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JAMES JOYCE AND “EASTERN EUROPE”: AN INTRODUCTION

TEKLA MECSNÓBER

For a major writer in the English language, James Joyce’s acquaintance with what for the moment we shall call “Eastern Europe” is exceptionally rich. For the fact that this relationship remains relatively little known, “[i]t seems”, as Joyce’s Haines would say in *Ulysses*, “history is to blame” (*U* 1.649) – or, more precisely, the long-standing isolation that followed from this region being assigned to the Eastern, Soviet-dominated side of the Iron Curtain after World War II. The much contested concept of “Eastern Europe”, whose definition has been at least as “variously inflected, differently pronounced, otherwise spelled, changeably meaning” (*FW* 118.22-3) as the many languages within its bounds, did not, of course, exist in Joyce’s time, arising ultimately as a result of the Cold War. In spite of this apparent anachronism, this term will here be used to indicate countries that belong geographically to Central, Southern or Eastern Europe, but were fated to fall under Soviet influence after World War II and were known for roughly four subsequent decades as the “Eastern Bloc”. Having lived between 1904 and 1915 in what was then the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Joyce had of course ample first-hand experience of a state which included territories belonging to and population deriving from several countries later subsumed under the category of “Eastern Europe” – Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Bohemia, Slovakia, as well as Serbia, Albania, Romania, Poland and Ukraine.¹

I am grateful to R. Brandon Kershner and Geert Lernout for their comments on earlier versions of this paper, to Fritz Senn for his continued readiness to send data, photocopies and words of wisdom, and to Arleen Ionescu, Tatjana Jukić and Ivana Milivojević for their help with Romanian, Croatian and Serbian data.

¹ Although the term “Eastern Europe” is rather offensive for many inhabitants of these countries, I shall use it here in a neutral sense, and thus usually omit the otherwise richly deserved quotation marks henceforth. Given the complex and rather mutable political and ethnic make-up of the region in the past centuries, my list above is meant to indicate only the largest territories and populations.

Although Joyce's relationship with Eastern European cultures was rich and complex, scholarly explorations of these facets have been relatively meagre. The organizers and sponsors of the 2006 International James Joyce Symposium of Budapest and Szombathely, held for the first time ever behind what used to be called the Iron Curtain, very consciously tried to take a step towards remedying this omission. Bearing the theme of "Joycean Unions", the symposium took place in a country that, with several other ex-Eastern Bloc countries, had acceded to membership of the European Union two years earlier. With the help of special grants, this conference attracted an unprecedented number of Eastern European scholars. This essay is inspired by and greatly indebted to their contributions. I was stimulated in particular by Marianna Gula's analysis of the youthful Joyce's response to "Ecce Homo" (1896), a monumental painting by the Hungarian painter Mihály Munkácsy (1844-1900), Arleen Ionescu's discussion of Joycean influence in the fiction and criticism of the Romanian writer Ion Biberi (1904-1990), Tatjana Jukić's exploration of the fate of Joycean "spectres" at the hand of the Yugoslav writer Danilo Kiš (1935-1989) and his critics, and Ferenc Takács's plenary on the Cyclopean resurgence of nationalism in the region.²

In what follows I shall attempt to give a sketch of three major aspects of Joyce's interaction with the region. After briefly summarizing Joyce's encounters with Eastern Europe, I shall discuss a number of common features in the fate of translations and critical responses to Joyce's work in the region. Finally and perhaps most importantly, the workings of some fundamental Eastern European motifs and themes in Joyce's oeuvre will be discussed. Although I draw on the work of many scholars, this introduction has a Hungarian emphasis. This is a natural result partly of Bloom's Hungarian roots, partly of my own limitations. I shall, in particular, be using the figures of the Hungarian Mihály Munkácsy and the Yugoslav (Montenegrin-Serbian-Jewish-Hungarian) Danilo Kiš to make sense of some of

² Marianna Gula's paper is included in the present volume. Arleen Ionescu's paper was called "Ion Biberi, Romanian Literature and *Ulysses*" and was read on 12 June 2006, just as Tatjana Jukić's paper "'A Sow that Eats her Farrow': Joycean Genealogies for Danilo Kiš". Ferenc Takács's plenary was entitled "*Százharminczbrojűgulyás-Dugulás*: Bloom, Hungary, and the Spectre of the Citizen Haunting Post-Communist Europe" and was delivered on Bloomsday 2006 in Szombathely.

Joyce’s “uses” of Eastern Europe. As Munkácsy was a painter whose painting provided at least a pretext for the young Joyce to clarify his views on art, and Kiš regarded himself both personally and artistically related to Joyce’s fiction, a discussion of these two Eastern European artists also stresses the mutual influence between the region and the Irish writer. Relying on the examples of Munkácsy and Kiš I shall argue that Joyce’s work, especially *Ulysses*, reflects a grasp of some of the foundational experience of the inhabitants of Eastern Europe. This is also meant to illustrate my conviction that learning about the Eastern European context can shed light on Joyce’s work, especially *Ulysses*, and my experience that thinking about Joyce’s work can help one better understand Eastern Europe.

James Joyce encounters Eastern Europe

Joyce’s various encounters with Eastern European people, cultures and languages have been mapped out by Richard Ellmann, John McCourt and numerous other scholars. We know, for instance, that the name of the writer’s father and brother were in remembrance of the Polish Jesuit novice St Stanislaus Kostka (1550-68). The family also had a fraternal enthusiasm for the revolutionary spirit of suppressed Catholic Poland (*JJII* 14). We know that one of Joyce’s first fully extant critical writings was inspired by the “Ecce Homo” of Mihály Munkácsy, and that one of his formative political readings was Arthur Griffith’s *The Resurrection of Hungary* (1904).

We also know that during his stay in the Austro-Hungarian Adriatic ports of Pola and Trieste, Joyce met plenty of local citizens with Eastern European roots and often complex identities. Ettore Schmitz, Teodoro Mayer and Luis Blum combined a Hungarian Jewish provenance with a German surname and Italian political sympathies. A number of Joyce’s acquaintances had Slavic names and more or less distant Slavic origins: his colleague at the Pola Berlitz school, Amalia Globocnik, his eventual brother-in-law, the Czech František (František) Schaurek, his Trieste friends Nicolò Vidacovich and Mario Tripcovich, his business partners in the Volta cinema Antonio Machnich and Francesco Novak, and a friendly Bulgarian family called Bliznakoff³. In this melting pot of Austro-Hungarian and

³ For Svevo and Mayer, see *JJII* 196-7, 374; for a detailed account of Joyce’s Hungarian-Jewish acquaintances in Trieste, see John McCourt’s *The Years of Bloom: James Joyce in Trieste 1904–1920* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2000), 86, 94, 264 n.

Mediterranean peoples, Joyce learned about various Eastern European cultures and languages little known in Ireland or elsewhere in Western Europe (such as Czech, Slovene, Croatian, Serbian or Hungarian)⁴ and amused himself with observing the behaviour of people of various nationalities to guess their national “character”. Living in Pola, Trieste, Rome, and Zurich also gave Joyce a chance to acquaint himself with Central and Eastern European authors, acquiring books by numerous Russian writers, the best-selling Polish novelist Henryk Sienkiewicz, as well as “Austro-Hungarian” authors like the Budapest-born founder of Zionism, Theodor Herzl, the Viennese (Jewish) Arthur Schnitzler, and the (non-Jewish) Galician writer Leopold von Sacher-Masoch. He also learned about the theories of Viennese Jewish intellectuals like Sigmund Freud or the notorious theorist of sexual difference, Otto Weininger.⁵ It was most likely also in Trieste that Joyce received inspiration for many specific details of Bloom’s Eastern European background, such as his Hungarian name Virag (Virág), his father’s birth place Szombathely, or the location of his father’s cousin’s photo atelier in “Szesfehérvár” (correctly, Székesfehérvár, U 17.1875-7).⁶

Having moved to Paris in 1920, Joyce is known to have relied on his brother Stanislaus and his brother-in-law Frantisek Schaurek for information on Eastern European matters, and followed the particularly troubled political developments of the post-World War I era in the region.⁷ In the avant-garde literary periodical *transition* Joyce could read and see, in addition to fragments of his own *Work in Progress* (1927-38) and work by “Western” artists like Samuel Beckett, Ernest Hemingway or Pablo Picasso, also work by Eastern European artists like the Russian writers Sergei Yesenin, Mikhail

33, 225, 278 n. 103. For Machnich, Vidacovich and Novak, see *JJII* 300ff and McCourt, *The Years of Bloom*, 142-5, for Tripkovich, see McCourt 248, for the Bliznakoffs, see *JJII* 396-7.

⁴ McCourt, *The Years of Bloom*, pp. 50-51.

⁵ See e. g. Richard Ellmann’s reconstruction of “Joyce’s Library in 1920” in *The Consciousness of Joyce* (London: Faber and Faber, 1977), pp. 97-134.

⁶ For Joyce’s encounters with the name Szombathely, see McCourt, *The Years of Bloom*, pp. 96, 226, and Róbert Orbán, “The Ulysses of Szombathely” in Róbert Orbán (ed), *The Joyce of Szombathely* (Szombathely: City of Szombathely, 2006), pp. 26-28.

⁷ See e. g. the reference to Béla Kun, exiled leader of the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919 in a letter from 1921 (*SL* 280-281).

