for the same unificatory effects. Due, however, to the apparently fragmentary and strife-ridden course of Irish history and to the divided society of its present, that literature has yet to be created. If, 'rightly understood, the history of Ireland ... had the unity and purpose of an epic poem', that epic had yet to be written and could not be prematurely forged. Before it could be written, the prior stages of literary development had to be passed through, permitting, as if at accelerated tempo, the recomposition of all those ballads and folk-songs on which it was believed such epics as Homer's were founded.¹⁰ Hence the enormous quantity of ballads produced and collected in nineteenth-century Ireland was not merely a question of propaganda but directly concerned the constitution of an idea of Irishness which could 'contain and represent the races of Ireland'.¹¹

But this project of presenting to the Irish a single 'spirit of the nation' (to cite the title of one enormously popular collection) is confronted with peculiar problems as soon as it turns to extant ballads as examples of that spirit. Collectors of Irish ballads classify them generally into three subdivisions: Gaelic or peasant songs, street ballads, and literary or Anglo-Irish ballads.¹² To the latter class we will return, since it is the problematic status of the first two that most acutely confronts the cultural nationalist.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the study of Gaelic language and culture had proceeded little beyond the scarcely systematic amassing of materials, while distinctions between 'high' and 'low' literary productions remained relatively fluid and uncertain.¹³ Collections were recognized to be provisional and incomplete. Yet despite the objective grounds for the fragmentary corpus of Gaelic literature, nationalists who review it in order to distinguish and define Irish identity time and again trace in that corpus a fragmentariness lodged in the artefacts themselves. Thus when Davis remarks that 'There are great gaps in Irish song to be filled up,' he refers not to the state of research but to the nature of the object, a nature that is for him historical and absolutely not essential. The 'bulk of the songs', he asserts, 'are very defective':

Most of those hitherto in use were composed during the last century, and therefore their structure is irregular, their grief slavish and despairing, their joy reckless and

bombastic, their religion bitter and sectarian, their politics Jacobite and concealed by extravagant and tiresome allegory. Ignorance, disorder and every kind of oppression weakened and darkened the lyric genius of Ireland.¹⁴

The historical oppression of the Irish has contaminated both the structure and the content of the Gaelic poetry, so that if it appears gapped, that gapping is internal to it, consisting in its 'defective' or 'extravagant' deviation from the essential 'genius' of the Irish nation. There is something alien in the poetry, and the job of the popular editor is accordingly one of condensation: 'cut them so as exactly to suit the airs, preserve the local and broad historical allusions, but remove the clumsy ornaments and exaggerations' (pp. 225-6). The perfection of the defective native Irish poetic tradition requires a process of refinement which is, in principle at least, the antithesis of supplementation, involving instead the purging of extraneous materials and the unfolding of an obscured essence. Davis's formulation is characteristic of nationalist reception of Gaelic songs, which are similarly perceived by D.F. MacCarthy as 'snatches and fragments of old songs and ballads, which are chapters of a nation's autobiography'.¹⁵ In every case, the fragmentary autobiography is to be completed in the formation of a national identity properly represented in a national literature imbued with its spirit rather than with the accidental traces and accretions of its colonial history. Consistent with this is an implicit rejection of the allegorical in favour of the symbolic: in quite traditional Romantic terms, the extravagance of allegory is eschewed while historical and local allusion is promoted as 'participating in that which it represents'.¹⁶ The aesthetic of nationalism accords with its political ends, subordinated at every level to the demand for unity.

It is on the same grounds that the second class of street ballads is criticized by nationalists, but with more vehemence. Condemnation of the ballads, purchased widely by the already substantial portion of the people whose principal language was English, was virtually universal among Young Ireland critics, who argued for their supplanting by ballads imbued with the national spirit, such as those published in *The Spirit of the Nation* or in Duffy's and MacCarthy's collections of Irish ballads. Though their dismissals are fairly summary, one can decipher the basis for the antagonism. Most importantly, the ballads are urban: 'The mass of the street songs', remarks Duffy, 'make no pretence to being true to Ireland; but only to being true to the paritizens of Cork and Dublin.'¹⁷ Nationalist antagonism to urban

Ireland, which continues by and large to structure the nation's ideological self-representation, is by no means as simple and self-evident a phenomenon as its constancy has made it seem. It belongs to the constitutive contradiction of a modernizing ideology forced to seek its authenticating difference from the imperial culture on which it remains dependent by way of an appeal to a rural and Gaelic culture already in decay. Indeed, it is not to that culture in itself that appeal is made, but rather to a 'refinement' or 'translation' of its essence, traced among the fragmentary survivals of an already decimated past life. The antagonism to the urban is, accordingly, an antagonism to the inauthenticity legible in its cultural forms. Cork and Dublin, along with Belfast, represent in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland, as already for several centuries in the case of Dublin, sites of cultural hybridization as well as centres of imperial authority and capital domination. Garrison as well as industrial or port cities, they represent concentrations of an English domination which penetrates every level of Irish social life. They are both nodes for the flows of English capital and imperial authority, and conduits for the contrary flows of a dislocated population, the points to which a dislocated rural population gravitates in search of employment or prior to emigration. The Pale area around Dublin had always seemed, to English eyes, under constant threat of contamination by Gaelic culture and by the transformation of old or new English into a settler population 'more Irish than the Irish'. But a rapid acceleration of the process of cultural hybridization, now more threatening to the nationalist than to the English, would appear to have taken place in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as an overdetermined set of effects of the English Industrial Revolution, the serial crises in Irish agriculture after the Napoleonic Wars and the gradual lifting of the Penal Laws in the decades preceding the Union of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801. Simultaneously, the Irish language was perceived to be in decline.¹⁸

Even a quite casual collection of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century street ballads like Colm Ó Lochlainn's *Irish Street Ballads* indicates the extent to which such works register, both thematically and stylistically, these processes as they are apprehended by the Irish population.¹⁹ A very high incidence of the songs is devoted to migration or emigration, to conscription or enlistment in the British army, as well as to the celebration of the 1798 uprising and a range of rebel heroes. Even the many love songs are coured through more by

When up comes a sergeant and asks me to 'list,
'Aras, sergeant a grá, put the bob in my fisc.'

'O! then here is the shilling, as we've got no more,
When you get to head-quarters you'll get half a score.'
'Aras, quit your kineerns,' ses I, 'sergeant, good-bye,
You'd not wish to be quartered, and neither would I.'²¹

This last example, though somewhat later than the Young Ireland writings instanced above, features a further element of the street ballads which drew nationalist criticism: their frequently burlesque tone. Precisely because of the heterogeneity of the ballads, whether taken as collections or as individual specimens, it would be impossible to establish a 'typical character' for the street ballads or to fix their tone. In 'The Kerry Recruit', for example, it becomes exceedingly difficult to specify the object of the mockery, the country gosthon or the sergeant, peasant ignorance or British institutions. Tonal instability of this kind is common, as is a similarly vertiginous mixture of realism and burlesque, 'high language' and slang. Two further examples will suffice: one, 'Father Murphy', being an anonymous rebel ballad on the 1798 rebellion; the other, 'Billy's Downfall', attributed to the most celebrated of Dublin street balladeers, 'Zozimus' (Michael Moran), being a satirical commemoration of the blowing up of a unionist monument to William III on College Green in 1836:

The issue of it was a close engagement,
While on the soldiers we played warlike pranks;
Thro' sheepwalks, hedgerows and shady thickets,
There were mangled bodies and broken ranks,
The shuddering cavalry I can't forget them;
We raised the brushes on their helmets straight --
They turned about and they bid for Dublin,
As if they ran for a ten-pound plate.

By brave Cortolanus and wiggy McManus,
By dirty King Shamus, that ran from the Boyne,
I never was willing dead men to be killing,
Their scurry blood spilling, with traitors to join.
For true-heart allegiance, without much persuasion,
Myself and all Paddies we're still at a call,
But to burke a poor king, 'tis a horrible thing,
Granu's sons never heard it in Tara's old hall.²²

As both indicate, the processes of hybridization registered in the street ballads go far beyond the integration of Gaelic into English-

laments for grinding poverty, imprisonment under English law, or the necessity of emigration or vagrancy than by complaints of fickleness and inconstancy, a characteristic considerably at odds with their frequent use, by colonizer and nationalist alike, to ground the stereotypical type of pure Irish sentimentality. At the stylistic level, the street ballads at moments provide an even more intimate register of the processes of cultural hybridization. They are, most often, adaptations of traditional airs to English words, enforcing frequently a distortion of standard English pronunciation or syntax to fit Gaelic musical and speech rhythms, a trait frequently celebrated in the more refined literary productions of translators and adapters like Moore, Ferguson and Callanan.²³ This primary hybridization is matched by varying degrees of incorporation of Irish-language fragments into the predominantly English texts of the ballads. Usually phonetically transcribed by writers illiterate in Irish, these fragments can be whole refrains, as in 'The Barrymore Tithe Victory' (1831), which keeps as part of its refrain the words of the Gaelic ballad 'A Dhruimfhionn Donn Dilis', whose tune it appropriates, but which it transcribes as 'A Drimon down declish a heeda na moe' and turns to a celebration of the popular hero and political leader Daniel O'Connell. Others, by far the majority, seem little more than tags from the Gaelic, place-names or mythological and legendary figures, which from the dominant perspective would appear as recalcitrant recollections of a culture in transformation but still politically and culturally resistant. From another perspective, however, that of the balladeers and many in their audiences, such tags would resonate with familiar and quite complex allusions to allegorical and historical figures from Gaelic culture, adding a richer, if occluded, dimension to the ballads' reception. Thus the refrain of 'A New Song in Praise of Fergus O'Connor and Independence', celebrating the election of Chartist O'Connor as MP for Cork, runs 'So vote for brave Fergus and Sheela na Guira', the Gaelic tag being again the original ballad, 'Sighile Ní Ghadhra' from which the tune is borrowed. Even less political street ballads, such as the later 'Kerry Recruit', which relates the story of a young peasant enlisted for the Crimean War, used fragments of Irish as well as of Anglo-Irish dialect as a means of linguistically dramatizing the experience of dislocation and the role of such institutions as the army in the transformation of the colonized population:

So I burtered my brogues and shook hands with my spade,
And I went to the fair like a dashing young blade,

language forms. To the ambiguities resulting from the refusal to differentiate the burlesque from the serious corresponds a similar indifference to cultural registers. Military language can cohabit with that of the raccourse, or classical references give way to citations of ancient and modern history, folk heroes and contemporary slang. Much of the pleasure of the street ballad, as with so many 'popular' forms, derives from precisely this indifference to cultural hierarchies.²⁷ It may even be that the very adaptability of the ballad, as a kind of template transformable to fit any given locality or momentary reference, subserves not only the continual demand for the 'new song' as instant commodity, but also a more discrete function. Beyond the cultural resistance they articulate, such ballads as 'Father Murphy' in their very descriptions of combat conceivably acted to preserve and transmit not merely the historical memory of insurrections but also the repertoire of means to resist, the tactical knowledge of how and where to conduct armed struggle. For a rural audience, 'Father Murphy' may serve exactly the same function in terms of tactical knowledge as John Mitchel's regular military lessons in the *United Irishman* of 1848, themselves adapted from a British military handbook.²⁸

Such speculations aside, the stylistic elements of the street ballads throw into greater relief the grounds for cultural nationalist criticisms of them. The cultural nationalism developed within the Young Ireland movement was quite strictly a *Romantic* nationalism and, like its unionist counterparts, derived much from English and German high Romanticism. But the forces that a poet like Wordsworth seeks to counteract, the spectacle of the city as a 'perpetual whirl/Cf trivial objects, melted and reduced/To one identity, by differences/That have no law, no meaning, and no end',²⁹ are accentuated in the Irish case by the colonial encounter that both accelerates the processes of cultural disintegration and gives a specific political name, anglicization, to the phenomenon of 'reduction to identity'. What we have described, in the wider sphere of the Irish political economy as well as in that of the street ballads, as 'hybridization' is necessarily grasped by nationalists as the paradoxically simultaneous process of multiplication or disintegration and homogenization. The flooding of the market with English commodities both disintegrates what is retrospectively constructed as a unified Irish identity and absorbs its residues into the single field of the British industrial and imperial empire. And since the only means to resist this process, in the

absence of autonomous national political institutions, appears to be the formation of nationalist subjects through literary institutions, the field of popular literature becomes peculiarly fraught. For if the ultimate desire of the nationalist must be for the state (in every sense of the word 'for'), that desire must in fact be not first of all for the state itself, as a body of specific institutions to be controlled, but for what the state in turn is held to represent, namely, the unity or reconciliation of the people. Hence the necessity for a cultural nationalism, not merely as a supplement to, but as a prerequisite for, a military nationalism, and hence the requirement that that nationalist culture be monologic in its modes of expression. The representation as a desired end of an homogeneous Irish nation is a necessary preliminary to the political struggle in any form.

Accordingly, the aesthetic choices that oppose the nationalists' literary recreations of Irish ballad poetry to both the street ballads and to the Gaelic songs are also at every level political choices. Their collections are designed to give law, meaning and end to a specific difference which would constitute an Ireland independent of England and in opposition to the heterogeneous image of Irish social life and culture borne in the street ballad or in extant translations of Gaelic poetry. A national poetry must speak with one voice and, unlike those street ballads in which it is often difficult to tell if the hero is subject or object of the burlesque, must represent the Irish people as the agent of its own history, of a history which has 'the unity and purpose of an epic poem'. This demands a 'translational' aesthetic, in the sense that what must be constantly carried over is the essential spirit rather than the superficial forms of Irish poetry in each language.³⁰

As Denis Florence MacCarthy puts it in his *Book of Irish Ballads*:

This peculiar character of our poetry is, however, not easily imparted. An Irish word or an Irish phrase, even appositely introduced, will not be sufficient; it must pervade the entire poem, and must be seen and felt in the construction, the sentiment, and the expression.³¹

In the examples cited above, 'Sheela na Guira' or the 'Granu's sons' are juxtaposed in contiguity to Fergus O'Connor or Coriolanus, achieving an expansion – and complication – of referential range without requiring the subordination of the elements to one another. MacCarthy's aesthetic programme, on the contrary, requires the subordination of the Gaelic element as a representative instance consonant with the homogeneous totality of Irish identity. In

keeping with an antagonism to the allegorical tendency of Gaelic poetry and the street ballads in favour of a generally symbolist aesthetic, nationalist writing must perform a transfer from the metonymic axis of contiguity to that of metaphor. Where the metonymic disposition of popular forms lends itself to the indiscriminate citation of subordinate cultural elements, the fundamentally narrative structure of metaphoric language seeks to reorganize such cultural elements as representative moments in a continuous epic of the nation's self-formation.²⁸

MacCarthy himself provides us with an exemplary instance in his ballad 'The Pillar Towers of Ireland', which, though by no means the most celebrated of Young Ireland productions, almost self-consciously enacts the appropriation of historical Irish elements to a seamless representation of Irish destiny. The pillar towers become symbols of the continuing spirit of Ireland, both its products and its organizing representatives, giving shape and relationship to the several races which have passed through or settled the land in the course of its history:

Around these walls have wandered the Briton and the Dane —
The captives of Armonica, the cavaliers of Spain —
Phoenician and Milesian, and the plundering Norman Peers —
And the swordsmen of brave Brian, and the chiefs of later years!²⁹

A persistent and resistant element of the Irish landscape, the round or pillar tower stands as itself a metaphor for the metaphoric process by which an initial perception of difference can be brought over time into a superior recognition of identity:

There may it stand for ever, while this symbol doth impart
To the mind one glorious vision, or one proud throb to the heart;
While the breast needeth rest may these grey old temples last,
Bright prophets of the future, as preachers of the past!
(*Book of Irish Ballads*, p. 128)

It is not necessary to be aware of the continuing exploitation of the round tower by the Irish Tourist Board and other such institutions to sense how rapidly this representation of an authentic Irish identity veers towards kitsch. Indeed, the constant gravitation of cultural nationalism towards kitsch is a virtually inevitable consequence of its aesthetic programme, if not, indeed, to some extent a mark of its success. The commodification of style and the mechanical reproduction of standardized forms of affect that define kitsch have their

close counterpart in cultural nationalism.³⁰ Here, the incessant injunction to produce representative ballads which will reproduce Gaelic styles known to the producers only by way of representations is directed towards the homogenization of a political rather than an economic sphere. It similarly requires, nonetheless, the production of novelties which are always interchangeable, a condition partly of the journalistic sphere in which most nationalist ballads first appeared, and the immediate evocation of an affect which is the sign of identification with the nation. Congruent in most respects with Romantic aesthetics generally, the subordination of the nationalist ballad to a conscious political end denies it the auratic distance usually held, if often erroneously, to guarantee the critical moment of the modern artwork.

Ironically, what is properly, in Brechtian terms, an *epic* distance belongs more frequently to the street ballad than to the nationalist ballads intended to replace them. Self-consciously produced as commodities, and with the ephemeral aptness to momentary need or desire that is the property of the commodity, the street ballads often achieve an effect akin to montage in which the contours of an heterogeneous and hybridized culture can become apparent without necessarily losing political force. Indeed, a large part of the pleasure of the street ballad is political and lies in its use of 'extravagant allegories': what it exploits is precisely the unevenness of knowledge that characterizes the colonized society. The variegated texture of colonized society permits an exploitation by the colonized of those elements that are unfamiliar to the colonizer, and therefore appear encoded, like the Gaelic tags cited above, as a means of at once disguising and communicating subversion, as message to the colonized and as uncertainty to the colonizer. The very inauthenticity of the colonized culture enables an unpredictable process of masking. Where the colonizer, whose proper slogan should be that 'ignorance is Power', seeks to reduce the colonized to a surveyable surface whose meaning is always the same, and where the nationalist responds with an ideal of the total translucence of national spirit in the people, the hybridized culture of the colonized offers only surfaces pitted or mined with uncertainty, depths and shallows whose contours vary depending on the 'familiarity' of each observer. On this surface, demarcations of the borderline between damage and creative strategies for resistance are hard to fix. As we shall see, neither the damage nor the resistance lend themselves easily to assimilation.

Captured in the contradiction between its modernizing effects and its conservative appeal, nationalist culture on the other hand is drawn into a process of stylization, the representation of a style, which constantly returns it to an inauthenticity akin to, though not identical with, that of the street ballad it seeks to supplant. This effect of stylization is probably inseparable from the fundamental dislocation which colonization effects in any culture and which is the necessary prior condition for the emergence of any specifically nationalistic resistance. In proceeding, it is necessary only to insist again that the dislocation of the colonized culture should not be thought of in terms of a loss of a prior and recoverable authenticity. Rather, authenticity must be seen as the projective desire of a nationalism programmatically concerned with the homogenization of the people as a national political entity.

II

Unsurprisingly, given the virtually aporetic status of its contradictions, the terms of mid-nineteenth-century nationalist cultural discussions are reproduced half a century later in the Irish Literary Revival. James Joyce presents them prominently in *Ulysses* as a prelude to Stephen Dedalus's development of his own conception of genius out of Saxon Shakespeare:

— Our young Irish bards, John Eglinton censured, have yet to create a figure which the world will set beside Saxon Shakespeare's Hamlet though I admire him, as old Ben did, on this side idolatry.

... Mr Best came forward, amiable, towards his colleague.

— Haines is gone, he said.

— Is he?

— I was showing him Jubainville's book. He's quite enthusiastic, don't you know, about Hyde's *Love Songs of Connacht*. I couldn't bring him in to hear the discussion. He's gone to Gill's to buy it.

*Bond thee forth, my booklet, quick
To greet the callous public,
W'nt, I ween, 'twas not my wish
In lean unlovely English.*

— The peatsmoke is going to his head, John Eglinton opined.

