



AKDENİZ UNIVERSITY
THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



Şükriye TEKŞENER

COSMOPOLITANISM IN JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN'S PROSE

Department of English Language and Literature
Master's Thesis

Antalya, 2022



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SUMMARY

Living between the years of 1803 through 1849, James Clarence Mangan was a prominent Irish poet and writer who made use of properties of the East and the West in his verse and prose. In this thesis study, James Clarence Mangan's short stories titled "The Thirty Flasks", "The Man in the Cloak. A very German Story" and "The Three Rings" are analyzed to understand how the tenets of cosmopolitanism are treated in the prose work selected. Mangan employs a unifying mode of thinking, which associated him with the notion of the *Weltliteratur* by and large. Although in the popular imagination the 19th-century European literature has been conceptualized as two opposite entities of progress and decay, Mangan's texts manifest greater political identification with non-Eurocentric modes of thinking among which, as this thesis shows, Cosmopolitanism is the leading one. Mangan's comprehension of cosmopolitanism, as the thesis reveals, significantly differs from its nineteenth-century counterparts. Although in the following centuries Mangan's works became somehow more popular, his use of cosmopolitan ideals in his short stories remained understudied. Therefore, this thesis aims to fill this gap in the studies on Irish literature while paying particular attention to cosmopolitanism presented after the appearance of the concept of *Weltliteratur*. Hence, the selected short stories of James Clarence Mangan are examined by comparing the principles of cosmopolitanism with their content. In short, this thesis analyzes how James Clarence Mangan adopted cosmopolitan ideals and appropriated them in the three stories selected.

Keywords: Irish literature, J. C. Mangan, Cosmopolitanism, Prose, "The Thirty Flasks," "The Man in the Cloak. A very German Story", "The Three Rings"

ÖZET

JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN'IN DÜZYAZISINDA KOZMOPOLİTANİZM

1803-1849 yılları arasında yaşamış, şiir ve nesirlerinde Doğu ve Batı'nın aidiyetlerini kullanmış olan James Clarence Mangan, önde gelen İrlandalı bir şair ve yazardır. Bu tez çalışmasında James Clarence Mangan'ın “Otuz Fıçı”, “Cübbedeki Adam. Tam Bir Alman Hikayesi” ve “Üç Yüzük” başlıklı kısa hikayeleri kozmopolitlik ilkelerinin nasıl işlendiği açısından analiz edilir. Mangan, kendisini genel olarak dünya edebiyatı (Weltliteratur) kavramı ile ilişkilendiren birleştirici bir düşünce tarzını benimser. Yaygın tasavvurda 19. Yüzyıl Avrupa edebiyatı ilerleme ve yozlaşma karşı kutupları olarak kavramsallaştırılsa da, Mangan'ın metinleri, bu tezin gösterdiği gibi, kozmopolitliğin önde geldiği Avrupa merkezci olmayan düşünce tarzları ile daha fazla siyasi özdeşleşme sergilemektedir. Mangan'ın kozmopolitlik kavramı anlayışı, bu tezin açıkladığı gibi, on dokuzuncu yüzyıldaki benzerlerinden önemli ölçüde farklılık göstermektedir. Mangan'ın eserleri sonraki yüzyıllarda daha popüler hale gelse de, kozmopolitlik ideallerin kısa hikayelerindeki kullanımını yeterince incelenmemiştir. Bu nedenle, bu tez, *Weltliteratur* kavramının ortaya çıkışından sonra sunulan kozmopolitliğe özellikle önem vererek, İrlanda edebiyatı çalışmalarındaki bu boşluğu doldurmayı hedefler. Dolayısıyla, James Clarence Mangan'ın seçilen kısa hikayeleri, kozmopolitanizmin ilkeleri ile hikayelerin içerikleri karşılaştırılarak analiz edilir. Kısaca, bu tez James Clarence Mangan'ın kozmopolitan idealleri ne şekilde benimseyip hikayelerine uyarladığını analiz etmektedir

Anahtar Kelimeler: İrlanda Edebiyatı, Kozmopolitanizm, J. C. Mangan, “The Thirty Flasks,” “The Man in the Cloak. A very German Story”, “The Three Rings”

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INTRODUCTION

Cosmopolitanism, a critical yet much-contested ideology of nineteenth-century Europe, is still used in public discourse in England and the rest of the world. In essence, the term denotes anything that is neither local nor provincial (Robbins, 2010). The word ‘cosmopolitan’ derives from two Greek words, one of which is the ‘world’ (cosmos) and the other is ‘city’ (polis), and as a term, it refers to someone who is nowhere a stranger (Cheah, 2006: 487). In addition, “cosmopolitan, a combination of *cosmos* (world) and *polites* (citizen) evokes the relationship between individual and society, or that between the city (polis) and the world” (Agathocleous and Rudy, 2010: 390). All these basic definitions boil down to one image; that is, the term suggests the relationship between a locality and its more significant whole.

To discuss cosmopolitanism, clarifying its conceptualization process from a historical perspective is crucial. Although the term became fashionable and philosophically distinct during the nineteenth century, conceptualizing cosmopolitan entities has been a matter of discussion for many centuries that preceded it. According to Pizer (2005: 165), the term “has existed at least since the advent of Stoics.” Furthermore, Vervotec and Cohen (2002: 11) argue that “many of the founders of cosmopolitanism” such as “the Stoics in ancient Athens, were Phoenicians or Semites from the ‘wrong’ (non-European) side of Mediterranean.” Hence, they conclude, “we can identify the more multifarious provenance and spread of cosmopolitanism by alluding, for example, to Arab and Muslim cultures” (12).

As can be seen in Vervotec and Cohen’s (2002) arguments, since the appearance of the works of the Stoics, cosmopolitanism has always been a significant aspect of various cultures and cultural productions. Because cosmopolitanism is “a fundamentally heterogeneous phenomenon, irreducible to a single definition” (Agathocleous and Rudy, 2010: 390), the conceptualization of cosmopolitanism vary since there is not one specific, agreed-upon definition of the term. However, Pizer (2005: 165) argues that such depictions “focus on the transcendence of national and regional perspectives.” Thus, the overarching feature of cosmopolitanism is accepted as the transcendence of many perspectives that belong to different nations and regions rather than standing aloof as a member of one national or regional entity.

As Cheah (2006) argues, the preliminary conceptualization of cosmopolitanism signals a citizen of the universe as a term. However, this intellectual ethos does not signify a rootless individual as it “embraces the whole of humanity” rather than telling a member of a distinct

group (487). To comprehend cosmopolitanism in general modalities, Steven and Vervotec (2002) suggest six articulations combined, depending on the different points of view:

Cosmopolitanism can be viewed or invoked (a) a socio-cultural condition; (b) a kind of philosophy or worldview; (c) a political project towards building transnational institutions; (d) a political project for recognizing multiple identities; (e) an attitudinal or dispositional orientation; and/or (f) a mode of practice or competence (7-9).

Thus, when these multiple articulations of cosmopolitanism are regarded, it can be argued that its re-emergence in different centuries and fields is expected because of its multiplicity. However, when cosmopolitanism is considered in the context of nineteenth-century Victorian literature, “cosmopolitanism begins to be defined in relation to nationalism, though it often carries along with it the ethos associated with the Enlightenment version” (Anderson, 2001: 64).

When this unifying feature of cosmopolitanism is considered, it becomes indispensable to recognize that the term has been used and abused. One of the significant points regarding cosmopolitanism is, by all means, its relation to other movements in the nineteenth century, such as Nationalism, Patriotism, and Liberalism. Moreover, when it comes to artistic activities, universalism, the oriental renaissance, and cosmopolitanism were developed by those who experienced the spirit of the age, which was prevailed by Romanticism, the leading artistic movement of the period. In this respect, their associative relations require further clarification to scrutinize the trends and identify how the terms might be intermingled and divided simultaneously in the emergence of cosmopolitanism. Regardless of such examination, it can easily be said that cosmopolitanism flourished. At the same time, a series of debates concerning nationalism and imperialism skyrocketed in the nineteenth century's general socio-political and literary atmosphere.

The clash between cosmopolitanism and nationalism intensified in the nineteenth century. Unlike nationalist discourses which glorify single ethnic or national entities, cosmopolitanism underlined the importance of interdependence in politics. As such, cosmopolitanism sought for the universal common good and the individual's rights, and even today, in Spasic's (2011) words, it

necessarily involves a discursive practice of (self) labeling and classifying, and a performative practice of “being” cosmopolitan (or not); and in addition to Kantian bird's-eye view of universal morality it importantly operates within living, dynamic, hotly contested social spaces, where being called a *cosmopolitan*, or on the contrary, a *patriot*, *xenophobe* or *local* matters very much, affects the lives of real people, opens up or closes prospects for them, enhances their symbolic capital, improves their

chances with this political force rather than that one, brings them pecuniary benefits or sends them to jail, and so on. These matters are not to be taken lightly, for either moral or theoretical reasons (274).

As seen in the quotation above, the emergence and re-emergence of cosmopolitanism as an intellectual ethos throughout history is a by-product of political concerns engulfing industrial ramifications, economic developments, and globalization that have affected all nations. Therefore, “the story of the concept of cosmopolitanism in modernity is that of a passage from an intellectual ethos to a vision of a global political consciousness that is generated and sustained by institutional structures” (Cheah, 2006: 486). Thus, the concept was attempted to be defined in the frame of nation-state structure. For Saville (2009), the concept refers to “cosmopolitan republicanism” and it “resonates with those of an ethos that flourished in Britain between the early 1850s and the late 1870s” (691).

Cosmopolitanism, which is apprehended as the opposite of nationalism, or as a threat to national interests and profits, can indeed be considered against a strict, prescribed way of thinking or living framed with any sort of irrational demarcation. In the nineteenth-century German debate, cosmopolitan imagination was based on the idea of the nation-state (Strath, 2012). As it is frequently indicated, “in many respects, the true inaugurator of modern cosmopolitanism is Immanuel Kant” (Cheah, 2006: 487). Kant’s ideal of cosmopolitan law can be discussed in different modalities even though it has mainly been addressed politically. In Kant’s view, “cosmopolitanism went hand in hand with national solidarity and republican virtues at the state level. Cosmopolitanism was not an alternative but a final goal which did not exclude the existing constitutional states” (Strath, 2012: 77). Depending on one of the modalities Kant suggests, which is “a world federation as the legal and political-institutional basis for cosmopolitanism as a form of right,” Cheah (2006) concludes that “Kant’s world federation would therefore fall somewhere between the political community of the state in its lawful relations with other states and a world-state” (487-8). In the light of this, Kant’s conceptualization of cosmopolitanism relating to nationalism needs to be elucidated since “Kant’s cosmopolitanism is not opposed to nationalism but to absolutist statism” (Cheah, 2006: 489).

Although Kant’s idea can be argued as not being opposed to nationalism, nationalism mentioned in that context is different than “the period between 1825 and 1831 where nationality, in search of statehood, emerges for the first time as the primary basis for revolution” (Cheah, 2006: 489). Accordingly, when affiliation of cosmopolitanism with nationalism is regarded in that frame, according to Anderson (2001), “like cosmopolitanism, nationalism in the initial moment of historical emergence is a popular movement distinct from

the state that also sought to provide rightful regulation for the behavior of absolutist states towards their subjects” (as cited in Cheah, 2006: 489). However, as Strath (2012: 72) points out that “Kant’s idea that the world government was a world federation of states rather than transcending them was ever more transformed into the idea of the nation as the carrier of the universal.” At this point, as much as the normativity of nation-state, the understanding of the world can be put into the discussion. Strath (2012) clarifies a significant point that:

Since Kant world history was synonymous with universal history, which in nineteenth-century discourses become to interpret the world as a process towards ever higher stages of development driven by some intrinsic logic. Europe was the origin, the standard, and the goal of this process. The European nation-states became the carriers of the universal (73).

Thus, Kant’s cosmopolitan argument is demarcated by Eurocentrism in this context. Nevertheless, “cosmopolitanism was in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century seen as a concept linked in a rather unproblematic way to nationalism” (Strath, 2012: 82). Hence, it can be discussed through the lens of philosophical understanding of the term, highlighted by Stoics. “The Stoics stress that to be a world citizen; one does not need to give up local identifications and affiliations, which can frequently be a great source of richness in life” (Nassbaum, 1997: 9). In this respect, Kant’s departure point lighted by the philosophical view of cosmopolitanism can be related to that perspective of nationalism. However, Kant “did not envisage his cosmopolitan order as separated from states or transcending them in a unified world” (Strath, 2012: 77). When the philosophical understanding of the terms is taken into account, as Cheah (2006) argues:

The term’s philosophical usage to indicate a ‘citizen of the universe’, however, emphasized that this intellectual ethos or spirit is not one of rootlessness. Instead, what is imagined is a universal circle of belonging that involves the transcendence of the particularistic and blindly given ties of kinship and country. The cosmopolitan therefore embodies the universality of philosophical reason itself, namely its power of transcending the particular and contingent (487).

From this perspective, the propensity of cosmopolitanism towards universalism, which the philosophers of the French Enlightenment advocated, can be underlined. In addition, “the normativity of cosmopolitanism with that of moral reason and universal freedom” can be depicted in the conceptualization of the cosmopolitanism in the Enlightenment, which can be indicated as similar to the Stoics’ (Cheah, 2006: 488). Therefore, the normativity of cosmopolitanism is based on nation-states in the nineteenth century, even though not totally, differs from the Enlightenment comprehension of the term. Protecting the essence of the philosophical understanding of the term at the beginning of the nineteenth century,

cosmopolitanism, in the following years of the century, was defined through a transformed understanding of nationalism. Hence, Kant's conceptualization of cosmopolitanism is quite significant not only because it signals the unproblematic aspect of the affiliation of cosmopolitanism and nationalism but also highlights the significance of applying the philosophical view of the term to the other conceptualization because, as Cheah (2006) clarifies that:

Formulated too early to take into the account the role of nationalism in the transition between the age of absolutism and the age of liberalism, Kant's cosmopolitanism is more philosophical republicanism and federalism designed to reform the absolutist dynastic state than a theory opposing the modern theory of nationalism (489).

Consequently, the modern theory of nationalism is differentiated in the conceptualization of cosmopolitanism in the other half of the nineteenth century. Kant and thinkers such as Hegel, Marx, and Fichte indicate their comprehension of cosmopolitanism by foregrounding various modalities. Regarding that "in the nineteenth century, the terms culture and civilization were used for demarcation between Us and Them," therefore, cosmopolitan ideals in this lens depicts "the concepts radiated by European superiority" (Strath, 2012: 74).

Although these thinkers employed the Eurocentric vision, it cannot be indicated that Kant, Hegel, and Fichte used the concepts of cosmopolitanism and nationalism as binary oppositions in their essence. The cosmopolitan ideal suggested by Kant, Hegel, and Fichte can be depicted as the prominent instance in this respect. However, "in the history of ideas, the notorious tensions between nationalism and cosmopolitanism become more apparent from Marx onwards" (Cheah, 2006: 490). Whereas Marx idea is defined as opposed to cosmopolitanism, it can be discussed as follows:

Most famously, the *Communist Manifesto* ends with the call "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" This, combined with the ideal of classless society and the expected withering away of the states after the revolution, implies a form of cosmopolitanism of its own (Kleingeld and Brown 2019, para. 27).