Zoshchenko and Alexander Blok, the painter Kasimir Malevich and Vassily Kandinsky, the Bulgarian writer Elin Pelin, the Serbian poets Ljubomir Micić and Veljko Petrović, the Czech writers Karel Toman and Vítězslav Nezval, the Romanian poet Tristan Tzara, the sculptor Constantin Brâncuși, the Hungarian poet Lőrincz Szabó, the painter Lajos Tihanyi and the painter, photographer and art theorist László Moholy-Nagy.⁸ Between 1926 and 1929, he was visited in Paris by various Eastern European artists and intellectuals, among them the Romanian-born sculptor Constantin Brâncuși, the Czech writer and graphic artist Adolf Hoffmeister, the Russian writers Ilya Ehrenburg and Isaac Babel, and, famously, the Russian filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein.⁹ He became friendly with the Russian-born Jewish émigré Paul Léopold (or indeed Leopoldovich/Léopoldovitch) Léon, who virtually became the writer’s secretary from 1930 until his arrest by the Nazis. Joyce took lessons in Russian from Léon’s brother-in-law Alex Ponisovsky (*JJII* 629-30, 734), and the enterprising publisher of the first German translations of Joyce’s *Portrait*, *Ulysses* and *Dubliners* (1926, 1927 and 1928, respectively) was a Budapest-born Hungarian of Jewish origin, Dr Daniel (Dániel) Bródy.¹⁰

Eastern Europe encounters James Joyce

One of the reasons that make the discussion of Joyce’s relationship with Eastern Europe especially meaningful lies in the way political ideologies and interests have determined the fate of translations and critical responses to Joyce’s work in the region. The Slovenian, Croatian, Czech, Slovak, Romanian, Polish, Bulgarian, Russian and, significantly, separate “East German” reception of Joyce’s work has been expertly treated in the essays collected by Geert Lernout and Wim Van Mierlo in *The Reception of James Joyce in Europe* (2004).¹¹

⁸ See Appendix I of Dougald McMillan, *Transition 1927-1938: The History of a Literary Era* (Amsterdam and London: Meulenhoff in association with Calder and Boyars, 1975), pp. 235-278.

⁹ Geert Lernout and Wim Van Mierlo, eds., *The Reception of James Joyce in Europe* (London and New York: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004) xxii ff.

¹⁰ For Bródy, see Ira Nadel, *Joyce and the Jews* (Macmillan, London, 1989), p. 233.

¹¹ The Serbian Joyce reception has been briefly treated in a recent study by Sandra Josipović entitled “The Reception of James Joyce’s Work in Twentieth-Century Serbia” in *Censorship across Borders: The Reception of English Literature in Twentieth-Century Europe*, ed. Catherine O’Leary and Alberto Lázaro (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), pp. 93-104, and Márta Goldmann

As Joyce's reception in the region as such has not been often discussed, it seems worth stressing a few general points here. The most obvious and most general of these is how clearly and how similarly the Eastern European history of Joycean texts and criticism was influenced by the direct involvement of "orthodox" or "Stalinist" communist cultural politics.¹² As is evident from the various studies in the *Reception* volumes, the reception of Joyce's works was in most countries divided into the periods before, during and after the reign of dogmatic communism. Moreover, a great uniformity can be seen within the region in the official communist discourse regarding Joyce's works, and, consequently, in the order in which these works were eventually allowed to be published, and in the publishing strategies that were followed. Finally, there are also striking similarities in the options available to critics whose opinion did not coincide with party guidelines. A few examples will illustrate these points.

The beginning and end of communist ideological influence did differ from country to country – again, for historical reasons. Joyce translators and scholars suffered for the longest time in the former Soviet Union (from the mid-30s until roughly late 60s, early 1970s), and for the shortest time in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (a few years after World War II, until about 1952). The studies of the *Reception* volumes bear testimony that before Stalinist communism began to determine cultural politics in these countries, the interest of the local cultural elites in Joyce's texts appears to have been comparable to "Western" counterparts. Thus, the first (pre-)Eastern European translation of a story from *Dubliners*, "Eveline", appeared in Czech in 1922, only a year after the French version, while the complete *Dubliners* was published in Polish in 1933 (as compared to 1926 in French and 1928 in German). Excerpts from *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* appeared in Hungarian translation in 1928, and the full text came out in Czech in 1930, while the first full French translation had been published in 1924, preceded

provided a brief summary of the Hungarian reception in an article entitled "Belated Reception: James Joyce's Works in Hungary" (*Comparative Critical Studies* 3 [2006], 3, 227-248).

¹² This is not to suggest that Eastern Europe was lucky enough to escape the influence of fascism, only that the influence of communism on Joyce scholarship was longer-lasting and thus more obvious.

only by the Swedish one in 1921. Parts of *Ulysses* were published in Russian as early as in German (1925) and only a year after the publication of excerpts in French, while the whole text could be read in Czech in 1930, closely following upon the 1927 German and 1929 French translations. The ALP section of *Finnegans Wake* was published in Czech in 1932, a year after the first French version by Samuel Beckett and his collaborators.¹³

The kind of “European Union” of artistic exchange that these early translations suggest was broken up dramatically as a result of the heavy-handed division of Europe at the end of World War II and the spreading of Stalinist communism over the eastern parts. As mentioned earlier, the extent of political-ideological pressure on the literary life of each Eastern European country showed considerable variation, depending on a number of factors. These included the time and length of dogmatic communist rule, the ideological distance of the local political leadership from orthodox Soviet-style communism, the severity and efficiency of the repressive administration of the country, the personal tastes of the literary censors and decision makers, and the degree of conformism in members of the literary elite.

However, in most cases, the fate of Joyce’s works in the Eastern Bloc was heavily influenced by an ideological condemnation of Joyce and especially *Ulysses* that dated back to the seminal statement made by (Austro-Hungarian-born) Karl Radek at the first Congress of Soviet Writers in August 1934.¹⁴ Radek summed up what he saw as Joyce’s decadent and nihilistic naturalism by famously describing *Ulysses* as “a heap of dung, crawling with worms, photographed through a cinema apparatus through a microscope”.¹⁵ As such, it had nothing to do with socialist realism – the only method that was acceptable for the revolutionary building of communism –, therefore he decided that “nothing essential can be learned” from Joyce. This in effect amounted to saying that he ought not to be published, read or critically discussed. Although Radek was arrested and tried for treason soon after the Congress, this did not prevent his views from becoming

¹³ See Lernout and Van Mierlo, *Reception*, pp. xx-xxv, and, for the Hungarian translations, Márta Goldmann, *James Joyce kritikái fogadtatása Magyarországon* [*The Critical Reception of James Joyce in Hungary*] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2005) pp. 20, 43.

¹⁴ For an account of the 1934 Congress, see e.g. Emily Tall, “The Reception of James Joyce in Russia” in Lernout and Van Mierlo, *Reception*, pp. 245-7.

¹⁵ Quoted in Tall, “The Reception of James Joyce in Russia”, p. 246.

a well-established dogma in orthodox communist cultural politics throughout the Eastern European region. Some of these views received further support from (also Austro-Hungarian-born) Georg (György) Lukács's 1936 contribution to the contemporary debate on formalism. Lukács similarly accused Joyce's work (and again, chiefly *Ulysses*) of decadence, formalism, subjectivism and irrationalism.¹⁶

In the wake of the views of Radek, Lukács and their followers, Joyce thus became a symbol of all the evils of the art of "rotting" or "decaying" capitalism. This, at the most extreme, meant that Joyce's works were excluded from publication and serious critical assessment, and were only admissible in what have been described by Ferenc Takács as quasi-cultic acts of ritual excommunication from the realm of literature. As Takács argues, such acts can be seen as part of an "exclusionary" literary cult directed at "retrograde" bourgeois art in general, and at Joyce as its quasi-diabolic embodiment in particular. In such negative cultic behaviour, the reverential attitude, worshipful rituals and glorifying language that are typical of positive, appreciative literary cults (like that of Shakespeare in 19th century England or Hungary, for instance), are reversed and replaced by acts of excommunication, stigmatization with metaphors of disease and excrement, and dismissal through, for instance, the argument of unintelligibility.¹⁷

As suggested above, among Joyce's works *Ulysses* was singled out for most of the official critique in the Eastern Bloc. *Finnegans Wake*, although not endorsed, was apparently published too late and was too difficult to be really read or condemned by the trend-setters of

¹⁶ For detailed analyses of the views of Karl Radek and Georg (György) Lukács, see Robert Weninger, "James Joyce in German-Speaking Countries: The Early Reception, 1919-1945" and Wolfgang Wicht, "The Disintegration of Stalinist Cultural Dogmatism: James Joyce in East Germany, 1945 to the Present", in Lernout and Van Mierlo, *Reception*, pp. 40-48 and pp. 71ff.

¹⁷ See Ferenc Takács, "The Idol Diabolized: James Joyce in East-European Marxist Criticism" in *Literature and its Cults: An Anthropological Approach / La littérature et ses cultes: approche anthropologique*, ed. Péter Dávidházi and Judit Karafiáth (Budapest: Argumentum, 1994) pp. 249-257. For a detailed account of literary cults in general and of Shakespeare in particular, see Péter Dávidházi, *The Romantic Cult of Shakespeare: Literary Reception in Anthropological Perspective* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998). For an analysis of phenomena of a "positive" cult surrounding the reception of Joyce, see Ferenc Takács, "Mark-Up and Sale: The Joyce Cult in Overdrive" in *Focus: Papers in English Literary and Cultural Studies: Special Issue on James Joyce* (Pécs: University of Pécs, 2002), pp. 108-117.