— People do not know how dangerous lovesongs can be, the auric egg of Russell

warned occultly. The movements which work revolutions in the world are born out of the dreams and visions in a peasant's heart on the hillside. For them the earth is not an exploitable ground but the living mother. The rarefied air of the academy and the arena produce the sixshilling novel, the music-hall song. France produces the finest flower of corruption in Mallarmé but the desirable life is revealed only to the poor of heart, the life of Homer's Phaeacians.³¹

It is not merely that Joyce alludes here, in compressed fashion, to the principal concerns that continue to play through Irish cultural nationalism: the desire for the masterwork; the opposition between the spirit of peasant song, 'racy of the soil', and the hybrid 'flowers of corruption'; the turn to Homer as the figure representing the unification of the work of genius with the 'genius of place'. Furthermore, he indicates the complexity of the cultural transactions that take place in the thoroughly hybridized culture of 'West Britain', where Irishmen discourse on English, German and Greek culture while an Englishman, Haines, studies the Celtic element in literature and Hyde regrets the necessity that forces him to exemplify a Gaelic metre in lean, unlovely English.

Joyce's evocation of Hyde at this juncture allows us to grasp both the extent to which turn-of-the-century cultural nationalism recapitulates its earlier forms and the extent to which its terms had become at once more sophisticated and more problematic. Douglas Hyde, founder-president of the Gaelic League, was a principal advocate of the Irish-language revival, a scholar, poet-translator and folklorist. His most famous single essay, 'The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland' (1892), resumes Young Ireland's attacks on the penetration of Ireland by English culture as well as capital, and on the consequent emergence of an entirely 'anomalous position' for the Irish race, 'imitating England and yet apparently hating it'.³² In large part, this essay presents a dismal catalogue of hybridization which ranges through place and family names to musical forms and clothing. Its conclusion, that a de-anglicization of Ireland is the necessary prelude to and guarantee of eventual Irish autonomy, is prescriptive for efforts like Hyde's own laborious collection and translation of Irish folk-songs and poetry. In these, as he had already argued in his essay 'Gaelic Folk Songs' (1890), the Irish genius was properly to be deciphered:

We shall find that, though in their origin and diffusion they are purely local, yet in their essence they are wholly national, and, perhaps, more purely redolent of the race and soil than any of the real literary productions of the last few centuries.³³

When it comes to deciphering that essence, nonetheless, Hyde is confronted with the dilemma that led to Young Ireland's translational aesthetic: there remain 'great gaps in Irish song'. For Hyde, however, as a scholar whose intimacy with the Gaelic material was far greater than Davis's or MacCarthy's, the question as to whether the 'gapped' nature of Irish folk-song was of its essence or an accident based upon the contingent, historical determinants of an oral culture, remains correspondingly more difficult to resolve. After giving a number of instances from Gaelic love songs, he pauses to remark on the necessity to cite examples in order to represent the nature of these songs in general. The ensuing reflections lead him to an unusually complex rendering of the 'nature' of the Gaelic spirit, leaving him unable to decide between the historical and the essential:

It may appear strange, however, that I have only given stray verses instead of translating entire songs. But the fact is that the inconsequentness of these songs, as I have taken them down from the lips of the peasantry, is startling.

Many adjectives have been applied by many writers to the Gaelic genius, but to my mind nothing about it is so noticeable as its inconsequentness, if I may use such a word — a peculiarity which, as far as I know, no one has yet noticed. The thought of the Irish peasant takes the most surprising and capricious leaps. Its movement is like the career of his own goblin, the Pooka; it clears the most formidable obstacles at a bound and carries across astonishing distances in a moment. The folk-song is the very incarnation of this spirit. It is nearly impossible to find three verses in which there is anything like an ordinary sequence of thought. They are full up of charms that the mind must leap, elapses [sic] that it must fill up, and detours of movement which only the most vivid imagination can make straight. This is the reason why I have found no popular ballads amongst the peasantry, for to tell a story in verse requires an orderly, progressive, and somewhat slow sequence of ideas, and this is the very faculty which the Gael has not got — his mind is too quick and passionate ...

But even this characteristic of Gaelic thought is insufficient to account for the perfectly extraordinary inconsequentness and abruptness of the folk-songs, as I have found them. I imagine that the cause of this peculiarity is not to be ascribed wholly to the authors of the songs, but also in great part to the medium which the songs passed through before they came to us — that medium, of course, being the various generations of local singers who have perpetuated them. These singers often forgot, as was natural, the real words of the song, and then they invented others, but more frequently they borrowed verses from any other piece that came into their head, provided it could be sung to the same tune, and hence the songs as we have them now are a curious mixture indeed. What between the 'unsequacious' mind of the original makers, the alterations made by generations of singers who forgot the words, and the extraneous verses borrowed from completely different productions, two out of three of the folk-songs which I have collected, resemble those children's toys of paper where when you pull a string you get a different pair of legs or a different head, joined to a different body. The most beautiful sentiments will be followed by the most grotesque barbs,

and the tenderest and most exquisite verses will end in the absurdest nonsense. This has been done by the singers who have transmitted them. (pp. 113-14)

The folk-songs appear here as at once the representation of an essence, the Gaelic spirit, and the products of the specific and contingent conditions of their transmission. But if we take these representations as those of an essence, then the essence itself makes it impossible to define any essential character of the race, since a character, to have any identity at all, must be consistent, as Young Ireland and their followers in the Literary Revival consistently argued. On the other hand, the historical argument in its turn, recognizing the sheer contingency that has conditioned the forms and peculiarities of the folk-songs, would make it impossible to derive a national character from them.

Despite his momentary hesitation at this acknowledgment of the overdetermined grounds for the 'great gaps in Irish song', Hyde rapidly recuperates the Irish identity by offering, after citing a thoroughly adulterated verse, 'one specimen of a comparatively perfect folk-song which has not been interfered with' (p. 115). The song, 'Mo bhrón ar an bhfarraige' ('Oh, my grief on the sea!'), which concludes with the lines,

And my love came behind me —
He came from the south —
With his breast to my bosom,
His mouth to my mouth,

appears as a perfect because consistent expression of 'genuine passion', lacking any of the marks, 'the alliteration, adjectives, assonance, and tricks of the professional poet' (p. 117). Hyde's 'restoration' of the essential folk-song requires, in other words, not only its purification from hybridization internal to the culture or resulting from external influence, but even the representation of the work of the Gaelic bards as a deviation from the true passion of the people. Irish folk culture is transformed into an ahistorical ground on which the defining difference of 'Irishness' can be established over against the homogenizing/hybridizing influence of 'Anglicization'. Ironically, the values by which the genuine item is identified and canonized themselves derive, perhaps by way of earlier translators, like the unionist Samuel Ferguson, from the 'common language' of British Romanticism.

It is more than probable that Joyce knew Hyde's essays, and certain that he knew this particular song, if only from the slightly

revised version in *The Love Songs of Connacht*, since it appears transformed early in *Ulysses*. It reappears, however, not in the context of 'genuine passion', but in the course of Stephen's 'morose delectation' on Sandymount Strand as his thoughts shift back and forth between the cockle picker's woman passing him and the memory of his dead mother:

She trudges, schlepps, tramps, drags, trascines her load. A tide westering, moondrawn, in her wake. Tides, myriadislanded, within her, blood not mine, *amoye* ponions, a wine-dark sea. Behold the handmaid of the moon. In sleep the wet sign calls her hour, bids her rise. Bridebed, chilkbed, bed of death, ghostcandle. *Omnis caro ad te veniet*. He comes pale vampire, through storm his eyes, his bat sails bloodying the sea, mouth to her mouth's kiss. (*Ulysses*, p. 40)

The verses emerging here recur somewhat later, in the 'Aeolus' section, in a form closer to that given by Hyde:

*On swift sail flaming
From storm and south
He comes, pale vampire,
Mouth to my mouth.* (*Ulysses*, p. 109)

We may read in the gradual transformation of the folk-song a representation at several levels of the processes of hybridization as they construct the individual consciousness. Many of the elements of that hybridization are superficially evident: the chain of foreign, or rather 'anglicized', words used to describe the cockle picker's woman, the phrases from Homer and from the Latin of Catholic ritual, or the parody of biblical invocations. The effect of hybridization, however, needs more careful analysis, both at the formal literary level and at that of the representation of an individual subjectivity which it entails. The most familiar stylistic term in Joyce criticism used to describe the representation of subjective interiority is 'stream of consciousness', which implies a certain consistency within the representation as well as a relative transparency and evenness among the elements. As such, the term is largely inadequate, even in the earlier sections of the novel, to describe the staccato or interrupted rhythms, the varying accessibility of the allusions, whether to different readers or to the represented subject (Stephen or Bloom), or to the several levels of implicit 'consciousness' that these stylistic effects constitute.

Equally inadequate would be any description of these effects as instances of 'assimilation' or 'appropriation', terms employed by Bakhtin in his description of the normative dialogical formation of the subject:

As a living, socio-ideological concrete thing, as heteroglot opinion, language, for the individual consciousness, lies on the borderline between oneself and the other. The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. (p. 293) ... One's own discourse is gradually and slowly wrought out of others' words that have been acknowledged and assimilated, and the boundaries between the two are at first scarcely perceptible. (p. 345n)

Despite the difficulties he recognizes as afflicting these processes, Bakhtin is clearly operating here with an at least residually Kantian subject, one existent as potential prior to any engagement with word or object, and, perhaps more importantly, on its way to conformity with those maxims of enlightenment that for Kant define the autonomous subject: independence, consistency, and formal, universal identity.³⁴

It is, of course, towards the production of such a subject, capable, for example, of assimilating the alien English language to Irish identity or the equally alien Gaelic language to the English 'mother-tongue', that Irish nationalism is directed. What it constantly diagnoses, however, is a subject-people always the object of imperfect assimilation to either culture, in a state, that is, of continuing dependence. It is for this reason that Joyce's 'citational' aesthetic in *Ulysses* cuts so strongly against both Bakhtin's description of the subjective processes which the novel typifies, and the translational aesthetic of Irish nationalism. One could, indeed, argue that Bakhtin's assimilation is itself a version of a generally translational aesthetic for which the subject is formed in a continual appropriation of the alien to itself, just as translation, as opposed, for example, to interpretation or paraphrase, is seen as essentially a recreation of the foreign text in one's own language.³⁵ Joyce's, or Stephen's, version of this love song of Connacht rather insists on its heterogeneity in the course of an essentially 'inconsequential' meditation or miscegenates it with an entirely different – but no less 'Irish' – tradition of Gothic vampire tales.³⁶

