

James Joyce and His Early Church

The Art of Schism and Heresy

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Abstract

In 'Telemachus', the first episode of *Ulysses*, Stephen Dedalus declares himself 'servant of two masters [...] The imperial British state and the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church'. Amid clanging church bells there follows in the text, as if in answer to Stephen's invocation, a 'horde of heresies fleeing with mitres awry: Photius and the brood of mockers of whom Mulligan was one, and Arius, warring his life long upon the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father'.

From the outset critics have tussled with the role of religion in James Joyce's texts, and with the nature of his attitude towards Catholicism. But though recent years have seen, according to Geert Lernout, attempts to 'recuperate' Joyce for a 'liberal form of Catholicism', scholarship still dwells on Joyce's upbringing and the social contexts of his youth, framing the question as one of belief rather than practise. Ignoring the evidence of 'Telemachus', which implies their centrality for any discussion of Joyce and the church, the heretics themselves have received scant attention.

Against recent scholarship, including Roy Gottfried's *Joyce's Misbelief* and Geert Lernout's *Help My Unbelief*, this thesis will show how specific heretics from the early church appear and persist throughout Joyce's literature. Charting a course from *Dubliners* through *Finnegans Wake*, I will focus on a chronological reading of *Ulysses* and the figures of Arius and Photius. Saint Patrick figures at the conflux of east and west, as I argue that Joyce moved from a combative attitude towards Catholicism to one which used its material as connective tissue.

In the process I define Joyce's 'early church' as one stretching until the ninth century. This thesis will significantly expand the scope of Joyce's library, showing through close reading the hitherto unidentified sources from which Joyce drew his understanding of Arius and Photius.

Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

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Introduction

Early in the course of the day of *Ulysses*, around half-past eight in the morning as Stephen Dedalus drags his ashplant from the Martello tower towards the Forty Foot promontory in Sandycove, he engages dryly as the Englishman Haines probes him on the subject of religious belief. Buck Mulligan, capering his way down to the Forty Foot hole which opens out onto Dublin Bay, has just provided the pair with his blasphemous rendition of the ballad of joking Jesus. Haines twice asks whether Stephen is a believer, qualifying his question with references to the ‘narrow sense of the word’, ‘miracles’, and a ‘personal God’. But after averring ‘There’s only one sense of the word, it seems to me’, Stephen firmly pronounces, ‘You behold in me, Stephen said with grim displeasure, a horrible example of free thought’ (*U*, 1.608-626).

A freethinker, but struggling against the confines of the world, and the immediate social and political contexts of Ireland at the turn of the twentieth century. When Haines seizes upon Stephen’s use of ‘free thought’ and ponders ‘After all, I should think you are able to free yourself. You are your own master, it seems to me’, Stephen brusquely rejoinders:

– I am a servant of two masters, Stephen said, an English and an Italian.

– Italian? Haines said.

A crazy queen, old and jealous. Kneel down before me.

– And a third, Stephen said, there is who wants me for odd jobs.

– Italian? Haines said again. What do you mean?

– The imperial British state, Stephen answered, his colour rising, and the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church. (*U*, 1.636-644)¹

More than one of the boldest declarative statements in James Joyce’s novel, this amounts to a statement of intent for Stephen, who – from his place of isolation at the Martello tower in the opening pages of ‘Telemachus’, to the chiming of St. George’s bells as he makes his departure down Eccles Street in ‘Ithaca’ – struggles incessantly to free himself from the dual masters of state and church. As such, Joyce places ‘the imperial British state’ and ‘the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church’ at the very forefront of *Ulysses*.²

1 Towards the end of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Stephen Dedalus tells his friend Cranly, ‘I will not serve that in which I no longer believe, whether it call itself my home, my fatherland, or my church’. As Ireland under British rule relates to his ‘fatherland’, it seems safe to assume that the master who wants Stephen for ‘odd jobs’ in *Ulysses* refers to his ‘home’, or more precisely his family (*The Essential James Joyce*, 361).

2 In *James Joyce and the Act of Reception: Reading, Ireland, Modernism*, John Nash describes how through Stephen, Joyce expounds a Catholic and Irish intellectual tradition whose sites and subjects imply a particular audience. At

The relationship between Joyce and religion, and the precise nature of his attitude towards the Catholic church, has been a theme of Joyce criticism from the earliest reception of his works. The protracted publication history of *Dubliners*, which was passed between publishers for nine years as they variously objected to its supposed immorality and anti-Irish sentiment (Ellmann, 328), was followed by an obscenity trial over *Ulysses* before the novel was even complete, but accusations of indecency and immorality against Joyce not only carried irreligious, anti-Catholic connotations, instead often giving way to the reading of his texts as anti-Catholic tracts or treatises.³

In an early review of *Ulysses* published in the Catholic *Dublin Review*, Shane Leslie – writing as ‘Domini Canis’, a self-styled Dominican ‘Dog of the Lord’ - opined that ‘since the entire setting of this book is Catholic Dublin, and since the seven hundred pages contain a fearful travesty of persons, happenings, and intimate life of the most morbid and sickening description, we say not only for the *Dublin Review* but for Dublin *écrasez l’infâme!*’ (in Lernout, 215). The Joyce scholar Geert Lernout, writing in his book *Help My Unbelief: James Joyce and Religion*, has described this as a ‘fundamentally religious reaction’ in which Leslie ‘makes it clear that he sees the book as an anti-catholic attack by turning Voltaire’s famous anticlerical phrase against the author of *Ulysses*’ (Lernout, 215). Leslie went on in his review to demand the censure of *Ulysses*, writing that ‘the Inquisition can only require its destruction or, at least, its removal from Catholic houses [...] no Catholic publicist can even afford to be possessed of a copy of this book, for in its reading lies not only the description but the commission of sin against the Holy Ghost’ (in Lernout, 216).⁴

Even where the religious evaluations were less condemnatory and less explicit, in their appraisal Joyce’s works could scarcely escape a religious context. In a review of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* published in February 1917 in the *Nation*, H. G. Wells praised ‘this most memorable novel’ for ‘its quintessential and unfailing reality’ (Ellmann, 414), and stated that Joyce had preserved for the ‘amazement of posterity’ in the figure of Stephen Dedalus the type and the product of a Catholic education (*Pound/Joyce*, 148). This was something of a backhanded compliment however, for Wells also made it clear that he saw in Stephen a reminder of the ‘limitations of a great mass of Irishmen’ (Ellmann, 414). There was therefore something decidedly

the same time however, through Stephen’s private confessions and his identification to Haines as ‘servant’ and freethinker, Joyce abnegates any responsibility towards the same audience he summons (Nash, 64).

3 Objecting particularly to the ‘Nausicaa’ episode as published in *The Little Review*, in which Leopold Bloom masturbates in rhythm with the Sandymount fireworks, the New York Society for the Prevention of Vice lodged an official complaint which led to a trial beginning 14 February 1921 (Ellmann, 502-503). *Ulysses* was published almost a year later, on 2 February 1922.

4 Lernout suggests that if Leslie had not existed, ‘Joyce would have been forced to invent him’, because his review helped to establish the status of *Ulysses* as a ‘forbidden masterpiece’ and ‘demonstrated that Joyce’s war with catholicism was not a one-sided campaign’ (Lernout, 216-217). Indeed Joyce took a keen interest in Leslie’s review, and momentarily re-invented him in *Finnegans Wake* through the character of Shaun, who is critiqued for possessing a ‘bamboozelem mincethrill voice’ which puns on Leslie decrying *Ulysses* for its ‘deliberate bamboozlement of the reader’ (Nash, 107).

snobbish about Wells' review, which resurfaced in the responses of Virginia Woolf ('underbred', 'the book of a self taught working man', of 'a queasy undergraduate scratching his pimples') and George Moore ('Joyce, Joyce, why he's nobody – from the Dublin docks: no family, no breeding') to *Ulysses* (Ellmann, 528-529). For John Nash, Wells exemplified in his review 'the colonialist nature of this liberalism by which a recalcitrant Irish Catholicism has yet to attain 'modern' English secularism' (Nash, 64).

But if the prevailing opinion among Catholic critics was that Joyce's work was sacrilegious, while others condemned more broadly its profanity or found its Irish Catholic milieu provincial and 'underbred', from the outset too there were supporters of Joyce who could trace his relationship with Catholicism more positively. Often this meant downplaying the vulgarity of his texts, or asserting that their vulgarity in fact served as a critique of contemporary materialist society – and a call, therefore, for something more deeply spiritual.⁵ But a rapprochement between Catholicism and Joyce has been detected even in the readings of the leading lights of literary modernism. Following the French critic and poet Valery Larbaud – who had been prompted by Joyce through translations and schemas to analyse *Ulysses* for the sake of its Homeric parallel (Ellmann, 519-523)⁶ – T. S. Eliot, writing in *The Dial* in November 1923, stressed a symbolist reading of *Ulysses*. Entitled 'Ulysses, Order, and Myth', Eliot wrote that:

Mr Joyce's parallel use of the Odyssey has a great importance. It has the importance of a scientific discovery [...] In using the myth, in manipulating a continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity, Mr Joyce is pursuing a method which others must pursue after him [...] It is simply a way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history (*The Dial*, November 1923)

Such a reading stretches from symbolism towards a nascent form of structuralism, and it is precisely the underlying structure of *Ulysses* which many critics have invoked when seeking to identify an active or lingering Catholicism in Joyce's text. Discussing the prominent modernist critic Hugh Kenner and his first book, *Joyce's Dublin*, published in 1956, Jeffrey Segall in *Joyce in*

5 Joyce made a habit of collecting and copying the press notices for *Ulysses*, and with the help of Sylvia Beach and Harriet Shaw Weaver published 'Extracts of Press Notices of Ulysses', a pamphlet which even contained several negative reviews of the novel as Joyce found them to be 'amusingly contradictory' (A Centennial Bloomsday at Buffalo, 'Case IV: Publishing and Promoting Ulysses').

6 Writing for an English rather than an Irish audience in the *Quarterly Review* in October 1922, Shane Leslie – using his own name and still proclaiming *Ulysses* 'anathema' from 'any Christian point of view' - bemoaned those 'ignorant French critics', presumably in reference to Larbaud, who had hailed the novel 'as the proof of Ireland's re-entry into European literature' (A Centennial Bloomsday at Buffalo, 'Case VI: Critical Reactions to Ulysses').