Stalinist communist criticism, and could also be largely ignored as untranslatable and therefore inaccessible for the masses. Compared to *Ulysses*, Joyce's earlier work also received less condemnation, and could therefore be generally published earlier. Part of the reason for this was that the *Portrait* and especially *Dubliners* could be easier "sold" to censors and ideological supervisors as conforming to such practical precepts of social realism as accessibility of style and the realist critique of petit-bourgeois existence.¹⁸

The story of post-World War II Hungarian translations is a good case to illustrate this hierarchy of permissibility within the Joycean oeuvre. The first Hungarian translation of *Ulysses* came out in 1947, the year before the communist takeover in this country, and thus probably at the last moment when its publication was still possible.¹⁹ The subsequent years of Stalinist communist rule in Hungary, with their promotion of "democratic" writers and corresponding prohibition of "decadent" ones, were for a time not at all favourable for publishing works by or even on Joyce. After the doomed revolution in 1956, the controversial political regime of János Kádár installed a cultural politics in which a somewhat higher degree of leniency was applied to literary works, especially foreign ones. Accepting the argument that the translation and study of western "bourgeois decadent" works was useful in order to "know our opponents",²⁰ the reorganized ruling party added an intermediate category of "tolerated" books to the previously prevailing categories of promoted "progressive" and prohibited "inimical" books. Hungarian publishers and critics of Joyce were quick to make use of the short-lived post-

¹⁸ For beginning the (re)publication of Joyce's fiction with *Dubliners* in Czechoslovakia in 1959 (on the basis of its "realistic elements") and in East Germany in 1977 (as a "less controversial text") see Bohuslav Mánek, "The Czech and Slovak Reception of James Joyce" and Wicht, "Disintegration" in Lernout and Van Mierlo, *Reception*, p. 192 and p. 86, respectively.

¹⁹ András Kappanyos explains that the publishing industry was still in ruins in 1946, while from 1948 a heavy Stalinist censorship was imposed, making 1947 practically the only year when *Ulysses* had a chance to appear in Hungary in the years directly following World War II. See "Ulysses, a nyughatatlan" [*Ulysses, the Restless One*] *Átváltozások*, No. 10 (1997): 44-53. I take the publication dates of Joyce's works from Goldmann, *Joyce kritikái fogadtatása*.

²⁰ This argument was also used, for instance, by György Lukács (in 1956) and László Forgács (in 1957) to justify the starting of a new periodical devoted to foreign literature called *Nagyvilág* ("Big [wide] World"). The phrases are from Forgács as quoted in Goldmann, *Joyce kritikái fogadtatása*, p.109.

revolutionary permissiveness before the range of “tolerated” literature narrowed again. Within two years they managed to bring out fragments from the *Portrait* (1957), full translations of the *Portrait* (1958) and *Dubliners* (1959), as well as a few studies measuring Joyce’s texts against the criteria of socialist realism (finding the short stories generally valuable and the novel often deficient).²¹

A new Hungarian publication of *Ulysses* was under consideration as early as 1963, but it was delayed by several factors. One was the negative advice that was circulated in that year within the central supervisory organ of Hungarian publishers concerning “the publication of problematic 20th century bourgeois literature”. This document argued explicitly that the re-publishing of Joyce’s book was rendered unnecessary by the availability of the earlier translation in libraries, its “outdated formal experimentation”, its “alienating” and “inhuman” ideology, and the probable lack of interest on the part of readers.²² Another factor was the taboo status that slang and sexuality had in the judgment of Hungarian decision-makers (and many readers) until at least the end of the 1960s. In general, although *Ulysses* could not be said to contain ideological taboos like direct “slander” on the Soviet Union or on state socialism as such, the novel’s blatant lack of conformity with the paradoxically conservative stylistic standards of the theoretically progressive ideal of “socialist realism” did not argue in its favour.²³ It seems, then, to be a sign of a new period of relatively relaxed attitudes and of a further extension of the category of “tolerated” literature that cautious preparations for the re-translation of *Ulysses* were begun in 1965, resulting in a new Hungarian text by 1974.²⁴ Although complete with the obligatory afterword to guide the readers’ vagrant responses, this new text, unlike the 1984 Romanian version, was in no way “softened” or compromised in its content or

²¹ For the Hungarian policy of “prohibit, permit (tolerate) and promote”, also known as “the three T’s” (of *tilt*, *tűr*, and *támogat*), see István Bart, *Világirodalom és könyvkiadás a Kádár-korszakban* [World Literature and Book Publishing in the Kádár Era] (Budapest: Scholastica, 2000), p. 33. For the publication of *Dubliners* and the *Portrait*, see Bart, *Világirodalom*, p. 98. For critical works on the *Portrait* and *Dubliners* in the late 1950s, see Goldmann, *Joyce kritikai fogadtatása*, pp. 110-128.

²² Bart, *Világirodalom*, p. 104.

²³ For the taboos of sex, slang, and the critique of the Soviet Union, see Bart, *Világirodalom*, pp. 38-9.

²⁴ For the extension of publishable literature after 1965 in Hungary see Bart, *Világirodalom*, 87ff.

style.²⁵ Unlike its 1976 Czech counterpart, it also enjoyed wide availability, and became an unexpected success with readers and critics.²⁶

Finnegans Wake, which could not be easily defended on the basis of any conventional kind of realism, remained an apparently undesirable text in Hungary until almost a decade later. In the 1960s and early 1970s, when both Joyce and avant-garde literature were still quite out of favour in Hungary itself, fragments of the *Wake* in a Hungarian version were (had to be) published abroad.²⁷ However, by 1983 it was possible for the authors of a standard grammar school textbook to select the tale of “The Ondt and the Gracehoper” as the Joyce sample text and provide a substantial discussion of Joyce’s work.²⁸ Still, a collection of all available Hungarian fragments from the *Wake* appeared only in 1992 in Hungary.

As the focal point of critical attention, *Ulysses* functioned as something of a litmus test of the cultural political orthodoxy of Eastern European countries. The case of the Russian *Ulysses* is quite symbolic: two early translation projects were interrupted in 1936 amidst the increasing pressures of the Stalinist purges, and a complete (new) version was not published until Eastern Europe’s emblematic year of freedom, 1989.²⁹ In sharp contrast, in the former Yugoslavia, where the post-Stalinist “thaw” began as early as 1952, *Ulysses* could

²⁵ For an account of how sexual content was toned down in the 1984 Romanian *Ulysses*, see Arleen Ionescu, “Un-Sexing Ulysses: The Romanian Translation ‘under’ Communism”, *Scientia Traductionis*, no. 8. (2010), 237-252, online: <http://www.periodicos.ufsc.br/index.php/scientia/article/view/17722>, accessed 20 March 2012.

²⁶ The 1965 reader’s report recommending the preparation of a new Hungarian translation of *Ulysses* was still trying to assure the director of publishing house Európa of the safety of the project on the basis that nobody would read the book anyway (Bart, *Világirodalom*, 105 n.196). According to Bohuslav Mánek, the 1976 Czech *Ulysses* was only available to communist party “stalwarts” and critics and scholars who could certify that they needed the book for professional purposes (“The Czech and Slovak Reception”, p. 195). The requirement – or ruse – of professional purposes also recalls, of course, the British situation in the 1920s and early 1930s.

²⁷ Endre Biró’s translations of fragments of *Finnegans Wake* were first published in 1964 in Yugoslavia and in 1973 in Paris; see Goldmann, *Joyce kritikai fogadtatása*, pp. 182, 184.

²⁸ For the controversial inclusion of the *Wake* in the 1983 Hungarian grammar school textbook and anthology, see Goldmann, *Joyce kritikai fogadtatása*, p. 171-3.

²⁹ Tall, “The Reception of James Joyce in Russia”, pp. 247-51, 255-6.

be translated and published in (Serbo-)Croatian in 1957.³⁰ The case of “East” Germany (officially known as the German Democratic Republic) provides probably the purest illustration of the influence of ideological factors on publishing Joyce’s work in the Eastern Bloc. This is because German versions of the major texts had been available since the 1920s, and thus there was no necessity to wait for a translation to be completed. Still, it was not until the late 1970s that the apparent ban on the printing of Joyce was lifted. Cautiously beginning with *Dubliners* (1977), and moving on to the *Portrait* (1979) and *Ulysses* (1980), East German publishers printed most of Joyce’s oeuvre – although with compulsory “guides” attached as afterwords or separate essays.³¹

The German case also highlights the fact that the publishing of “tolerated” literature, which expressed values or views not in flagrant conflict with, but different from those of the communist ideology, typically involved special techniques of control. With shorter works, this could mean the text having to be published in a few selected periodicals of limited circulation and in the company of evaluative studies.³² In the case of a book, a limitation could be put on the paper supply and thus the number of copies, access could be restricted in libraries and bookshops, and, as above, a corrective foreword or afterword could be appended.³³

Although the fate of Joyce criticism in Eastern Europe is comparable to that of the translations, it is perhaps even more clearly

³⁰ See Sonja Bašić, “The Reception of James Joyce in Croatia” in *Reception*, pp. 180-81.

³¹ Wicht, “Disintegration”, pp. 86-88.

³² In Hungary, *Nagyvilág* was for several years virtually the only periodical allowed to publish literature of the “tolerated” or “permissible” category; see Goldmann, *Joyce kritikai fogadtatása*, p.109. In Ceaușescu’s Romania, a similar role was played by *Secolul 20*; see Adrian Oțoiu, “‘Le sens du pousser’: On the Spiral of Joyce’s Reception in Romania”, in Lernout and Van Mierlo, *Reception*, p. 200.