Accordingly, where the principal organizing metaphor of Irish nationalism is that of a proper paternity, of restoring the lineage of the fathers in order to repossess the motherland, Joyce's procedures are dictated by adulteration. Joyce's personal obsession with adultery is well documented and it is a commonplace that the plot of *Ulysses* itself turns around Molly Bloom's adulterous relationship with Blazes

the juxtaposition of a set of equivalent representational modes, a reduction which, even where it refuses to posit the register of colloquial speech as an 'original' of which all other modes are 'translations', implies the essential coherence or integrity of each mode in itself. To do so is to leave fundamentally unchallenged the principle of equivalence on which the translational aesthetic is based. This is the case even in one of the most astute accounts of the chapter. After rewriting a passage from 'Cyclops' in what is effectively parallel text, Colin MacCabe comments:

ignoring for the moment that part of the second text which has no parallel in the first, what is important in this passage is not the truth or falsity of what is being said, but how the same event articulated in two different discourses produces different representations (different truths). Behind 'an elder of noble gait and countenance' and 'that bloody old pantaloon Denis Breen in his bath slippers we can discern no definite object. Rather each object can only be identified in a discourse which already exists and that identification is dependent on the possible distinctions available in the discourse.'³⁹

MacCabe's description of Joyce's procedures at this juncture is comparable to Bakhtin's general description of the novel as a genre:

The novel can be defined as a diversity of social speech types (sometimes even diversity of languages) and a diversity of individual voices, artistically organized. The internal stratification of any single national language into social dialects, characteristic group behaviour, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, languages of the authorities, of various circles and of passing fashions, languages that serve the specific sociopolitical purposes of the day, even of the hour (each day has its own slogan, its own vocabulary, its own emphases) — this internal stratification present in any given language at any given moment of its historical existence is the indispensable prerequisite for the novel as a genre. (pp. 262-3)

Adequate so far as they go, neither description is capable of grasping the internal heterogeneities, the adulteration of discourses as Joyce constructs them in 'Cyclops' and throughout *Ulysses*. This process of adulteration ranges from a phenomenon of colloquial Irish speech to which Oscar Wilde gave the name of 'malapropism' to the ceaseless interpenetration of different discourses. Malapropism varies from casual misspeaking, sometimes intentional, sometimes based on mishearings of an improperly mastered English ('Don't cast your naturalisms on my character' [p. 263]), to deliberate and creative polemical wordplay (as in English 'syphilitisation').⁴⁰ As a larger stylistic principle, the adulteration of interpenetrating discourses is unremitting, blending, among other things, pastiches of biblical/liturgical,

Boylan.³⁷ That the figure of the nineteenth-century leader of the Home Rule party, Charles Stewart Parnell, recurs from Joyce's earliest works as a victim of betrayal consequent on his adulterous relationship with Kitty O'Shea underlines the extent to which adultery is also an historical and political issue for Irish nationalism. The common tracing of the first Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland in 1169 to the adulterous relationship between Diarmaid MacMur-chadha, King of Leinster, and Dearbhghuilla, the High King's wife, establishes adulteration as a popular myth of origins for Irish nationalist sentiment. As the Citizen puts it, in the 'Cyclops' chapter of *Ulysses*: 'The adulteress and her paramour brought the Saxon robbers here ... A dishonoured wife ... that's what's the cause of all our misfortunes' (*Ulysses*, p. 266).

For the nationalist citizen, the identity of the race is adulterated by 'la belle infidèle' and, as in the old expression, the restoration of that identity by translation (*traduttore*) is haunted by the anxiety of a betrayal (*traduttore*). This chapter, that in *Ulysses* in which issues of nationalist politics and culture are played out most intensely and in which the various elements of Irish culture are most thoroughly deployed, circulates not only thematically but also stylistically around adulteration as the constitutive anxiety of nationalism. For while the citizen is militant against the hybridization of Irish culture, the chapter itself dramatizes adulteration as the condition of colonial Ireland at virtually every level. Barney Kiernan's pub is at the heart of Dublin, but also located in Little Britain Street, in the vicinity of the Linenhall, the law courts and the Barracks, and across the river from Dublin Castle, the centre of British administration. Most of the characters who pass through the bar (already a paroxysm of the legal bar, both being sites of censure and debate) are connected in one or other way with these institutions, while the legal cases cited continually associate the influence of British institutions with economic dependency in the form of debt, and that in turn with the stereotype of financial and cultural instability, the Jew.³⁸ The slippage among institutional, cultural, racial and political elements is a function of a stylistic hybridization that refuses to offer any normative mode of representation from which other modes can be said to deviate.

These features of the 'Cyclops' chapter have been noted in different ways by many commentators. What needs to be stressed, however, is that by and large the mingling of stylistic elements is rendered by critics in terms which reduce the process of hybridization to

medieval, epic (based in large part on Standish O'Grady's already highly stylized versions of old Irish heroic cycles), legal, scientific and journalistic modes. Frequently, the legal and journalistic discourses at once contain and disseminate adulteration, representing as institutional formations material sites for the clash of heterogeneous languages and interests. The following example instantiates the possible modulations among different registers:

And whereas on the sixteenth day of the month of the oxeyed goddess and in the third week after the feastday of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, the daughter of the skies, the virgin moon being then in her first quarter, it came to pass that those learned judges repaired them to the halls of law. There master Courtenay, sitting in his own chamber, gave his rede and master Justice Andrew, sitting without a jury in probate court, weighed well and pondered the claim of the first chargeant upon the property in the matter of the will propounded and final testamentary disposition in re the real and personal estate of the late lamented Jacob Halliday, vintner, deceased, versus Livingstone, an infant, of unsound mind, and another. And to the solemn court of Green street there came sir Frederick the Falconer. And he sat him there about the hour of five o'clock to administer the law of the brehans at the commission for all that and those parts to be holden in and for the county of the city of Dublin. And there sat with him the high smehdrim of the twelve tribes of Iar, for every tribe one man, of the tribe of Patrick and of the tribe of Hugh and of the tribe of Owen and of the tribe of Conn and of the tribe of Oscar and of the tribe of Fergus and of the tribe of Finn and of the tribe of Dermot and of the tribe of Cormac and of the tribe of Kevin and of the tribe of Caolte and of the tribe of Ossian, there being in all twelve good men and true ... And straightway the minions of the law led forth from their donjon keep one whom the sleuthbonds of justice had apprehended in consequence of evidence received. (p. 265)

Categorization of this and similar passages as 'dialogic' would be limited insofar as what occurs here is not an opposition, conversational or polemical, between coherent 'voices', but their entire intercontamination. Indeed, precisely what is lacking or erased here is voice, which, as Bakhtin remarks, is a category fundamental 'in the realm of ethical and legal thought and discourse ... An independent, responsible and active discourse is the fundamental indicator of an ethical, legal and political human being' (pp. 349-50).

It is through the question of voice and its dismantling that we can begin to grasp the complex ramifications of Joyce's deployment of adulteration as both motif and stylistic principle in *Ulysses*. Where nationalism is devoted to the production, in stylistic terms, of a singular voice, and to the purification of the dialect of street ballads or Gaelic songs, it produces equally what we might envisage as a matrix of articulated concepts which provide the parameters of its political

aesthetic or aesthetic politics. Thus this singular voice correlates with the formation of the Irish subject as autonomous citizen at one level and with a collective Irish identity at another. That analogical relation between the individual and the national moments is permitted by a concept of representation which requires a narrative movement between the exemplary instance and the totality that it prefigures. The identification of each representative individual with the nation constitutes the people which is to claim legitimate rights to independence as an 'original', that is, essential, entity. Consistent representation of that essence underwrites simultaneously the aesthetic originality, or autonomy, of the literary work that takes its place as an instance of the national culture. Such a self-sustaining and self-reinforcing matrix of concepts furnishes the ideological verisimilitude of cultural nationalism, permitting its apparent self-evidence.

Joyce's work, on the contrary, deliberately dismantles voice and verisimilitude in the same moment. Even if, as MacCabe has suggested, particular discourses attain dominance at given points in the text, the continual modulations that course through 'Cyclops', as indeed through the work as a whole, preclude any discursive mode from occupying a position from which the order of probability that structures mimetic verisimilitude could be stabilized. But even beyond this, the constantly parodic mode in which given discourses are replayed prevents their being understood as internally coherent, if rival, systems of verisimilitude. The double face of parody, at once dependent on and antagonistic to its models, constantly undercuts both the production of an autonomous voice and the stabilization of a discourse in its 'faithful' reproduction.⁴¹ Adulteration as a stylistic principle institutes a multiplication of possibility in place of an order of probability and as such appears as the exact aesthetic correlative of adultery in the social sphere. For if adultery is forbidden under patriarchal law, it is precisely because of the potential multiplication of possibilities for identity that it implies as against the paternal fiction, which is based on no more than legal verisimilitude. If the spectre of adultery must be exorcized by nationalism, it is in turn because adulteration undermines the stable formation of legitimate and authentic identities. It is not difficult to trace here the basis for nationalism's consistent policing of female sexuality by the ideological and legal confinement of women to the domestic sphere.⁴² Nor is there any need to rehearse here the anxieties that Bloom raises for

the Citizen on racial as well as sexual grounds, or the extent to which the narrative as a whole occupies aesthetic, cultural and sexual terrains in a manner that continually runs counter to nationalist ideology.⁴³ What must be noted, however, is the extent to which its anti-representational mode of writing clashes with nationalist orders of verisimilitude precisely by allowing the writing out of the effects of colonialism that nationalism seeks to eradicate socially and psychologically. This is not merely a matter of the content of a representation but also inseparably an issue of stylistics. Thus, for instance, Bloom cannot be the exemplary hero of what might be an Irish epic, not only because of his status as 'neither fish nor fowl', to quote the Citizen, but because *Ulysses* as a whole refuses the narrative verisimilitude within which the formation of representative man could be conceived. The aesthetic formation of the exemplary citizen requires not alone the selection of an individual sociologically or statistically 'normative', but the representation of that individual's progress from unsubordinated contingency to socially significant integration with the totality. This requires in turn what Bakhtin describes as 'a combining of languages and styles into a higher unity', the novel's capacity to 'orchestrate all its themes' into a totality (p. 263). *Ulysses*' most radical movement is in its refusal to fulfill either of these demands and its correspondent refusal to subordinate itself to the socializing functions of identity formation.⁴⁴ It insists instead on a deliberate stylization of dependence and inauthenticity, a stylization of the hybrid status of the colonized subject as of the colonized culture, their internal adulteration and the strictly parodic modes that they produce in every sphere.