America: Cultural Politics and the Trials of 'Ulysses' has argued that 'What links Eliot's essays and Kenner's first book on Joyce to Catholic exegeses is the assumption that beneath the impressive technical apparatus of Joyce's fiction lies a deep-seated and profoundly religious sensibility' (Segall, 156). Resurrecting the early trope of *Ulysses* as social critique, Segall adds that for Kenner, who read a 'parodic intent' in much of Joyce's writing, *Ulysses* was engaged in an 'indictment of the wasteland of modern life' (Segall, 177).⁷

In *Help My Unbelief: James Joyce and Religion*, Geert Lernout suggests that 'Given the openly anti-catholic nature of his work, the catholic interest in Joyce is surprising, especially in the period before Vatican Council II' (Lernout, 14). Nevertheless he identifies in this 'early history' of Joyce criticism a steady stream of Catholic readers who sought to entwine Joyce with the church, from a 1951 essay by the German academic Curt Hohoff who, 'Like many of the earliest catholic critics of Joyce's work [...] identifies the writer with Stephen', to later publications by Edward J. Ahearn, Kevin Sullivan, Father William Noon, and Father Robert Boyle (Lernout, 14-16). He adds that they all more or less 'adopted the idea that even if Joyce was not a catholic, then at least his Jesuit training had given his mind a catholic structure, whatever that might be' (Lernout, 15) – a perspective that had found its way into mainstream Joyce criticism decades earlier thanks to Harry Levin's *James Joyce: A Critical Introduction*, published in 1941, which stated that Joyce 'lost his faith, but kept his categories' (Levin, 25). More religiously-minded critics than Levin now stretched the sense of these Catholic categories, of this Catholic structure further, Kevin Sullivan in *Joyce among the Jesuits* positing:

So it is that in *Ulysses*, and even in *Finnegans Wake*, the shadow-structure is the Catholic Mass in which the priest, performing the specific sacrifice for which he was ordained, celebrates the communion of God and man. But the artist secularizes this function of the priest, and his sacrament is a celebration of the communion of humanity. This is not substitution, it is simultaneity. (Sullivan, 146)

Despite these various attempts at some form of rapprochement between Joyce and the Catholic church, Lernout identifies an 'Ellmannian consensus about Joyce's religion' which has persisted over the past fifty years, which positions Joyce as a 'post-catholic writer', even if he preferred disdain and antagonism to open atheist denial (Lernout, 5-6). He highlights what he fairly

⁷ Segall continues: 'Kenner took pains to disassociate Joyce from his artistic alter-ego, Stephen Dedalus, whom he claimed Joyce relentlessly lampooned. In so doing, Kenner sired what one critic has called "the Stephen-hating school" of Joyce criticism, in which a significant number of Joyce's Catholic readers would enroll' (Segall, 177).

describes as Richard Ellmann's 'ultimate judgement on Joyce's religion' in the biography Ellmann first published in 1959, which reads:

He was no longer a Christian himself; but he converted the temple to new uses instead of trying to knock it down, regarding it as a superior kind of human folly and one which, interpreted by a secular artist, contained obscured bits of truth. (Ellmann, 66)

Perhaps this sense of converting the temple to new uses seems scarcely removed from Joyce losing his faith yet keeping his categories, but Lernout is concerned with the extent to which the Catholic church might reclaim Joyce, concerned – not unlike Haines prodding Stephen – with the question of whether Joyce in any sense remained a believer. He notes a 'brief outbreak' of a 'new catholic orthodoxy' among French post-structuralist Joyce critics in the 1970s and 1980s, but *Help My Unbelief* focuses on what Lernout characterises as recent attempts to 'recuperate' Joyce for a 'decidedly liberal form of Catholicism' (Lernout, 16). Noting that Vincent Cheng in *Joyce, Race, and Empire* and Andrew Gibson in *Joyce's Revenge: History, Politics, and Aesthetics* have led, in the past couple of decades, a turn away from the topic of Joyce and religion – from the 'holy Roman catholic and apostolic church' portion of Stephen's 'two masters' – towards questions of the 'imperial British state' and Irish nationalism, Lernout seeks to ward off any creeping reconciliation between Joyce and Catholicism by stressing Joyce's rejection of the church and his antagonism to the church as an institution within the context of the flourishing of 'free thought' in the early twentieth century (Lernout, 20).

Joyce's own life paints a complex picture when it comes to his lingering attitude towards Catholicism, even if his early repudiation of the church and his rejection of its rites remains clear. Writing to his future partner and wife Nora Barnacle a couple of months after their first meeting in 1904, Joyce was adamant:

My mind rejects the whole present social order and Christianity – home, the recognised virtues, classes of life, and religious doctrines [...] Six years ago I left the Catholic Church, hating it most fervently. I found it impossible for me to remain in it on account of the impulses of my nature. I made secret war upon it when I was a student and declined to accept the positions it offered me. By doing this I made myself a beggar but I retained my pride. Now I make open war upon it by what I write and say and do. I cannot enter the social order except as a vagabond. (*Selected Letters*, 25-26)

This would place Joyce's repudiation of the church at about the age of sixteen, by his own reckoning. According to Richard Ellmann – charting a course of events which echo in the second, third, and fourth chapters of *A Portrait* – Joyce had his first sexual experience at the age of fourteen, with a prostitute he met along a Dublin canal bank after a theatre performance of *Sweet Briar*. There followed, inspired by a religious retreat and sermons of judgement and hellfire, a period of repentance and reformation lasting 'some months' before he gradually pulled away from the church, explaining that 'By conviction Joyce could not abase himself before Catholic doctrine; by temperament he could not abase himself before other men' (Ellmann, 47-50).

Ellmann suggests that the bird girl scene from *A Portrait* 'actually occurred' to Joyce around this time (Ellmann, 55). After Stephen Dedalus is lured by a 'young woman dressed in a long pink gown' at the close of chapter two of *A Portrait* (*The Essential James Joyce*, 249), and the third chapter conjures the various pains 'which will afflict the souls of the damned in hell', including 'the pain of conscience' (*The Essential James Joyce*, 270), by the end of the fourth chapter Stephen has renounced the temptations of the Jesuit priesthood. Like Joyce, prefect of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Belvedere school, Stephen is encouraged to become a priest, and listens in 'reverent silence' to the appeal 'offering him secret knowledge and power':

He would know then what was the sin of Simon Magus and what sin against the Holy Ghost for which there was no forgiveness. He would know obscure things, hidden from others, from those who were conceived and born children of wrath. He would know the sins, the sinful longings and sinful thoughts and sinful acts, of others, hearing them murmured into his ears in the confessional (*The Essential James Joyce*, 293-294)

Yet as Leopold Bloom understands in *Ulysses*, 'The sweets of sin. Sweet are the sweets' (*U*, 11.156), and Stephen instinctively revolts, deciding that:

His destiny was to be elusive of social or religious orders. The wisdom of the priest's appeal did not touch him to the quick. He was destined to learn his own wisdom apart from others or to learn the wisdom of others himself wandering among the snares of the world. (*The Essential James Joyce*, 295-296)⁸

⁸ *A Portrait* continues, 'The snares of the world were its ways of sin. He would fall. He had not yet fallen but he would fall silently, in an instant' (*The Essential James Joyce*, 296).

Some time later, in a rapturous manifestation, in a physical confirmation of the decision he has already reached, on Dollymount strand he comes across a girl in midstream, ‘like one whom magic had changed into the likeness of a strange and beautiful seabird’ (*The Essential James Joyce*, 302-303). After gazing upon her full and soft-hued beauty, her legs, her thighs, her breasts, her face, Stephen strides ‘On and on and on and on’ and figuratively away from the church, ‘far out over the sands, singing wildly to the sea, crying to greet the advent of life that had cried to him’ (*The Essential James Joyce*, 303).

Ellmann writes that Joyce ‘was looking for a symbol of ‘profane perfection of mankind’, and this one remained fixed in his memory as a counter to the shadowy, fleshless face of the beckoning priest’ and of Joyce’s ‘separation from Catholicism’ (Ellmann, 55). Yet he goes on to add that several years later, in 1901 when Joyce attended the inaugural meeting of a Thomas Aquinas Society, Joyce was ‘still occupied in crossing off his Catholicism’ (Ellmann, 65). Somewhat confusingly for one portrayed as ‘no longer a Christian’, at the same time Ellmann suggests that Joyce ‘would retain faith, but with different objects’ and that ‘Christianity had subtly evolved in his mind from a religion into a system of metaphors, which as metaphors could claim his fierce allegiance’ (Ellmann, 65-66).

In later life, when asked by the lawyer Morris L. Ernst ‘When did you leave the Catholic Church?’, Joyce only replied ‘That’s for the Church to say’ (Ellmann, 65).⁹ He remained respectful of his Jesuit schooling, correcting his friend Frank Budgen’s book *James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses* by remarking, ‘You allude to me as a Catholic. Now for the sake of precision and to get the correct contour on me, you ought to allude to me as a Jesuit’, and telling the sculptor August Suter that thanks to the Jesuits ‘I have learnt to arrange things in such a way that they become easy to survey and judge’ (Ellmann, 27). He also occasionally attended mass, for instance during Holy Week owing to his fondness for the music and the beauty of its rituals, although he stood at the back in a corner and ‘made clear that his own motive was esthetic, not pious’ (Ellmann, 310). It is worth remembering that Joyce left Catholic Ireland in 1904, at the age of just twenty-two, without a publication to his name, and as it turned out, for good. His maturity – both as a writer and as a person – was gained beyond the social, political, and religious confines which once stifled him, even if they continued to provide the material and some of the energy towards his art. Still Joyce’s antagonism towards the church as an institution, towards its sacraments and judgements and obligations, meant that he dismissed any notion of marriage until he and Nora finally had a civil wedding ceremony in 1931, and balked at the question of baptising his children (Ellmann, 637-638

9 Ernst helped to found the American Civil Liberties Union, and in 1933, on behalf of Bennett Cerf and Random House, gathered letters and opinions from ‘hundreds of educators, writers, clergymen, businessmen, and librarians’ as he defended *Ulysses* in New York against obscenity charges (Ellmann, 666).

and 647).¹⁰ And upon Joyce's death, Nora rejected a religious funeral service, saying 'I couldn't do that to him' (Ellmann, 742).¹¹

The assortment of critical opinion, from both Catholics and non-Catholics alike, and the sense of a life lived resolutely outside of the church while still immersed to some degree in its concepts, categories, and locales, can in the end only send us back into Joyce's texts for our own perspective on their various engagements with religion. And it seems crucial that immediately following Stephen's identification in 'Telemachus' of the 'imperial British state' and 'holy Roman catholic and apostolic church' as his 'two masters', it is the church which is picked up in the text, as if in response to Stephen's invocation, in what has variously been scanned as an authorial interpolation or Stephen's stream of consciousness:

The proud potent titles clanged over Stephen's memory the triumph of their brazen bells: *et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam*: the slow growth and change of rite and dogma like his own rare thoughts, a chemistry of stars. Symbol of the apostles in the mass for pope Marcellus, the voices blended, singing alone loud in affirmation: and behind their chant the vigilant angel of the church militant disarmed and menaced her heresiarchs. A horde of heresies fleeing with mitres awry: Photius and the brood of mockers of whom Mulligan was one, and Arius, warring his life long upon the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, and Valentine, spurning Christ's terrene body, and the subtle African heresiarch Sabellius, who held that the Father was Himself His own Son. (*U*, 1.650-660)

Aside from the 'mass for pope Marcellus' - the *Missa Papae Marcelli* of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, which was composed in memory of Pope Marcellus II, and became so associated with the Council of Trent's purported desire to ban polyphony that Palestrina became known as the 'saviour of church music' (*Music in the Western World*, 118-119)¹² - all of the references in this passage are to the early church, particularly from the Apostolic Age to the First Council of Nicaea, and to its heresies. The line '*et unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam*' is from the Nicene Creed, Latin for 'and in one holy catholic and apostolic church', while the 'Symbol of the apostles' is another term for the Apostles' Creed, a Trinitarian statement of belief in God the Father,

10 Ellmann notes that on the subject of a religious upbringing for his children, to Frank Budgen Joyce had remarked 'There are a hundred and twenty religions in the world. They can take their choice. I should never try to hinder or dissuade them', Ellmann adding 'But the imminent possibility of having one of his family baptized made him less tolerant' (Ellmann, 647).

11 When Nora lay dying a little over ten years later in Zurich, she allowed a priest to deliver the last rites (Ellmann, 743).

12 In fact the Credo of the *Missa Papae Marcelli* draws from the Apostle's Creed (*Ulysses Annotated*, 25).

Christ the Son, and the Holy Spirit, whose twelve lines are traditionally attributed to each of the apostles (*Ulysses Annotated*, 25).

Photius is named first of the ‘horde of heresies fleeing with mitres awry’, but he is substantially the latest to have lived and strictly speaking not a heretic. The Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople across two spells between 858 and 886, he is recognised as Saint Photios the Great in the Eastern Orthodox Church, and for his scholarship across the arts as well as his compilations of church law he has been described as ‘the leading light of the ninth-century renaissance’ (Louth, 159). But he was twice excommunicated by the Roman church amid a power struggle between Constantinople and Rome, which culminated in the four-year-long Photian Schism. And for bringing disunity to the church and stoking controversy over the Filioque clause in the Nicene Creed, the *Catholic Encyclopedia* brands Photius ‘one of the worst enemies the Church of Christ ever had, and the cause of the greatest calamity that ever befell her’ (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, ‘Photius of Constantinople’).

In a similar vein, Arianism has been described by the theologian and 104th Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams, writing in the extensive historical and philosophical study *Arius – Heresy and Tradition*, as ‘the archetypal Christian deviation, something aimed at the very heart of the Christian confession [...] By the time that the great upheavals of the empire were over, Arianism had been irrevocably cast as Other in relation to Catholic (and civilised) religion’ (Williams, 1). Arius was the popular Alexandrian presbyter who denied the consubstantiality of God the Father and Christ the Son, arguing that while God was eternal, there was a point in time at which Christ did not exist. The first ecumenical council in the history of the church was called to settle the dispute, taking place in the Bithynian city of Nicaea in the year 325. And the First Council of Nicaea – which established the Nicene Creed – decided against Arius, sending him into exile and branding him a heretic.

Both Photius and Arius therefore came out on the wrong side of the emerging Christian doctrine of the Trinity: Photius by disputing the Filioque, which holds that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father ‘and the Son’; Arius by denying the consubstantiality of Father and Son, arguing that Christ was God’s creation.¹³ Valentine and Sabellius too were responsible for teachings around the Trinity which came to be regarded as heretical.¹⁴ The *Catholic Encyclopedia* calls Valentine, who died around 160, ‘the best known and most influential of the Gnostic heretics’ (*Catholic*

13 In *Ulysses Annotated*, Don Gifford is wrong to stress that Arius taught of the Holy Spirit as Christ’s creation (*Ulysses Annotated*, 26). Arius was concerned overwhelmingly with the relationship between God the Father and Christ the Son.

14 The Joyce scholar Roy Gottfried in *Joyce’s Misbelief* notes that heresy is in a sense a ‘post-hoc position’, for ‘Most heretical movements did not start out as rebellions but as thoughtful developments, exercises in intellectual worship [...] Choices are not initially known to be heretical but become so’ (Gottfried, 5).

Encyclopedia, ‘Valentinus and Valentinians’). It adds that ‘The Christology of Valentinus is confusing in the extreme’, but as well as making a distinction between God and the Demiurge as material creator, ‘He seems to have maintained the existence of three redeeming beings, but Christ the Son of Mary did not have a real body and did not suffer’. Like Arius – and in accordance with his description in ‘Telemachus’ – ‘the subtle African’ Sabellius was not only a heretic but a heresiarch, the founder of a sect which was named after him. Sabellianism – known as modalism or Patripassianism in the west – holds that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three modes or aspects of the one God, rather than three distinct persons with a shared substance or essence (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, ‘Monarchians’).¹⁵ Sabellius lived in the third century, and like Arius was believed to have been born in Libya (Williams, 29).

The fact that these heretics appear not only so early in the text of *Ulysses*, but more importantly in direct response to Stephen’s arraignment of his ‘two masters’, establishes clearly the church – rather than the state – as the focus of Stephen’s concern, and as the object of his free-thinking rebellion, while for Joyce it shows a distinctive interest in east-west conflicts and religious foundations. Subverting the traditional patristic order of things, Joyce scans the early church and unfolds a ‘slow growth and change of rite and dogma’ rooted in heresy. Indeed collectively Photius, Arius, Valentine, and Sabellius – with the inclusion of others like Simon Magus, Origen, and even Cormac mac Airt and Saint Patrick – constitute an alternate set of Church Fathers for Joyce, who butt up repeatedly against the mainstream of religious thought which is represented through his various engagements with Saint Augustine and, from a later period in history, Thomas Aquinas. It is not just that ‘mistakes are the portals of discovery’, or that knowledge of the heretics allows Stephen and Joyce even privately to enact their resistance (*U*, 9.229). If Stephen himself, still rooted in Dublin, feels trapped, Joyce is busy rewriting and reconstituting and enlivening history. It is creation out of the void of time, recognition in the face of elision, Joyce showing that history and dogma are not straight lines and have no absolute hold on authority. From the scrapheap of Catholicism, submerged by the labels of the church and the condemnation of their enemies, the heretics step forward.

In his book *Joyce’s Misbelief*, Roy Gottfried argues that Joyce’s interest in heresy:

follows very much the main historical chronology [...] Gnosticism, which was present even before there was a church; Trinitarian controversies that dominated the early unified

15 The precise form of the Trinity, as ‘one God’ or ‘one substance’ in ‘three persons’, was not established until after the Arian controversy, in the time of the Cappodocian Fathers Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory or Nazianzus.

Christian world; the split between Constantinople and Rome, the first Great Schism; and the Protestant Reformation, the second (Gottfried, 6)

This is true, but it can be elucidated further, for Joyce seems to collapse the course and the history of the church into two discrete periods or cycles. For James Joyce the formative years of Christianity stretched all the way from the first century to the middle of the ninth, his own discrete early church history. From the stems, shoots, and false starts of the Apostolic Age and the Ante-Nicene Period, the edifice was built between the epochs of Arius and Photius, which gave us the Nicene Creed, the Trinity, the hypostatic union, and the first seven ecumenical councils, before Photius wrought competing councils in Constantinople which brought east and west into lasting disunity.¹⁶ The Protestant Reformation began a new chapter of church history which still defined both Ireland and Catholicism into the turn of the twentieth century, and which in a wider context replaced conflict between east and west with the ongoing rise of nationalism.

For if the Catholic church is at the centre of Stephen's thought, through the course of Joyce's literature it increasingly becomes entwined with other things as he relinquishes and remodels his early antagonism. Catholicism stops being the target of his work, and he lets go some of his attitude of proud, florid defiance, as religion comes to be conceived more broadly as part of world culture – a crucial part, but entwined with fiction and myth, science, national politics, the development of language and language in use, even physiology. If the first three episodes of *Ulysses* – sometimes referred to as the 'Telemachiad' – carry on where Joyce left off in *A Portrait* with a troubled Stephen, Joyce gradually embraces the 'snares of the world' and the 'advent of life', with the introduction of Leopold Bloom significantly broadening the picture.¹⁷ Joyce continues to make use of religious rhetoric and religious structures, and the heretics continue to play a pivotal role, not only as the foundational figures in his exploration of the conflicts between east and west, or as agents active in the face of authority and elision. Their heresies, which centre on the Trinity and particularly the relationship between Father and Son, allow Joyce to play with and shake free from traditional conceptions of family and fatherhood. Photius, associated with the 'brood of mockers of whom Mulligan was one', implicates the nature and the problems of friendship, while in *Finnegans Wake* channelling east vs. west through fragmenting patterns of language. And Arius – owing to the curious manner of his death – becomes intimately entwined with the body.

16 The hypostatic union is the union of Christ's humanity and divinity in one 'hypostasis', or 'person'.

17 In November 1918, as he continued to facilitate the publication of *Ulysses* episodes in *The Little Review*, Ezra Pound wrote to Joyce 'Bloom is a great man, and you have almightily answered the critics who asked me whether having made Stephen, more or less autobiography, you could ever go on and create a second character' (Ellmann, 442-443).

Arius is conjured on several occasions during the long day of *Ulysses*. In ‘Proteus’, as Stephen contemplates his own conception during a morning walk along Sandymount strand, Arius is invoked for a second time both for his denial of the consubstantiality between Father and Son and for the manner of his death:

Where is poor dear Arius to try conclusions. Warring his life long upon the
 contransmagnificandjewbangtantiarity. Illstarred heresiarch! In a Greek watercloset he
 breathed his last: *euthanasia*. With beaded mitre and with crozier, stalled upon his throne,
 widower of a widowed see, with upstuffed *omophorion*, with clotted hinderparts. (*U*, 3.49-
 54)

And while Arius figures once more explicitly in the text – as ‘Arius Heresiarchus’ as Bloom follows Stephen into the hallucinatory Nighttown of ‘Circe’ – his life, the nature of his belief, and his status as the archetypal heretic resonate throughout, serving to pull apart traditional and even scientific conceptions of fatherhood, revealing and rendering bodily functions, facilitating the symbolic father-son relationship which culminates in ‘Ithaca’ between the novel’s two main characters.