³³ The 1959 Hungarian translation of *Dubliners* was allowed to be published in a very low number of copies; see Bart, *Világirodalom*, p. 98. As mentioned above, access to the Czech *Ulysses* was the privilege of a few; see Mánek, “Czech and Slovak Reception”, p. 195. The requirement to bring out translations of “disputable” works with ideologically orienting forewords or (it appears, increasingly) afterwords seems to have been particularly widespread. For a 1957 Hungarian party injunction, see Bart, *Világirodalom*, p. 38; for the situation in East German publishing, see Wicht, “Disintegration”, pp. 86-7; for the corresponding Czech practice, see Mánek, “Czech and Slovak Reception”, p. 192.

reminiscent of Joyce’s own struggles to get published. After somewhat sporadic critical reactions in the 1920s, 1930s and early 1940s, Eastern Bloc criticism on “bourgeois” authors like Joyce suffered from varying degrees of ideological pressure between the late 1940s and late 1980s. At its worst, this pressure could force dissenting critics to choose from a handful of possibilities: allowing one’s views to (appear to) be modified until they became publishable, ceasing publishing, publishing illegally, publishing abroad, or moving abroad entirely. Among those who, for whatever reasons, made the first choice, we find the Hungarian Tibor Lutter. His case is especially revealing as his work on Joyce spans from the pre-Stalinist period until the reinforcement of the “socialist” cultural politics at the end of the 1950s. As Márta Goldmann reports, Lutter made striking adjustments on his 1935 dissertation when he re-published it in 1959 in an apparent effort to conform to the precepts of socialist realism: he reversed a number of his previous judgements and dismissed the same phenomenon in the late 1950s that he had praised in the 1930s.³⁴ Arleen Ionescu’s analyses of the work of Romanian critic and writer Ion Biberi afford insight into the case of another Eastern European Joycean whose criticism encompasses roughly the same period, but who does not seem to have substantially adjusted his published views to the ruling ideologies. This could be best done by not publishing on Joyce at all: arguably, it was precisely Biberi’s silence in the 1950s and early 1960s that allowed him to ignore orthodox views of Joyce – or conversely, that it was his persistence in ignoring such tenets that kept him silent in that ideologically severe period.³⁵ As Joyce would have been interested to know, however, works of banned authors – like the Czech critic and translator, Zdeněk Urbánek – could sometimes be published in illegal *samizdat* publications.³⁶ Occasionally, publishing in a more lenient Eastern Bloc country or even in the “West” could also be an option: in the 1960s and early 1970s a few studies on *Ulysses* and the *Wake* were brought out in Hungarian literary journals published in Romania, Yugoslavia and

³⁴ For a detailed discussion, see Goldmann, *Joyce kritikai fogadtatása*, pp. 115–125. Her “Belated Reception” contains a brief English summary of Tibor Lutter’s works.

³⁵ For Biberi’s work, see Arleen Ionescu’s “Inter-War Romania: Misinterpreting Joyce and Beyond”, in Lernout and Van Mierlo, *Reception*, pp. 214–8.

³⁶ Mánek, “The Czech and Slovak Reception”, p. 194.

Paris.³⁷ Owing at least partly to the lack of free expression in their native countries, many intellectuals did of course go the whole length and moved to Western Europe or North America. All in all, it is a fitting although by no means favourable circumstance that Eastern European scholars of Joyce were subjected to very similar conditions of “silence, exile and cunning” as the Irish writer himself. Joyce had also experienced what it was like when publishers and editors demanded and supplied textual adjustments, when a book was banned and had to be published in another country, when a work was illegally printed (although in his case, this was not much to his liking), and what it was like to spend most of his adult life away from his native environment in pursuit of more intellectual freedom.

After occasional periods of “thaw”, the collapse of Eastern European regimes around 1989 finally removed the necessity to consider communist ideological guidelines, helping local Joyceans to intensify their activities. Translators and publishers have published new editions of Joyce and artists have explored the inspiration of Joyce’s work. As witnessed by Joyce symposia and various other forums and publications, Eastern European scholars have been increasingly contributing to the ongoing international scholarly discourse on the Irish writer.³⁸

Eastern Europe in Joyce’s Work

Although potentially elusive, the presence of Eastern Europe in Joyce’s work is persistent. Joyce relies on the region as a source of reference points and subtexts from *Dubliners* to *Finnegans Wake*, more or less in keeping with his own personal exposure to matters Eastern European.

The early fiction illustrates this elusiveness. Ferenc Takács has demonstrated how in the *Dubliners* story entitled “After the Race”, written in the Austro-Hungarian city of Pola, the oddly named Hungarian Villona appears to be a sensuous and artistic foil to the repressed Irish Jimmy Doyle.³⁹ The fragmentary *Stephen Hero*,

³⁷ For examples, see Goldmann, *Joyce kritikai fogadtatása*, pp. 182, 184.

³⁸ Such successful forums of scholarship have been, for instance, the (Prague-based) Hypermedia Joyce Studies and Litteraria Pragensia Books, the Trieste Joyce School, or, on a smaller scale, the Szombathely Joyce conferences.

³⁹ Ferenc Takács, “Joyce and Hungary”, in *Literary Interrelations: Ireland, England and the World*, ed. W. Zach and H. Kosok (Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag, 1987), vol. 3, p. 164.

written during the first years of Joyce's Austro-Hungarian experience in Pola and Trieste, uses Stephen's rejection of the Irish-Hungarian parallel sketched by Arthur Griffith's *The Resurrection of Hungary* for illustrating how Stephen transcends the blind nationalism of his "patriotic" fellow students. While the latter erroneously thought that a "glowing example was to be found for Ireland in the case of Hungary, an example [...] of a long-suffering minority [...] finally emancipating itself", the "young skeptic" Stephen is triumphantly aware of "the capable aggressions of the Magyars [Hungarians] upon the Latin [Romanian] and Slav [Slovak, Croat, Serb, Ukrainian] and Teutonic [Swabian and Saxon German] populations, greater than themselves in number, which are politically allied to them" (*SH* 62). While Joyce eliminated this piece of rather direct political propaganda from the re-written *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, and shortened and smoothed Stephen's critique of the pacifist plans of the Russian tsar into the seemingly apolitical claim that "He has the face of a besotted Christ" (*P* 194), he did return to a more specific exploration of Hungarian and Eastern European matters in *Ulysses*. This conscious return can be seen encoded in his decision to transform the Mr Hunter of the short story he planned to call "Ulysses" in 1907 (*JJII* 230, 161-2, 375) into the Mr Bloom of the novel *Ulysses*, with his emphatically Hungarian ancestry by the names of Virag and Karoly.

One perspective where Bloom's Eastern European roots become significant in *Ulysses* is again the Griffithian political parallel. This is treated here with rather more sympathy than in *Stephen Hero*, although strongly informed by the inevitable irony arising from the practice of importing an exclusionary ideology like nationalism from another nation. This of course manifests itself as the rumour that it is Bloom, with his Jewish Hungarian background, who provided the main idea for Griffith's quintessentially Irish nationalistic movement. In the "Cyclops" episode, John Wyse Nolan suggests, "it was Bloom gave the ideas for Sinn Fein to Griffith to put in his paper" (*U* 12.1574-5), and Martin Cunningham knowingly confirms: "– He's a perverted jew [...] from a place in Hungary and it was he drew up all the plans according to the Hungarian system. We know that in the castle." (*U* 12.1635-7). Thus, Bloom's Eastern European roots become a means of relativizing the idea of home-grown nationalism, while at

the same time stressing the Jewish hero's position as an outsider through the evocation of Bloom's exotic provenance.

The material and spiritual manifestations of Bloom's Hungarian (and, more broadly, Eastern European) background look rather haphazard, but are quite numerous.⁴⁰ This heritage includes objects like "some assorted Austrian-Hungarian coins", "2 coupons of the Royal and Privileged Hungarian Lottery" (*U* 17.1807-8), an "indistinct daguerreotype of Rudolf Virag and his father Leopold Virag executed in the year 1852 in the portrait atelier of their (respectively) 1st and 2nd cousin, Stefan Virag of Szesfehervar, Hungary" (*U* 17.1875-7), "a local press cutting concerning change of name by deedpoll" testifying to the Hungarian origin and former Hungarian surname of Bloom's father (*U* 17.1866-67), as well as, intriguingly, Austro-Hungarian and potentially also Jewish⁴¹ genetic material from "blond ancestry, remote, a violation, Herr Hauptmann Hainau, Austrian army" (*U* 17.868-9). Furthermore, Bloom's bookshelves house another vestige of Central or Eastern European existence, *Soll und Haben* by Gustav Freytag (*U* 17.1383-4). The German author's hugely popular 1855 book is (in)famous for its anti-Slav and anti-Jewish bias, but the very fact that Bloom has this book in the original (although an English version had been available from the late 1850s), printed in the traditional German "Gothic" (blackletter) typeface, suggests that the volume is either an inheritance from Bloom's father, who may have easily bought it in Hungary or Austria, or, less likely, a nostalgic acquisition by Bloom himself. In either case it is a remainder and reminder of the familiarity with the

⁴⁰ One of the earliest critics seriously to analyze Bloom's Hungarian "heritage" was Robert Tracy, who concluded that Bloom's Hungarian background is chiefly important for the political analogy between Ireland and Hungary; see "Leopold Bloom Fourfold: A Hungarian-Hebraic-Hellenic-Hibernian Hero", *The Massachusetts Review* 6 [Spring-Summer 1965], p. 526. For others, like Robert Martin Adams and, following him, Erwin R. Steinberg, Bloom's Hungarian origin is as irrelevant as his Jewish ancestry; see Adams, *Surface and Symbol: The Consistency of James Joyce's Ulysses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 106, and Steinberg, "James Joyce and the Critics Notwithstanding, Leopold Bloom is not Jewish", *Journal of Modern Literature* (Vol. 9. No. 1. [1981/82]), p. 48.