Significantly, in this respect, the transformation of the conceptualization of nationalism has come into the discussion. As a turning point, as Strath (2012: 79) argues that "before Napoleon, there was a transnational dimension of the conceptualization of the world order, although it never transcendence the states. This was obvious in the British debates on commerce and free trade and in Kant's writings." As a quite significant point, which can be related to the ideas flourishing from other thinkers, as the consequence of the atmosphere in the nineteenth century, the birth of both problematic and unproblematic relation of

cosmopolitanism to nationalism, patriotism, and liberalism can be depicted in this part of the conceptualization of the world.

When the prevailing ideas are taken into consideration in nineteenth-century England, “the very idea of Victorian cosmopolitanism might at first glance seem an oxymoron” (Kurnick, 2010: 489). However, when the approaches of Victorian thinkers are discussed, due to the historical occurrences and concerns for the conceptualization of nationalism and patriotism accordingly, the givens of cosmopolitanism can be mentioned. “It is also erroneous to regard cosmopolitanism as the transcendence of the particularistic and parochial limits of the nation-form because cosmopolitanism may, in fact, precede the popular nation-state in history and nationalism in the history of ideas” (Cheah, 2006: 489). The idea of cosmopolitanism, then, can be depicted as exemplary even in the dominance of national and patriotic thought of the Victorian era. By examining some of the prominent and significant thinkers of the time such as John Stuart Mill, Matthew Arnold, and Herbert Spencer, Varouxakis (2006: 101) argues that “when discussing ‘patriotism,’ Victorian political thinkers had something to say also about its relationship to universal benevolence and commitment to ‘humanity.’” Nevertheless, the understanding of universal altruism was different at first. As Strath (2012) states:

In British discourses, since the 1860s the universal was ever more conceptualized in a framework where the theories of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer were the main points of reference. Humans were seen as a species under evolutionary adjustment or in a continuous struggle for survival. This language with a clear universal dimension, but hardly universal in the sense of cosmopolitanism, had a tremendous impact all over Europe (79).

“It was Spencer who talked about fighting for survival” (Strath, 2012: 79). Thus, the cosmopolitan sense was on another level intermingled with the universal orientation but still restricted in its context and discourse. Accordingly, the discourses on nationalism prevailed, and “the language of ‘patriotism’ was inextricably intertwined with that of ‘nationalism’ or ‘nationality’ throughout the 19th century” (Varouxakis, 2006: 113). Boer War can be presented as a trigger force, as the Liberation Wars in Germany, which intensified the conceptualization of nationalism. By pointing out that even though cosmopolitanism and nationalism were not considered as dichotomies, Varouxakis (2006) concludes that:

Most of the thinkers discussed here avoided the use of the term ‘cosmopolitanism’ (or used it only to distance themselves from it), due to ‘the disgrace attached to it when it was supposed to indicate a contempt for national distinctions’ or to be the attitude of those who equated ‘Cosmopolitan’ with ‘superior to country’. This conception of cosmopolitanism as standing for ‘detachment from the bonds,

commitment, and affiliations that constrain ordinary nation-bound lives' as being 'a luxuriously free-floating view from above,' they rejected (114).

As its representations can be seen in the writings of most of the Victorian thinkers, the relation of cosmopolitanism with nationalism has been problematized. In this respect, it can be indicated that cosmopolitanism here is "conceived in contradistinction to nationalism" (Patell, 2015: 4).

The effects of cosmopolitanism are exemplified in philosophical, cultural, and political domains. Moreover, when its impact on various fields is interrogated, especially with an emphasis on literature in the nineteenth century, cosmopolitanism becomes a focal point for further discussions concerning Victorian literature. Through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the effect of Cosmopolitanism was not visible in mainstream literary circles in Europe whose works exemplified a new understanding of human experience. To be more precise, it can be argued that Cosmopolitanism of nineteenth-century thinking was an ideology that served as an energizing force in the formation of the movements of thought adopted by Western Europe in the nineteenth century. "In fact, in the 19th century, the core of Enlightenment cosmopolitanism- a belief in the underlying oneness and progressive unification of the World- was embraced across the ideological spectrum" (Ingram, 2013: 40). Within this formation, the rise of Victorian studies in the frame of Cosmopolitanism was crucial because, as it is argued as follows:

Victorian cosmopolitanisms, even if ethically troubling, might open up questions about the period rather than limit them. Historically speaking, cosmopolitanisms (to adapt Robbin's phrase) "actually existed" in the Victorian period, both as a way of describing global phenomena and as a way of living and thinking (Agathocleus and Rudy, 2010, 391).

Even though the understanding and the uses of cosmopolitanism have changed throughout the years, to elucidate the term's popularization in Victorian studies, the conception of the term focusing on the nineteenth century should be examined.

Like its emergence in the following decades, cosmopolitanism in the Victorian era has frequently been correlated to universalism, internationalism, and globalization. Anderson (2006) indicates that "the interest in cosmopolitanism stems largely from a concern with the question of nationalism and, by extension, with attendant issues of domestic governance and international politics" (82). In this context, cosmopolitanism in the Victorian Age and in the following centuries might be related to one another based on its comprehension. However, it "differs from words like internationalism and globalization in its connotations of an individual ethos and intellectual enterprise; a stance adopted by those who seek to be 'citizen of the

world” (Agathocleus, 2010: 452). Pointing out that both Victorian and contemporary uses of cosmopolitanism bear both positive and pejorative connotations, Agathocleus and Rudy (2010) epitomize some prominent views about the plurality of the comprehension of cosmopolitanism as follows:

For some, such as Timothy Brennan, Pheng Cheah, and Simon Gikandi, cosmopolitanism is figured as the false idealism of globalization and the cultural logic of neoimperialism, while for other, such as Bruce Robbins, Kwame Anthony Appiah, and Amanda Anderson, it is globalization’s critical edge, an ethos that attempts to encompass all humanity while remaining attentive to the pitfalls of humanism (390).

When it is scrutinized in the nineteenth-century context, all in all, by demolishing the walls and erasing the borders among nations and regions that had been kept separate for centuries, cosmopolitan thinkers of the 19th century paved the way to a new understanding of human culture signaled a severe shift in the content and style of the literary texts produced informed by the concept. Kurnick (2010: 489) asserts critical cosmopolitanism as “a willingness to endure the trauma of the encounter with the other” and discusses the issue of cosmopolitanism and ethnic nationalism in the frame of Victorian literature and culture. Even though cosmopolitanism and critical cosmopolitanism differ in terms of their definitions, this significant definition of critical cosmopolitanism might be depicted as an aspect of the conception of cosmopolitanism in the nineteenth century.

Furthermore, Amanda Anderson (2001: 5) argues that “individual Victorians constructed their ideals, to consider not only the limits but also the distinctive virtues of their conceptions of enabling detachment.” In this respect, by offering one of the most elucidating approaches to the issue, Anderson (2001) points out the cultivation of detachment which refers to “aspiration to a distanced view” (6). Even though the use of cosmopolitan characters in their novels represents degeneration, the “aspiration to a distanced view”, as Anderson puts it, was self-consciously employed by the century’s writers such as George Eliot, Charlotte Brontë, Charles Dickens, Matthew Arnold, and Oscar Wilde. In other words, by underscoring the notions of cosmopolitanism, Anderson, in her analysis, “signals the degree to which the impossibility, or undesirability, of perfect distance, is acknowledged by 19th-century writers themselves” (Agathocleus, 2010: 457). Hence, focusing on the representations of cosmopolitan notions by the nineteenth-century writers, depending on Anderson’s perspective that:

In Anderson’s usage, cosmopolitanism is intrinsic to detachment, for the term describes the ways in which the universalist outlook of the detached perspective is transformed into a quality of character.

Cosmopolitanism, in other words, is how Victorians put critical distance into practice (Agathocleus, 2010: 457).

Nevertheless, cosmopolitanism, grounded in universal orientation, has been subjected to many definitions that have positive and pejorative connotations caused by this orientation. On the one hand, “the negative connotations of cosmopolitanism in the Victorian era are still those most frequently cited – Mill’s “capital is becoming more and more cosmopolitan,” for instance, is provided as a sample usage by the OED” (Agathocleous and Rudy, 2010: 389). On the other hand, “the word was employed in a range of positive ways as well. The Kantian sense of the word, for example, was frequently invoked to support arguments in favor of free trade” (Agathocleous and Rudy, 2010: 389). Therefore, in that context, it can be indicated that cosmopolitanism was conceived both as degeneration and is also “conceived as bridging the gaps rather than eradicating them” (Patell, 2005: 10).

The conception of the cosmopolitan sense celebrating universal free trade and movement, in general, can be argued concerning the concept of universalism since it underscores how universalism is conceived. The interrelated use of the term with universalism needs to be scrutinized to examine cosmopolitanism in the Victorian era. The relation of cosmopolitanism and universalism is as crucial as the relation of cosmopolitanism and nationalism because in the nineteenth century, as Weller argues (2021: 66-67), regarding the Romantic period, it was not only national in terms of embracing political, economic and cultural nationalism, it was also rather international. Because cosmopolitanism bears a universal perspective as an aspect in its essence, the general misidentification of universalism as cosmopolitanism leads to the disorientation of the terms. It can be connoted that the concepts of universalism generally demarcate consideration of humanity as a whole employed by cosmopolitanism. Chernilo (2013: 50), who examines the identification and the roots of the correlation of universalism and cosmopolitanism, articulates that “the labeling of Greek philosophy as ‘Western’ is adequate to describe the cosmopolitan ideas that *predate the rise of the West itself*. ””

By describing the process as “politics of canon making” and “an anachronistic idea of self-conscious,” Chernilo (2013: 30) highlights the problematic origin of the comprehension of universalism and cosmopolitanism because it signals “universalism’s origins account for its inability to deal with non-Western phenomena.” When the universal ideas are taken into account, the values, conceptions, or rights are considered appropriate for all people or at least needs to be inclusive. However, when the universal discourses are scrutinized, they can be indicated as the formations or creations of hegemonic powers. Ingram (2016) states that “from

the *Pax Romana* to the *mission civilisatrice*, imperial dominion has seldom lacked universal justification” (67). In addition, “indeed, in the relation between states, peoples, and empires, sceptics insist that it is a rare crime which cannot be justified with reference to universal humanity” (Ingram, 2016: 67). For instance, in this context, this mentioned universal justification is depicted as one of the pejorative understandings of cosmopolitanism rather than universalism. When there is a national concern, the exclusion of other nations can be witnessed, and when there is a universal concern, generally, the exclusion of non-Europeans can be witnessed.

Under the name of universal values and humanity, overt use of hegemonic discourses becomes inevitable. Often to ensure national values or superiority, power holders use their power in society and politics, and such involvement is reflected in various literary texts. Such reflection, then, works as a tool of the oppressor simply because “When universalism is mentioned at all humanistic writing, it is most often denounced as a tool of oppression” (Hogan, 1997: 224). In this respect, for instance, the anti-universalist approach can be depicted as an elucidating statement since it clarifies that “Antiuniversalists... use the term universalism as if it meant pseudouniversalism at all. What they truly object to and who would not? – is Eurocentric hegemony posing as universalism” (Appiah, 1993: 58). Relatedly, the conception of universal humanity employed by the universalists in the nineteenth century might be accepted as a mobilizing force for Europe, since, as Ingram (2016: 71) states “idealistic universalism and world-spanning imperialisms tend to go together, if only because it is the easiest to imagine the world as one great power.”

As Hollinger (1995) explains, “for cosmopolitans, the diversity of humankind is a fact. For universalists, it’s a potential problem” (as cited in Patell, 2015: 8). Although “thinking in cosmopolitan terms compels us to favor a universalistic orientation,” the significant differences cannot be disregarded when it comes to the relation of cosmopolitanism to universalism (Chernilo, 2016: 30). Brennan’s differentiation of cosmopolitanism and universalism is essential to point out that “Brennan sees Cosmopolitanism as fatally tainted by the failures of universalism, the depravities of global capitalism and imperialism, and the elitism of aesthetic distance” (Agathocleus, 2010: 454). Regarding the early cosmopolitan ideas, which “was a philosophical principle that sought to rearrange *theoretically* our understanding of who we are as human beings- the idea of a singular human species that is *constituted through its diversity*,” it can be determined that in the context of the nineteenth century, these ideas employed by Stoics are transformed into the different modalities of cosmopolitanism, mostly related to universalism (Chernilo, 2016: 34). Partly departed from

the Stoic ideals, the universal perspective that stemmed from the strict national turn and mediated through Romanticism was the focal point. Weller (2021) states that:

The elitist Enlightenment idea of Europe as cosmopolitan republic of cultivated minds was to founder in the course of that century, in no small part on account of a new idea of Europe that emerged out of the French Revolution and European Romanticism, particularly of the German strain (66).

Therefore, it can be connoted that by restricting the universal perspective to the borders of Europe, the universalism attributed to humanity could not be constructed. For instance, it can be elucidated that:

In the thinking of Europe since its origins in ancient Greece, one of the key distinctions that had been repeatedly made was between a European civilization characterized by freedom and the individual, and an Asian civilization of enslavement and the collective (Weller, 2021: 83).

Indeed, the understanding and the uses of the term universal in the nineteenth-century Europe can be illuminated by the loss of religious cosmopolitanism as well. According to Weller (2021), the growth of Protestantism was the death of cosmopolitan religious interest and because of that, it was restricted to national borders. Thus, the end of cosmopolitanism in terms of religion and conflict between European-nation states for centuries were the consequences. (68-69). However, when Britain and specifically British literature is taken into consideration, Urgan (2003) uses Ruskin's criticism to exemplify the common and well-established 19th-century British hypocrisy which, in Ruskin's words, is based on the exploitation of the other:

Your religion tells you to love your neighbour, but you have founded an entire science of political economy, on what you have stated to be the constant instinct of man - the desire to defraud his neighbour (1463).

It can be pointed out that the comprehension of universalism in the nineteenth century take the form of aspiration of unified European civilization. Accordingly, "the Romantic concern for the idea of a unified European civilization often took the form of a nostalgic vision of pre-reformation Europe" (Weller, 2021: 67). Such nostalgic vision not only mobilized history and culture-making processes such as accepting the Antiquity as the cradle of all European civilizations but also new forms of connections were to bridge the national with the universal. Hence, as Weller (2021) articulates, as the universal perspective was attained and propagandized, "the national spirit was the royal road to the universal" (Weller, 2021: 91).

Such conceptualizations of the universal as an amalgamation of the national and whatever was beyond the limits of the national, especially by the thinkers in the nineteenth century, brought new energy especially to German thinkers such as Schlegel, Herder, and Fichte. This new conceptualization can shortly be defined as Euro-universalizing. Amanda Anderson reiterates (2006) a significant point concerning such an amalgamation of cosmopolitanism and universalism as follows:

Cosmopolitanism is characteristically elaborated within the experience of cultural multiplicity and at least limited self-reflexivity, and against a specific form of parochialism. Cosmopolitanism has repeatedly emerged at times when the world has suddenly seemed to expand in unassimilable ways; it is at these moments that universalism needs to the rhetoric of worldliness that cosmopolitanism provides (77).