Beyond his brief mention as one of the heretics in ‘Telemachus’, Photius features more prominently in *Finnegans Wake*. ‘The Mookse and the Gripes’ passage from *Finnegans Wake* at once references Photius and proves telling with regard to Joyce’s sense of the East-West Schism.¹⁸ In a letter he wrote to his friend Frank Budgen, which Budgen cites in *James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses*, Joyce describes ‘the Filioque clause in the creed concerning which there has been a schism between western and eastern christendom for over a thousand years’ (Budgen, 351). He notes that this is the subject matter of the ‘The Mookse and the Gripes’ passage from *Finnegans Wake*, which he was then in the process of writing, specifying for Budgen the ‘paragraph beginning when that Mooksius and ending Philioquus’ (Budgen, 351).

‘Philioquus’ is a compound of ‘Photius’ and ‘Filioque’, the Latin term so controversially added to the Nicene Creed to indicate that the Holy Spirit proceeds ‘from the Father and the Son’ and not just from the Father. While the Photian Schism, which lasted between 863 and 867, was spurred by internal power struggles in Constantinople over the patriarchate and the Byzantine throne, by the resulting dispute between Constantinople and Rome over supremacy in the east, and by the question of who might seize responsibility for the spread of Christianity into Bulgaria – rather than by doctrinal disputes or accusations of heresy – still in retrospect Photius came to be

18 Otherwise known as the Great Schism or the Schism of 1054, this was the decisive break in communion between the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches.

regarded as the figure who raised the Filioque to the level of pressing issue. And as the Filioque became emblematic as the quarrel between western, Latin Christianity and eastern, Greek Christianity gradually escalated into full-blown division, Photius therefore became in a sense the foundational figure in the East-West Schism.

Photius still lived a couple of hundred years before the East-West Schism occurred. Yet by making a portmanteau of 'Photius' and 'Filioque', and expressing to Budgen his sense of a schism 'for over a thousand years', Joyce makes it clear that his understanding of the schism pertains directly to Photius. For Joyce, even if Photius alone was not responsible for the schism, he was the principal actor who brought down the curtain on the formative years of Christianity. In this sense, Joyce backdates the East-West Schism from its accepted date of 1054 to the time of Photius' life, in the mid-to-late 800s. This is a gesture familiar to readers of *Ulysses*, where it pertains instead specifically to the formation of Christianity in Ireland. In 'Ithaca', Bloom 'covertly' assents when Stephen backdates this from its traditionally accepted date and context of 432 and Saint Patrick to 260 'or thereabouts' and the reign of the High King of Ireland Cormac mac Airt:

Bloom assented covertly to Stephen's rectification of the anachronism involved in assigning the date of the conversion of the Irish nation to christianity from druidism by Patrick son of Calpornus, son of Potitus, son of Odysus, sent by pope Celestine I in the year 432 in the reign of Leary to the year 260 or thereabouts in the reign of Cormac MacArt († 266 A.D.), suffocated by imperfect deglutition of aliment at Sletty and interred at Rossnaree. (*U*, 17.30-36)

It is notable here that just as with Arius in 'Proteus', Joyce seems to maintain a keen interest in how the forgotten figures of the early church died. Whether forgotten founders, who find themselves elided from history in favour of stronger narrative claims, or heretics whose beliefs the church would sooner suppress, this interest of Joyce's extends from the physiological processes of their deaths to their dates and immediate locales. Bringing these figures back to life seems to require a full stop at the end, as if for emphasis.

Bloom assents to Stephen's 'rectification' of an 'anachronism' despite earlier, in 'Lestrygonians', believing that Saint Patrick was the one who successfully converted Cormac mac Airt. He faintly recalls:

That last pagan king of Ireland Cormac in the schoolpoem choked himself at Sletty southward of the Boyne. Wonder what he was eating. Something galoptious. Saint Patrick converted him to Christianity. Couldn't swallow it all however. (*U*, 8.663-667)

If Bloom is eventually proven wrong about the foundations of Christianity in Ireland, still for much of *Ulysses* he is inclined to give full credit to Saint Patrick. And Saint Patrick inhabits the text throughout as a symbol of early Christian Ireland – the ‘Island of Saints and Sages’, as Joyce put it in a 1907 lecture which he gave in Trieste – and as a sort of mirror for Ireland’s proud but sometimes elusive, at once worldly and fiercely nationalistic sense of self. In the ‘Cyclops’ episode of *Ulysses*, the strains of Irish nationalism come to a head and Saint Patrick figures alongside Elijah the prophet to justify, humanise, and simultaneously exalt the figure of the everyman, the ‘cultured allroundman’ Leopold Bloom (*U*, 10.581).

In the lecture ‘Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages’ which he gave in Trieste, Joyce described Irish civilisation as ‘an immense woven fabric in which very different elements are mixed, in which Nordic rapacity is reconciled to Roman law, and new Bourgeois conventions to the remains of a Siriac religion’ (*Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing*, 118). Correlating precisely with his wider sense of the early church, in providing a ‘history of the Irish Church from the early centuries of the Christian era’, Joyce runs from the first century and the missionary Mansuetus ‘under the apostolate of St Peter’ to Sedulius the Younger who lived in the mid-800s (*OCPW*, 111-112).

Joyce affirms that ‘Overall, the period that ended with the invasion of Ireland by Scandinavian tribes is an uninterrupted record of apostles, missions, and martyrs’ (*OCPW*, 112). He argues that ‘For seven or eight centuries’ however far apart from its physical centres, it was Ireland which stood as ‘the spiritual focus of Christianity’ (*OCPW*, 122). Following the Scandinavian invasions of the 800s, ‘culture necessarily languished’, although ‘Ireland did have the honour of producing three great heresiarchs, John Scotus Erigena, Macarius, and Virgilius Solivagus’ (*OCPW*, 112-113). But after the invasion of the English in 1169, Ireland ‘ceased to be an intellectual force in Europe’, subservient to an increasingly despotic Rome (*OCPW*, 115 and 122). While the scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas came to dominate Catholicism, and the rest of Europe enjoyed a Renaissance in the arts, for Joyce Ireland lingered on into the present day under a painful and restrictive ‘double yoke’, a phrase redolent of Stephen Dedalus’ ‘servant of two masters’ from ‘Telemachus’.

We see therefore that the course of the Irish church for Joyce runs alongside the course of early church history, that Stephen in microcosm – who at the end of *A Portrait* pledges to ‘forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race’ – carries the same burdens as Ireland,

and that through his investigations of Catholicism and the Irish church from their very foundations, with Ireland standing at the conflux of east and west, Joyce remains implacably concerned with character (*The Essential James Joyce*, 365). This concern with character throughout Joyce's oeuvre is important, especially since it has often been dismissed or neglected by critics who prefer to emphasise his technical achievements. In his seminal genetic study *Ulysses in Progress*, first published in 1977, Michael Groden notes the extent to which the 'Telemachiad', the first three episodes of *Ulysses*, are still rooted in the attitudes, characters, and some of the techniques of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*:¹⁹

The Stephen Dedalus of the opening pages of *Ulysses* bears many resemblances to the Stephen of the fifth chapter of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* – he is lonely, isolated, arrogant, engaged in an intellectual revolt against the Catholic church that dominated his emotions in much of *A Portrait* [...] The introduction of the interior monologue, the major technical difference between *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*, adds an entirely new dimension to the characterization of Stephen. (Groden, 25)

In fact the first instance of this interior monologue in *Ulysses* comes on the first page of the novel, when Stephen – viewing Buck Mulligan's 'even white teeth glistening here and there with gold points' – suddenly thinks 'Chrysostomos'. A flash indicating the religious nature of Stephen's concerns as well as the scope of his intellect, the reference is to the great Patriarch of Constantinople before the time of Photius, the golden-mouthed John Chrysostom (*U*, 1.26).

But viewing 'Scylla and Charybdis' – in which Stephen returns to the fore, to expound a literary view of paternity which draws on Arius and refers explicitly to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* – as the turning point in *Ulysses*, Groden goes on to suggest that the remainder of Joyce's novel shows a 'radical change' in his writing, 'from characters to correspondences, from story to structure' (Groden, 37). According to Groden's interpretation, the interior monologue gave way to 'various parodic styles' then the 'expansive, encyclopedic concerns of the last four episodes'.²⁰ He adds that of all Joyce's critics, the structural unity of the episodes from 'Wandering Rocks' through 'Oxen of

19 In terms of the compositional history of the text, it is worth noting that by the time Joyce sent the final pages of *A Portrait* to Ezra Pound – in the summer of 1915 for their serialisation in *The Egoist* – work on *Ulysses* was already underway (Ellmann, 355).

20 Having encouraged Valery Larbaud's use of the phrase 'interior monologue', Joyce soon began to urge T. S. Eliot to coin a new buzzword for *Ulysses*, such as 'two-plane', believing 'interior monologue' had already worn out its welcome. Joyce later told Stuart Gilbert in relation to the interior monologue technique, 'From my point of view, it hardly matters whether the technique is "veracious" or not; it has served me as a bridge over which to march my eighteen episodes, and, once I have got my troops across, the opposing forces can, for all I care, blow the bridge sky-high' (Ellmann, 527-528).

the Sun' has 'curiously' been most clearly perceived by S. L. Goldberg, who dismisses them as lacking in dramatic, moral, spiritual, and human value:

The first chapters of the book carry us forward dramatically; the last bring the temporal perspectives of the whole to a final focus; but these central chapters – from 'Wandering Rocks' to 'Oxen of the Sun' - seem as a group merely to elaborate rather than develop, to be organized in no way more vital than the chart Mr Gilbert prints of organs, arts, colours, symbols, and techniques: the kind of organization, in fact, suggested by Joyce's own declaration of intention. (in Groden, 37)

Goldberg is referring to Joyce's schema for *Ulysses*, versions of which he sent to the Italian writer and translator Carlo Linati, and his friend and early Joyce scholar Stuart Gilbert. Episode by episode, these schema provide a detailed list of correspondences by which Joyce hoped to aid the understanding of his novel: from the time at which each episode takes place, to its Homeric parallel, bodily organ, art, colour, symbol, and 'technic'. Groden takes the opposite view to Goldberg when it comes to evaluating the second half of *Ulysses*, arguing that to prioritise one part of the novel over the other is to 'miss much of the reality of *Ulysses* and its unique achievement' (Groden, 20). Yet in different ways, through their focus on structure and technique, both critics fail to recognise the continued attention Joyce pays to character, to the nuances of the mind as it experiences the passing afternoon through meals, bodily functions, and changing tones and atmospheres, an attention we can more clearly trace if we follow Joyce's use of the early church and its heretics. Perhaps Joyce's most intimate friend, Frank Budgen noted as he progressed through the novel:

Joyce's first question when I had read a completed episode or when he had read out a passage of an uncompleted one was always: 'How does Bloom strike you?'