⁴¹ As F. K. Stanzel reports, the most famous Haynau of the Austrian army and thus a potential ancestor of Bloom, Julius Jakob von Haynau (1886-1853) probably had a Jewish mother, and this rumour was discussed, for instance, in an 1907 Viennese pamphlet; see "All Europe Contributed to the Making of Bloom: New Light on Leopold Bloom's Ancestors", *JJQ* 32:3-4 [Spring and Summer 1995], p. 625.

German language in the Bloom family, and more generally, of their (Central) Eastern European provenance.⁴²

On a less material level, Bloom’s mind preserves historic memories of his father’s grandfather “having seen Maria Theresia, empress of Austria, queen of Hungary” (*U* 17.1909-10), of his unspecified “progenitor of sainted memory [wearing] the uniform of the Austrian despot in a dank prison” (*U* 15.1662-3.), and of his father’s migrations from Szombathely through Vienna, Budapest, (or Budapest, Vienna) Milan, Florence and London to Dublin (*U* 17.535-6, 1908). He remembers having “had” *Tales of the Ghetto* by the Austro-Hungarian Galician Leopold von Sacher Masoch (*U* 10.591-2), appears sympathetic to the Eastern European-born internationalist project of Esperanto (*U* 15.1691-2), and has a distinct association in his mind of Franz (or Ferenc) Liszt’s Hungarian rhapsodies with gipsy eyes (*U* 11.983). One of these rhapsodies, number 15, a reworking of the Rákóczy March, Bloom is reported to hear at his departure from the pub at the end of “Cyclops” (*U* 12.1828). His more ambitious fantasies in “Circe” include wearing “*saint Stephen’s iron crown*” (*U* 15.1439) (which is the historic Hungarian crown and is emphatically “iron” in Griffith’s *Resurrection of Hungary*, but not in reality), and contracting his features to resemble the Hungarian revolutionary Louis (Lajos) Kossuth (*U* 15.1847). Somewhat more realistically, he also has visions of interaction with his Hungarian-born Jewish father and grandfather (the latter of whom he clearly never met). These conversations involve Yiddish, German, and English tinted with Yiddish and German (“*Goim nachez!*” *U* 15.279, “*Verfluchte Goim!*” 15.2571-2; “*Ja, ich weiss, papachi.*” 15.257; “I told you not go with drunken goy ever.” 15.253-4, “They make you kaputt, Leopoldleben. You watch them chaps.” 15. 274-5), although, also significantly, never any Hungarian.

The surnames of most of Leopold Bloom’s Jewish Dublin acquaintances retain the memory of an Eastern (or Central) European existence. They tend to be misspelled, but clearly German and Slavic surnames like Julius (Juda) and P. Mastiansky (*U* 4.205, 15.3223,

⁴² While German is of course not *per se* an Eastern European language, it was one of the most widely used languages in the region in the 19th century. This is certainly true of the Jewish population within Austro-Hungary.

15.4357, 17.58, 17.2134), M. Shulomowitz, Moses Herzog, Harris Rosenberg or Leopold Abramovitz (*U* 15.3221-4).⁴³

Bloom's Hungarian roots occasion the cropping up of a couple of distinctively (although often faultily) spelled Hungarian expressions at the end of in the "Cyclops" episode. Bloom, now in his Hungarian persona of "Nagyaságos uram Lipóti Virag", is described as departing for "the distant clime of Százharminczbrojúgulyás-Dugulás" (*U* 12.1816-9) and is bidden farewell with friendly cries of "*Visszontlátásra, kedvös barátom! Visszontlátásra!*" (*U* 12.1841) to the sounds of "*Rakóczy's March*" (*U* 12.1828).⁴⁴ Similarly, we find an exotically named Eastern European contingent among the Friends of the Emerald Isle. These notabilities include, among others, the Russian "Grandjoker Vladinmire Pokethankertscheff", the Hungarian "Countess Marha Virága Kisászony Putrápesthi", the Polish "Pan Poleaxe Paddyrisky", the Serbian-Croatian-Czech "Goosepond Přhklšř Kratchinabritchisitch", and the perhaps Bulgarian "Borus Hupinkoff" (*U* 12.556ff).⁴⁵

Admittedly, Joyce's rendition of Eastern European names and words is often incorrect and occasionally nonsensical (as in *Přhklšř*). But there can be little doubt that he was consciously stressing the

⁴³ In theory, Jewish names with Slav endings (like the variously spelled *vitz/vich/witz* or *ski/sky* suffixes) would suggest a Russian or Polish provenance, while German surnames would imply roots under German or Austrian rule. This picture is complicated, however, by migrations and the mutability of country borders in Eastern Europe between the 18th and the 20th centuries. As Louis Hyman convincingly demonstrated, Joyce appears to have taken many of the names of the Jewish characters in *Ulysses* from the names of actual Dublin Jews as they appeared in *Thom's Directory* – repeating, as in the case of Mastiansky (correctly, Masliansky) the misprints of the original; see *The Jews of Ireland, from the Earliest Times to the Year 1910* (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972), pp. 328-9. Hyman also reports that these families did in fact come from Eastern Europe.

⁴⁴ The correct (and slightly archaic) Hungarian versions would be as follows: "Virág Lipót nagyaságos uram/úr", "Százharmincz[z]borjúgulyás-Dugulás" (the digraph *cz* for the affricate /ts/ was correct in Joyce's time but has since then been replaced by a single *c*) "*Viszontlátásra, kedves barátom! Viszontlátásra!*" (although a lengthening of the *sz* into *ssz* could be used to indicate emphasis), "*Rákóczy/Rákóczi*".

⁴⁵ The nationality of the delegates is encoded in various linguistic factors: in the titles (Russian grand duke, Polish *pan*, Serbian/Croatian or Russian *gospod*), puns (Poleaxe/Polak/Pole), onomastic morphology (*ski/sky*, *eff/ev*, *off/ov*, *ich/itch/itz* being typical Slavic surname endings), phonological characteristics (*Přhklšř* parodying vowelless Serbian, Croat, Czech or Slovak words) and spelling peculiarities (*ř* being a character used only in Czech).

orthographic peculiarities of Eastern European languages here. Less familiar than the French *é* in “Monsieur Pierrepaul Petitépatañt” (*U* 12.558), or the Spanish *ñ* in “Señor Hidalgo Caballero Don Peccadillo” (*U* 12.562-3), characteristic symbols of Eastern European orthographies (*á, ú, ó sz, cz, ssz, š, ř*) are here exploited for their exotic and comic effect.⁴⁶ Joyce had jokingly described national(ist) conflicts within the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a constant itching in the “dual trunk hose” of the emperor (*JIII* 396) and seems to have incorporated the same joke in the name of “Goosepond Přhklšř Kratchinabritchisitch”. The Czech, Croat and Polish nations had of course no sovereign states of their own in 1904, the time when the Cyclopean execution is supposed to have taken place. The fact that Joyce invites their delegate to stand beside the imperial Russian and Austrian notabilities and to put their linguistic-orthographic stamp on the “Cyclops” episode seems to imply registering, albeit comically, their claim for an independent nationhood. Notably, this independence had been achieved a short time before Joyce inserted these references into his text in October 1921.⁴⁷

Although not too obviously, *Finnegans Wake* also has a hero with Eastern European connections. Like other characters in the *Wake*, Shem the Penman shows a Bloomian mutability of names. He appears to have a Slav persona called “Shem Skrivenitch” (*FW* 423.15), who famously “caught the europicolas and went into the society of jewses. With Bro Cahlls and Fran Czeschs and Bruda Pszths and Brat Slavos” (*FW* 423.35-424.1). One fairly obvious interpretation of this is that having visited France (*Bro-C’hall* in Breton)⁴⁸, Shem spent time in the society of Jews, Czechs (*František* is Czech for Francis/Frank and was

⁴⁶ The accented vowel letters *á, é, ú, ó* and consonant digraphs and trigraphs *gy, sz, cz, ly, ssz* are Hungarian, the diacritic consonant *š* features in various Slav languages, and the *ř* is distinctively Czech. I have dealt more extensively with correlations between orthography, typography and (national) identity in a Joycean context in a presentation entitled “Characters” at the 2011 Zurich Joyce Workshop on Joycean punctuation (31 July–6 August).

⁴⁷ “Přhklšř” was printed without the characteristic Slav *háček* (caron) diacritics above the letters *r* and *s* in the first edition of *Ulysses* (p. 294), but Joyce clearly intended them to be there: the page proofs testify that he inserted the Hungarian, Polish and Serbian-Croatian-Czech delegates on 12 October 1921, and corrected the spelling of “Přhklšř” on the 26th. I am grateful to Fritz Senn for finding these proofs for me, and to prof. H. W. Gabler for reminding me of their existence.

⁴⁸ Roland McHugh, *Annotations to Finnegans Wake* (rev. ed., Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), p. 423.

of course the name of Joyce's brother-in-law), Hungarians (Budapest, earlier spelled as *Buda-Pesth*, is the capital of Hungary), Slovaks (*Bratislava* is the capital of Slovakia) and possibly other brotherly Slavs ("Brat Slavos"). Although this passage has been rightly linked to Joyce's own experiences of various Eastern European nationalities in places like Pola and Trieste,⁴⁹ there is arguably more historical irony here than meets the eye. As suggested by the English *bro*, Italian *fra(tello)*, German *Bruder* and Slavic *brat*, the passage places a multiple emphasis on brotherliness. Since such close relations are often difficult, however, the theme of brotherly strife is probably already present in the historically "sensitive" English-French-Breton triangle of "Bro Cahlls".⁵⁰ As to the Eastern European cluster, a more disturbing reading is produced if we note the silencing of the other brother in the German-Hungarian "Bruda-Pszths" (*Bruder*, *psz* 'hush!').