When it is focused on the Victorian era, relatedly, the conception of universalism including literary works can be indicated as similar. Thus, by clarifying the “the ways in which the universalist outlook of detached perspective” mostly employed by cosmopolitanism, “Anderson thus challenges the “hermeneutic suspicion” of the literary critics who see the Victorian forms of universalism as inherently fallacious” (Agathocleous, 2010: 457; Agathocleous and Rudy, 2010: 391). In addition, Anderson (2001) argues that how Victorians were often “self-consciously pluralistic” and politically “enabling” (as cited in Agathocleous and Rudy, 2010: 391). In this context, it can be connoted that the mentioned universalism is not the same conception of universalism adopted by most of the thinkers who have intentional or unintentional inclination to highlight Eurocentric perspective and it is not the universalism which is “anxious about justification” (Anderson, 2006: 80). In addition, because it’s not possible to examine the understanding of universal by the nineteenth-century thinkers without excluding the national biases, taking universal perspective as an aspect of cosmopolitanism provides a more sophisticated understanding of the terms and the nineteenth century.

In addition, among the struggles for creating national spirit without putting the universal spirit aside, “in popular Romantic forms such as national tale and lyrical ballads, British writers (both English and Colonial) struggled to found nationality in, among other things, language, history, blood and geography” (Wohlgemut, 2009: 1). Wohlgemut (2009) argues that “the non-unified formulations of nationnes that were also circulating at that time, notably in the notion of cosmopolitanism” (1). It needs to be underscored that cosmopolitanism is also employed by the artists who experieced the spirit of the age in the Romantic period. Pointing out the question of what constitutes “the spirit of the age” or Romanticism, Faflak and Wright (2004) describes that:

The answer involves, in part, the priority of poetry in early constructions of Romanticism, and the ways in which poetry intersects with nineteenth-century notions of the feeling subject and literature's effects on that subject (and by extension, groups of subjects, particularly the national body politic) (2).

In the light of this, for instance, regarding some of the texts by Shelley, Thomas de Quercy and James Hogg, it is argued by Faflak and Wright (2004) that:

In these texts the developmental pattern of personal identity does not fit, and leaves the subject unfit for, the social order. Emerging from the Enlightenment notions of sensibility, the Romantic subject is a feeling subject. Such feeling exceeds and thus cannot be managed within prevailing economies of social identity (4).

In the lens of this, it can be underscored that in Romantic movement “the privileging of a body of literature that represented transcendence rather than social engagement and neoplatonism rather than radical politics and rhetorical address” can be exemplified (Faflak and Wright, 2004: 3). Furthermore, the imbrication of creating a national character and inclination towards transcendence bears the question of national literature and the definition of national identity. Typically, “national literature has generally been understood in terms of Romantic nationalisms such as Edmund Burke’s which consider the nation as a self-contained and organic whole” (Wohlgemut, 2009: 55). Moreover, regarding Tennyson for instance, Romantic organicism is highlighted which “informs the building of a healthy, productive, and coherent body politic, and animating this body is poetry as the moving power of a kind of burgeoning metaphysics of Empire” (Faflak and Wright, 2004: 5). However, discussing an alternative formulation, Wohlgemut (2009) examines that the appearance of German Grimm as a French man of letters in *Edinburgh Review* complicates the notion of organizing literature depending on national identity (54). For instance, regarding De Lille, Wohlgemut (2009) states that “he extends his literary reputation across national borders both by ‘abandoning his national peculiarities’ and by taking on the peculiarities of other nations” (54). Furthermore, as Wohlgemut (2009: 120) argues, “positing the nation as a homogeneous and organic whole, these images of social union failed to address the sorts of political unrest increasingly evident in fragmented nations such as Greece, Italy, and Ireland.” Hence, it can be highlighted that the cosmopolitanism appearing in the Romantic period appears in multiple dimensions.

Furthermore, another movement which has a significant impact on the Victorian period is The Oriental Renaissance. The flourishing of The Oriental Renaissance, for instance, depends on the condition of the century which offered “the rigidity in the materialist assumptions of the Enlightenment discourse” (Birlik & Arıkan, 2018: 44). Relatedly, as Birlik and Arıkan (2018: 45) indicate, “there was a growing interest in what was happening in the

rest of the world and in looking for new ways of coming to terms with reality.” Accordingly, the study of Victorian literature in the frame of The Oriental Renaissance offers a fertile and convincing perspective that depicts the understanding and the representation of the East by the Victorian thinkers and the authors. It can be highlighted that in the Victorian era and literature, the interest in the Oriental was quite prominent and prevalent since it offered an alternative means of comprehension of the world.

Regarding Said’s (1978) definitions of Orientalism, Kennedy (2017) epitomizes that “generally, three versions of Orientalism dominate in Victorian literature: exoticist Orientalism, imperialist Orientalism, and Orientalism used as part of a critical perspective on Victorian society itself” (3). Edward Said (1978: 1) avers in the very beginning of *Orientalism* that “[t]he Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences.” In this respect, it can be argued that the Orient is rendered possible to describe depending on the West’s demands, assumptions, fantasies, and discourses. “With the Oriental Renaissance, however, the conception of the non-West as the ontological other was challenged, and the non-West was depicted in a positive light” (Birlik and Arıkan, 2018: 45). Even if many writers do not employ this positive light, some of them might be indicated that they preserve the neutral position, or at least preserve the part of not associating the term Orientalists with negative comprehension. In this context, focusing on fiction, Charles Dickens, the Bronte sisters, Rudyard Kipling, and Joseph Conrad can be exemplified among these writers. Significantly, in the introduction of *Re-Orienting the Renaissance*, Mclean (2005) offers a different perspective by tracing it back to the earlier interactions and examines “some of the misunderstood, misrecognized and ignored historical evidence of powerful connections and mutual influences that linked East with West before the creation of borders” (1). Mclean (2005) also argues that:

How a nineteenth-century term, ‘Renaissance’, has often encouraged us to forget just how many of the artistic, social, religious, philosophical, scientific, technical and cultural developments that distinguished the period depended upon the movement and exchange of ideas, skills, and goods between what have come to be thought of as separate spheres: East and West (1).

Thus, in the light of this, it can also be indicated that with the Oriental Renaissance, some of the writers attempted to investigate the East as an antidote to the imperial and colonial discourses as well as they assumed it as a mediator or “as a source of remedy for the epistemological impasse” of the West (Birlik & Arıkan, 2018: 45).

All in all, when the interactions are contemplated dating back to the creation of borders and in the course of the nineteenth century when the nation-state was the basis for the measurement of the terms, it can be remarked that cosmopolitan sense is also employed alongside Romanticism, Universalism and The Oriental Renaissance in Victorian literature. In this respect, cosmopolitanism had a unique niche in the gallery of the nineteenth-century movements simply because it was an overarching movement that affected the formation of others. Within this formation, when the effect of cosmopolitanism is interrogated with a priority of the nineteenth-century Victorian literature, the rise of Victorian studies in the frame of Cosmopolitanism of *Weltliteratur* is crucial and becomes an essential point of departure for further discussion.

In the matter of appreciation of literature, “world literature provides a welcome opportunity to return to the reading of the literature on a much larger scale than ever before” and reminds “to make sense of literary works from different traditions in a global environment, beyond narrowly defined linguistic or national boundaries” (Longxi, 2013: 242). In this respect, the emergence of *Weltliteratur*, in which context it is comprehended and used by Goethe, and how it is defined in the following periods are quite significant. When Goethe first coined the term *Weltliteratur* in the 1820s, “he was reading a Chinese novel in translation, and that his appreciation of non-European literature formed the background for his cosmopolitan vision of poetry as universal” (Longxi, 2013: 241). In this respect, even though it was not ultimately devoid of national characteristics, Goethe’s concern on literature was more about universal rather than national. Goethe’s concept of *Weltliteratur* included texts written in non-European countries, but the concept was built on them. Longxi (2013: 242) speculates that Goethe was fond of the concept since “it was precisely a sense of cultural affinities despite the strangeness of a foreign text that suggested Goethe an underlying link that connected the literary works of the world’s different nations to form one great *Weltliterature*.”

Affecting upcoming ideas and positions in the years to come, the cosmopolitan vision of *Weltliteratur* included literature of different nations, among which the Chinese and the Middle Eastern were leading ones. Goethe’s urge to mention the *Weltliteratur* paradigm proceeds from the ramifications of political and historical developments surrounding the birth and evolution of the term itself. To be more precise, Pizer (2019) describes the background of Goethe’s concept of *Weltliteratur* by arguing that:

Goethe's concept of world literature emerged during a period of nascent nationalist sentiments in the nineteenth century. Such sentiments in late eighteenth-century Germany were localized and focused more on culture and language than on the ideal forging a politically unified nation-state (1).

Although the localized growth of nationalist sentiments became more and more serious especially because of various strifes among nations in Europe, the first and one of the most significant events that heated such nascent nationalist approach was The Wars of Liberation against Napoleon. As Weber (1991) asserts, during The Wars of Liberation, "German poetry took on more xenophobic, patriotic tone, seeking to inspire a sense of community among German speakers with regard to French foe" (as cited in Pizer, 2019: 1).

Another reason that fired such nationalist sentiments was The Congress of Vienna that occurred in 1814-1815 with the aim of dealing with the "new post-Napoleonic European political landscape" (Pizer, 2019: 1). Therefore, regarding these forces, it can be stated that Goethe's *Weltliteratur* paradigm forms a different frame of seeing literature. Goethe uses the term *Weltliteratur*, *In Conversations of Goethe* published by Eckermann in 1836. It is asserted by Goethe (1836) as follows:

I therefore look about me in foreign nations, and advise every one to do the same. National literature is now rather an unmeaning term; the epoch of World literature is at hand, and every one must strive to hasten its approach. But, while we thus value what is foreign, we must not bind ourselves to anything particular, and regard it as a model (132).

Presenting world literature as an antidote to national literature signals Goethe's concern of nascent nationalism in Germany at that time. In this respect, Pizer (2019: 5) claims that "Goethe may have hoped that this development could be blunted through a quickening of the process of cosmopolitanism in the literary, cultural sphere." In addition, regarding the *Weltliteratur* paradigm, Strich (1949) states that "however vague the expression is, it at least suggests the removal of intellectual barriers between peoples" (3). In this respect, the cosmopolitan character of world literature highlights the significance of "a dynamic interplay among national and regional literatures" (Damrosch, 2008: 485). As such, Goethe's representation of national literature as "unmeaning" depicts the restricted circle of relations between countries.

Pizer (2019: 6) indicates Goethe's claim that "Europe's nations withdrew into a sort of solipsistic intellectual isolation, an isolation that would inevitably breed political xenophobia and cultural chauvinism of the sort." In this context, it can be indicated that Goethe announces *Weltliteratur* as an intellectual circulation and as a mode that can prevent possible outcomes such as xenophobia, excessive isolation, and unilateralism resulting from cultural and political

biases. Accordingly, it can be referred that Goethe's assertion of *Weltliteratur* stems from the concern of nationalistic developments highlighting intellectual aloofness of European countries in the nineteenth century. Regarding Goethe, Pizer (2012: 7) explains that "when it came to his paradigm, for he valued *Weltliteratur* as a means to develop a cosmopolitan sensibility among modern European intellectuals and to improve the quality of contemporary poetic as well as critical works."

Yet, due to the lack of detailed clarification of the paradigm by Goethe, it always bears the issues of what renders literature recognizable as world literature and what *Weltliteratur* is. Partially argued and defined paradigm by Goethe, *Weltliteratur* has been widely discussed in the following years of his time. In the case of which and how literary works can be appellated as world literature or how they circulate in the sphere of world literature are aimed to be elaborated. In Goethe's era, for instance, writers like Koetzebue and Gessner, neither of them would be stated as world literature even though one of them, Gessner has been translated into every language, well known and read everywhere. (Stritch, 1949: 4). As a reason why these writers would not be specified as world literature, Stritch (1949) highlights one of the significant points on the subject as follows:

For something is lacking: the power to last. When in ordinary speech we talk of world literature, we mean not a product of fashion, however widely acclaimed, but literature which has gained significance transcending not only nationality but also time (4).

Regarding this perspective, even though it cannot be foreseen and determined whether a literary work can transcend not only nationality but also time and taken into consideration as world literature, it can be contemplated as a clarifying point on how and why a literary work is recognized in the range of world literature. Building upon Goethe's statement of *Weltliterature*, Strich (1949: 8) generally indicates that "anything that expresses the relationships of nation to nations belongs to world literature, and literature which makes foreign work accessible is a means of intellectual intercourse between peoples." As an important aspect, Strich (1949: 8) elucidates a point which can be presented as a connotation of the essence of Goethe's paradigm that "but the pictures thus drawn of a foreign people and its literature must be made known to that people so that it may realise how other nations stand in relation to it, and how it is mirrored in another's mind." Thus, it might be considered that in addition to Goethe's concern in terms of hastening of the blind-sided nationalist perspectives at that time, the emergence of *Weltliteratur* is comprehended as a sort of medium that enables nations to meet and understand each other and see how nations are reflected on each other's literature.

On Goethe's original pronouncement on *Weltliteratur*, Pizer (2005: 166) contemplates that "Goethe is not interested in the character of nation-states per se, but in the more complex issue of intellectual sentiments linking and dividing European citizens within and across their political/cultural borders." In the light of this, Goethe's paradigm can be described as the representation of unifying aspect of cosmopolitanism but the paradigm cannot be defined as the exclusion of national perspectives in that context. As Cheah (2008) concludes:

Since the world, as Goethe emphasizes, exists in the relations and intercourse between nations, a world literature does not necessarily mark the decline of the national. Indeed, one can argue that since the nation is continually reproduced in contemporary globalization, the world that is coming into being is in some mediated through the nation (145).

Moreover, concerning Goethean *Weltliteratur* by underscoring this national character and cosmopolitan outlook, Pizer (2005) epitomizes that:

Like Goethe, Wienbarg regarded Germany's openness to foreign influence, German authors' ability to productively interact with external models, as their greatest virtue, and cites Goethe's embrace of Shakespeare as an exemplary instance of this cosmopolitan spirit. Weinbarg inaccurately views the age of Goethe, which he nostalgically mourns as belonging to the past, as marked by a brief idealistic cosmopolitanism absolutely devoid of any nationalism or particularism (168).

As Goethe found in Shakespeare, such a cosmopolitan spirit meant reducing the nation's role at the cost of embracing the non-national. As Pizer (2005) states:

already evident in this first enunciation of *Weltliteratur* is a balance between a perception of universal trends and a focus on the central role Germany plays in them. Unlike Stoics and most other early cosmopolitans, Goethe does not abnegate the national domain as an element in cultural and civic discourse (166).

Hence, the complex imbrication of German national character and cosmopolitan outlook Goethe perceived in the 1790s was revived in the 1820s and combined with his awareness of enhanced technological and media infrastructures to inspire his pronouncement on *Weltliteratur* (Pizer, 2005: 167). In this respect, it can be connoted that Goethe did not disregard particularism and nationalism while presenting the term *Weltliteratur*, in addition, "Goethe was committed to the circulation of the ideas across national borders, and was thus opposed to any kind of cultural nationalism that sought to prevent such cross-border traffic" (Weller, 2021: 89).