Technical considerations, problems of homeric correspondence, the chemistry of the human body, were secondary matters. If Bloom was first it was not that the others were unimportant but that, seen from the outside, they were not a problem. (Budgen, 107).

Critics who study Joyce for the relation of his texts to religion are prone similarly to neglect the importance of character. Despite a resurgence of interest in the topic in recent years – amid those various works which Lernaut portrays as attempts to 'recuperate' Joyce for Catholicism – as the titles of Gottfried's *Joyce's Misbelief* and Lernaut's *Help My Unbelief* well imply, the question is still often framed as one of belief rather than practise. Religious references, especially in *Ulysses*,

are parsed as markers standing apart from the text, indicating theological positions, responses, shows of rebellion or renunciation. The centrality of the heretics for the development of Stephen and Bloom is overlooked, and the heretics themselves have received scant attention. Lernout makes clear in the introduction to his book that his focus is on ‘James Joyce’s attitudes to religion’ rather than the interplay between religion and Joyce’s texts, and that his study is ‘contextual and historical’, noting that ‘the passing of time, even of just a single century, can obscure the historical reality in which a writer lived’ (Lernout, 9). Lernout therefore strives to place Joyce within the immediate historical contexts of Dublin, Trieste, Zurich, Paris, and wider European thought in the early twentieth century, where an inflexible and dogmatic pre-Vatican II church was increasingly combated by a horde of free-thinkers. Yet his reliance on the immediate historical context, original thought, and primary sources means that he neglects secondary sources and some of Joyce’s antiquarian reading, as he mistakes religious themes and references, and imaginatively voiced characters with their own reading patterns and beliefs, for little more than autobiography. He is right however to state that Gottfried in turn makes too little of historical context, sometimes relegating close source work in favour of an abstract, aestheticised portrayal of Joyce and Catholicism.

As well as charting the course of the heretics throughout Joyce’s literature, and showing how they amid other references to the early church move from displays of antagonism and rebellion to more involved thematic concerns, implicating fatherhood, friendship, nationalism, conflicts between east and west, bodily functions, and the slow growth of character, this thesis aims to significantly expand the scope of Joyce’s library. To this end it will involve traditional source work while making use of some of the aspects of genetic criticism.

The essential genetic text for *Ulysses* remains Groden’s *Ulysses in Progress*, which identifies three stages in all to Joyce’s work on the novel: an early stage covering the first nine episodes from ‘Telemachus’ to ‘Scylla and Charybdis’; a middle stage from ‘Wandering Rocks’ to ‘Oxen of the Sun’, in which he notes that gradual change in Joyce’s writing ‘from characters to correspondences, from story to structure’, with the Homeric parallels embellished and the interior monologue giving way to more radical techniques (Groden, 37); and a late stage from ‘Circe’ through ‘Eumaeus’ and ‘Ithaca’ to ‘Penelope’, which is:

marked by his goals of expansion and elaboration. The last four episodes exceed the others in length and range of reference, and carry to new extremes his interests in both realistic and symbolic details. (Groden, 51-52)

Elsewhere Philip Herring's *Joyce's Ulysses Notesheets in the British Museum and Notes and Early Drafts for Ulysses: Selections from the Buffalo Collection* were published in 1972 and 1977 respectively, while the most recent revision and expansion of Don Gifford and Robert J. Seidman's *Ulysses Annotated* was published in 1988. In 2012, Sam Slote of Trinity College Dublin published the most recent annotated edition of *Ulysses*, with 9,000 new annotations.

It is *Finnegans Wake* which has been subject to much of the genetic work undertaken by Joyce scholars in recent years, from *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake: A Chapter-By-Chapter Genetic Guide* edited by Luca Crispi and Sam Slote and published in 2007, to *The Finnegans Wake Notebooks at Buffalo* edited by Vincent Deane, Daniel Ferrer, and Geert Lernout and published in 2003, to Raphael Slepon's FWEET, an online 'extensible elucidation treasury', which as of January 2017 carried 84,135 searchable notes on Joyce's last novel. Along with Roland McHugh's *Annotations to Finnegans Wake*, which received a fourth edition in January 2016 including for the first time internet sources and keyword searches, genetic work on *Finnegans Wake* is thriving, leaving *Ulysses* somewhat lagging.

In a chapter on 'Genetic Joyce criticism' in the volume *James Joyce in Context*, published in 2009 and edited by John McCourt, Dirk Van Hulle suggests that genetic criticism is always 'bidirectional', working backwards or 'counterclockwise' to find the sources of particular words or passages, and forwards or 'clockwise' to follow the transmission of these words or passages from notebooks and drafts to the final text (Van Hulle, 120). By extending our sense of Joyce's library, careful source work can provide fruitful avenues for further research, elucidate Joyce's working methods, and in the process offer new readings of his texts with a broader basis than that which is commonly decried as authorial intent, showing how material impacts style and revealing characterful connections and thematic resonances. In his preface to *James Joyce in Context*, John McCourt notes that Joyce:

seems to us today a little less original and God-like, a little more accidental in his actions and choices, a more human author, happy to lift and to cut-and-paste carefully sifted material from a huge variety of sources before making it indelibly his own, a writer who was very much of the world. (McCourt, xv)

In a related vein Dirk Van Hulle argues that genetic work has shown how Joyce's 'knowledge was not always directly based on the original sources; his information was often "second-hand"' (Van Hulle, 119).

It remains that nobody so far has managed to adequately source Joyce's references to Arius, Photius, and even Saint Patrick: either the correct sources for Joyce's knowledge have not been identified, or key references and specific borrowings have been missed, with a resultant failure to explore their deep and varied implications. This has a dulling effect especially on the multifaceted characters and relationships in *Ulysses*, diminishing Leopold Bloom's self-actualising and worldly brand of Irishness, casting a shadow over the novel's exuberant cloacal theme, and leaving Stephen and Bloom's physical connection without its metaphysical explanation. Meanwhile probing the presence of Photius in *Finnegans Wake* helps flesh out some of the text's complex, gushing, abounding oppositions.

Frederick K. Lang in *Ulysses and the Irish God*, published in 1993, asserts that regarding the heretics, 'Fortunately, Joyce's sources seem to have been limited to only two books [...] Father Joseph Rickaby's *Of God and His Creatures: An Annotated Translation (With Some Abridgement) of the Summa Contra Gentiles of Saint Thomas Aquinas* [and] two unabridged editions of the *Summa Contra Gentiles*, one apparently in Latin and the other in French' (Lang, 41-42). However neither Rickaby nor Aquinas offer any detail on the manner of Arius' death. In the vast extent of Joyce scholarship, only Don Gifford in *Ulysses Annotated* and Weldon Thornton in *Allusions in Ulysses: An Annotated List* help to explicate Joyce's reference to Arius' death by way of the early church writers. They refer respectively to Epiphanius (*Ulysses Annotated*, 47) and to Sozomen (Thornton, 46), but their accounts are not full, and as annotations they are not able to carry through on the consequences. More recently, Roy Gottfried in *Joyce's Misbelief* presumes that Joyce gleaned all of his knowledge of Arius from the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, considering Joyce's crude depiction of a 'Greek watercloset', 'upstuffed *omophorion*', and 'clotted hinderparts' to be mere extrapolation, an imagined marginalisation 'borne out by what little is known of Arius', namely that he was 'said to be a Libyan by descent' (Gottfried, 111). Again, as John McCourt writes in his preface to *James Joyce in Context*, it would be wrong to attribute too much imagination to Joyce where sifted material or even cut-and-paste provides another solution.

Like Gottfried, Geert Lernout too relies heavily on the *Catholic Encyclopedia* when parsing Joyce and the heretics in *Help My Unbelief*. Discussing the heretics in *Ulysses* with 'some help from the *Catholic Encyclopedia*', Lernout argues that 'the *Catholic Encyclopedia* is authoritative for Joyce's notions of church doctrine not only because it offers a good view of the thinking of the Catholic Church in the first quarter of the twentieth century, but mostly because Joyce used it as a direct source for information about catholicism' (Lernout, 143). Perhaps Joyce did use the *Catholic Encyclopedia* as a direct source, but it was far from his only source of information about Catholicism. And it might be asked whether Joyce really wished to convey in the character of the

rebellious medievalist Stephen Dedalus – who evokes John Chrysostom at the start of the day and Arius so readily in ‘Telemachus’ and ‘Proteus’ – a ‘good view of the thinking of the Catholic Church in the first quarter of the twentieth century’. Once more, the *Catholic Encyclopedia* – published in fifteen volumes between 1907 and 1912 – does not go into detail on the manner of Arius’ death, only noting ‘The heresiarch died suddenly, and was buried by his own people.’ (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, ‘Arius’). Lernout glosses the rich physiological specificity of upstuffed omophorion and clotted hinderparts by suggesting ‘The reference to Arius’s death (itself almost certainly a fabrication of his adversaries) is detailed but hardly relevant to the discussion’ (Lernout, 147).