III

We will become, what, I fear, we are largely at present, a nation of imitators, the Japanese of Western Europe, lost to the power of native initiative and alive only to second-hand assimilation. (Douglas Hyde)

Everywhere in the mentality of the Irish people are flux and uncertainty. Our national consciousness may be described, in a native phrase, as a quaking sod. It gives no footing. It is not English, nor Irish, nor Anglo-Irish ... (Daniel Corkery)

[The *pachaco*] dangerousness lies in his singularity. Everyone agrees in finding something hybrid about him, something disturbing and fascinating. He is surrounded by an aura of ambivalent notions: his singularity seems to be nourished by powers that are alternately evil and beneficent. (Octavio Paz)

We Brazilians and other Latin-Americans constantly experience the artificial, inauthentic and imitative nature of our cultural life. An essential element in our critical thought since independence, it has been variously interpreted from romantic, nationalist, modernist, right-wing, left-wing, cosmopolitan, and nationalist points of view, so we may suppose that the problem is enduring and deeply rooted. (Roberto Schwarz)

A European journalist, and moreover a leftist, asked me a few days ago, 'Does a Latin-American culture exist?' ... The question ... could also be expressed another way: 'Do you exist?' For to question our culture is to question our very existence, our human reality itself, and thus to be willing to take a stand in favor of our irremediable colonial condition, since it suggests that we would be but a distorted echo of what occurs elsewhere. (Roberto Fernandez Retamar)

The danger is in the nearness of identifications. (Samuel Beckett)

Riding on the train with another friend, I ramble on about the difficulty of finishing this book, feeling like I am being asked by all sides to be a 'representative' of the race, the sex, the sexuality - or at all costs to avoid that. (Cherríe Moraga)⁴⁵

Since there is insufficient space for a more exhaustive account, the above citations must serve as indicators of a recurrent and problematic set of issues that course through numerous colonial situations, perhaps especially in those where an 'original' language has been displaced by that of the colonizing power.⁴⁶ This problematic can be described as a confrontation with a cultural hybridization which, unlike the process of assimilation described by Bakhtin and others, issues in *inauthenticity* rather than authentic identity. To describe this confrontation as problematic is to insist that the experience of inauthenticity intended here is not to be confused with that of the celebrated post-modern subject, though clearly the overlapping geographical and historical terrain of each ultimately requires that they be elaborated together. For the aesthetic freedom of the post-modern subject is the end-product of a global assimilation of subordinated cultures to the flows of multinational capital in the post-colonial world, and to fail to specify that subject is to ignore equally the powerful dissymmetry between the subject who tastes and the indifferent, that is, interchangeable objects of his/her nomadic experience.⁴⁷ It should be recalled that the experience of colonized cultures such as Ireland's, with differing but increasing degrees of intensity, is to be subjected to an uneven process of assimilation. What is produced, accordingly, is not a self-sustaining and autonomous organism capable of appropriating other cultures to itself, as imperial and post-modern cultures alike conceive themselves to be, but rather, at the individual and national-cultural level, a hybridization radically dif-

ferent from Bakhtin's in which antagonism mixes with dependence and autonomy is constantly undermined by the perceived influence of alien powers.

A complex web of specular judgments constructs this problematic. On the side of the colonizer, it is the inauthenticity of the colonized culture, its falling short of the concept of the human, that legitimizes the colonial project. At the other end of the developmental spectrum, the hybridization of the colonized culture remains an index of its continuing inadequacy to this concept and of its perpetually 'imitative' status. The colonizer's gaze thus overlooks the recalcitrant sites of resistance that are at work in hybrid formations such as those we have been analysing. From the nationalist perspective, hybridity is no less devalued; the perceived inauthenticity of the colonized culture is recast as the contamination of an original essence, the recovery of which is the crucial prerequisite to the culture's healthy and normative development. The absence of an authentic culture is the death of the nation, its restoration its resurrection. In this sense, nationalist monologism is a dialogic inversion of imperial ideology, caught willy-nilly in the position of a parody, antagonistic but dependent.⁴⁹

These remarks need to be qualified, however, by reiterated stress upon the dissymmetry of the specular relation. Nationalism is generated as an oppositional discourse by intellectuals who appear, by virtue of their formation in imperial state institutions, as in the first place subjected to rather than the subjects of assimilation. Their assimilation is, furthermore, inevitably an uneven process: by the very logic of assimilation, either the assimilated must entirely abandon their culture of origins, supposing it to have existed in anything like a pure form, or persist in a perpetually split consciousness, perceiving the original cultural elements as a residue resistant to the subject formed as a citizen of the empire. Simultaneously, the logic of assimilation resists its own ideal model: since the process is legitimated by the judgment of the essential inferiority of the colonized, its very rationale would be negated in the case of a perfect assimilation of colonized subjects without remainder. Therefore, it is at once the power and the weakness of assimilation as the cultural arm of hegemonic imperialism that a total integration of the colonized into the imperial state is necessarily foreclosed. Recognition of this inescapable relegation to hybrid status among 'native' intellectuals formed by the promise of an ever-withheld subjecthood is a principal

impulse to nationalism at the same time as it determines the monologic mode of nationalist ideology.⁴⁹

We should recall, however, that the desire for the nation is not merely to be formative of an authentic and integral subjecthood, but also the means to capture the state which is the nation's material representation. This fact has crucial theoretical and practical consequences. The formation of nationalist intellectuals takes place through both the repressive and the ideological state apparatuses of the empire, the army and police forces being as instrumental as the schools or recreational spaces. This entails the space of the nation itself being constituted through these apparatuses which quite literally map it and give it its unity in the form of the state. Accordingly, just as the state form survives the moment of independence, the formation of the citizen-subject through these apparatuses continues to be a founding requirement of the new nation state.⁵⁰ What is true and again remarked of the post-colonial world, that 'independent' states put in place institutions entirely analogous to those of the colonial states that dominated them, is not merely to be explained as a ploy by which the defeated empires continue their domination in renovated guise. For the state form is a requirement of anti-colonial nationalism as it was its condition. By the same token, post-colonial nationalism is actively engaged in the formation of citizen-subjects through those institutions and thereby on the analogy of the metropolitan subject. This is an instance of the 'modernizing' effect of the state as the ensemble of institutions which ensures the continuing integration of the post-colonial state in the networks of multinational capital. But it is no less an instance of the modernizing effect of nationalism itself.

The terrain of colonial hybridization here analysed in the Irish context but with specific counterparts virtually everywhere in the colonial world falls in a double and, for the new nation, contradictory sense under the shadow of the state. Even where its most immediate instruments seem to be economic or cultural forces remote from the purview of the state, hybridization is impelled and sustained by the intervention of the imperial state — by its commercial and criminal laws, its institutions, its language, its cultural displays. Against this process reacts a monologic nationalism which, though already marked by hybridization, seeks to counter it with its own authentic institutions. In the post-independence state, these very institutions continue to be the locus of a process of hybridization

despite the separation out of a more or less reified sphere of 'national culture' whose functions, disconnected from oppositional struggle, become the formal and repetitive interpellation of national subjects and the residual demarcation of difference from the metropolitan power. In this respect also, the post-independence state reproduces the processes of metropolitan culture, the very formality of the 'difference' of the national culture ensuring that the interpellation of its citizens always takes the 'same form' as that of the metropolitan citizen.

Consequently, the apparatuses of the state remain crucial objects for a resistance which cannot easily be divided into theoretical and practical modes, not least because what determines both is an aesthetic narrative through which the theoretical is articulated upon the practical and vice versa. What begins as a Kantian precept finds specific material instantiation in post-colonial politics. For though the mode of formation of the citizen-subject may appear as a merely theoretical issue, the narrative of representation on which it depends for the principle by which individual and nation can be sutured determines equally the forms of schooling and of political institutions adopted. These in turn demarcate the limits of what can properly, in any given state, be termed a political practice. For, like any other social practice, politics is an effect of an ideological formation obedient to specific laws of verisimilitude. To have a voice in the sphere of the political, to be capable either of self-representation or of allowing oneself to be represented, depends on one's formation as a subject with a voice exactly in the Bakhtinian sense.

I have been arguing throughout that the processes of hybridization active in the Irish street ballads or in *Ulysses* are at every level recalcitrant to the aesthetic politics of nationalism and, as we can now see, to those of imperialism. Hybridization or adulteration resist identification both in the sense that they cannot be subordinated to a narrative of representation and in the sense that they play out the unevenness of knowledge which, against assimilation, foregrounds the political and cultural positioning of the audience or reader. To each recipient, different elements in the work will seem self-evident or estranging. That this argument does not involve a celebration of the irreducible singularity of the artistic work, which would merely be to take the detour of idealist aesthetics, is evident when one considers the extent to which *Ulysses* has been as much the object of refinement and assimilation in the academy as were the street ballads

before. This is, after all, the function of cultural institutions, metropolitan or post-colonial, which seek to reappropriate hybridization to monopoly. By the same token, such works are continually reconstituted as objects in a persistent struggle over verisimilitude.