At this point, it might be indicated that Goethe's foresight of the world literature era in which Germany is assumed as a significant figure stems from the willingness to preserve the

prevailing notion of national spirit at that time. In addition, it has its origin in the belief that German authors' ability to adopt a central role without the biases of blind-sided cultural nationalism. It can be explained as follows:

Goethe hoped that the age of world literature would be an era of international exchange and mutual refinement, a cosmopolitan process in which Germany would assume a central role as a translator and mediator among cultures, leading values against the vanities of narrow nationalism and the vagaries of popular taste (Damrosch, 2014: 1).

When the term *Weltliteratur* is contemplated, the position of Germany “as translator and mediator” can be indicated as an implication of one of the most significant points in the course of the nineteenth century (Damrosch, 2014, 1). Relatedly, regarding the context of the nineteenth-century, it is inserted that:

While a key dimension of European Romantic nationalism was the identification and championing of national languages and national literatures, in accordance with a belief in a national spirit, the sense of a universal spirit was particularly evident in the growing interest in the art of translation (Weller, 2021: 88).

It can be stated that translation is one of the crucial media to examine *Weltliteratur*. When Goethe's perception is contemplated by focusing on the enunciation of the term and its relation to translation, *Weltliteratur*'s cosmopolitan character can also be discussed in the frame of translation. Since *Weltliteratur* not only appreciates texts written in the West but also includes and appreciates the texts written in non-West, Goethe's perception broadens the conception of both national literature and universal literature accordingly. Since the understanding of ubiquitous in the nineteenth century could not cross the borders of European countries properly, the conception of universal literature is also sort of altered through the cosmopolitan aspect of Goethe's paradigm. Furthermore, in the frame of *Weltliteratur*, it can be assumed that mutual understanding between nations might be provided through translation rather than promoting dominant cultural nationalism. For instance, “Goethe's experience of the international circulation of his work, which he regularly describes in terms of “mirroring” (*Spiegelung*)” exemplifies that Goethe considers translation as the medium providing understanding between nations (Damrosch, 2003: 7).

When Goethe's concept is taken into account, it can be indicated that affinities between nations can be made visible or can be rendered less strange through translation. Therefore, Goethe expands the universal understanding of literature which includes the texts written in non-West, differentiating from his contemporaries. In his concept of *Weltliteratur*,

it might be stated that universal does not come out of the national as in the thought of Herder. Thus, this represents the cosmopolitan aspect of his concept without restricting universal understanding in a Eurocentric point of view.

Nevertheless, “Goethe, at times, consciously associates *Weltliteratur* with European literature, and he primarily elucidates his term as a means to create greater balance and cosmopolitan insight among literary circles of the Western European nations” (Pizer, 2015: 5). In addition, “he also equated world literature with European literature, primarily because the infrastructure and communication advances enabling border-crossing literary discourse at that moment were restricted to Western Europe” (Pizer, 2015: 6). In the lens of *Weltliteratur*, regarding the employment of the text written in the non-West, it can be argued that *Weltliteratur* is a concept based on examining how nations are reflected on each other’s literature without making a distinction between East and West. Furthermore, the concept can be perceived as an alternative to the popular discourse that only the East is influenced/inspired by the West. Goethe believed, about the affiliations of cultures and nations, in a way that he does not abnegate the East, but gives priority to European literature. When the indication of ‘*Spielung*’ is regarded, this can be referred from the perspective of Goethe comprehending and commenting on the ‘close’ affiliations among cultures.

According to Damrosch (2003: 8) “Goethe has an uneasy sense that German culture is provincial, lacking a great history, lacking political unity. He can’t afford to grant “national literature” too much meaning, since he doesn’t even live *in* a proper nation at all.” Depending on this, thus, it can be pointed out that since it was “Metternichian cosmopolitanism that led Goethe to postulate the concept of an evolving *Weltliteratur*”, Goethe may have aimed to create a balance of power among nations through *Weltliteratur* (Pizer, 2015: 4). In this frame, it can be argued that Goethe announces *Weltliteratur* based on the sight of cultural similarities, with the idea of preserving the national spirit, and translation is rendered one of the core elements accordingly. Therefore, it can be referred that Goethe might have attempted to provide a sense of ‘proper’ nation in his own terms through the agency of world literature. In this lens, it can be indicated that the cosmopolitanism of *Weltliteratur* represents the understanding of cosmopolitanism which is “both progressive and reactionary directions” (Wohlgemut, 2009: 143).

It can be seen that *Weltliteratur* is presented not only as a reaction to the national “borders” in general but also as a “mirroring” process depicting its progressive feature which represents the aspiration to discover the self that is mirrored in the other. Moreover, Pizer (2015: 16) states that “in a study of early German romanticism, Andreas Huyssen argues that

the early German romantics saw Germans as master translators on a global scale. Therefore, the German nation is destined to lead Europe into a golden age.” Thus, significantly, when it comes to the issue of the transformation of a text in the process of translation and the transformation of a text under the impact of the cultural exchange, it becomes crucial to examine the literary texts accordingly. In this context, Damrosch (2003: 6) articulates that “a literary work *manifests* differently abroad than it does at home.”

All in all, when all the parameters are considered in the frame of *Weltliteratur*, it is expressed by Blankenagel (1925: 143) regarding Goethe that “to him, *Weltliteratur* signified a stage in the development of national literatures in which they exert a manifest influence upon each other, in form and in content.” In regard to the roots and the conception of cosmopolitanism, pointing out despite the Western genealogy of the word, Delanty and Harris (2018) assert that “the term is used today in ‘post-Western’ orientation that is located neither on the national nor global level, but at the interface of the local and the global” (94-95). Accordingly, the relevance that *Weltliteratur* has to cosmopolitanism can be examined in this respect. At that point, it is significant recalling that among the discussions that “focus on canonicity, transnational commerce, and reception as indicative of an author’s relative world literary status”, *Weltliteratur* includes the general aspects of cosmopolitanism (Pizer, 2015: 6). Delanty and Harris (2018: 94) underscores that “the general characteristics of cosmopolitanism include: the centrality of openness and overcoming of divisions, the interaction, the logic of exchange, the encounter and dialogue, deliberative communication, self, and transformation (transformational) and critical evaluation.”

The relationship between *Weltliteratur* and cosmopolitanism can be argued in multiple dimensions focusing on the notions of cosmopolitanism in the nineteenth century in which the paradigm is grounded. Besides, the cosmopolitanism of *Weltliteratur* can also be examined in various frames by focusing on the context as well as the form. Delanty and Harris (2018: 95) underlines cosmopolitanism that “this is a condition in which cultures undergo a transformation in the light of the encounter with the Other” in addition to “definitions of cosmopolitanism as a condition of openness to the world and entailing self and societal transformation in the light of the encounter with the Other.” When the givens of cosmopolitanism are focused on another level, “the adjective *cosmopolitan* is flexible, pertaining not only to relations among nations but to individual activities and stances as well” (Agathocleous and Rudy, 2010: 390). When the rich content of the Victorian literary texts is considered, cosmopolitanism can be examined in terms of in which dimension it is specified and how it is exemplified. In this respect, the scrutinization of Victorian texts in the frame of

cosmopolitanism of *Weltliteratur* becomes crucial because cosmopolitanism could be “an oppositional discourse: one that contested the very imperialist coercions that underwrote its existence” (Agathocleous and Rudy, 2010: 392).

Relatedly, when the comprehension and representation of nation in most of the Victorian texts are regarded, it is argued by Wohlgemut (2009) that “positing the nation as a homogeneous and organic whole, these images of social union failed to address the sorts of political unrest increasingly evident in fragmented nations such as Greece, Italy, and Ireland” (120). Consequently, when the British writers are considered (both English and colonial), it is examined by Wohlgemut (2009) that “how eighteenth-century notions of cosmopolitanism were refracted in official critical discourse in the early decades of the nineteenth-century” (5).

More recent discussions concerning cosmopolitanism help us see the history of the development of the idea. Patomäki (2010) argues that there are two ideal or typical forms of cosmopolitanism the first of which is owned by “separate communities and states and asks: do we have duties to others by assisting or civilizing them or at least by preventing major maldevelopments - such as massive human rights violations - within their communities or states?” (181). The answer to this question is affirmative although such an approach stands for and suggests “moral imperialism” mainly because it perceives the other as an inferior being. Patomäki’s (2010) classification points at another type of cosmopolitanism:

In the second sense, however, cosmopolitanism has been used to take distance from any particular ‘us’ and criticise ‘us’ as a particular community, nation or state. Prior to the modern era, this criticism was usually confined to negative distance-taking, but since the late 18th century, critical cosmopolitanism has explored the possibility of creating better global institutions (becoming more political and transformative a century later) (182).

This second form of cosmopolitanism, hence, rather than building onto the discourses that typically exemplify the separation of the “us” and “them” dichotomy, perceives the entire global arena as a unique blend of entities where each and all of the counterparts that make this whole experience, one way or another, similar realities.

Living between the years of 1803 through 1849, James Clarence Mangan was a prominent Irish poet and writer who made use of properties of the East and the West in his verse and prose. However, while his verse is given priority, his prose remains severely under-researched. Mangan employs a unifying mode of thinking, which associated him with the notion of the *Weltliteratur* by and large. Clare (2009) excavates the earliest notions that surrounded Mangan and shows that Mangan is neither Irish, nor British, but a “forgotten” yet “significant poet of the modern Celtic world”:

In 1902, the young Joyce wrote an address to the Literary and Historical Society of University College, Dublin, entitled “James Clarence Mangan.” In it, Joyce introduces Mangan, “the most significant poet of the modern Celtic world,” to an Irish audience that, according to Joyce, has all but forgotten him (249).

Despite the fact that Mangan was not truly acknowledged even in his country and even after his death, Mangan remained a focus of studies because of his unique position as an author and poet. Along with many other elements that characterized his work, Mangan’s authorial path was unique, especially when the relationship between his work and the givens of Cosmopolitanism is considered. In this thesis, Mangan’s three prose works titled “The Thirty Flasks”, “The Man in the Cloak. A very German Story”, and “The Three Rings” are analyzed as texts that contain various tenets of Cosmopolitanism. It is claimed that James Clarence Mangan uses ideas inspired by the cosmopolitanism of the 19th century as a transformative process during which characters experience and thus exemplify transformation. Accordingly, Mangan’s characters in these three texts experience both psychological development and change. In addition, this thesis covers that Mangan’s unique style incorporates the tenets of Cosmopolitanism through his characters, all of which contribute to Mangan’s unique style elsewhere noted as Mangesque.

Although in the popular imagination the 19th-century European literature has been conceptualized as two opposite entities of progress and decay, Mangan’s texts manifest greater political identification with non-Eurocentric modes of thinking among which, as this thesis will show, Cosmopolitanism is the leading one. Among the 19th century poets and prose writers, Mangan had a keen interest in the particularities of the rest of the world. For instance, as Akgül and Arıkan (2019: 242) rightly put, Mangan “delineated a vivid picture of the Middle East with its geography, culture, and history. An analysis of his poems reveals many references to the Middle East, even though he had never set foot here. While depicting the Middle East, Mangan created powerful allusions to Islam. Despite this rich content, his poetry remains understudied.” Mangan’s Cosmopolitanism can be best understood when his conceptualization of various geographies and cultures is considered. As Lennon (2014) argues, “For Mangan, Asia, and the Middle East suggested antiquity, but its literature could also be native, and familiar- ‘not all are exotics’” (66).

Although Victorian Literature is accepted as the leading one in cultural exchange, the reciprocal direction can be mentioned in which the role of other nations including non-West was also efficacious and operating. In this lens, when James Clarence Mangan’s mentioned short stories are considered, the content of the stories enables us to examine the characteristics

of cosmopolitanism and scrutinize them in the frame of *Weltliteratur*. According to Anderson (2001: 64), “those nineteenth-century writers who are drawn to cosmopolitan ideals rarely espouse them without conflict, given anxieties about rootlessness and competing investments in national identity and other forms of limited belonging.” Furthermore, according to Collin Parsons (2014):

If the question of cosmopolitanism has been occluded in Victorian studies, however, it has been doubly occluded in the study of Ireland during the Victorian period. This may be at least in part a result of critical blindness to Mangan’s cosmopolitanism occasioned by the energy expended in seeing him as insufficiently Romantic or modern, or the result of attempts in the nineteenth-century to cast him as nothing more than the national poet (91).

James Clarence Mangan, as stated earlier, was an Irish writer and a national poet. Mangan is also known as a translator since he translated a great amount of German, Turkish and Persian poems. His translated editions of ‘*Litterae Orientales*’ and ‘*Anthologia Germanica*’ are prominent works of Mangan. In addition, his Anthologies are the only works of Mangan which are analysed as cosmopolitan form in the critique of *Weltliteratur*. In ‘Cosmopolitan Form: Mangan’s Anthologies and the critique of *Weltliteratur*’, Parsons (2014: 85) avers that “Victorian cosmopolitanisms are multiple, competing and incomplete, and Mangan’s anthologies capture the cacophonous sounds of an emerging literary attention to worldliness.” It is also discussed that:

If Mangan seeks to establish himself as a voice in the field of *Weltliteratur*, as he implies (even if his place is to be a translator of works of others), it is because he believes that *Weltliteratur* can and should offer an unflinching view of the world as a whole. This is a qualitatively different idea of *Weltliteratur* from the models that Mangan had before him (Parsons, 2014: 88).

Indeed, Mangan establishes himself to the sphere of *Weltliteratur*, but not in a sense of celebrating nation into the world but more in a sense of ‘*Spielung*’ (foregrounding particularism). However, the complex relationship of Mangan with the conception of self, renders it more complex when the ‘mirroring’ is considered. Parsons (2014: 96) argues by pointing out the similarities between ‘disquet’ of Eliot’s critical cosmopolitanism that “Mangan’s anthologies seek to do something similar- to effect synthesis, but also highlight discordance, to build a canon of world literature but also question the very grounds on which it is built.” Even though this perspective grew out of the critique of globalization, it came to represent the concerns and the pejorative conclusions of cosmopolitan ideals. However, the cosmopolitanism of *Weltliteratur* suggests a rather different mode of thinking since “Goethe, Schiller and others took pride in a spiritual cosmopolitanism, a worldly openness to

acculturation” (Pizer, 2005: 166). By any means, it must be stated that *Weltliteratur* is a product of urban reality, an opening for the 19th and the 20th-century philosopher through which they can envision a different society scattered around cities:

‘windows’ is a reference to the insights of the German sociologist Georg Simmel, who, when looking through a window into the Postdamer Platz in Berlin in 1908, first understood that relationship between the Self and The Other were being newly articulated in contemporary urban settings. (Vervotex & Cohen, 2002: 3)

In regard to this, then, it can be argued that *Weltliteratur* is a “window” for the cosmopolitan approach of Mangan through which the cosmopolitan ideals can be revealed. In addition, in this context, “this widening of consciousness and confrontation with alterity can be found not only on the streets of cosmopolitan cities but in the living rooms of more prosaic locales” (Vervotec & Cohen, 2002: 3). Therefore, focusing on this definition of cosmopolitanism, also underlining that it is a “perspective, a state of mind, or – to take more processual view – a mode of managing meaning” (Hannerz, 1990: 238), it can be discussed that Mangan exemplifies a cosmopolitan approach if it is examined in the frame of *Weltliteratur* concept. In that respect, it can be inserted that:

While Mangan spent virtually his entire life in Dublin (apart from a stay in 1847 with his mothers’ family in Co. Meath) imaginatively he traversed the globe, and the markedly transnational scope of his work renders him an early practitioner of Goethe’s concept of *Weltliteratur* – a writer consciously engaged not only in the international circulation of text, but also of the intellectual implications of effects of such translation and transmission (Sturgeon, 2014: 2-3).