Steven Morrison’s 1999 thesis ‘Heresy, Heretics and Heresiarchs in the Works of James Joyce’ provides the fullest and most nuanced understanding of Arius in the text of *Ulysses*. He concludes that Arius and the other heretics in the novel function as the representatives of an ‘anti-dogmatic principle’, but Morrison too falters when it comes to sourcing Joyce’s knowledge. He runs through Aquinas’s *Summa Contra Gentiles* and *Summa Theologica*, Flaubert’s *La Tentation de Saint Antoine*, and Dante’s *Divina Commedia* as possible influences, and they are each useful in pairing Arius with Sabellius. But again, none of these texts offer any detail regarding Arius’s death. The suggestion of John Henry Newman’s *Arians of the Fourth Century* draws us closer, but Newman only depicts Arius passing through the streets ‘an ostentatious manner; when the stroke of death suddenly overtook him, and he expired before his danger was discovered’ (Newman, 269). Morrison eventually throws up his hands, a signal which necessitates the source work this thesis aims to provide. He finally admits that:

no source examined so far gave Joyce the vivid and precise detail with which Stephen considers Arius ‘stalled upon his throne’. This detail, it must therefore be assumed, is entirely Stephen’s creation, his imagination elaborating upon the extreme paucity of reliable documentation. (Morrison, 118)

The same vain speculations are repeated when it comes to the presence of Photius in both *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. Roy Gottfried again rests on the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, although more fruitfully this time – if only by chance – as my subsequent chapter on Arius will show. Geert Lernout in *Help My Unbelief* admits, ‘That Photius was a heretic, from the point of view of the catholic church must be clear enough, but it is not at all evident why he would be among Stephen’s “brood of mockers”’ (Lernout, 146). He offers by way of explanation a practical joke supposedly played by Photius as outlined in John Julius Norwich’s *Byzantium: The Apogee*, in which Photius,

before a council including his predecessor as Patriarch of Constantinople, put forward a theory on the 'two souls' of mankind and argued long in its favour before 'cheerfully' withdrawing it (in Lernout, 146). But Norwich's work was published in 1991, and therefore cannot have been Joyce's own source even if the same anecdote was what compelled his depiction of Photius' mockery.

The inability of scholars and critics to accurately source Joyce's sense of Photius has left them hitherto unaware of another presence in *Finnegans Wake*: that of Gregory Asbestos, the Metropolitan of Syracuse in Sicily, who resided in Constantinople and proved an ally in Photius' battles with the Roman Church. Finally scholars from Lernout and Gottfried to Don Gifford and Charles Peake either ignore a pivotal reference to Saint Patrick's *Confessio* at the climax of the 'Cyclops' episode, attribute the passage merely to Biblical influences, or behold in 'ben Bloom Elijah' as he ascends amid clouds of angels to 'the glory of the brightness at an angle of fortyfive degrees over Donohoe's in Little Green street like a shot off a shovel', following the example of Hugh Kenner, only an instance of parody poking its fun and disrupting the text (*U*, 12:1910-1918).

If the narrative of this thesis follows Joyce through his fiction as he relates and responds to the heretics of the early church, structurally it finds its way by diversions. I will scan the heretics in Joyce's texts from *Dubliners* to *Finnegans Wake*, focusing on a chronological reading of *Ulysses* and the figures of Arius and Photius: from the 'horde of heresies fleeing with mitres awry' and the theme of rebellion in 'Telemachus', to the connection between Arius and the body which reaches its apotheosis in 'Ithaca', as Stephen and Bloom urinate in tandem in the back yard of 7 Eccles Street, or Bloom, alone, as a means to cure piles, contemplates inserting a 'Wonderworker'. Saint Patrick figures at the conflux of east and west and at the mid-point of the novel in 'Cyclops', as I argue that Joyce moved from a combative attitude towards Catholicism to one which used its material as connective tissue. Along the way I will delve into the thought and some of the writings of the early church, via both primary and secondary sources, as I strive to identify Joyce's understanding of the heretics and expand the scope of his library.

Following this introduction, the first chapter proper of my thesis will view the concept of heresy as it appears in Joyce's early works, *Dubliners* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, moving swiftly from Gnosticism to *Ulysses* and catechism. The second chapter will centre on Arius in the text of *Ulysses*, seeking to identify Joyce's source for the manner of his death, and unfolding what might as well be called the Joycean theme of the toilet. The third and fourth chapters finds a home in the late afternoon in Barney Kiernan's pub in 'Cyclops', reading Joyce's interpolations as meaningful products of waste and showing how Joyce uses Saint Patrick to enshrine Bloom's multinational character. Finally the fifth chapter of the thesis stretches on into *Finnegans Wake*, as it analyses Joyce's engagement with schism and Photius.

1. Joyce's Early Work: From Gnosticism to Catechism

Gnosticism, Simony, Animalism

The very first paragraph of James Joyce's published fiction encodes a reference to the early church, and to Christianity's first heretic. The story 'The Sisters' which opens *Dubliners* is narrated by a nameless boy, who grapples from a distance, as if secondhand, with the death of Father Flynn, his former friend and spiritual mentor. Despite his relationship with the priest – who at one point directed the boy towards the vocation of the priesthood – the young narrator only hears about his death from his uncle, and when he visits the house of mourning with his aunt, the priest's unsmiling face in repose, 'truculent, grey, and massive', defies both recognition and understanding. Led by Father Flynn's sister Nannie, the boy tries to kneel and pray at the foot of the priest's bed, 'but I could not gather my thoughts because the old woman's mutterings distracted me' (*The Essential James Joyce*, 26). He notices instead 'how clumsily her skirt was hooked at the back and how the heels of her cloth boots were trodden down all to one side', an early instance of Joyce the writer foregoing religious rectitude for the 'snares' of the material world, shifting seamlessly between piety and the body and its appearances. The boy takes the little glass of sherry wine forcibly passed to him, but declines the invitation of cream crackers 'because I thought I would make too much noise eating them', and amid the chatter and conjecture of the women of the house, he stutters and hesitates and succumbs to silence (*The Essential James Joyce*, 26-28).

Following Joyce's lead, from the earliest critical evaluations of the text, *Dubliners* has been defined by the theme of paralysis. 'The Sisters' is not only the first story in the published collection, but the first short story that Joyce wrote, when he was asked by George Russell in 1904 for something 'simple, rural' for the *Irish Homestead*. Joyce wrote 'The Sisters' at once, according to Richard Ellmann 'based on the death of the old, paralyzed, and demented priest to whom he was related on his mother's side' (Ellmann, 163). He swiftly informed his friend Constantine Curran:

I am writing a series of epicleti – ten – for a paper. I have written one. I call the series
Dubliners to betray the soul of that hemoplegia or paralysis which many consider a city.
(Ellmann, 163)²¹

21 The reference to 'paralysis' here echoes an earlier model for *Stephen Hero*, the lengthy, posthumously published, effective draft of what would become *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. In this model – a short story written in the course of a day, which in fact was provisionally titled 'A Portrait of the Artist' – Joyce envisioned, 'Man and woman, out of you comes the nation that is to come, the lightening of your masses in travail. The competitive order is employed against itself, the aristocracies are supplanted; and amid the general paralysis of an insane society, the

Joyce's notion of his stories as 'epicleti' warrants further analysis. As Ellmann notes, the word is an error or conflation of the Latin 'epicleses' and the Greek 'epiclesis', which refer to an invocation of the Holy Spirit in forms of the Christian mass, turning the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, the moment of Transubstantiation (Ellmann, 163). In all the liturgies of the Eastern church, the epiclesis – this invocation of the Holy Spirit – completes the process of Transubstantiation. However for the Western churches, it is the Words of Institution – modelled on those of Jesus at the Last Supper – which complete the Transubstantiation. According to the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, this difference 'has given rise to one of the chief controversies between the Eastern and Western Churches, inasmuch as all Eastern schismatics now believe that the Epiclesis, and not the words of Institution, is the essential form (or at least the essential complement) of the sacrament' (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, 'Epiclesis').

From the paralysis of Dublin to the paralysis of the church – for the longstanding schism between east and west is itself a form of paralysis – Joyce's sense of his stories within the context of the Eastern church was entrenched in a letter he wrote to his brother Stanislaus:

While I was attending the Greek mass here last Sunday it seemed to me that my story 'The Sisters' was rather remarkable. The Greek mass is strange. The altar is not visible but at times the priest opens the gates and shows himself. He opens and shuts them about six times. For the Gospel he comes out of a side gate and comes down into the chapel and reads out of a book. For the elevation he does the same. At the end when he has blessed the people he shuts the gates: a boy comes running down the side of the chapel with a large tray full of little lumps of bread. The priest comes after him and distributes the lumps to scrambling believers. Damn droll! The Greek priest has been taking a great eyeful out of me: two haruspices. (*Selected Letters*, 59)

In the course of this passage in a letter in the spring of 1905, Joyce summarises several of the themes which were to unfold through his work: an interest in religion, particularly the strange wonders of the Eastern church, a sense of the absurdity of religious doctrine and ritual, and in the term 'haruspices', less prominently but still woven through, the curious strains of animalism. 'Haruspices' were ancient Etruscan diviners, literally 'entrail observers', whose 'art consisted primarily in deducing the will of the gods from the appearance presented by the entrails of the

confederate will issues in action' (Ellmann, 147)

sacrificial animal, especially the liver and gallbladder of sheep' (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 'Haruspices').

The opening paragraph of 'The Sisters' begins 'There was no hope for him this time: it was the third stroke', apparently invoking an old folk belief that a third cerebrovascular attack will prove fatal (Albert, 353). The nameless young narrator does not know whether Father Flynn already lays dead, but he understands the nature of his condition:

He had often said to me: 'I am not long for this world,' and I had thought his words idle. Now I knew they were true. Every night as I gazed up at the window I said softly to myself the word paralysis. It had always sounded strangely in my ears, like the word gnomon in the Euclid and the word simony in the Catechism. But now it sounded to me like the name of some maleficent and sinful being. It filled me with fear, and yet I longed to be nearer to it and to look upon its deadly work. (*The Essential James Joyce*, 22).

The word 'gnomon' has several meanings, standing for instance for the part of a sundial that casts a shadow. In relation to Euclid however it refers to a shape which is formed by cutting a smaller square from a larger one. For Roy Gottfried in *Joyce's Misbelief*, the word 'gnomon' therefore indicates 'a rupture in shape', but also 'something spiritual and threatening – gnosis or Gnosticism' (Gottfried, 24). He adds that Gnosticism – which indicates a wide range of beliefs, which developed around the same time as Christianity, often emphasising knowledge, or 'gnosis', of the divine, but the fallen state of our world which was forged by a demiurge, or material creator – was 'an original schismatic movement', and 'oriental to the core' according to the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Gottfried, 24). Gottfried suggests that the boy in 'The Sisters' invokes Gnosticism, orientalism, and the east when he dreams of 'long velvet curtains and a swinging lamp of antique fashion. I felt that I had been very far away, in some land where the customs were strange – in Persia, I thought', a sensation which will be echoed in 'Araby' (*The Essential James Joyce*, 25). Through the suggestion of Gnosticism, Joyce calls forth to *Ulysses* and Valentine, that 'best known and most influential of the Gnostic heretics' (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, 'Valentinus and Valentinians'). Alternately, Leonard Albert in the essay 'Gnomonology: Joyce's "The Sisters"' regards the boy as a sort of offcut of the priest, 'derivative of the old man, and also his counterpart and creature' (Albert, 357).