It is precisely their hybrid and hybridizing location that makes such works the possible objects of such contestations, contestations that can be conducted oppositionally only by reconnecting them with the political desire of the aesthetic from which they are continually being separated. The same could be said for the multiple locations that make up the terrain of a post-colonial culture: it is precisely their hybrid formation between the imperial and the national state that constitutes their political significance. If, as post-colonial intellectuals, we are constantly taunted – and haunted – by the potentially disabling question, 'Can the subaltern speak?', it is necessary to recall that to speak politically within present formations one must have a voice and that the burden of the question here cited is to deprive two subjects of voices: the subaltern, who cannot speak for herself, and the intellectual, who, by speaking for him or herself, is deprived of the voice that would speak for others. The post-colonial intellectual, by virtue of a cultural and political formation which is for the state, is inevitably formed away from the people that the state claims to constitute and represent and whose malformation is its *raison d'être*. What this entails, however, is not occasion for despair and self-negation but rather that the intellectual's own hybrid formation become the ground for a continuing critique of the narrative of representation that legitimates the state and the double disenfranchisement of subaltern and citizen alike. Within this project, the critique of nationalism is inseparable from the critique of post-colonial domination.³¹

NOTES

1. See Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Judgement*, James Creed Meredith (trans.) (Oxford 1952), p. 181. I have discussed the ramifications of the concept of exemplarity for politics and pedagogy in 'Kant's Examples', *Representations*, 28 (Autumn 1989), pp. 34–54.
2. D.F. MacCarthy, cited in Charles Gavan Duffy, *Four Years of Irish History, 1845–1849* (London 1883), p. 72.
3. On the concept of *Naturgeschichte* as grounding the economy of genius, see Jacques Derrida, 'Economimesis', Richard Klein (ed.), *Disunities*, 11.2 (Summer 1981), pp. 10–11.

4. Jacques Derrida explores the logical paradoxes involved in the founding of the state in the name of the people in 'Déclarations d'indépendance' in *Quibégrophies: l'enseignement de Nietzsche et la politique du nom propre* (Paris 1984), pp. 13-32. The consequences of these logical paradoxes are worked out later in Ireland's own declaration of independence in 1916, as I have tried to show in 'The Poetics of Politics' above.
5. See especially chapter 2 of my *Nationalism and Minor Literature* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1987), and 'Writing in the Shit' above.
6. See Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, Michael Holquist (ed.), Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (trans.) (Austin 1981), pp. 67, 202-3, and *passim*.
7. To this extent, Bakhtin is still in accord with Erwin Rohde, whose history of the Greek novel he cites critically: both see the condition of emergence of the novel as being the collapse or disintegration of 'a unitary and totalizing national myth' (p. 65).
8. See Charles Gavan Duffy, *Young Ireland: A Fragment of Irish History, 1840-1850* (London 1880), p. 155.
9. As Thomas Flanagan has argued in his *The Irish Novelists, 1800-1850* (New York 1959), especially chapter 3, the problem for Irish novelists was precisely to overcome the polemical heteroglossia of 'race, creed and nationality' (p. 35). In a society in which identity is defined by opposition to others, the conventional form of the novel, which concentrates on individual development set over against social conventions, what Lukács describes as 'second nature', is unavailable. I have discussed some of the crises of representation faced by Irish novelists and constitutional thinkers in the early nineteenth century in 'Violence and the Constitution of the Novel' below. The tendency of Bakhtin's analysis of the novel and its social determinants makes it impossible for him to grasp the normative socializing function of the novel and therefore to explore fully the implications of Hegel's remark, which he cites (p. 234), that 'the novel must educate man for life in bourgeois society'. Bakhtin's representation of the novel as a largely progressive and subversive genre stands in need of considerable correction by other theorists who have more fully grasped its ideological and socializing functions. See for example Franco Moretti, *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture* (London 1987) and D.A. Miller, *The Novel and the Police* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1988), as well as Georg Lukács, *The Theory of the Novel*, Anna Bostock (trans.) (Cambridge 1971).
10. See Lloyd, *Nationalism and Minor Literature*, chapter 2. Citation from Duffy, *Four Years*, p. 153.
11. See Thomas Osborne Davis, 'The Ballad Poetry of Ireland', in *Selections from his Prose and Poetry*, T. W. Rolleston (intro.) (Dublin n.d.), p. 210.
12. It should be remarked that these classifications are constitutive more than analytic, inventing both demographic and aesthetic categories which, as this essay will suggest, subserve distinct political ends. All of them are, in different ways, highly problematic.
13. Daniel Corkery's *The Hidden Ireland: A Study of Gaelic Munster in the Eighteenth Century* (1924; Dublin 1967) is one of the first texts to decipher in Gaelic poetry of the eighteenth century the remnants of the traditions forged in a high or aristocratic tradition rather than the effusions of illiterate peasants.

14. Davis, 'The Songs of Ireland', *Prose and Poetry*, p. 225.
15. Denis Florence MacCarthy, *The Book of Irish Ballads*, new edition (Dublin 1869), p. 24.
16. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'The Statesman's Manual' (1816), in R.J. White (ed.), *Lay Sermons*, Bollingen Edition (Princeton 1972), p. 29. For the symbolist tradition in Irish nationalism's aesthetic politics, see 'The Poetics of Politics' above.
17. Charles Gavan Duffy (ed.), *The Ballad Poetry of Ireland* (Dublin 1845), p. xv.
18. On the anxiety concerning English miscegenation with the Gaels, see David Cairns and Shaun Richards, *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture* (Manchester 1988), pp. 5-7. On the economic and social currents in nineteenth-century Ireland that affected the emergence of Irish cultural nationalism, see Lloyd, *Nationalism and Minor Literature*, chapter 2. The question of the decline of the Irish language is more vexed, since recent research gives us reason to doubt the inexorability and rapidity of the decline of the language. Akenson, *Irish Educational Experiment*, pp. 378-80, uses census data to corroborate the notion, current since at least Davis's 1843 essay, 'Our National Language', that the language was in use only in the western half of the country and among less than 50 per cent of the population. (See 'Writing in the Shit' above for the consequences of this view.) Yet it may be that such statistics reflect only the predominant language of literacy, and that for a far greater proportion of the population than was formerly acknowledged, oral proficiency in Irish went along with literacy in English. The ballads often seem to assume a considerable degree of passive competence in Irish, at the least, and certainly an awareness of Gaelic cultural referents. Kevin Whelan remarks:

I would argue that in 1841 the absolute number speaking Irish was at an all-time high. Remember the population of Ireland in 1600 was ca. 1.5 million. By 1841, it was up to 8.5 million. 100% of 1.5 million is still 1.5 million, 50% of 8.5 million is 4.25 million. Thus, the decline model of 18th and 19th century Irish is misleading in absolute terms - and remember population was increasing rapidly in the west and south west - the Irish-speaking areas. The vitality and flexibility of pre-famine Gaelic-speaking culture has been severely underestimated. (Private correspondence)
- See also Niall Ó Cloisín, 'Truncated Popular Literature in Irish 1750-1850: Presence and Absence' and Garrett FitzGerald, 'The Decline of the Irish Language 1771-1871' in Mary Daly and David Dickson (eds), *The Origins of Popular Literacy in Ireland: Language Change and Educational Development 1700-1920* (Dublin 1990), pp. 45-57 and 59-72 respectively, and Tom Dunne, 'Popular Ballads, Revolutionary Rhetoric and Politicisation', in David Dickson and Hugh Cough (eds), *Ireland and the French Revolution* (Dublin 1990), p. 142.
19. See for example Robert Welch, *Irish Poetry from Moore to Yeats*, Irish Literary Studies, 5 (Gerrards Cross 1980), pp. 43-5, 71 and 131.
20. For 'The Barrymore Tithe Victory' and 'A New Song', see Georges-Denis Zimmerman, 'Irish Political Street Ballads and Rebel Songs, 1780-1900', doctoral thesis presented to University of Geneva (Geneva 1966), pp. 204-5 and 208-9, for 'The Kerry Recruit', see Ó Lochlainn, *Street Ballads*, pp. 2-3. I am grateful to

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- Brendan Ó Buachalla for alerting me to the wider significance of such allusions.
22. 'Father Murphy' in Ó Lochlainn, *Street Ballads*, pp. 54-5; 'Billy's Downfall' in Zimmermann, 'Irish Rebel Songs', pp. 220-1. Dunne, 'Popular Ballads', pp. 149-50, discusses six recorded versions of 'Father Murphy', and comments on the extent to which different versions may indicate either popular adaptations of bourgeois songs or, contrarily, bourgeois refinements of popular ballads.
23. An excellent account of the confusion of high and low in popular forms and of its pleasures is Peter Stallybrass and Allison White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, New York 1986). Zozimus's own defence at his trial for causing an obstruction in the Dublin streets is itself a magnificent example of the mixing of genres with exuberant disrespect for the canons:

Your Worship, I love me country. She's dear to me heart, an' an I to be prevented from writin' songs in her honour, like Tommy Moore, Walter Scott an' Horace done for theirs, or from singin' them like the an-shent bards, ony I haven't got me harp like them to accompany me aspiratons! ... An' as a portion ov the poetic janus ov me country has descended upon me shouldlers, ragged an' wretched as the garment that covers them, yet the cloth ov the prophet has not aroused more prophetic sentiments than I entertain, that me country shall be a free country! ... Honor sung the praises ov his country on the public highwa: an' we are informed that dramatic performances wor performed in the streets, with nothing else for a stage but a dust cart. (Laughter.)

Quoted in the Dublin publican and antiquarian P.J. McCall's pamphlet, *In the Shadow of St Patrick's* (1893; Blackrock 1976), pp. 32-3, this account is clearly refracted through oral history. Yet even in its own parodic fashion, it stands as an interesting index of the unstable tone of the popular discourse on cultural politics, which reproduces serio-comically all the terms of nationalist aesthetics but with an indeterminacy of address calculated to pull the wool over the authorities' eyes.