Hence, it can be seen that Mangan had a keen interest in other nations’ works of literature although his representation of the Orient differs from Orientalists’ perceptions and representations. In opposition to the texts produced by the Orientalists, Mangan employs cosmopolitanism that “includes a stance towards diversity itself, toward the coexistence of cultures in the individual experience. A more genuine cosmopolitanism is, first of all, an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other” (Hannerz, 1990: 239).

Although cosmopolitanism is irreducible to a single definition, for the purposes of this thesis, cosmopolitanism is conceptualized as any literary text in which the writer tries to embrace all humanity by voicing multiplicity in portraying cultures, languages, and identities while rejecting tangible political or ideological limitations. Thus, although in the following centuries Mangan’s works became somehow more popular, his use of cosmopolitan ideals in his short stories remained understudied. Therefore, this thesis aims to fill this gap in the studies on Irish literature while paying particular attention to cosmopolitanism presented after

the appearance of the concept of *Weltliteratur*. Hence, the selected works of James Clarence Mangan are examined by comparing the principles of cosmopolitanism with the content of Mangan's select prose work. In short, this thesis analyzes how James Clarence Mangan adopted cosmopolitan ideals and appropriated them in the three stories selected.



CHAPTER I

COSMOPOLITANISM IN ‘THE THIRTY FLASKS’

The impact of the Act of Union renders Ireland multifaceted in terms of identity, also the psychological consequences of pre-famine Ireland obliged the progress of Irish literature to move in a refracted direction. Even though there are multiple definitions and statements concerning short story as a genre, in the frame of the early and the following years of the nineteenth century, Ingman’s (2009: 16) statement is noteworthy: “indeed, one of the main differences between the nineteenth-century story or tale and its modern form is that nineteenth-century writers used their short fiction for purposes other than telling a story.” Perhaps Mangan’s short stories, especially ‘Thirty Flasks’, ‘The Man in the Cloak’ and ‘The Tree Rings’ can be best described relying on that quotation since the stories neither fit into the writing purposes of the nineteenth-century nor fit into the purpose of only telling a story.

The stories represent a more horizon-expanding form of thinking rather than describing an Irish life or “to rectify the many and obvious faults in the Irish character” (Ingman, 2009: 16). In light of this, it can be argued that the stories represent the concept of refraction on a multi-dimensional level. In other words, when multiple dimensions of refraction are considered, such as the short story’s being a refracted form, Ireland’s being a refracted nation and refracted identities of both the author and the protagonists, it can be speculated that all these refractions lead the way to examine Mangan’s short stories in multiple contexts.

When Mangan’s life is considered, it is not surprising that his short stories reflect his complex relationship with the concept of subjectivity. Moreover, due to its inclusion of many elements, themes, and motifs, ‘The Thirty Flasks’ should be and thus is analyzed from multiple perspectives. Haslam (2014) examines ‘The Thirty Flasks’ as a psychological narrative. “A term borrowed from the subtitle of” Mangan’s story ‘The Threefold Prediliction’ (1945), the ‘psychological narrative’ is adapted to ‘The Thirty Flasks’ because Mangan includes “the imaginative bathyspheres he built to ‘fathom the abysses’” (Haslam, 2014: 140). Haslam scrutinizes the story by focusing on how Mangan uses the supernaturalist modes. Therefore, it is examined that “Mangan uses supernaturalist modes not only to provoke romantic irony but to investigate psychological motifs, especially with respect to addiction and identity loss” (Haslam, 2014: 148). Alongside the psychological narration, the story is argued in a different frame.

‘The Thirty Flasks’ (1838) is one of the short stories of James Clarence Mangan in which the duality and transformation can be regarded as the main topics of the story. Jamison (2014) examines ‘The Thirty Flasks’ among the other short stories of Mangan, by focusing on the mind and how it is represented in Mangan’s fiction in terms of both psychological and scientific developments in Britain. Jamison (2014) underscores the relevance of the story to the scientific developments in Britain and inserts that “the psychology of the unconscious; a veritable and unexplored Other of both the mind and the visible world, which finds its literary representation in Mangan’s tales of an exoticized supernaturalism” (165). ‘The Thirty Flasks’ (Chapter VIII) opens with such amalgamation of the visible and the invisible in a way to make the reader sense the supernatural nature of the upcoming events:

As we have already intimated, there was nothing of the idealist about Basil. His anxieties and sympathies were all “of the earth, earthly;” his speculations never gave themselves the trouble to travel beyond the boundaries that girdle “this visible diurnal sphere.” (Mangan, 1904: 64)

The representation of the Orient character, Maugraby is also discussed by showing the differences between its former representations and those represented in Mangan’s version. ‘The Thirty Flask’ is examined with its psychological connotations. However, significantly, it is examined that “the shape-shifting tricks of the magician become a useful metaphor for identifying Mangan’s critical, opposed to the revelatory, mode of parodic translation, as well as his broader ideas on the unstable nature of identity” (Jamison, 2014: 163).

The use of concepts regarding the Orient and the Occident in ‘The Thirty Flasks’ is structured and represented through the givens/impact of cosmopolitanism. These cosmopolitan ideals provide an understanding of the Oriental and the Occidental elements represented in the story as an engaged formation. Significantly, the representation of identity in its multiple connotations highlights the cosmopolitan orientation. The selected parts of the short story are analyzed in the frame of cosmopolitanism by indicating its various definitions.

Based on the historical period in which the story is written, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the story can be regarded as an instance specifying cosmopolitan ideals. When the condition of Ireland is recalled in terms of being a refracted nation at that time and being in a pre-famine period, it is possible to indicate that Mangan’s endeavor of representing the national is understandable only when literary, philosophical, and political issues surrounding him are articulated and justified. Similar to his poetry and short stories, the use of the properties of the East and the West in ‘The Thirty Flasks’ is obvious and thus, such borrowings are also scrutinized. As the passage elucidates:

The redemptive narratives of Mangan's 'The Thirty Flasks' and 'The Man in the Cloak', both literary adaptations of Balzac's *La Peau de Chagrin* (1834) and *Melmoth Reconcilie* (1831) respectively, represent a kind of living vastation, a burlesque questing after lost souls exchanged in a deadly pact with the character of devilish (and exotic) proportions. (Jamison, 2014: 168).

Based on the fact that the 'Thirty Flasks' is a literary adaptation, it can be elucidated that Mangan's version of the story, especially the representation of the Orient through the character of Maugraby, differs from those of Orientalists'. Furthermore, not only the representation of the Orient but also the representation of the Occident is quite different in the story, when the representation of Nabob is considered. To do that, a brief yet closer look at Mangan's characterization is required to have a kaleidoscopic view of the depth of his characters.

Basil Von Rosenwald is a German belonging to economically privileged member of the society. However, he is threatened to lose his status because of his gambling addiction that the story begins with his revelation of his condition to his friend Heinrick Flemming who introduces Basil to Nabob. After Flemming mentions that Nabob can help Basil to get rid of his gambling debts, Basil accepts to meet him. Although Nabob is also a wealthy person, he is described by Flemming as "dwarfish stature--weazened visage--invisible complexion--crooked legs--rich as Croesus--eccentric--waspish--misanthropic--generous--magnanimous--liver-grown--world-sick-- and living all alone" (Mangan, 1904: 5). Whereas the description has positive implications, even if there are a few, uttered by Flemming who secretly works for Nabob, revealed later, Basil's portrayal of Nabob does not go further than "very foreign" and "Villain! ghoul!, demi-devil!" (Mangan, 1904: 44-95).

According to the deal made between Nabob and Basil, Basil has to lose an inch of his stature which is added to Nabob every time he drains one of the flasks coming with a bag of money. Furthermore, Nabob warns Basil that he will be in the possession of his 'identity' by the time he drained the thirtieth flask (22). In addition, as Slickwitz explains, "had that one--had the last inch passed from you to him, nothing could have saved you. Your soul would then have become his property beyond redemption" (94). In this respect, it is obvious that "in Nabob's plan, this physical integration will be duplicated by psychological destruction" (Haslam, 2014: 148).

Nabob is presented as a sort of intervention to the "wholeness" of society. Nabob, by nature, does not fit conventional structures. He is regarded as the Other, however, Mangan's use of Maugraby disguised as Nabob is different from his other representations since he appears to be "a product of contested origins, a character refracted through translation, and a

figure that signalled both the reality and the wonder of the Oriental genii and magicians of the East” (Jamison, 2014: 167). Jamison (2014) further argues that:

Mangan makes conscious use of this public and Westernized configuration of Maugraby in ‘The Thirty Flasks’, not simply to distort and disturb the early nineteenth century notions of the ‘commanding, single, fully-conscious self’, but to make a very material point about the story’s young protagonist, Basil Von Rosenwald (177-178).

Due to the fact that Basil does not give up his gambling addiction even after the deal with Nabob and he still proceeds it, in this respect, it can be inserted as follows:

The Orient as a centralizing concept for the discursive formation of the West as rational, civilized, and dominant here collapses, and proves Basil is no need of nabob’s wicked enchantments when the Western society in which he lives is already full of them (Jamison, 2014: 177).

It is significant to point out that Mangan’s representation of the West and the East does not rely on the dichotomies between West and East as dominant and submissive, it rather relies on the notion of conscious or unconscious transformation that they are obliged to when they are encountered one another. Basil’s reference to Nabob as “ghoul” and “villian” (Mangan, 1904: 95) at the end of the story can be interpreted as an instance of misidentification of the West itself as a rational one when it is confronted to the East since “Basil’s unfounded accusation only reinforces the idea of his guilt” (Jorge, 2020: 187). In this context, during the encounter and transformation process of Basil and Nabob, Basil’s inclination to define himself discursively can be asserted as an instance because Nabob remains faithful to their settlement. Even though Basil has an “uncatholic mind”, he is attuned to alteration in terms of both physical and psychological when he experiences Nabob. As it can be viewed in the frame of scientific and supernatural dichotomy, it also requires an emphasis on the comprehension and the representation of the East by the West.

After drinking the second flask, when Basil is in the apprehension of losing his senses and assuming he is dreaming, he sees the vision of Nabob saying that:

I repeat it, I have no existence whatever: I am the mere creature of your imagination, or rather of your volition, which has unconsciously operated to endow a thought with speech and appearance. Need I add after this that you are now asleep and dreaming? (Mangan, 1904: 51).

The representation of the confrontation process which Basil experiences exemplifies how his subconscious works. Basil sees the vision of conversation with Nabob, however, he still cannot realize his prejudice and his being incapable of realizing that the Other is his own creation. This proceeds even after Nabob asks that: “does it not all amount to the one thing,

when your own mind is the sole primary machine that works, the sole causist that reasons not only for yourself but for me?” (51). Since this condition “beyond” Basil’s “capacity” (51), it is implied that Basil’s comprehension, or Western perspective in this case, is parochial in the face of Nabob. In addition, as an answer to Basil’s question of why he is “subjected to a delusion so inexplicable” (51), Nabob avers that “that you may think more reverence of the Invisible and Unexplored” (51). It is significant to mark that despite his incredulity towards (the practices of) East, Basil’s identity alters. Furthermore, Nabob claims that “you, will, perhaps, now that you have seen by what a rapid and simple process a man may lose the memory of his very identity” (51). With the use of property of the East, “(*Arabian Nights* – like potion that reduces one’s height)” (Haslam, 2014: 147), Basil becomes unable to define himself. Even after drinking only the second flask, he begins to lose his identity. In this respect, it can be uttered that Basil is represented as being more inclined to be self-deceived. He can only overcome this deception, first, by realizing its discursive formation, then, by facing himself. Therefore, the property of the East, the flask is presented as a sort of projector offering a confrontation. In regard to this, Basil’s experience of “the ugly things” of the East and his being exposed to transformation represents the reciprocal change between East and West.

The story takes place in Germany where not only one of the main characters, Basil Von Rosenwald lives, but also the Eastern sorcerer Nabob lives. In addition, the place is depicted as a home which Lubeck, the old Jew lives in as well. The first implication of the cosmopolitan aspect can be mentioned in the light of the setting of the story since the employment of various characters with different backgrounds depicts that the location, Saxony, which is Germany, is not an organic whole, but a harmonious one. When it is contemplated on the basis of the characters’ daily lives, the cosmopolitan interaction is experienced through perpetual encountering with the Other. The unnamed narrator states towards the very end of the story that “he sailed shortly afterwards for Egypt, and is now in Alexandria, where he occupies himself in mistifying, in a small way, such travellers as visit the country” (Mangan, 1904: 97). Because of a defeat by Basil, Nabob, exposed as *Maugrauby* “the magician of the eight and forty-gated Domdaniel” (93), sails to another country. As it can be referred, Saxony is one of the globalized locations in which different sort of interactions occur between people. The use of different places in the story refers to the author’s distance to national provinciality which elucidates the cosmopolitan tenets. The author’s not only conscious use of different nations and hybrid identities represents the

celebration of cosmopolitanism, but also the comprehension and the representations of the characters lay the notions of cosmopolitanism bare.

While travelling remains as periphery in the story, the self-conscious narrative technique of the author is the center of the story which coincides with the travelling minds of both the narrator and the author, referring to the issue of identity. As the author imaginatively travels through the writings of other authors such as Balzac's in this case and as he makes conscious use of the Orient, the narrator imaginatively travels in the story told by Basil. It is expressed by the end of the story that "We paid the happy pair a visit last summer; upon which occasion Basil, after his third bottle of Rhenish, related to us the story we have taken pains to chronicle" (97). Regarding Matthew Arnold, DeLaura (1969: 77) explains that "whenever Arnold tries to introduce something that transcends the self, he introduces the self in another guise." In this respect, it would be equally valid for Mangan, and the narrator, since they offer the self in disguise regardless of the context in which they find themselves.

'The Thirty Flasks' is also a story representing the transcendence of nationality in terms of language. The story is constructed by going beyond the use of language in its national contexts and boundaries. It exemplifies the tenets of cosmopolitanism in the context of language. The use of German and French in the narration implies that the author highlights an awareness of the world becoming cosmopolitan by the rapid progress of globalization. However, the effect of globalization and transnational exchanges that accelerated in the nineteenth century are not presented in pejorative connotations in the story, instead, by the agency of utilizing different languages, the cosmopolitan sense of the world is presented. Being open to the cultures of other nations and overcoming this division underscores the givens of cosmopolitanism in the frame of language. Nevertheless, overcoming the language division is not offered as embracing the differences instantly as if they were the possession of one's own, rather, it is implied as being aware of the cultural exchange between nations and the transformation as a result of this interaction.