'Simony' meanwhile is the selling of church offices or roles, or more broadly the selling of anything which is spiritual (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, 'Simony'). An offence against the church, it is named after Simon Magus, who appears in the Acts of the Apostles as a Samaritan 'magus' or

magician, with the connotation of ‘wise man’ and religious believer. According to Acts 8:9-24, in the King James Version of the Bible:

⁹there was a certain man, called Simon, which beforetime in the same city used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one

[...]

¹⁸when Simon saw that through laying on of the apostles’ hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money,

¹⁹Saying, Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay my hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost.

²⁰But Peter said unto him, Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money.

²¹Thou has neither part nor lot in this matter: for thy heart is not right in the sight of God.

(Acts 8:9-21 KJV)

The condemnation of Peter and the nature of his sin meant that Simon Magus was rounded upon by the early church Fathers. Irenaeus – who tracing the beliefs of the Simonian sect, regarded him as one of the founders of Gnosticism – after Justin Martyr, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius, were among those who in the words of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, ‘universally represent him as the first heretic, the “Father of Heresies”’ (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, ‘Simon Magus’). In his first story then Joyce, in a ‘simple’ tale ostensibly about the small scale interactions of the church in Ireland, chooses to place heresy front and centre. Rather than church doctrine or the Fathers of the early church, the nameless young narrator is both frightened and enthralled by the foundations of opposition, Gnosticism and Simon Magus.

If some of the references in ‘The Sisters’ open up the text for interpretation, the title of the story has proven more difficult to unravel. The ‘sisters’ of the story, Father Flynn’s sisters Nannie and Eliza, seem to occupy minor roles compared to the priest himself and the young narrator. But a clue, seized upon some time later by other critics, came in the form of the essay ‘Paresis and the Priest: James Joyce’s Symbolic Use of Syphilis in “The Sisters”’, by Burton Waisbren and Florence Walzl, published in 1974 in a medical journal. As the title of the essay indicates, Waisbren and Walzl argue that the ailments suffered by Father Flynn – his paralysis, and what his sisters describe

as his moping, his habit of wandering and talking to himself, of sitting alone and laughing softly – indicate central nervous system syphilis (Waisbren and Walzl, 758-762).²²

A sexually transmitted disease raises questions about Father Flynn's sexuality, and inevitably the precise nature of his relationship with the young narrator. There are hints at something awry elsewhere in the text of the story. While Father Flynn's sisters suggest that a broken Eucharist chalice 'affected his mind' and was 'the beginning' of his mental breakdown and eventual paralysis, they also describe him as 'too scrupulous always [...] The duties of the priesthood was too much for him. And then his life was, you might say, crossed' (*The Essential James Joyce*, 28). Elsewhere he is portrayed as 'a disappointed man', while the sisters defend the altar boy who some apparently blamed for the broken chalice, noting 'poor James was so nervous, God be merciful to him!'. For many critics, including Leonard Albert, the implications of the story are clear. The character of Old Cotter, speaking with the narrator's uncle and aunt, refers to Father Flynn as 'queer', and in reminiscing on the priest while attempting to discern what Cotter meant, the narrator envisions 'lips moist with spittle' (*The Essential James Joyce*, 22-24).²³ Albert adds that the boy accepts the sherry wine he is given by the sisters in the house of mourning, but declines the offer of cream crackers, because the wine represents the blood of the Eucharistic meal, but the crackers connote the body, and concludes that the boy has been the victim of sexual abuse at the hands of Father Flynn, and that Flynn himself was homosexual (Albert, 359-361).²⁴ The 'sisters' of the story's title are therefore not the sisters of Father Flynn, but slang for the relationship between the narrator and the priest, who in the parlance of the time were 'sisters' or 'sissies' (Albert, 362).

In *Help My Unbelief: James Joyce and Religion*, Geert Lernout avers that:

It is not really necessary to assume that there is some dark paedophile secret in the priest's past, as the critical consensus seems to have become. What is important is that like the adult Joyce, the boy is both attracted and appalled by the intricacies of catholic thinking and that whatever they did together, the priest and he shared something that will forever remain inaccessible to the outsiders of that relationship (the reader included). (Lernout, 120)

22 Waisbren and Walzl compare the version of 'The Sisters' published in the *Irish Homestead* with the later version published in *Dubliners*, suggesting that Joyce was sufficiently qualified in medicine to be able to describe syphilis, and made a number of amendments to emphasize the diagnosis for the sake of his story's later publication (Waisbren and Walzl, 758-762).

23 Albert relates this to a scene from *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, which finds some schoolboys speculating on the reason for the punishment of a group of boys from a higher grade. One suggests that they were punished for breaking into the sacristy and drinking the sacred wine, but another – to the confusion of a young Stephen Dedalus – affirms that they were caught 'smuggling' (Albert, 360).

24 Borrowing a phrase from Buck Mulligan in 'Telemachus', Albert notes that 'simony' and 'sodomy' are similar words in form and sound, 'two dactyls' (Albert, 360).

Far from inaccessible however, if in ‘The Sisters’ Joyce remains relatively circumspect, elsewhere in his fiction from the reference to boys ‘smuggling’ in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* to mention of Bloom’s piles and the divine prepuce in *Ulysses*, Joyce pulls off the undergarments of society and the church to reveal the compromised human body.²⁵

Lernout notes a wider link ‘between religion and romance’ through the *Dubliners* stories ‘An Encounter’ and ‘Araby’, adding – in the same vein as Roy Gottfried with ‘The Sisters’ – that ‘adventures in foreign lands’ are an additional imaginative factor (Lernout, 121). After ‘The Sisters’, the only other explicitly religious story in *Dubliners* is ‘Grace’, the penultimate piece of the collection. After Mr Kernan suffers a fall in a bar, during his convalescence his friends try to reform him through Catholicism.²⁶ But Joyce is interested mostly in poking fun at the confusions of the church, at its convoluted mottos which are hard for believers to grasp or recall and its sudden spurts of dogma. Mr Cunningham believes that Pope Leo XIII ‘was one of the lights of the age. His great idea, you know, was the union of the Latin and Greek Churches’ (*The Essential James Joyce*, 132). Mr Power agrees by way of hearsay, adding ‘I often heard he was one of the most intellectual men in Europe’.²⁷ However the group cannot agree whether his motto was ‘*Lux upon Lux – Light upon Light*’, or ‘*Lux in Tenebris, I think – Light in Darkness*’ (*The Essential James Joyce*, 132).²⁸ They move on to the matter of papal infallibility, ‘the greatest scene in the whole history of the Church’, but they cannot remember the names of the bishops who held out against it (*The Essential James Joyce*, 134). Joyce regards papal infallibility as particularly ripe for satire because it was only declared by Vatican I, on the precise date of 18 July 1870. As a piece of dogma only recently declared, it seems far removed from the ‘slow growth and change’ which he identifies in ‘Telemachus’, a clear demonstration in fact that the church will make up its own affairs and that dogma is a human construct, some way from infallible.²⁹

As Roy Gottfried capably demonstrates in *Joyce’s Misbelief*, much of the religious content in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* is given over to disputes between Catholicism and Protestantism. Where the early church does figure, there is an intriguing link once again in the

25 The ‘divine prepuce, the carnal bridal ring of the holy Roman catholic apostolic church’ presents itself as a problem to Stephen just before he departs Bloom in ‘Ithaca’ (*U*, 17.1203-1209). The reference is to the Holy Prepuce or Holy Foreskin, a relic attributed to the circumcision of Jesus.

26 Mr Kernan and his friends in ‘Grace’, Messrs Power, M’Coy, and Cunningham, all appear during the course of *Ulysses*.

27 Mr Power qualifies his grandiose statement with unintended humour. Pope Leo XIII ‘was one of the most intellectual men in Europe’, so he has heard, ‘I mean, apart from his being Pope’ (*The Essential James Joyce*, 132).

28 As Geert Lernout explains, in a story in which ‘almost all the information about the church exchanged among the five nominal Dublin catholics is inaccurate’, the appropriate motto for Leo XIII is actually ‘*lumen in coelo*’ (Lernout, 125).

29 Joyce studied up on the issue of papal infallibility in November 1906, on a visit to the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele. He wrote to his brother Stanislaus, ‘At the proclamation when the dogma was read out the Pope said “Is that all right, gents?” All the gents said “Placet” but two said “Non placet.” But the Pope “You be damned! Kissmearse! I’m infallible!”’ (in Ellmann, 229).

context of animalism, which can variously refer to behaviour which is perceived as animalistic, anthropomorphism, or the religious worship of animals. The bird girl scene which finds Stephen Dedalus captivated on Dollymount strand, by a girl ‘like one whom magic had changed into the likeness of a strange and beautiful seabird’, is an epiphany which thrusts Stephen away from the church ‘to greet the advent of life that had cried to him’ (*The Essential James Joyce*, 303).

Gnosticism typically regarded animals and animal desires as instances of the fallen material world. In *Gnostic Visions: Uncovering the Greatest Secret of the Ancient World*, Luke A. Myers writes:

The ritual of the bridal chamber in traditional Valentinian Gnosticism can refer to both the spiritual reunification with god as well as to an overtly sexual union [...] As enlightened beings, the Gnostics generally considered themselves alone in being capable of understanding the true significance of sexual union. The Gnostics largely considered the non-Gnostic as worldly and animalistic, experiencing not love, but only lust (Myers, 2011)

In this sense for Joyce sex perhaps exists in an uneasy relationship with all forms of religious expression, not just Catholicism. Bodily functions imply the underbelly of the early church and its heretics, but attraction and lust are entwined with aesthetic experience. If the bird girl scene in *A Portrait* is the wordless, breathless, rapturous manifestation of Stephen’s break with the church, the doctrinal dispute which emphasises that break involves the catechism.

The Catechetical Structure and its Immediate Sources

‘Ithaca’, the penultimate episode of *Ulysses*, appears to have been one of the earliest episodes outlined by Joyce. Apparently conceived by 1915, when its action was envisaged taking place at Martello tower rather than at 7 Eccles Street, in 1916 Joyce wrote the episode in early draft (Rainey, 590; Groden, 176). Yet it would take its final form only very late in the compositional process. In the Linati schema of September 1920, its technique is still described as ‘dialogue, pacified style, fusion’. While the pacified tone of the episode remained, when Joyce came to focus on ‘Ithaca’ from the spring of 1921, it ‘developed far beyond [his] expectations’ and took on a unique structure: one modelled on a catechism.