Among themselves, "Fran Czeschs and Bruda Pszths and Brat Slavos" manifestly involve nationalities (Italian, Czech, German, Hungarian, Slovak, "Slav") whose divergent political interests had, by the time Joyce wrote this passage, disrupted the Austro-Hungarian Empire, causing widespread violence, destruction, a large-scale redrawing of borders and renaming of places and people. Joyce was witnessing this upheaval from Zurich and later from Trieste. He must have known that Bratislava was one of these newly named cities: called *Preßburg/Pressburg* in German, *Pozsony* in Hungarian and (previously) *Prešporok* in Slovak, it was renamed *Bratislava* only in March 1919, following its appointment as the capital of the Slovak part of the newly established Czecho-Slovak State. While the borders around Bratislava were being redrawn, the Austrian-Italian border was also moved above Trieste and its inhabitants, as Joyce and his family would ultimately see on their return from Zurich in October 1919. All in all, the passage appears to encode not only Joyce's formative immersion in the "hundred races and thousand languages" of Austro-Hungarian Trieste, but also a sample of the tensions of the Eastern European region before and after World War I.⁵¹

⁴⁹ See, for instance, *JJII* 183, motto; McCourt, *Years of Bloom*, p. 218.

⁵⁰ There may also be a (useful) hint of breaking here through English *brockle(s)*.

⁵¹ Katarzyna Bazarnik provides fine examples of Joyce's exploitation of Polish and other Slavic languages to contribute to the themes of (polar) opposition and brotherly war ("Dvojnabratran", *FW* 252.3); see "Looking at *Finnegans Wake* from the Polish

Migration and Changing Names

There is another cluster of phenomena, closely linked to nationalism, which I want to emphasize finally, namely migration and name changes. To underline the fact that these have been very common although often suppressed features of the Eastern European experience (as they have been of the Irish one), I shall be comparing the life of the Bloom family to the lives of two Eastern European artists whose works also demonstrably interacted with Joyce's art. The first is the Hungarian painter Mihály Munkácsy, whose "Ecce Homo" gave the young Joyce an early occasion to formulate his aesthetics, Joyce's work thus becoming part of the Munkácsy reception.⁵² The second is the Yugoslav writer Danilo Kiš, who in his turn became part of Joyce's reception by acknowledging an interest in Joyce's work and weaving Joycean allusions and techniques into his fiction.⁵³

In Eastern Europe, migration has often manifested itself as the (more or less forced) emigration and the (more or less planned) immigration of large groups of people. It has also included countless instances of what we may call the "migration" of country borders, that is, cases of borders being moved above various ethnic groups, often giving rise to (further) mass migration, forced assimilation and ethnic violence. Thus, the migration of the Bloom family from Szombathely to Dublin has a deeper historical embeddedness, not only as regards the Jewish migration from Eastern Europe to Dublin in the 19th century, but also as regards Jewish and non-Jewish migration within the region itself. The unwritten story of the Bloom family would in all likelihood have been affected by the history of Jewish migrations into and within Europe – a history replete with settlements, expulsions, and re-settlements. This appears to be comically inscribed into the linguistic variety of the names in Bloom's messianic family tree, which range from the Irish O'Halloran through the Greek Adrianopoli and Spanish Aranjuez to the French Vingtetunieme, and contain certainly or potentially Eastern European names like the quasi-Slav Ostrolopsy (or rather Ostropolsky), the German Weiss and Schwarz,

Perspective", *The Abiko Quarterly with James Joyce* *Finnegans Wake Studies* (No. 19, Millenium Issue, Winter-Spring 2000), pp. 10-24.

⁵² See the essay by Marianna Gula in this volume.

⁵³ Although Kiš has generally not been mentioned in overviews of the Yugoslav or Serbian Joyce reception, Tatjana Jukić and Ivana Milivojević have explored various Joycean facets of Kiš's works.

the quaint Italian-Slav mix Savorgnanovich,⁵⁴ and of course the Hungarian Szombathely and Virag (U 15.1855-1869). This list, although historically hardly plausible, symbolizes the complex movements of Jewish populations throughout Europe and their taking local names. Such a genealogy is particularly appropriate for a family from Eastern Europe, where Eastern and Western Ashkenazi Jews would have lived in close proximity with Sephardic and other Jewish groups at various periods – even though the Virag family, as their settlement in Western Hungary and their use of (Western) Yiddish and German suggest, had primarily (Western) Ashkenazi roots and may have been fairly recent immigrants from Austria or Moravia.⁵⁵

Just like his somewhat older countryman Rudolf Virág, the painter Mihály Munkácsy also moved from his birthplace (in his case in north-east Hungary) through Eastern and Central European capitals like Budapest and Vienna to a West European capital (in Munkácsy's case Paris).⁵⁶ Moreover, there was also a history of previous migrations in Munkácsy's family: his paternal great-great-grandfather had been born in Bavaria, South Germany.⁵⁷

The case of Danilo Kiš is even more Viragian. The Yugoslav writer felt a special interest in and proximity to Joyce's *Ulysses* because of various parallels that he found between his own father and Leopold Bloom, or rather Bloom's father. Like Rudolf Virag, Kiš's father was a Hungarian of Jewish origin who had lived in Western Hungary (in Szombathely or perhaps in nearby Zalaegerszeg).⁵⁸ He,

⁵⁴ For Savorgnanovich, see McCourt, *Years of Bloom*, p. 226.

⁵⁵ For a detailed history of Jews in Hungary, see Patai, *Jews of Hungary: History, Culture, Psychology* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996). Stanzel also suggests a recent immigration from Austria, see "All Europe Contributed" (p. 620).

⁵⁶ Munkácsy's migration was first brought to my attention by Marianna Gula, who compares it to Joyce's moves in her paper "Reading the Book of Himself". For a summary of Munkácsy's extensive travels in Europe, see Zsuzsanna Bakó, "Munkácsy's Works", in Zsuzsanna Bakó, Katalin Sz. Kürti, and Magdolna Ónody, *Munkácsy* (Debrecen: Tóth Könyvkereskedés és Kiadó, [2004]), pp. 31-57.

⁵⁷ Magdolna Ónody, "Munkácsy's Life" in Zsuzsanna Bakó, Katalin Sz. Kürti, and Magdolna Ónody, *Munkácsy*, p. 16.

⁵⁸ I am indebted to Tatjana Jukić for first calling my attention to Danilo Kiš's genealogy, his short story "The Sow that Eats Her Farrow" and its curiously named hero "Gould Verskojls". Kiš repeatedly asserted that his father went to a trade school in Hungary where Leopold Bloom was born under the name Virag; see Danilo Kiš, "Birth Certificate (A Short Autobiography)", transl. Michael Henry Heim, in *Homo Poeticus: Essays and Interviews*, ed. with an introduction by Susan Sontag (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1995), pp. 3-4. Although he does appear to have read

too, moved countries and lived in a "mixed" marriage: having fallen in love with a Christian (Eastern Orthodox) woman, he migrated over the recently imposed post-World War I borders into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The Viragian parallel did not extend much further, though. Living mostly in Novi Sad, Kiš the elder saw his new home town (re)annexed to Hungary in 1941, miraculously survived an outrageous massacre of Serbs and Jews by Hungarian armed forces in 1942, fled to western Hungary, and was finally deported and killed in Auschwitz.⁵⁹ As Danilo Kiš was made painfully aware, Joyce had evidently got his fictional Rudolf Virag to leave Hungary at the right time in the right direction. World War II Hungary, like the revolutionary Soviet Union of the Stalinist purges that Kiš wrote about in his evocatively entitled short story "The Sow that Eats Her Farrow", proved a far more negligent "old sow" than the Ireland that Joyce's Stephen Dedalus had envisioned "eat[ing] her own farrow" (P 203). If Hungary did not generally "eat" her Jewish children herself, she did eventually help transport the majority of them to Nazi annihilation camps.⁶⁰

Given the general mutability of the region it is little surprise that migration – both voluntary and forced – is ubiquitous in the short stories of Kiš's very Eastern European collection *A Tomb for Boris Davidovich* (1976). All characters of the book move or have moved about in Europe, many of them in pursuit of their revolutionary impulses, and many are removed to Stalinist camps. While several of the characters are Jewish, the hero of the story evoking Joyce, "The Sow that Eats Her Farrow", is an Irishman. Having left Ireland to take part in the Spanish civil war, he ends up being kidnapped by Stalin's secret police and he is killed in a Soviet gulag. Perhaps even more

Ulysses and gratefully acknowledged it as a foundational inspiration in, for instance, an interview with Brendan Lemon, Kiš's reminiscences were somewhat inaccurate. It was of course Bloom's father who was born in Szombathely, and Kiš gave the name of the town at least once as Zalaegerszeg; see "Life, Literature", transl. Ralph Mannheim, in *Homo Poeticus*, p. 244, and Brendan Lemon, "An Interview with Danilo Kiš", *The Review of Contemporary Fiction* XIV: 1 (Spring 1994), pp. 107-114.

⁵⁹ See Danilo Kiš, "Birth Certificate", pp. 3-4, and "Life, Literature", pp. 234 ff.