When the words and phrases are scrutinized in this light, the context of the use of German and French in the story goes beyond the limits of such awareness since Mangan's use of such words and expressions like *rouge et noir* (3), *Spielhaus*, *Kaiserstrasse* (4), *Brunnenhasse* (4), *unter vier Augen* (7), *deterré* (9), *à la mode Germanorum* (26), *beau monde* in epitome (26), "*Le sage entend à demi-mot*" (28), *Au reste* (35), *tout-ensemble* (38), *culs de sac* (38), "*Er hat sich die Gurgel geschnitten*" (40), *outré?* (41), *perdu* (44), *d'industrie* (44), *à la chinois* (48), *Ueber die Natur des Geistes* (65), *Fortunatus* (67), "*Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte*" (68), *Rouge et Noir* room (70), *Au reste* (77), "*Tu*

vainqueras.” (83), Wildgass-helter-skelter voer the Roun-mounds-hurrah (91), *à qui miaux mieux* (96), Fuit Ilium (96), *à la Polonais* (98) show the extent of the cosmopolitan use of the language within one story line.

Apart from such discrete use of words from different languages, the use of French throughout the narration also has intertextual references that coincide with the philosophical understanding of cosmopolitanism. The narrator interrupts the story by saying “‘Memnon,’ quoth Voltaire, ‘conçut un jour le projet d’ etre parfaitement sage. Il n’y a guere d’ hommes a qui cette folie n’ait quelquefois passe par la tete’” (Mangan, 1904: 29). Interestingly, this passage, a quotation to be more exact, is left untranslated. The statement is taken from Voltaire’s story, *Memnon* (1749), in which a man travels all around the world, even interplanetary travel, in the pursuit of wisdom, and ‘truth’ is told. Interestingly, not only Voltaire’s story evokes philosophical cosmopolitanism, but also the part where this quotation is used in ‘The Thirty Flasks’ evokes the same understanding of the term. Therefore, the use of the French language, which can be regarded as an aspect underscoring the comprehension of productive cultural exchange, and also the context of the part where it is employed, doubles the characteristics of cosmopolitanism specified.

‘The Thirty Flasks’ is by no means an easy text to read for English-speaking audiences of the 19th century. The main reason for this difficulty rests in the amalgamation and scattering of textual pieces, or word chunks to be more exact, that come from different languages. While some of these serve as expressions with a communicative purpose such as “*C’est à dire*, if you wish the introduction” (Mangan, 1904, 6) and “you must pardon me if I say that a rational man cannot in one moment upon the mere *ipse dixit* of another, a perfect stranger, give implicit credit to assertions which contradict all his foregone experiences” (14), some others are used to be explanatory in nature as can be seen in the use of “*Todt*, dead” and “*Nein*, No, replied the little man” (39). A more significantly important assemblage of such usage are merely descriptive in nature, all of which constitute a purely cosmopolitan text:

She tried, in compliance with the wishes of Papa and Mamma, to look at the Prince, but somehow the image of Basil constantly interfered with her best attempts, and she felt and acknowledged with Fenelon, *qu’il est plus facile de mépriser la mort même que de réprimer les affections de cœur* (Mangan, 1904, 27).

Apart from the transgressing use of various languages used with a multiplicity of purposes, the use of English as the language of the colonizer and as the language through which the story is told refers to the reserved place of the audience, that is, the Victorians. However, the infusion of different languages in the story refers to the notion of the author’s

awareness of the readers as interlocutors being all around the world. Perhaps, the author's infusion of different languages is a sort of defense referring to the complexity of national culture. When the ascending understanding of miscegenation in the nineteenth century is considered, it can be emphasized in this frame as well. In addition, the discourses or the suppositions of the Victorians, or the Europeans in terms of their cultural aspects/ heritage as superior are distorted by utilizing different languages in the story. Whereas the representation of the characteristics of cosmopolitanism is primarily dependent on the physical appearance, ethnicity, or class privileges in the nineteenth-century literary instances, cosmopolitanism in Mangan's writings mostly emerges in the frame of philosophical comprehension of the concept. Nevertheless, cosmopolitanism embraced in philosophical terms is also materialized in the frame of characters, language, and setting.

Mangan's critique of Enlightenment bigotry and his critique of the comprehension of the universe is represented in the frame of the critical tendency of cosmopolitanism (Lennon, 2014: 68). This approach becomes most prominent when the narrator describes the effect of Nabob's act as "tremendously terrible and German" (96), which results in the collapse of most of the buildings, including Nabob's own. The pejorative codes mostly attributed to the Eastern are challenged by defining it as German. In this respect, it can be elucidated that:

Mangan yokes this public debate to the concomitant effort to exoticize the supernatural, and both geographically and metaphorically reposition the Orient as something distinctly homegrown. In doing so, Mangan affirms his faith in the deceptive nature of identity and the concept of authenticity, particularly in his utilization of the Nights' Maugraby as a protean oriental figure who flits between the real and the unreal with ease (Jamison, 2014: 179).

The issue of identity or subjectivity is foregrounded by Nabob, the character who is constantly defined and redefined throughout the story. Such foregrounding emphasizes the changing nature of Nabob's identity or subjectivity which reveals the notion of cosmopolitanism by highlighting the balance referring to a lack of superiority among characters. In other words, in fact, Nabob as the Other is not represented in the frame of the notion that claims the superiority of all things as homegrown, but rather the representation investigates the very foundations of the familiar and removes its reserved place. Hence, this reconceptualization of the Orient highlights that there is no hierarchy between the West and East, thereby signaling that the ideals of cosmopolitanism are realized by Mangan in the stories studied.

Re-establishing the East and the West dichotomy works differently when the case of the Jews is considered. In 'The Thirty Flasks', Flemming utters as follows: "Was there not

somebody sometime back who, passed himself off in Berlin as the Wandering Jew? You have no notion of the gullibility of people” (44). In addition, in ‘The Man in the Cloak’, after Braunbrock says that he is planning to go England, France, and then to Italy, Livonia reacts: “Really the Wandering Jew may begin to tremble for his reputation: he has a dangerous rival in the Herr Johann Klaus Braunbrock” (111-112). In ‘The Three Rings’, there is no such utterance. These may signal that Jews were treated better under the reign of a Muslim ruler.

The description of Nabob’s house also invokes the logic of exchange which surmounts national peculiarities and highlights cultural hybridity. The first impression of the house is transmitted by the narrator as follows: “Basil began to survey some very characteristic paintings by Rubens and his disciple Vandyck, which decorated the walls” (10). Moreover, as Basil and Nabob proceed to the other room, it is described as follows:

It was of extensive dimensions and carpeted all over, but, to the surprise of the young man, contained, for furniture, merely a table in the center, upon which, in superb candlesticks of Damascus silver, three wax lights were burning. There were no Windows; while, in the lieu of walls, the eye encountered presses on all sides, reaching from the floor to the ceiling, which was lofty and adorned with arabesque (Mangan, 1904: 15).

The portrayal of the room depicts the logic of exchange in its material context. The spatial narration is crucial in that it depicts the exchange of materials between East and West and the depiction of the room significantly represents a cosmopolitan atmosphere where East and West engage with one another. Relatedly, the depiction of the house, including the properties of both East and West represents a cosmopolitan experience.

CHAPTER II

COSMOPOLITANISM IN ‘THE MAN IN THE CLOAK. A VERY GERMAN STORY’

The concepts of self and identity as well as the imbrication of the entities represented in Mangan’s short stories, especially the changes that protagonists undergo related to the aforementioned concepts can be considered as reflections of Mangan’s personal life. In fact, connecting Mangan’s life to his texts even by employing historical-biographical criticism may suggest that Mangan’s texts should better be analyzed in the frame of multiple definitions of cosmopolitanism.

Mangan’s multifaceted relationship with self and identity is one of the focal elements of his narratives. Even when his name is considered, pointing out that on a couple of occasions Mangan himself mentions the matter, Chuto (2014) argues that:

It is hard to believe that Mangan was not aware that the second syllable of his own name marked him out as one of the dispossessed. ‘Man-gan’ is literally the ‘Man-without-’ (with a dash to be replaced by *ad libitum*). Indeed, despite the German poets’ supposed predilection for the word *mit* (with), Mangan inflicts, though with half-a-smile, the Celtic ‘peculiarity on his German persona, Selber (xv).

Depending on this, the depiction of the protagonists without an identity by transcending it in its national contexts can be pointed out in Mangan’s ‘The Man in the Cloak.’ Sturgeon (2014) points out that Mangan published reinventions of Honore de Balzac’s novella ‘Melmoth Reconcile’ (1834) by renaming it ‘The Man in the Cloak’ and accordingly, it is important to insert that:

the phrase became one of the Irish writer’s favourite *nom de plumes*, augmenting both a lifelong obsession with the veiling of identity and – since to conceal one’s identity is also to complicate and intensify it – the conviction that the self is at once hidden, unstable, and multifarious (Sturgeon, 2014: 1).

Regarding ‘The Man in the Cloak’ Sturgeon (2014: 1-2) also avers that it “provides an apt metaphor for Mangan’s role in Irish literary history” and it “remains a resonant soubriquet for a writer about whom we still have much to learn.” In addition, Mangan internalizes the *nom the plumes* so much that he materializes it as his appearance. According to Chuto (1976: 37) Mangan never goes out without a cloak and umbrella. By using ‘The Man in the Cloak’, Mangan also signs “a letter to his friend (Journalist Charles Gavan Duffy) with a defty drawn

pen and ink rebus that shows his continuing attachment to the name, as well as a handsome penmanship” (Sturgeon, 2014: 1).

Mangan’s comprehension of identity and subjectivity can be described as unstable. Even if such naming is not the case, it surely transcends any specific definition. Relatedly, the conception of the human mind is also comprehended and represented by Mangan as a homeless entity. The paragraph concerning the matter in the introduction of *Literae Orientales* indicates that according to Mangan:

The mind, to be sure, properly speak, is without a home on the earth ... it is restless, rebellious – a vagrant whose barren tracts are by no means confined to the space between Dan and Beersheba. It lives rather out of the world ... It is apt, when in quest of its origin, to remount quite as far as the Welshman who cross the middle of his pedigree wrote, *About this time the earth was created*. It is a Cain that may build cities, but can abide in none of them. It repudiates every country on the map; it must do so; it should; it would not be Mind if it did otherwise (as cited in Parsons, 2014: 86-7).

In the light of this, Parsons (2014: 87) argues that “notwithstanding all this, he continues, the mind is more in sympathy with the East than the North, affirming Segur and undercutting his own tribute to the mind’s rootlessness.” However, Mangan’s recurring indictment of the mind not having a specific, tangible home in the world, in other words, the mind’s rootlessness can be comprehended within the tenets of cosmopolitanism. Such rootless and wandering spirit can be seen in the lexis of the story since words and expressions from foreign languages run throughout the storyline including but not limited to *billet-doux* (108), *ennuyée* (109), *esclandre* (127), *fauteuil* (128), *déterrés* (128), *sang-froid* (129), *mon ami* (138), *En ce cas* (138), “*Pauvre imbecile!*” (139), *litterateur* (142)

As a reaction to the nationalist discourses of his era when nationalists’ minds were preoccupied with various events occurring within the borders of their national borders, Mangan’s stance signals a reactionary direction towards cosmopolitan ideals. Just as on account of Kant’s reaction to absolute statism and in the case of Goethe’s reaction to the nascent nationalism, Mangan’s cosmopolitanism entails a reactionary direction not only against constructed borders of nationality in many dimensions but also against the limits of the conception of mind. In this context, cosmopolitanism evokes “an orientation that develops out of the interplay of Self, Other and World relations” (Delanty and Harris, 2018: 96). In regard to this, especially in his ‘psychological narratives’ a term borrowed from the subtitle of his story ‘The Threefold Prediction’ (1833)”, such as ‘The Man in the Cloak’, ‘The Thirty Flasks’, ‘A Sixty-Drop Dose of Laudanum’ and ‘The Threefold Prediction’ (1845) that “laced with a variety of supernatural modes: Gothic, ghostly, spiritualist and orientalist”, the

cosmopolitan orientation is specified through investigation of mind related to the concept of identity (Haslam, 2014: 140; Sturgeon, 2014: 11). Besides, the unstable nature of the mind represented in Mangan's writings also corresponds to self and identity concepts in many respects, as Sturgeon (2014) states:

Just as his complex modes of translation force us to rethink concepts such as 'author' and 'originality', so too does the prose – slipping between the interstices of fiction, translation, journalism, academic discourse, and memoir as capriciously as their narrators veer between degrees of intoxication – prompts us to reconsider how consciousness and creativity may be represented in the textual form (p. 11).

Therefore, in general, "Mangan often infuses romantic irony into his psychological narratives when he finds the literary conventions associated with certain supernaturalist modes laughably outworn or inadequate for depicting the complexities of consciousness, especially consciousness under extreme conditions" (Haslam, 2014: 141). Thus, his stories revolve around the interplay between the encounter of the Self and The Other on a multi-dimensional level that enables us to trace cosmopolitanism. In his short stories, Mangan interrogates the concept of mind, and it is examined that identity is also represented as a discursive formation because of the structured limitations. It is significant to underline that Mangan is a writer with a strong dependence on the figures of other cultures acquired by the agency of the interplay of intercultural exchange. Given the representations of the Orient, for instance, Parsons (2014: 87-88) marks that "Mangan criticizes the general cast of Orientalism...which was the basis of Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan*, Rückert's *Östliche Rosen*, and others, had left him doubting the ability of scholars to apprehend and represent the world as a total system-." Therefore, Mangan's cosmopolitanism not only transcends the global comprehension of world relations but also criticizes the Western conceptions and representations of universal commitment to humanity.

Mangan's cosmopolitanism can be elucidated when his representation of different cultures is considered. His affiliation to Eastern ideals, in particular, stems from discomfort of the representation of the East when his notions are regarded that stated earlier. Regarding critical cosmopolitanism as a normative aspect or tendency of cosmopolitanism, "to paraphrase Walter Mignolo, Mangan's critique comes from a space outside on which the inside relies, and which in turn relies on the inside" (Parsons, 2014: 97). As it can be argued, Mangan's cosmopolitanism does not drive from the so-called homogenizing inclination of cosmopolitanism which is attributed to the concept because of the fixed diversities, but it derives from the crucial aspect of cosmopolitanism embracing multiplicities on different levels underlining particularism.

Since Mangan is well-known as a national poet, describing him as cosmopolitan can seem contradictory. However, when his earlier mentioned notions and writings are regarded, it would not be fallacious to cast him as cosmopolitan being a person who “can entertain the possibility of a world in which everyone is a rooted cosmopolitan, attached to a home of one’s own, with its own cultural particularities, but taking pleasure from the presence of other, different places that are home to other, different people” (Appiah, 1997: 618). If Mangan is underscored as reasonably affected by cosmopolitanism, mostly by its philosophical connotations, then his rooted cosmopolitanism reflected in his works can be clarified. Yet, as Mangan remains ‘The Man in the Cloak’ in Irish literature, his representation of the ideals of cosmopolitanism also remains as ‘the man in the cloak’. Nevertheless, the unique specification of cosmopolitanism, as it is examined in this part, can be exemplified in his short story titled ‘The Man in the Cloak’.

“The Man in the Cloak. A very German Story” is, as stated earlier, a literary adaptation of *Melmoth Reconcilie* (1831) written by Honore de Balzac. As the Orient character Melmoth the Wanderer is literarily revived in Mangan’s version once more, the context of the story also revolves around the theme of revival in many respects. In this context, the theme of revival including the concept of identity and transformation as well as the self-conscious narrative technique Mangan uses can be pointed out as the crucial instances of linking James Clarence Mangan as one of the “postmodern puzzle makers” (Heaney, 2003: 14). The story does not only extend the borders of the locale but pushes the storyline to the space and by so doing, to mythologies of ancient times as can be seen in the conversation between the Parisian correspondent and the German boy continues as follows:

“Ah! -drowned, -yes said the stranger: - “well, he is now in the planet Jupiter” (141).