24. See John Mitchell, 'Our War Department', *United Irishman*, Lit (22 April 1848), p. 171.
25. See William Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, in *Poetical Works*, Thomas Hutchinson (ed.) (Oxford 1973), Book VII, p. 546, ll. 701-4.
26. I have developed these arguments in *Nationalism and Minor Literature*, chapters 1 and 3.
27. MacCarthy, *Irish Ballads*, p. 26.
28. Paul Ricoeur has noted the relation between the minimal element of metaphors and the maximal element of plot in Aristotle's *Poetics*, both narrating a coming to identity of disparate elements. See Paul Ricoeur, 'Metaphor and the Main Problem of Hermeneutics', *New Literary History*, 6, no. 1 (Autumn 1974), pp. 108-10. I have argued that the transfer from the metonymic to the metaphorical axis is the fundamental rhetorical structure of cultural assimilation and *raisonnements* in 'Race under Representation', *Oxford Literary Review*, 13 (Spring 1991), pp. 71-3. See also 'Violence and the Constitution of the Novel' below for further reflections on the political meaning of this distinction.
29. MacCarthy, *Irish Ballads*, p. 127. In his symbol-making, MacCarthy ignores recent discoveries by George Pettie, who showed that the round tower which are

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- so prominent a feature of Irish landscapes were of relatively recent Christian origin, thus dispelling numerous myths of origin which had gathered around them. See my *Nationalism and Minor Literature*, chapter 3.
30. On the proliferation of kitsch, nationalist and otherwise, see Kevin Rockett, 'Disputing Dependence: Separatism and Foreign Mass Culture', *Circuit*, 49 (January/February 1990), pp. 20-5. Nationalist artefacts work precisely, and not without calculated political effect, as kitsch in the sense that Franco Moretti defines it: 'kitsch literally "domesticates" aesthetic experience. It brings it into the home, where most of everyday life takes place.' See *The Way of the World*, p. 36.
31. James Joyce, *Ulysses* (New York 1986), pp. 152-3.
32. Douglas Hyde, 'The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland' in Brendan Ó Conaire (ed.), *Language, Lore and Lyrics: Essays and Lectures* (Blackrock 1986), p. 154.
33. Douglas Hyde, 'Celtic Folk Songs', in *Language, Lore and Lyrics*, p. 107.
34. In both *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*, pp. 96-7, and *The Critique of Judgment*, pp. 152-3, Kant describes the enlightened subject as adhering to three precepts: to think for oneself; to think consistently; and to think from the standpoint of all mankind. Though Bakhtin's formulation apparently abandons the final maxim, it is formally and therefore universally prescriptive in exactly the same manner as Kant's. Samuel Beckett's terse formulation, 'I'm in words, made of words, others' words', is perhaps the most succinct deconstruction of both. See *The Unnamable* (London 1959), p. 390.
35. I have discussed the complexities, largely resistant to nationalist aesthetics, of the process of translation in chapter 4 of *Nationalism and Minor Literature*.
36. Robert Tracy, in his essay 'Loving You All Ways: Vamps, Vampires, Necrophiles and Necrotillies in Nineteenth Century Fiction', in Regina Barreca (ed.), *Sex and Death in Victorian Literature* (London 1990), pp. 32-59, gives an excellent account of the social and political background to the vampire tales of Irish writers like Sheridan Le Fanu and Bram Stoker, creator of Dracula. Alan Taitley, *Dublin and Dubliners*, derives the name Dracula itself from the Gaelic Drochda, 'black' or 'bad blood', confirming its Irish origins. I am indebted to Kevin Whelan for this reference.
37. On Joyce's personal obsession with adultery and betrayal, see for example Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (Oxford 1959), pp. 255, 288-93. This obsession was written out not only in *Ulysses*, but also in 'The Dead', the last story of *Dubliners*, and *Exiles*, Joyce's only play.
38. On the question of the hybridization of Irish culture, the most useful study is Cheryl Herr's *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture* (Urbana/Chicago 1986), which analyses in detail the various institutions which compose and interact within colonial Ireland. As she remarks, 'The distortions of reality which one institution imposes on a semantic field operate endlessly in a culture composed of many competing institutions' (p. 14). The chapter pivots around Leopold Bloom's scapegoating as an alien Jew, and opens with the figure of the Jewish money-lender, Moses Herzog, whose name connects directly with the identically named Zionist leader. Since in this chapter Bloom is also given credit for Sinn Féin leader Arthur Griffith's adaptation of Hungarian nationalist strategies, it is clear that Joyce is deliberately playing up the paradox that lies at the heart of nationalism, namely, its

dependence on the dislocatory forces of modernization for its 'local' appeal. If Leopold Bloom be considered Everyman, that is, in Odysseus's own formulation to the Cyclops, 'Noman', then he is so only in the sense that he fulfils Karl Marx's prediction in 'On the Jewish Question', that the principle of exchange for which anti-Semitism castigates the Jew will be most fully realized in 'Christian' civil society. See especially the second essay in *Early Writings*, Rodney Livingstone and Gregor Benton (trans.) (New York 1975). Morton F. Leavitt, in 'A Hero for our Time: Leopold Bloom and the Myth of Ulysses', in Thomas F. Staley (ed.), *Fifty Years Ulysses* (Bloomington, Indiana 1974), p. 142, makes a representative claim for the notion that 'In the urban world in which we all live, no man could be more representative.' For J.H. Raleigh, 'he is modern, secular man, an international phenomenon produced in the Western world at large in fairly stable numbers by the secular currents of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a type often both homeless in any specific locale and at home in any of the diverse middle-class worlds in the Europe and America of those centuries.' See 'Ulysses: Trinitarian and Catholic' in Robert D. Newman and Weldon Thornton (eds), *Joyce's Ulysses, The Larger Perspective* (Newark 1988), pp. 111-12.

39. See Colin MacCabe, *James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word* (London 1979), p. 92. See also Karen Lawrence, *The Odyssey of Style in Ulysses* (Princeton 1981), whose excellent analysis of the Cyclops' chapter recognizes its hybrid or uneven character stylistically (especially pp. 106-7), but confines its implications to a modernist problematic of style and to 'Joyce's skepticism about the ordering of experience in language and a personal desire to be above the constraints that writing usually imposes' (p. 119). The nature of this chapter has best been described, in terms that would be quite critical of MacCabe's rendering of it, by Eckhard Lobsien, *Der Alltag des Ulysses: Die Vermittlung von ästhetischer Lebensweltlicher Erfahrung* (Stuttgart 1978), p. 106: 'Die zunächst so selbstverständlich anmutende Perspektive des Ich-Erzählers zeigt sich als bald ebenso verformt und von undurchshauten Spielregeln eingeschränkt wie die Interpretationen' ('The at first apparently self-evident perspective of the first person narrator reveals itself directly to be just as deformed and restricted by inscrutable rules as the interpolations'); and p. 110: 'Die verschiedenen, in sich geschlossenen Versionen von Alltagswelten werden derart in Interferenz gebracht, daß die Leseraktivität auf die Aufdeckung der geltenden Spielregeln und damit eine Desintegration des Textes abzielt' ('The various, self-enclosed versions of everyday worlds are thus brought into interference with one another so that the reader's activity aims at discovering the appropriate rules and thereby a disintegration of the text'). Lobsien emphasizes throughout the 'interference' that takes place at all discursive levels in 'Cyclops' and its effect of relativizing the 'Repräsentationssanspruch jeder einzelnen Sprachform' ('representational claims of every individual form of language') (p. 108). In the present essay, I seek to give back to that 'claim to representation' its full political purview.

40. Joyce's fascination with malapropism is evident from as early as the first story of *Dubliners*, 'The Sisters', in which Eliza speaks of the new carriages' 'rheumatic wheels', to *Finnegans Wake*, for which it might be held to be a stylistic principle. Unlike the pun, which generally is more likely to be 'forced', i.e. the product of an eager intention to subvert, malapropism (as the name nicely implies) evokes a

subject not entirely in control of the metonymic productivity of language. If puns condense, malapropisms displace. *Finnegans Wake* clearly plays on the borderline between the two, generating more displacements than an individual subject can master. The Citizen's pun on 'civilisation' and 'syphulisation' is especially interesting insofar as it invokes standard nationalist attacks on the corrupting effects of English civilization on a morally pure Irish culture in the form of a verbal corruption. The movements of displacement or dislocation that construct colonized society are grasped in the displaced language of the colonized. Both are at once indices of damage and impetuses to the dismantling of the appropriate autonomous speaking subject.

41. See Lloyd, *Nationalism and Minor Literature*, pp. 113-15, for a fuller discussion of the oscillation between antagonism and dependence in parody. An excellent study of the dynamics of parodic forms is Margaret A. Rose, *Parody/Metafiction: An Analysis of Parody as a Critical Mirror to the Writing and Reception of Fiction* (London 1979).

42. In first writing this essay for a publication on Chicano culture, I was forcibly reminded of the figure of La Malinche in Mexican/Chicano culture, who, as Cortez's mistress and interpreter, condenses with exceptional clarity the complex of racial betrayal, translation and adultery that Joyce equally seeks to mobilize in 'Cyclops'. On La Malinche, see Octavio Paz, 'The Sons of La Malinche' in *Labyrinths of Solitude* (New York 1961), pp. 65-88; Norma Alarcón, 'Chicana Feminist Literature: Revision through Malintraiz/for Malintzin: Putting Flesh Back on the Object' in Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (eds), *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (New York 1983), pp. 182-90; and Cherríe Moraga, 'A Long Line of Verdidas' in *Love in the War Years: lo que nunca paso por sus labios* (Boston 1983), especially pp. 113-14 and 117. In his essay 'Myth and Comparative Cultural Nationalism: the Ideological Uses of Aztlan', in Rudolfo A. Anaya and Francisco Lomeli (eds), *Aztlan: Essays on the Chicano Homeland* (Albuquerque 1989), Genaro Padilla provides a valuable critical history of such recourses to mythic figures in Chicano cultural politics and indicates the similarities in political tendency and value of such tendencies across several cultural nationalisms, including Ireland's. In the Chicano as in the Irish context, what is politically decisive is the appropriative or malapropian displacing effect of the mythic gesture with regard to dominant culture.

43. Colin MacCabe explores all these issues in Joyce's writings throughout *James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word*. See also Bonnie Kime Scott, *Joyce and Feminism* (Bloomington, Indiana 1984), especially chapter 2, 'Mythical, Historical and Cultural Contexts for Women in Joyce', pp. 9-28; Dominic Manganiello, *Joyce's Politics* (London 1980); Hélène Cixous, *L'Écriture de James Joyce ou l'art du remplacement* (Paris 1968), especially II.1, 'Le réseau des dépendances', is a valuable exploration of the linkages between family, church and nation, which perhaps surprisingly takes the father's rather than the mother's part.