⁶⁰ The writer himself was born in a town "called Subotica in Serb and Szabadka in Hungarian and situated on the border between Yugoslavia and Hungary"; see Kiš, "Life, Literature", p. 234. Having been taken to Novi Sad at an early age, his migrations continued with his flight to Hungary in 1942 and his repatriation to Yugoslavia in 1947, ending in his gradual emigration to France.

intriguingly, the Serbian transcription of Kiš's hero's name veils the spectre of a previous migration and another Joycean connection. Called "Gould Verskojls" in Kiš's story, this character was in all likelihood inspired by Irish-born communist Brian Goold-Verschoye (1912–1942).⁶¹ As it bears witness to the Dutch origin of this Anglo-Irish family, the surname Verschoye carries the memory of migration and, possibly, also of sectarian conflict.⁶² Moreover, in *Ulysses* Joyce had placed apparently the same genteel family in a rather happier, but similarly internationalist context. As Kiš may or may not have remembered, the information that "Old Mr Verschoye with the ear trumpet loves old Mrs Verschoye with the turned-in eye" (just as "Jumbo, the elephant, loves Alice, the elephant", *U* 12.1496-7) serves in "Cyclops" as an illustration of Bloom's championing of love as the real substance of life against the violent and discriminative nationalism of the Citizen.⁶³

As a corollary to migration, the changing of personal (as well as place) names is another widespread phenomenon of the last several centuries in the Eastern parts of Europe, whether as the result of an

⁶¹ I have not as yet seen a connection being made elsewhere between Kiš's character "Gould Verskojls" (transcribed *Gould-Verschoye* in the 1978 English translation) and the real-life Brian Goold-Verschoye. For information on the latter, see Barry McLoughlin, *Left To the Wolves: Irish Victims of Stalinist Terror* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007) or the Wikipedia article "Brian Goold-Verschoye".

⁶² Sectarian conflict would have been quite certainly involved if, as according to some accounts, the "family of VERSCHOYLE (Verschuyt) went from the Netherlands to Ireland in 1568 having suffered from religious persecution due to their Calvinism" (see *Burke's Peerage and Gentry* online, <http://www.burkespeerage.com>, accessed February 23, 2011), and also if, as according to other sources, the family came to Ireland with William of Orange (see "Verschoye", *Wikipedia* <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Verschoye>, accessed May 31, 2009). Virginia Mason's *Gens Van der Scuylen: 600 years of the Verschuijl and Verschoye Family* (Verschoye Mason Publications, 2001) seems to suggest that the Irish branch of the family moved to Ireland around 1620 (<http://www.vanderscuylen.co.uk/>, accessed February 23, 2011), which was the time of the resumption of the armed conflict between Catholic Spain and (what was becoming) the Netherlands.

⁶³ Kiš's source for the figure of "Gould Verskojls" was Karlo Štajner's autobiographic gulag narrative entitled *7000 dana u Sibiru* (Globus, 1971), which gives the name already as "Gould-Verskojls" (p. 63). Kiš appears to have read *Ulysses* in Zlatko Gorjan's celebrated 1957 (Serbo-)Croatian translation. (I am grateful to Ivana Milivojević for confirming the latter fact; email, 30 November 2011). As this translation preserves Joyce's original spelling of Verschoye, there was no necessary reason for Kiš to recognize the link between the two forms of the surname, especially from a distance of a few years.

administrative accident, a deliberate political imposition, an enforced act of assimilation, or a willed gesture of identification. Having grown up in Ireland, and being interested in Irish history and etymology alike, Joyce could hardly have been unfamiliar with the fact that similar changes were also known in Irish history. Under British influence many Irish (Gaelic and other) place names (like Dublin or Kingstown) and surnames (like that of his college friend John Francis Byrne, or of Nora Barnacle) had undergone various degrees of anglicization (from transcriptions like *Dublin* or *Byrne* through translations like *Barnacle* to new formations like *Kingstown*). Likewise, after the birth of the new Irish state many names, especially place names, were recovered, while some were simply gaelicized: Kingstown become *Dún Laoghaire*, and Queenstown become *Cobh* (a new Gaelic transcription of the earlier English *Cove*).⁶⁴ As to personal names and their mutations, living abroad gave the writer plenty of further evidence. He thought, for instance, that his own surname had gone through changes from the Latin *jocax* via the French *joyeux*, but now he could see it further changed into local pronunciations and spellings like *Joyee*, *Joice*, *Gioyec*, or *Zois*.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ I take the example of the surname *Barnacle* from Ira Nadel. Nadel surmises that "Joyce's sensitivity to names and their loss may originate in his awareness of Irish history," that is, the fact that "in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, it became mandatory for the Irish to use English forms of their names", and that Nora may have told Joyce that her surname, Barnacle was in fact a (partial) translation of the original Irish O'Cadhain (*Joyce and the Jews*, 145). Claire A. Culleton quotes Nadel's account and suggests that the development of Irish surnames can be traced in the Oxen of the Sun episode; see *Names and Naming in Joyce* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), pp. 54-55. For a survey of the anglicization and especially recovery of Irish place names, see Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig, "Placenames Policy and its Implementation", in Caoilfhionn Nic Pháidín and Seán Ó Cearnaigh (eds.), *A New View of the Irish Language* (Dún Laoghaire: Cois Life, 2008), pp. 164-177. On line at the Placenames Database of Ireland: <http://www.logainm.ie/eolas/Data/Brainse/placenames-policy-and-its-implementation.pdf>. Joyce also tried his hand at etymologising Irish place names; cf. a 1935 reference to *Wicklow* (*JJII* 684).

⁶⁵ For Joyce's pseudonyms see Culleton's list in *Names and Naming*, p. 104. For Joyce's own name distorted as *Gioyec* (or possibly *Gioyce*), see Eric Schneider, "Lucia's Birth: Some Unpublished Documents from Trieste", *James Joyce Quarterly* (Vol. 38, No. 3 / 4 [Spring/Summer 2001]), pp. 497-502. For the pronunciation "Zois" and the spellings "Joyee" and "Joice", see McCourt, *Years of Growth*, pp. 52, 173, 245. For Joyce's own ideas concerning his surname, see *JJII* 12, and also his apparent reference to himself as *Jacobus Jucundus* in a Latin translation, *JJII* 656 n.

These Irish parallels and personal experiences may well have added to Joyce's interest in names and name changes in Eastern Europe. He could not but have been aware that the German names which Jewish subjects of Austro-Hungary typically wore, and which he found fascinating enough to include and parody in *Ulysses* (cf. *Weiss, Schwarz, Goldfinger, Silberselber*; *U* 15.1860; 15.1827-8), were mostly the result of the policy of religious toleration combined with germanization promoted by Emperor Joseph II (1741-90) at the end of the 18th century. Son of the Maria Theresia whom Bloom's father's grandfather maintained he was proud to have personally seen, Joseph II issued an edict in 1787 that ordered all subjects of his empire to use fixed hereditary surnames. This resulted in large numbers of Jews, who had only used traditional forms like patronymics until then, taking new German names.⁶⁶ As regards Hungary, the situation was here further complicated from the mid-19th century, when many Jewish and non-Jewish inhabitants of Hungary replaced their German or Slavic names with Hungarian ones. This gesture became more frequent from the 1840s and especially from the 1860s as a symbolic expression of a desire to identify with Hungarian culture and nationhood, support its (then) progressive liberal nationalist ideology and benefit from its growing economic power.⁶⁷

Set against this background, the apparent instability of the names of the Bloom family gains further depth. As mentioned earlier, Bloom's Circean ancestry displays a pan-European array of surnames (*U* 15.1855ff), and he himself also uses and attracts an unusual number of appellations, especially in "Cyclops" and "Circe". These include Henry Flower, Senhor Enrique Flor (*U* 12.1288), Herr

⁶⁶ The text of the 1787 edict is available on line in the original German version and in an English translation via the "Shoreshim" site: <http://www.shoreshim.org/en/info/EmperorJoseph.asp>, last accessed 2 February 2012.

⁶⁷ This is not to say that all magyarizations at all times would have been voluntary, especially in the 20th century. This, however, was the case with Hungary's "national poet" Sándor Petőfi (1823-49, born Petrovics, of Slav parentage) and the literary critic Ferenc Toldy (1805-1875, born Schedel, of German parentage). Petőfi used his Hungarian surname from 1842, Toldy from the late 1820s. For the causes of the magyarization of German Jewish names, see Hanák Péter's detailed analysis: "A lezáratlan per: A zsidóság asszimilációja a Monarchiában" [The unfinished trial: The assimilation of Jews in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy] in *Zsidókérdés, asszimiláció, antiszemitizmus: Tanulmányok a zsidókérdésről a huszadik századi Magyarországon* [The Jewish question, assimilation, and anti-Semitism: Studies on the Jewish question in 20th century Hungary], ed. Péter Hanák (Budapest: Gondolat, 1984), pp. 366-7.

Professor Luitpold Blumenduft (U 12.468), O'Bloom, the son of Rory (U 12.216), Countess Marha Virága Kisászony Putrápesthi (U 12.560-1), James Lovebitch (U 15.1016ff), Ahasuerus (U 12.1667), Lipóti Virag (U 12.1816), Bluebeard, Ikey (U 15.1040), Leopold M'Intosh, Higgins (U 15.1561-2), Ruby Cohen (U 15.2967), Henri Fleury (U 15.3003), *L. Boom* (U 16.1260), Mrs. L. Bloom (U 17.1822) and Old Ollebo, M. P. (U 17.409).