“In the planet Jupiter?” cried the head clerk, opening his eyes. (141)

“But whether he is happy or not is the mystery,” pursued the German, who I soon found out was an astrologer- “for Mercury was in the seventh house on the night he was drowned- and that is ambiguous. Borrowing a light from the old mythology, too, we should say that Jupiter was the chief of the gods- but then, saith Holy Writ, the gods of the heathens are devils- and Jupiter is thus but an arch-demon.” (141-142)

Defining one’s self, as well as a group or culture by means of pre-established and pre-existent standards foregrounds the idea that one’s identity is static and that group identities with which one associates self-identity are static as well (Hill, 2000; Spisak, 2009). Mangan’s mixing of space and temporality not only defies such pre-established and pre-existent

individual or group identities but brings the concepts of identity and transformation as the core elements of the story.

A closer look shows that all the elements of the story are operated in the frame of the ideals of cosmopolitanism. In 'The Man in the Cloak', the aspiration to conceptualize the world as a whole is not only operated by adopting the tenets of philosophical cosmopolitanism, but also materialized by problematizing and surpassing the boundaries of national and universal definitions foregrounding the very concept of identity. It is also necessary to highlight regarding nationalism and socialism as relevant to the point that:

There can be little doubt that in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries they were the dominant forms in which emancipatory movements expressed themselves. However, their negative side lay in prioritising their own particular interests over the universal interests of humanity or in identifying their own interests with the universal interests of humanity as a whole (Fine, 2018: 364).

In the prose writings of Mangan, especially in 'The Man in the Cloak', it can be noted that there is an attempt to endure this negative side of nationalism and to reveal the misidentification of both national and universal values by foregrounding the discursive formation of the term identity itself. In the light of this, when national and universal identifications in the 19th century are regarded in general, 'The Man in the Cloak' can be indicated that it is oriented in the frame of combining characteristics of cosmopolitanism. As stated by Anderson (2001: 63), in the context of nineteenth century, "in general, cosmopolitanism denotes reflective distance from one's original or primary cultural affiliations, a broad understanding of other cultures and customs, and a belief in universal humanity." In this respect, 'The Man in the Cloak' is a text in which cosmopolitanism exemplified by reconsideration of the characteristics belonging to the East and the West.

The story of the man in the cloak who turns out to be Melmoth the Wanderer, is presented as a newspaper clipping with an additional narrative described as "authentic document" (Mangan, 1904: 140) which is also related to the story. The narrative technique employed by Mangan which can be examined in the frame of postmodern features, not only differs from the main characteristics of Victorian literature and reverses the expectations of the reader, but also refers to a very crucial point that: "Mangan here reverses the expectations of the redemptive narrative and uses the play on identity" (Jamison, 2014: 178-179). The play on identity can be pointed out, starting from the very beginning of the story, in terms of employing different sort of characters that represent national characteristics. Herr Johann Klaus Braunbrock, cashier of the Banking house of the Willibald, is represented by the narrator as follows:

Upon the breast of his blue coat glittered a military star, for he had served in the Imperial Army as a colonel of Austrian dragoons, and his salary of six hundred crowns a month as cashier was reinforced by a pension of five hundred dollars, paid to him quarterly by the War Office (Mangan, 1904: 100).

With the aid of the man in the cloak, through the end of the story, Braunbrock finds out about the adultery of Liviona with Rudolf and accuses him of being one of the “conspirators against government” (128) without recalling his plan to plunder the Willibald at first. Therefore, the depiction of Braunbrock’s military background at the beginning of the story reflects the critique of the very grounds of being a ‘man of honor’ is built upon in society. Whereas Braunbrock is a member of the middle-class, an ordinary individual of the society, The Man in the Cloak does not fit these entitlements. As they encountered one another, the impression of “The Man in the Cloak” is expressed by the narrator as follows:

... burning and searching eyes, which, fixed intently upon him, seemed as if they would read the most hidden secrets of his soul. The rest of the countenance was in shadow, and the figure of the gazer was completely hidden from view by a large black cloak (Mangan, 1904: 100).

Symbolically, “The Man in the Cloak” is defined as the unknown. It is not only depicted as the mysterious one concealing himself in terms of his physical appearance but also as a foreigner and unknown in terms of his identity. Accordingly, the depiction of the cloak given represents an alienated property concealing his identity that renders him a stranger in terms of his appearance. However, the story goes beyond this depiction towards the symbolic meaning that it signifies the problematization of very identity.

When Braunbrock scans the letter of exchange for the money that the man in the cloak demands, he realizes that the receipt does not have signature. Then, the narrator utters that “Braunbrock gave the letter and a pen to the stranger, who wrote in English characters, at the foot of the receipt, M. – *The Man in the Cloak*” (102). He not only wears a cloak to conceal himself, but also identifies himself as the man in the cloak. Since Braunbrock finds the signature and the handwriting “plague” (102), he endeavours to find out the nationality of the man in the cloak. He asks: “You are not a German, mein Herr?”, “You are scarcely French, I should think?” and finally asks: “Ah! English, I presume?” (102). The answer of the man in the cloak is uttered by the narrator as follows: “Your presumption is unwarrantable: I am not English,” answered the stranger; “I am an Irishman” (Mangan, 1904: 102). It is crucial to highlight that the choice of the author to subtitle the story as ‘A very German Story’ and the man in the cloak as an Irish man is not an exception. When the pejorative representations of the Orient as inferior and ‘exotic’ are considered, it can be argued that Mangan criticizes the Western conception of the Orient since Melmoth is disguised as the man in the cloak.

Moreover, the Orient is paralleled to Ireland that it underscores the problematization of identity concerning Irish nation. In this context, it can be referred that Mangan's work "can unsettle conceptions of British and Irish literary history alike" (Sturgeon, 2014: 12). Since the conceptions, especially identity cannot be properly examined by depending on the binary oppositions or just colonial formations in the writings of Mangan, his comprehensions come to terms with the cosmopolitan ideals. Due to the fact that Mangan's conception of identity is affected by the condition of Ireland as a non-unified nation, his comprehension of nation and world is mostly relied on cosmopolitan tenets accordingly.

The identification of the self begins not with the physical or psychological alteration, but with the distortion of Braunbrock's rationality. As the man in the cloak offers a compact whispered to Braunbrock which is revealed later on in the story that Braunbrock transforms to the man in the cloak, Braunbrock cannot grasp its possibility and he is suspicious of the things that scientific knowledge does not cover. The answer of the man in the cloak is crucial that it connotes a cosmopolitan orientation breeding a sense of sympathy and an aspiration to comprehend or to imagine the possibilities of the things even when mind is assumed incapable of grasping. The man in the cloak replies: "At any rate you had better give your consent. The century will ask no questions" (122). The answer not only connotes the dichotomy between the concepts of real and supernatural in the nineteenth century discourses but it also connotes a cosmopolitan feature that as long as one is open to comprehend the Other, it results in the realization that both the Self and the Other are interwoven terms and they are beyond temporal conceptions.

Furthermore, the cosmopolitan orientation represented through the man in the cloak includes not only transcending temporality but also spatiality. In fact, the self-description of the man in the cloak not only reveals his supernatural powers it also implies cosmopolitan orientation. It is stated as follows:

Know that on this vile ball of earth all that man can dream of in the shape of Power is mine. I wield, or if I chose, could wield, all the engines of governments and systems. I read every heart; I see into the future; I know the past. I am here; and ye I may be elsewhere, for I am independent of time and place and distance (Mangan, 1904: 114).

Being devoid of any identity, the man in the cloak is defined as "strange and mysterious being" (115) by Braunbrock because the man in the cloak is assumed as rootless one and a foreigner. The power possessed by the man in the cloak are thought to lead him an alienation with no sense of belonging. However, in fact, "the intolerable burden of his gifted and terrible nature, and perpetual prey to despair" (134) represent a conscious detachment

from his identity that provides more clear sight of the self-identity. The comprehension of cosmopolitanism here is not only depended on surpassing the physical boundaries or distances through travel and becoming degenerated because of having been interacted with others. It is rather relied on the confrontation with the self as a result of interaction with the Other. Therefore, indeed, the de-identification policy starting with the Irishman, transferred to the German and to the Parisian after Braunbrock, is not aimed to render them powerless, alienated or rootless, it is rather operated by instilling the comprehension of world as a home.

In this respect, Mangan's use of the Orient as the symbol of the revival of the ancient/antique coincide with the "required sense of common heritage" in the context of the nineteenth-century. (Lennon, 2014: 62). Pointing out that Mangan domesticates the Orient as if it were his own native land, Lennon (2014) argues that "such a recognition of sameness differed from the dominant colonial Anglo-French Orientalists (as with the associated acquisition of colonial lands), whose conclusions relied upon suppositions of Europe's enlightened superiority" (67). Melmoth is disguised as the man in the cloak who is an Irish man, and he perpetually traverses world beyond temporal and spatial limitations, to find somebody to transfer his 'fatal gift'. To be more precise, the man in the cloak has the ability to transport himself to any corner of the earth and to become someone whoever he wishes to be. He not only changes someone's identity when the transformation occurs, but the soul is also transformed by transferring a peculiar perception. After Braunbrock transforms into the man in the cloak, he begins to go and "see" beyond boundaries in many respect. Even though he cannot grasp the significance of this transformation, he enlightens in a way that he says "I was ignorant of the facts myself an hour ago. Since then, however, I have undergone a singular change, as you have perceived, and now I see every thing, I know every thing, I can do every thing" (129).

Brounbrock can realize 'the facts' only after he becomes capable of seeing himself from the eyes of the Other. Relatedly, since he can do everything and move everywhere he wishes, his journey starts. He begins to travel all around the world, uses the power for earthly pleasures. However, dissatisfaction grows gradually and while his physical travelling ends in his homeland, his inner journey begins. It is stated that "the enourmous nature of his power only made him acquainted with the essential desolation of heart which flows being alone in the universe and unsympathised with by others" (Mangan, 1904: 133). Braunrock realizes the insignificance of the wordly things thanks to the perception bestowed by the man in the cloak. He not only gets the chance to identify himself as mirrored by the man in the cloak, Braunbrock also adopts 'the soul' of the man in the cloak. Thus, it can be refered that

Braunbrock is only able to identify himself as long as he can see himself as the Other because in fact, they are not totally different in their essence, but they are interwoven formations.

Depending on this, Jorge (2020: 180) discusses the “dualism that the male character portrayed in the fictions of J.C. Mangan resist easy classification under the dichotomy self vs. other since in many instances they are both at the same time”. In the light of this, when the representation of Melmoth and the perpetual transformation of The Man in the Cloak including multiple identities such as Irish, German, Parisian, and the other unknown nationalities are considered, the detachment from identity is exemplified in cosmopolitan terms. In other words, identity as a transformative concept represented in the story underscores that it is a formation that stems from encountering with the Other and reciprocal alteration as a consequence. Hence, the representation of the Orient and the Occident in the story refers that they are both the Self and The Other at the same time which indicates the ideals of cosmopolitanism highlighting the conception of the world. The final words of Mangan’s as he concludes his story show, especially because of the use of multiple languages within one context, the cosmopolitan spirit of the text which requires the reader to be able to understand not only English but also German and French:

As for the astrologer, he looked the very picture of stupefaction and bewilderment. He put his book up into his pocket. “*Mein Gott,*” said he, as he made his way out of the office, “*was ist den das? Sind das Menschen—oder vielleicht Troglodyten?*” Shortly afterwards he turned down an adjoining street, and I lost sight of him.—

Yours, *Mon cher Courier Belge*. (Mangan, 1904: 143)

CHAPTER III

COSMOPOLITANISM IN ‘THE THREE RINGS’

Regarding the conceptions of the world and concepts through binary oppositions and the assumptions that these oppositions’ dependence on one another to form a whole was generally abused by the dominant imperial discourses of the 19th century Europe. Cosmopolitanism beared an alternative approach to this common view and offered more unifying modalities. Cosmopolitanism led to the understanding of the world and the concepts in an intertwined mode. As stated earlier, the intercultural exchange that circulated beyond the psychical boundaries of a nation was undeniable in the Victorian era. Therefore, when the reciprocal impact upon the nations and transformations as a result of these interactions are taken into account, cosmopolitan aspects can be seen in the prose works of James Clarence Mangan.

Mangan is one of the prominent poets and writers who maintained to include the Eastern cultural elements and the narratives in his writings. When Mangan’s use of the Eastern geographies and the motifs in his writings as well as his affinity to East and Islam are considered, ‘The Three Rings’ can be uttered as one of the short stories specifying this affinity. Accordingly, as stated earlier, when the cultural exchange between East and West is considered, similar narratives and motifs can be captured in their literature. These similar narratives date back to the earlier periods of the 19th century, and it is crucial to aver that:

A closer look at the history of scientific, cultural, and economic exchange between Christian and Islamic communities before and during the Medieval period shows that many elements that were previously told in the East were passed on to the West, after which this well-known lore of the East was re-told or portrayed by skillful Western poets, writers, and artists (Arıkan, 2021: 178).

The existence of cultural exchange between the East and the West signals a cosmopolitan entity of the affiliated cultures. However, while the narratives preserve the characteristics of the host culture, they are also extended and altered by the borrowing cultures. The ring as a crucial literary motif is among the prevalent ones in this reciprocal cultural exchange between the East and the West. The representation of the ring as one of the instances of this prolonged tradition emerges also in the nineteenth century alongside its representations in the earlier centuries. In the eighteenth century, significantly, the parable of the three rings appears in the play *Nathan the Wise* (1779) written by Lessing. Accordingly, in the next century, Mangan’s short story titled ‘The Three Rings’ appears as an “adaptation of a scene of Lessing’s play”

(Arikan, 2021: 178). The content of the narrative in which the three rings are used sheds light on the past of such cultural exchange between the East and the West because, “The earliest version of the narrative told in Medieval Europe was written by Stephen of Bourbon in the 13th century, although the story is accepted and cited as an Arabic narrative” (Arikan, 2021: 179).

Arikan (2021) examines both Lessing’s and Mangan’s versions of the narrative of the three rings by scrutinizing the representation of the character Salahaddin. The content of the narrative is studied by tracing the point of origins of these narratives with an emphasis on the relationship between the East and the West dating back to the pre-Medieval period. In Mangan’s version, it is highlighted that Mangan represents the elements of the East in a slightly different manner when it is compared with his other writings mainly because of the kind and benevolent relationship between these two hostile cultures.