44. On the socializing function of the novel, see especially Moretti, *The Way of the World*, pp. 15-16. Even where he lays claim to Irish identity ('I'm Irish; I was born here'), or where he seeks to define a nation ('The same people living in the same place'), Bloom appeals to the contingencies of merely contiguous relationships as opposed to the nationalist concern with a lineage of spirit and blood which must be kept pure. Bloom's insistence on contiguity underwrites his own

figuration as a locus of contamination or hybridization as against the assimilative principles of nationalist ideology.

45. See respectively: Hyde, 'The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland', p. 169; Daniel Corkery, *Synge and Anglo-Irish Literature* (Cork 1931), p. 14; Paz, 'The Pachucos and Other Extremes' in *Labyrinths of Solitude*, p. 16; Roberto Schwarz, 'Brazilian Culture: Nationalism by Elimination', *New Left Review*, 167 (January/February 1988), p. 77; Roberto Fernandez Retamar, 'Caliban' in *Caliban and Other Essays*, Edward Baker (trans.) (Minneapolis 1988), p. 3; Samuel Beckett, 'Dante ... Bruno. Vico ... Joyce' in Raby Cohn (ed.), *Digress: Miscellaneous Writings and a Dramatic Fragment* (New York 1984), p. 19; Cherríe Moraga, *Looking in the War Years*, p. vi.

46. Retamar writes in 'Caliban' (p. 5) of the singularity of Latin American post-colonial culture in terms of its having always to pass through metropolitan languages, those of the colonizer. In this, as in many other respects, there are evidently close affinities between the Irish and the Latin American experience. But this appeal to specificity may in fact be spurious. As Ngugi Wa Thiong'o has pointed out, African literature has also by and large been written in the colonizer's languages despite the ubiquitous survival of African vernacular languages. See *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (London 1986), pp. 4-9. What this indicates, as I shall argue in what follows, is that the crucial issue is the space constituted for the citizen-subject in the post-colonial nation not only by the languages but also by the institutional and cultural forms bequeathed by the departing colonizer. As Thiong'o grasps, these are the sites and the subjects in which colonialism continues to reproduce itself.

47. See for example Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (trans.) (Minneapolis 1984), p. 76.

When power is that of capital and not that of a party, the 'transavant-gardist' or 'postmodern' (in Jenck's sense) solution proves to be better adapted than the anmodern solution. Eclecticism is the degree zero of contemporary general culture: one listens to reggae, watches a western, eats McDonald's food for lunch and local cuisine for dinner, wears Paris perfume in Tokyo and 'retro' clothes in Hong Kong; knowledge is a matter for T.V. games. It is easy to find a public for eclectic works ... But this realism of anything goes is in fact that of money: in the absence of aesthetic criteria, it remains possible and useful to assess the value of works of art according to the profits they yield. Such realism accommodates all tendencies, just as capitalism accommodates all 'needs', provided that the tendencies and needs have purchasing power. As for taste, there is no need to be delicate when one speculates or entertains oneself.

Perceptive as this critique is of a vulgar post-modernism's 'cosmopolitanism', we might note that the 'one' of 'general culture' is restored at a higher level only by the invocation of 'taste' and 'aesthetic criteria', that is, at the level of the cosmopolitan point of view of the Subject.

For an excellent critique of the confusion between post-colonial and post-modern forms, see KumKum Sangari, 'The Politics of the Possible', *Cultural Critique*, 7 (Autumn 1987), pp. 157-86. Both she and Julio Ramos, in his 'Uneven

Modernities: Literature and Politics in Latin America', forthcoming in *Boundary*, 2, have pointed out that many of the distinguishing characteristics of Latin American literature, which often appear as post-modern effects, can in fact better be derived from the uneven processes of modernization that have occurred there. This is not, of course, to suggest a single developmental model for all societies but, on the contrary, to suggest the radical variability of modes as well as rates of change. Given the contemporary allure of the 'nomadic subject' or of 'nomadic theory', it is perhaps cautionary to recall that the legitimating capacity of the imperial subject is his ability to be everywhere (and therefore nowhere) 'at home'. For some exploration of this notion as it structures imperialist and racist representations, see Satya Mohanty, 'Kipling's Children and the Colour Line', in *Race and Class*, special issue, 'Literature: Colonial Lines of Descent', 31, no. 1 (July/September 1989), especially pp. 36-8.

48. Early-twentieth-century nationalist appeals to Celticism are an excellent instance of this process, reversing the value but retaining the terms of stereotypes of the Celt first promulgated systematically by Samuel Ferguson and then extended by Matthew Arnold. I have discussed the formation of this stereotype in Ferguson's writings of the 1830s and Arnold's in the 1860s in 'Arnold, Ferguson, Schiller: Aesthetic Culture and the Politics of Aesthetics', *Cultural Critique*, 2 (Winter 1986), pp. 137-69.

49. Homi Bhabha has explored the hybrid status of the colonized subject in 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', October, 28 (Spring 1984), pp. 125-33. On the foreclosure of the native intellectual's assimilation to the imperial state, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London 1983), p. 105. I owe the distinction between the dominant and hegemonic phases of colonialism to Abdul JanMohamed's powerful essay, 'The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonial Literature', in Henry Louis Gates, Jr (ed.), *Race, Writing and Difference* (Chicago 1985), pp. 78-107. JanMohamed criticizes Bhabha in this essay for failing to respect the dissymmetry between the colonizing and colonized subject in the Manichean social relations of colonialism. I try to show here that the two positions are inter-related, insofar as any nationalist opposition to colonialism is first articulated through the transvaluation of forms furnished by the colonial power. The moment of dependence in the relationship in no way diminishes the force of the antagonism in the national struggle for independence, but it does determine the forms taken by the post-colonial state and the necessity for a continuing critique of nationalism as a mimicry of imperial forms. On these aspects of nationalism, see Partha Chatterjee's *Nationalism and the Colonial World, A Derivative Discourse?* (London 1986), especially chapters 1 and 2. With regard to the logic of assimilation and its perpetual production of residues, I am greatly indebted to Zita Nune's analysis of the formation of Brazilian national identity in literary modernism and anthropology of the 1920s and 1930s. Her work lucidly shows how the Manichean construction of otherness and the hybrid forms produced by colonialism are logically interdependent moments in the process of assimilation. It thus provides a means to politicizing Bhabha's understanding of 'hybridization', since that process is shown to be captured in the hierarchic movement of assimilation which necessarily produces a residue that resists. Hybridization must accordingly be seen as an unevenness of incorporation within a developmental

structure rather than an oscillation between or among identities. Nunes also demonstrates clearly the necessarily racist constructions implicit in cultural solutions to problems of national identity, thus introducing an invaluable corrective to concepts such as *mesetage* which continue to be uncritically espoused even by thinkers such as Retamar. See Nunes, 'Os Males do Brasil: Antropofagia e Modernismo', *Papeis Avulsos do CIEC* (Rio de Janeiro), no. 22.

50. My terms here are indebted to Louis Althusser's essay 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)' in *Letter and Philosophy and Other Essays*, Ben Brewster (trans.) (New York 1971), pp. 127-86. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 108-9, indicates the extent to which nationalist intellectuals are formed within the colonial state apparatus, a perception borne out in the case of Young Ireland by Jacqueline Hill's analysis of the social composition of the movement in 'The Intelligentsia and Irish Nationalism in the 1840s', *Studia Hibernica*, 20 (1980), pp. 73-109. See also Frantz Fanon's essays 'The Pitfalls of National Consciousness' and 'On National Culture' in *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York 1963), pp. 148-205 and 206-48 respectively. These essays analyse the dialectical process by which a bourgeois anti-colonial nationalism may give way to a popular nationalism in the post-independence state which is not subordinated to a fetishized 'national culture'. As such, they provide the ground for a critique of intellectual tendencies such as Irish revisionist history which criticize the anti-modernist and Manichean tendencies of nationalism only to valorize British imperialism as an essentially modernizing force.

51. I allude of course to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's seminal essay 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (eds) (Urbana and Chicago 1988), pp. 271-313. I make no attempt to paraphrase this essay here, wishing only to suggest that the opposition it establishes between *Darstellung* and *Verraten* requires to be transformed dialectically through the concept of the state in which both are subsumed into a unity of being and of being capable of being represented. That the subaltern cannot speak in our voice is a problem only insofar as the post-colonial intellectual retains the nostalgia for the universal position occupied by the intellectual in the narrative of representation. Similarly, the inevitability of employing Western modes of knowledge is a critical condition of the intellectual's formation and inseparable from his/her occupation of a national space. The logical inverse of these propositions is that the contradictory existence of the post-colonial intellectual equally affects the coherence of Western modes of knowledge which are necessarily reformed and hybridized in other locations. The most interesting discussion of these issues is Homi Bhabha's 'The Commitment to Theory', *Notes for Nations*, 5 (1988), pp. 5-24. In all this, as in the composition of this essay as a whole, I am indebted to conversations with Dipesh Chakrabarty.

VIOLENCE AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NOVEL

Violence upon the roads: violence of horses

W.B. Yeats, 'Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen'

I

With the possible exception of greenness, no quality has more frequently and repetitiously been attributed to Ireland than violence. The last twenty-five years of our history have done little to diminish either the regularity or the apparent self-evidence of the characterization: to cite A.T.Q. Stewart in *The Narrow Ground*, 'Violence would appear to be endemic in Irish society, and this has been so as far back as history is recorded.'¹ In such sweeping transhistorical claims or in the slightly less noxious, because less authoritative, caricatures of the tabloid press, the notion of Irish violence scarcely proceeds beyond racial stereotyping. Within serious historiography, two distinct understandings of violence can be broadly traced. For nationalist historiography, the violence of Irish history is symptomatic of the unrelenting struggle of an Irish people forming itself in sporadic but connected risings against British domination. The end of this history of violence lies in the independent nation state. For imperialist and, perhaps much the same thing, revisionist histories, violence may or may not be an endemic quality of the Irish, but it is what summons into being the emergence of a modern state apparatus in Ireland: a national police force, administration and legal system, education and even parliamentary democracy. Violence is understood as an atavistic and disruptive principle counter to the rationality of legal constitution as barbarity is to an emerging civility, anarchy to culture. In one thing, both tendencies concur: the end of violence is the legitimate state formation. By the same token, the end of history is the emergence of the state. From such a perspective,