The discourse represented by the Cyclopien narrator and the Citizen clearly associates the bearing of changed or multiple names with being Jewish,⁶⁸ but the general Eastern European perspective would be at least as relevant. The onomastic uncertainty regarding Bloom can in fact be seen as a comic reflection of the lives of his immediate ancestors. *Ulysses* states that Leopold Bloom's father changed his name from the Hungarian Virag Rudolf to the more English-looking Rudolph Bloom (U 17.1869ff) and hints that Leopold Bloom's maternal grandfather had also changed his similarly Hungarian surname Karoly to the smoother Higgins (U 17.536-7). It has been repeatedly suggested that the assimilatory gesture of Rudolf Virag must have been in all likelihood preceded by a similar gesture earlier, whereby the Hungarian Virag (or rather Virág) replaced a German "original" like (most probably) *Blum*.⁶⁹ Such a supposition is supported by linguistic and historical evidence. The first and most direct of these is that by far the most obvious English translation of the Hungarian word *virág* is *flower*, and not *bloom*, therefore the choice of Rudolf Virag to use the surname Bloom in Ireland (and not his son's later clandestine soubriquet Flower) only really makes sense if one assumes the lingering memory of the previous German surname *Blum* in the family. This purely linguistic point gains support from the historical fact that while there had been Hungarian Jews using (occasionally Hungarian) surnames in the 18th century and even earlier, the overwhelming majority, including recent migrants from Austria, did not use surnames at all and, as mentioned earlier, were

⁶⁸ Cf. U 12:1086-8, U 12:1666-7.

⁶⁹ Compare Róbert Orbán, "To Appear to be Bloom: The 'relations' of the hero of *Ulysses* in Szombathely", in Orbán, *The Joyce of Szombathely*, pp. 10-16. The existence of a previous Blum surname in the Virag-Bloom family has been suggested by various other scholars: John Henry Raleigh, *The Chronicle of Leopold and Molly Bloom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p. 14; Hyman, *Jews of Ireland*, pp. 170ff (at least implicitly); Culleton, *Names and Naming*, p. 25, and Stanzel, "All Europe Contributed", p. 620.

therefore obliged to take German ones in 1787 at the latest. Added to this is the fact that the family languages that Bloom's father and grandfather appear to have been using were (as would have been typical with western Hungarian Jews in the first half of the 19th century) German and Yiddish, suggesting, possibly, a relatively recent migration to Szombathely from a German-speaking country like neighbouring Austria.⁷⁰

Such considerations would imply, then, that in addition to Bloom's maternal grandfather, three generations of his paternal forefathers also underwent name changes. These changes involve a putative Jewish name (possibly a patronymic), a German surname like *Blum*, the Hungarian *Virag/Virág*, and the English *Bloom*. That Joyce may easily have had a similar development of names in mind is made more likely by the well-known facts that in Trieste he evidently knew a Jewish citizen with Hungarian roots called Luis Blum, and that both the Dublin-based Jonas Bloom/Blum (whose address in Lombard Street West he knew and borrowed for a previous residence of Leopold Bloom) and the Dublin dentists Marcus J and Joseph Bloom (who are referred to as potential relatives of Leopold, *U* 12.1638; cf. also 10.1115), wore a surname that could be easily connected to the German name *Blum* from which it directly derived.⁷¹

Joyce may have chosen the Hungarian surname *Virag* on the basis of a photo that he may have come across in Trieste from the Székesfehérvár atelier of the photograph Sándor Virág (a real-life namesake of the fictional photographer Stefan Virag of *Ulysses*, who, as Endre Tóth discovered, appears to have had a successful photo studio in Székesfehérvár between 1907 and 1916).⁷² As suggested by an early note giving the name as 'Virag(o)',⁷³ he may also have

⁷⁰ For Yiddish and German as prevalent languages among the Jewry of Hungary, see e. g. György Szalai, "A hazai zsidóság magyarosodása 1849-ig" [The Magyarization of Jews in Hungary until 1849], *Világosság*, 1974/4, pp. 218-9.

⁷¹ For Luis Blum, see McCourt, *Years of Bloom*, pp. 225-6 and 278 n.103-4; for the Dublin Blooms, see Hyman, *Jews of Ireland*, pp. 171, 175-6.

⁷² For the historic Sándor Virág, see Endre Tóth, "The Origins of Leopold Bloom: An Imaginary Family Tree", in Orbán, *The Joyce of Szombathely*, pp. 18-25. See also R. B. Kershner's discussion in his introduction to the present volume. A few photos by Sándor Virág are available online, for instance, via Flickr (URL: www.flickr.com).

⁷³ See Phillip F. Herring, *Joyce's Ulysses Notesheets in the British Museum* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972), p. 82. I explored the significance of the Biblical story of the Fall for Bloom's family in "'Inbursts of Maggyer': Joyce,

chosen it because of its invocation of gender ambiguity and of the biblical story of Adam and Eve through its similarity to the Latin word *virago* featuring in the Vulgate (Gen 2:23). Or he may have had some of the various Blooms and Blums of Dublin and Trieste in his mind. Most likely, he made this seminal decision on the basis of a combination of several of these factors. In any case, he made a choice that is capable of suggesting the desire of the Bloom family not only to become accepted in English-speaking Dublin, but also, previously, to survive and succeed under the germanizing policies of the Habsburg Empire in the late 18th century and the magyarizing trends of Hungary in the 19th.

By choosing the (Blum-)Virág-Bloom name development, Joyce captured a very widespread consequence of migration, change of regimes, and growing nationalism in the Eastern European region. This is further illustrated by the fact that both the Hungarian painter Mihály Munkácsy and the father of the Yugoslav writer Danilo Kiš – like Joyce’s Marxist critics Karl Radek and György Lukács and tens of thousands of other Austro-Hungarians – opted to change their names at one stage in their lives.

In Munkácsy’s case, this was a clearly voluntary gesture made in the 1860s to strengthen his symbolic ties to the nation that he felt he belonged to.⁷⁴ Munkácsy’s new name, which he used throughout his successful career in Paris as a marker of his Hungarian identity, appears to have served its purpose. After he altered his originally German surname *Lieb* to the manifestly Hungarian Munkácsy, the Bavarian origin of his family seems to have been completely forgotten and his Hungarian identity was fully taken for granted, even in spite of his having spent virtually all of his mature creative period abroad.

The name change of Danilo Kiš’s father must have been similar in intention, but strikingly different in its outcome. He was born with the surname Kohn, which, as another Ulyssean link, is a German form of the very widespread English (Jewish) surname worn by Bella Cohen and briefly by Bloom himself in “Circe”. The writer surmised that it was probably “a desire for integration” that led his grandfather to magyarize the name of his underage son to the extremely common

the Fall and the Magyar Language”, *Focus: Papers in English Literary and Cultural Studies: Special Issue on James Joyce* (Pécs: University of Pécs, 2002), pp. 30-40.

⁷⁴ Data from Magdolna Ónody, “Munkácsy’s Life”, *Munkácsy*, p. 21.

Hungarian surname *Kis(s)* (meaning ‘little, small’).⁷⁵ Having gone from Kohn Ede to Kiss Ede, the father’s name was further adapted to local culture on his move to Yugoslavia, this time through Serbian translation and transcription, into Eduard Kiš and its Cyrillic version Едвард Киш.⁷⁶ However, neither of these name changes could obliterate the memory of what came to be seen as an indelible and objectionable Jewishness in his identity, which eventually led to his annihilation during World War II. Eduard Kiš’s son Danilo, who survived the war under the Hungarian name Kiss Dániel, was at a very early age confronted with the precariousness of the sense of community yielded by assimilation and name change in the region.⁷⁷

Richard Ellmann reports that Joyce once answered the query of his Hungarian Jewish-born Swiss publisher Daniel Bródy – “Mr Joyce, I can understand why the counterpart of your Stephen Dedalus has to be a Jew, but why is he the son of a Hungarian?” – by saying, tantalizingly, “Because he was” (*JJII* 374). The implication that Bloom was exclusively or at least chiefly modelled on one person is made rather unlikely by evidence concerning various Dublin, Trieste and Zurich models for Bloom’s traits. However, even if one accepted it, Joyce would still have had to make a conscious choice for that particular prototype with a Hungarian Jewish background, as opposed, for instance, to the less complicated Mr Hunter whom he apparently had in mind at the conception of his idea for a story about a Dublin Ulysses. I have been trying to argue that by making this choice, Joyce found a way of suggesting not only much of the complex position and history of the Dublin Jewry of the early 20th century, with its important Eastern European contingent, but also some fundamental elements of the troubled historic experience of the peoples, both Jewish and “gentile”, of what later became Eastern Europe. Through his encounters with Eastern Europe and Eastern Europeans, Joyce could observe that this experience, like its Irish counterpart, was rife

⁷⁵ “Birth Certificate”, *Homo Poeticus*, p. 3.; compare also Kiš, “Life, Literature” in *Homo Poeticus*, pp. 243–4.

⁷⁶ The *Danilo Kis Home Page* and the *Danilo Kis: Homo Poeticus, Regardless* sites both display a Serbian document (Danilo Kiš’s baptismal certificate issued in 1940 by the Novi Sad Orthodox Church) recording the name of his father in Cyrillic letters; cf. <http://www.danilokis.org/>, under the heading “Pisac”.

⁷⁷ See the Hungarian identity card with Kiš’s signature as “Kiss Dániel” from 1943 (age 8) on the *Danilo Kis Home Page*, URL <http://www.kis.org.rs>, under the headings Život, literature – Čitav život – Podmuklo dejstvo biografije.

with conflicts originating in imperial and nationalistic impulses, resulting in phenomena such as large-scale migration and name change. What he could not yet observe – although he would not have found it entirely unfamiliar – were the restrictions imposed on the intellectual life of the region by other ideologies, like Soviet-style communism. One may hope that in the future there will be no comparable experiences for which history could again be blamed.