Mangan’s version of the narrative is truly cosmopolitan in nature. Townsend (2011) argues that “In its most usual usage, the term cosmopolitanism designated worldliness and is interchangeable with “international” or “metropolitan” (48). In Warf’s (2012) words “The term has suffered from its popularity: For some observers, it simply connotes being worldly and sophisticated and thus able to negotiate cultural differences with ease, a trait that can apply to places as well as to people” (iii). In ‘The Three Rings,’ the rings directly represent worldliness for the ring the father is supposed to give to one of his children opens the door to rule the state, thus having supreme power over material wealth and human resources in the location ruled. Mangan’s re-writing of Lessing’s text can be considered an extension of Irish literary imagination seeking a cosmopolitan space since, as Townsend (2011) argues:

This variety of cosmopolitanism holds enormous appeal in the Irish literary imagination, functioning as a perpetual fantasy to wield against insularity and underdevelopment: for example, Joyce’s *Dubliners* is driven by the escapist fantasies of its characters, who imagine London, Paris, Buenos Aires, and the Far East as the site of self-refashioning. Such fantasies of cosmopolitanism are always situated elsewhere, beyond Ireland, and become pre-empted time and again by their own impossibility. Many of Joyce’s dreamers are unable to leave Dublin; and in the case of characters who do depart, like Ignatius Gallaher in *Dubliners*, or Alo Brady in Patrick McCabe’s *The Butcher Boy*, or any number of literary compatriots, the disillusioning realities of emigration make maintaining the fantasy all more urgent (48).

Accordingly, reality or fantasy, “The Three Rings” underlines a unifying model of thinking relying on mutual understanding, respect, and tolerance among people having distinct roots and religions all of which can be associated with the ideals of cosmopolitanism.

The opening lines of the narrative show how the much-hated Jew is described at the beginning of the story:

In the reign of the Sultan Sal-ad-deen there lived in the city of Damascus a Jew called Nathaniel, who was pre-eminently distinguished among his fellow citizens for his wisdom, his liberality of mind, the goodness of his disposition, and the urbanity of his manners, so that he had acquired the esteem even of those among the Mooslemin who were accounted the strictest adherents to the exclusive tenets of the Mahommedan creed. From being generally talked of by the common people, he came gradually to attract the notice of the higher classes, until the Sultan himself, hearing so much of the man, became curious to learn how it was so excellent and intelligent a person could reconcile it with his conscience to live and die in the errors of Judaism (Mangan, 1904: 310).

These beginning lines, unlike those anti-semitic expressions used in European works of literature throughout history up to the times of Mangan, portray the Jew as a superior being in virtue. Such an opening also signals Mangan's affinity for and interest in the world ruled by Islam where, although Judaism is accepted to be erroneous, human conscience regardless of faith and religious affiliation, has the power of making the believer excel in the eyes of people of all faiths. Such conscience, in Mangan's text, is associated with wisdom, goodness, and urbanity, all of which could be and were used while defending cosmopolitanism in 18th and 19th century Europe.

The Jew is not the only character who is exalted in Mangan's story. Unlike many previous biased and nationalist texts that portray Jews and Muslims in negative terms, Mangan glorifies Sal-ad-deen by attributing various titles such as "the august Sal-ad-Deen, Light of the World, Protector of the Universe, and keeper of the Portals of Paradise" (Mangan, 1904 310). Hence, both the Jew and the Muslim are portrayed in positive terms by Mangan who comes from Ireland where the Catholic Church was strictly dominant during his lifetime. The display of these two faithful characters without mentioning the virtues of Catholicism occurs while a decent and humane conversation runs throughout the story. Both of these anti-Catholic expressions constitute the cosmopolitan spirit of Mangan's writings in which the writer's subjectivity is erased at the cost of embracing original and anti-traditional entities as exemplified through the characters of the Jew and the Sultan Sal-ad-Deen.

'The Three Rings' is an open-ended story structured as a frame narrative in which the tale of three rings is told by Nathaniel to the Sultan Sal-ad-deen. Since the Sultan believes that Islam is the true religion, he cannot understand why Nathaniel as a wise man accepts "to live and die in the errors of Judaism" (311). Sel-ad-deen demands Nathaniel to his presence to discuss and find out. Therefore, the parable of the three rings is told by Nathaniel to the Sultan that the three rings represent Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Although he is the true believer

of Islam, Sal-ad-deen respects the values with held by Nathaniel “who was pre-eminently distinguished among his fellow-citizens for his wisdom... even of those among the Mooslemin who were accounted the strictest adherents to the exclusive tenets of the Mahommedan creed” (311).

In this context, the representation of the Sultan is crucial since it is clear that he is a tolerant Muslim ruler who favors the existence of people believing in other religions in the city. Although he is “Light of the World, Protector of the Universe, and the keeper of the Portals of Paradise” (Mangan, 1904: 131), the Sultan is a modest person. Since he contemplates that “the lightning of his glances should not annihilate the Israelite” (311), he hides his face behind his veil with a “magnificent...golden gauze-work” (311). The representation of a particular golden veil as an Eastern property refers to Mangan’s affinity with the Eastern culture. Furthermore, the depiction of the Sultan in physical concealment, even though not totally, goes beyond the manifested meaning.

The portrayal of Sal-ad-deen as veiled before the encounter with Nathaniel shows that the identity of the Sal-ad-deen as the Sultan is deemphasized. Accordingly, the portrayal of Sal-ad-deen as humble enough to conceal his very identity shows that the author identifies worthy traits with an Eastern character. Furthermore, the fact that the Sultan follows a question-and-answer method, a dialogic one, more than he gives declarative statements further signifies that keeping a dialogue intact is the core of the matter in debates among cultures and religions. Even at the most striking point in the plot structure where the reader could expect a conflict, the Sultan shows his majestic yet humble attitude by interrogating rather than judging:

“Thou triflest with me, Nathaniel,” said the Sultan; “a ring is not a religion. There are, it is true, many modes of worship on the earth: but has not Islamism remained a distinct system of faith from the false creeds? Look at its dogmas, its ceremonies, the modes of prayer, the habits, yea, the very food and raiment of its professors! What sayest thou of these? (Mangan, 1904: 315)

Compared to the conceptualization of cosmopolitanism in the 19th century, Mangan’s cosmopolitanism significantly differs and it philosophically evokes an ethos of tolerance. In addition to the portrayal of the Sultan as a humble person, his representation as an embracing ruler is significant when the multiculturalism of the city is considered. In its historical background including the nineteenth century, Damascus’ “periods of greatest prosperity have been linked to its role in international and regional trade” (Reilly, 1990: 91). Although the city is not portrayed in the frame of its global and regional relations related to economics, the connotations of relations among nations are visible in the story. It is understood that

Damascus is a city mostly dominated by the Muslim community. However, people from different cultural and religious backgrounds are also welcomed. Therefore, the city refers to a place in which multicultural interactions occur among its citizens. Hence, the city is portrayed as a cosmopolitan area entirely.

In this context, the city reigned by the Sultan is cosmopolitan not only because of its multicultural lifestyle, but also the differences are deemphasized in the city through toleration. In this sense, cosmopolitanism, according to Warf (2012: 5), “has always thrives in places that attract and fuel diversity of thought and practice” and this atmosphere is provided by the Sultan. Even though he has the power, he does not abuse his power on people who do not share the same religion with him. Thus, the representation of Damascus can be identified as a cosmopolitan city and Damascus’ being a cosmopolitan city can be paralleled to the representation of Sal-ad-deen tolerating and embracing the hybrid identities that make up the city.

The tale told by Nathaniel by referencing to religions is about the pursuit of the three sons struggling to find out which of the three rings, inherited by their fathers, is the real one. Because of the father’s “good-natured weakness” (313), the real ring is triplicated so as to give his sons. Since every son claims to be the powerholder after his father, confusion arises but the ending remains unknown. As Nathaniel ends the tale, he states that “for the difficulty of discovering which was the true ring as great then as that of discovering which is the true faith now” (314). When the father is considered as the symbol of God, it can be clarified that there is no reference to the superiority of any religion as it is implied that all religions represent true faith. Accordingly, Nathaniel attributes no superiority to any religion but highlights the significance of true faith as an answer to the Sultan’s question.

In Mangan’s ‘The Tree Rings’, when the representation of the Sultan is considered, the implication of Islam as the religion of tolerance can be indicated. In the story, the possibility of living with distinct backgrounds is represented. Many depictions refer to the characteristics of cosmopolitanism in a medieval moral context. Interestingly, the evocation of cosmopolitanism can also be indicated through the character Nathaniel in the frame of his Jewish identity. In Arikan’s (2021) words, such an encounter between the Muslim and the Jew shows that their faiths and cultures emerge within one locality, signaling the amalgamation of cultures and faiths as proposed by cosmopolitanism:

While Salâhaddîn is known for his compassionate, just, and righteous reign, Nathan is called Nathan the Wise, for he is famous in the Muslim-dominated city for his wisdom, open-mindedness, and good-

hearted spirit, all of which create a strong sense of respect in the Muslim community (Mangan, 1904: 179).

In the story, the characteristics of cosmopolitanism can also be mentioned when the conversation between Sal-ad-deen and Nathaniel is considered. The encounter and the dialogue between a Muslim and a Jew character underscore the author's employment of the cosmopolitan tenets in their representations. The cosmopolitan ideals can be identified not only by focusing on the representation of distinct cultures and religions but also by scrutinizing the comprehension of these differences as interwoven formations. As Nathaniel ends his tale, Sal-ad-deen is not gratified because there is not a clear ending. However, he takes this encounter as a challenge to prove that his religion is the true one as he utters at the end of the story:

I shall shortly send for thee again; and as I do not much fancy remaining in any man's debt, thou shalt then, as a wholesome counterpoise to thy sophistry, obtain from me in reply either a parable of my own, or one from the Koran, upon which I will argue with thee to thy signal confusion (Mangan, 1904: 318).

According to Patell (2015: 53), "Religion per se is not incompatible with cosmopolitanism, so long as toleration for other beliefs is practice." Depending on this, the encounter between the Sultan and Nathaniel refers to a cosmopolitan experience as they struggle to understand one another in their choice of different religions. However, Sal-ad-deen's tolerance is crucial as he is the powerful one. Hence, the aspects of cosmopolitanism in its ethics are depicted in the story by representing different cultural characteristics. In conclusion, "The Three Rings" advocates a thoroughly cosmopolitan outlook in religious and worldly manners since, as Mangan speaks through the Jew, each member of a different religious or cultural group should lead virtuous lives and act accordingly:

Let each of you therefore feel honored by this all-embracing generosity of your parent; let each of you endeavor to outshine his brothers in the cultivation of every virtue with the ring is presumed to confer - assisting the mysterious influence supposed to reside in it by habits of gentleness, benevolence, and mutual tolerance, and by resignation in all things to the will of God; and if the virtues of the ring continue to manifest themselves in your children, and your children's children, and their descendants to the hundredth generation, then, after the lapse of thousands of years, appear again and for the last time before this judgment seat! (Mangan, 1904: 317).

In all this amalgamation of the East and the West, 'The Thirty Flasks' exemplifies Mangan's various standpoints as a poet and an author. Claire (2009), writing of Mangan's poetry, states that it is difficult to estimate "how many of Mangan's pseudo-personalities were

cultivated from Arabic and Persian poets via his prolific collection of “anti-plagiaristic” translations (260). The same seems to be true when his prose work, especially his ‘The Thirty Flasks’ is considered as the story mentions and even juxtaposes too many opposing realities in the setting and atmosphere that reads more like a supernatural fantasy. Either case, ‘The Thirty Flasks’ exemplifies Mangan’s version of cosmopolitanism in which ethics and everyday life realities are bound together.



CONCLUSION

Cosmopolitanism emerged as a reactionary mode of thinking to the prevailing ideologies that surrounded nineteenth-century thinkers. Alongside the contemporary artistic movements that grew in the nineteenth century, cosmopolitanism was en-vogue among various writers among whom Goethe was the leading one. In this study, cosmopolitanism as a contested ideology was used to create a theoretical framework to comprehend how the ideology was flourished in the nineteenth century. Hence, the selected works of James Clarence Mangan are examined by comparing the principles of cosmopolitanism with the content of Mangan's select prose work.

Elsewhere it has been noted that Mangan was truly nationalist although research states that his nationalist spirit became more fierce towards the end of his life. However, according to Clare (2009), "Mangan comically distanced himself from political activity of any kind, blaming laziness for his chronic apathy and ignorance of political affairs" (252). Although such changes in his viewpoints suggest a destabilized spirit, it should not be forgotten that destabilization was the general atmosphere in which all 19th-century artists, thinkers, and writers noted while the very concepts produced in the era exemplified such destabilization. As Wohlgemut (2009: 2) underlines, "by no means was cosmopolitanism's relationship with nationalism a stable one in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Britain." Thus, it can be concluded that Mangan's nationalism and cosmopolitanism present a gray area especially when his literary accomplishment as an Irish nationalist who fought against British imperialism is considered. In his anti-imperialist struggle, however, he seems to embrace cosmopolitanism in a way to engulf all entities and realities but British imperialism with its inhumane treatment of the other.

In this study, the three short stories of Mangan are analyzed while noting this unstable web of relations. Even though Mangan had an intense love for his country, and he is described as a national poet, he also has a wide conception of the world transcending both the national and the Eurocentric modes of thinking. His aspiration is one that conceptualizes the world as a cosmopolitan territory and such spirit is exemplified and reflected in numerous pieces written by him including a posthumous autobiography, a biography, anthologies, and letters (correspondence). When considered all together, such texts show that the ideals of cosmopolitanism are well-cultivated and thoroughly exemplified by Mangan. Such portrayal of different cultures mashed shows that Mangan developed a broad understanding of cosmopolitanism as his characters' inner worlds and speech patterns exemplify.

‘The Thirty Flasks’ is analyzed by focusing on the protagonists and the setting. In addition, the ideals of cosmopolitanism specified in the story are examined in the frame of the representation of the East and the West through the characters and other literary elements. Significantly the concept of identity is foregrounded in terms of its connotations of national characteristics as well as the concepts’ representation through physical and psychological transformations of the characters.

In ‘The Man in the Cloak. A very German Story’, the concept of identity is evaluated by pointing out the significant relationship between the story and the author. The givens of cosmopolitanism exemplified in the story are analyzed as related to their philosophical connotations. In addition, it is highlighted that the unstable nature of identity as well as the unstable juxtaposition of cosmopolitanism and nationalism are represented in the story.

‘The Three Rings’ is analyzed in the frame of cosmopolitanism in the context of cosmopolitanism based on religions. By discussing the representations of the protagonists, the moral connotations of cosmopolitanism are noted. Relatedly, by pointing out the significance of the setting of the narrative, cosmopolitan aspects are explained. In addition, the impact of cultural exchange between East and West is mentioned. In the study, it is noted that the representation of the Eastern and Western elements is operated in a way to meet the ideals of cosmopolitanism.

In the three stories analyzed, it is clearly seen that the philosophical connotations of cosmopolitanism are laid bare by Mangan. Mangan’s cosmopolitanism, as the analysis revealed, differentiates itself from its nineteenth-century counterparts. In the three stories analyzed, the conception of the world as a unified entity is framed with a cosmopolitan orientation. It stands out among all findings that the protagonists from the East or the West do not feed traditional binary oppositions.

To conclude, in the texts studied, a unique blend of cosmopolitan imagination seems to deemphasize false divisions created before and during nineteenth-century Europe. In their place, seemingly opposing pieces of identity, subjectivity, and nationality are re-constructed in an interwoven manner.

Although this study analyzed only three prose texts written by Mangan, future studies should focus on issues related to subjectivity, identity, and other constructs not only to understand the author but also the era in which such realities were produced.

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