Groden suggests that, in determining to move beyond the interior monologue of the earlier episodes, Joyce had perhaps realised the ‘limitations the monologue method would place on the resolution of his story: he would have to describe the meeting of Stephen and Bloom [...] on a

psychological level, presented through the impressions of one or more of the characters' (Grodén, 34). The catechistic, question-and-answer manner which defines 'Ithaca' as it became still allows for the presentation of the character's impressions and sensations, but these are afforded at an ironic distance, rather than directly through their speech or their inner thoughts. One important effect of the catechistic structure is that it prioritises neither character, nor compares and contrasts their verbal or mental streams. It allows them equality in the stratum of the episode. Budgen writes of 'Ithaca' that it 'is the coldest episode in an unemotional book. Everything is conveyed in the same tone and tempo as of equal importance. It is for the reader to assign the human values' (Budgen, 263).

Joyce's careful use of the form to structure his episode opposes the catechism to its usual means and ends. A catechism – as an exposition of religious doctrine in the form of questions and answers, which are supposed to be learnt by rote by those within the faith – is a monologue which presents itself as a dialogue. The format of question and answer implies two participants and two voices, but the religious catechism speaks dogmatically with one voice and with one point of view. In 'Ithaca', Joyce makes his catechism do the inverse. He presents his two protagonists shorn of their voices and of the remarkable nuances of their interior monologues: rather than the coming together of their two monologues to form a dialogue, their voices are instead subsumed by the apparently monological voice which is the impersonal catechistic narrative. Thus Joyce presents 'Ithaca' as a monologue – and the catechistic narrative remains authoritative in so far as it never falters, never giving way to another structure or voice – but it is in fact dialogic, or more than that: it liberates Bloom and Stephen from the strictures of their own language, and from the intentions of the language of others, to show an open, unintentioned linguistic space. That Bloom and Stephen's encounter is held at a distance by the very structure of the episode, and by the insertion of so many self-perpetuating lists and self-propelling technical details, provides them at once with a human privacy as they go about their conversation, and with an apparent public, global, even universal and astral oversight. Writing to Budgen as soon as he felt he had grasped the episode, Joyce wrote that in 'Ithaca',

All events are resolved into their cosmic, physical, psychical &c equivalents, e.g. Bloom jumping down the area, drawing water from the tap, the micturition in the garden, the cone of incense, lighted candle and statue so that not only will the reader know everything and know it in the baldest coldest way, but Bloom and Stephen thereby become heavenly bodies, wanderers like the stars at which they gaze. (*Selected Letters*, 278).

Joyce explicitly intended 'Ithaca' as a catechism, rather than as an ambiguous set of questions and answers. In his letter to Budgen, sent towards the end of February 1921, he described the episode as written in 'the form of a mathematical catechism'; and in the second schema, he listed its 'technic' as 'Catechism (impersonal)'. Joyce's catechistic models were numerous. Robert Hampson writes that the prospectus of Clongowes Wood College, the Jesuit boarding school Joyce attended from age six, 'makes clear that Joyce would have been familiar with both the Deharbe and the Maynooth Catechisms' (Hampson, 231). The *Deharbe* and the *Maynooth* are the two catechisms cited by Harry Charles Staley in 'Joyce's Catechisms', where they are depicted as providing Joyce with 'his first formal religious instruction' (Staley, 138); and by Don Gifford and Robert J. Seidman in *Ulysses Annotated* (*Ulysses Annotated*, 11-12).

Staley's essay provides the historical background to these catechisms. The Council of Trent was an ecumenical council which took place, under three pontiffs, between 1545 and 1563. One of the most significant ecumenical councils in the Church's history, it defined for Roman Catholicism – in the face of the Protestant Reformation – many points of doctrine, including those relating to Original Sin, Justification, the Eucharist, and the veneration of the saints. It resulted in the issuing of the Tridentine Creed (1565), the Roman Catechism (1566), a revised Roman Breviary (1568), and a revised Roman Missal (1570). It would be more than 300 years before the Church's next ecumenical council. The Roman Catechism was the first catechism authorised by the Church, and it was not initially intended for the laity; but 'All catechisms of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries derived from the *Catechisms Romanus* of 1566' (Staley, 137).

As the doctrinal points established by the Council of Trent rested upon the theology of Saint Thomas Aquinas, Staley argues that all subsequent catechisms 'were based on Tridentine Thomism and ensured the total domination of that theology in Catholic religious instruction' (Staley, 138). In this manner Joyce first became acquainted with Aquinas, who he would continue to study privately throughout his life, and from whose aesthetic theory he would develop Stephen's as it appears in *A Portrait*.

Citing the *Deharbe Catechism*, Staley shows that it refers to the Apostles' Creed as the summarising statement of Catholic belief (Staley, 139). It outlines in more detail the three areas of Catholic belief as those concerning Faith, the Commandments, and the Means of Grace (i.e. the Sacraments and Prayer). Yet Staley states that the Council of Trent's 'most succinct articulation' came with the *Professio fidei Tridentinae*, from the Papal Bull issued by Pius IV in November 1564; and he makes the bold claim that the 'doctrinal matter that underlies the internal struggles of Stephen Dedalus, that endures the genial scrutiny of Leopold Bloom [...] is all contained within this profession' (Staley, 139-140). The *Professio fidei Tridentinae* incorporated the Nicene Creed rather

than the Apostles' Creed, which was compiled at a later date. Staley thus makes a case for Stephen's sense of Church doctrine as fundamentally Nicene.

Adolph Harnack has written that 'The *professio fidei Tridentinae* had already given tradition a far wider range than the Tridentine decrees themselves ... and had raised it above the Scriptures. The Jesuits subordinated the latter more and more' (in Staley, 145). This emphasises the fact that – following Trent, and in the catechisms of the succeeding centuries – the Catholic laity were not encouraged to read the Bible for themselves. Instead, they were compelled to draw their faith from the tradition of doctrine expressed and encoded in catechisms. Indeed, the *Deharbe Catechism* responds to the question, 'Where can we get a right knowledge [of faith]?' with the answer, 'In the Catechism' (Staley, 139). This was in contrast to the advice given within the Anglican communion, where Thomas Cranmer (the editor of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer) wrote that the Protestant faithful ought to 'read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest' Scripture (in Gottfried, 61). Stanislaus Joyce confirms the status of the Bible in Catholic education during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

in Catholic homes and in Catholic schools the Bible is never read. In all the years I was at [...] Belvedere, never once was the English Bible, or the Douay version, or Latin Vulgate opened or read or discussed in and out of class. (*My Brother's Keeper*, 101)

That the Bible was not read at Clongowes or at Belvedere, which Joyce attended between 1893 and 1898, does not indicate that Joyce himself was or remained unfamiliar with it. Biblical allusions and quotations litter his texts. Instead, his apparent knowledge of the Bible suggests something of his rejection of Catholic practice, and his willingness for private study. Without being overly exposed to certain verses and to certain versions from his youth, he was perhaps freer in adulthood to adopt and adapt a range of Biblical sources.

Father Michael Tynan is quoted by Staley, agreeing that religious education in Ireland in the late 1800s concerned 'doctrinal rather than the historical concept of religion, the faith being introduced more as a system than a story' (in Staley, 142). A few attempts had been made to return to the Bible and to a historical understanding of the faith. Claude Fleury's *Catechisme Historique*, first published in 1683, bemoaned the dense and abstract philosophical language which characterised catechisms after Trent. He suggested that the constant repetition of complex formulas was likely to make the faithful confuse the true natures of the Trinity and of Christ:

When you have wearied yourself with making children or peasants repeat a hundred and a hundred times: that in God there are three persons in one nature, and in Jesus Christ two natures in one person, as often as you shall ask the question you will put them to the hazard of saying, two persons in one nature, or three natures in one person. (in Staley, 143).

History had made some headway by the late 1800s. Peter Costello states that the Bishop's Exam, sat every year to test the religious knowledge of pupils, covered 'some parts of the Maynooth Catechism, some 150 pages of Bible history and over 200 pages from Deharbe's Catechism' (in Hampson, 231).

The *Maynooth Catechism* was first published in 1882, stating on the title page its provenance as 'ordered by the National Synod of Maynooth' (Staley, 147). Maynooth had, since 1795, been home to the main Roman Catholic seminary in Ireland, and the seat of Ireland's Roman Catholic bishops. The Maynooth Grant controversy of 1845 saw the British Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, seek to increase the funding paid to the seminary by the British government, from £8,000 annually to £26,000. His generosity was met with ferocity from within his own Conservative party; though Peel ultimately won out, the grant was decried in Parliament in a highly rhetorical speech by the MP John Pemberton Plumtree – apparently not, however, the namesake for Plumtree's potted meat.³⁰ In fact, the *Maynooth Catechism* was a revision of *Butler's Catechism*, written by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. James Butler II, and published in 1775.

Joyce refers directly to the *Maynooth Catechism* twice across his body of work. In 'A Painful Case', the eleventh story from *Dubliners*, Joyce describes the arrangement of Mr James Duffy's library: 'The books on the white wooden shelves were arranged from below upwards according to bulk. A complete Wordsworth stood at one end of the lowest shelf and a copy of the *Maynooth Catechism*, sewn into the cloth cover of a notebook, stood at one end of the top shelf' (*The Essential James Joyce*, 89). Mr James Duffy has neither church nor creed, and the position of the *Maynooth Catechism* appears perfunctory: Staley argues that the arrangement of Duffy's books shows how he has 'ordered all vitality out of his life' (Staley, 146). When, during the discussion of Shakespeare in 'Scylla and Charybdis' in *Ulysses*, Stephen says that his 'original sin' 'darkened his understanding, weakened his will and left in him a strong inclination to evil', he is quoting from the *Maynooth Catechism*, as he readily admits: 'The words are those of my lords bishops of Maynooth'

30 Gifford notes that a 'George W. Plumtree' was listed as a Dublin potted-meat manufacturer (*Ulysses Annotated*, 87). An excerpt from Plumtree's speech reads: 'As you value His favour, as you deprecate His frown, as your hearts and your altars are dear to you; as you would retain and enjoy for yourselves, and transmit to your children, the blessings and privileges which belong to you as Protestants, I beseech you to oppose, with all zeal and firmness, with all temperance and calmness, with all loyal attachment to your Sovereign – with all union among yourselves – with all charity towards all men – with all prayer and supplication towards God – this fresh inroad about to be made upon your consciences – this new and deep wound to your highest and holiest feelings' (Victorian Web).

(*U*, 9.1007-1008). The seminary is mentioned three times in *Ulysses*, twice in ‘Cyclops’, and finally when Florry asks of Stephen in ‘Circe’, ‘Are you out of Maynooth? You’re like someone I knew once’ (*U*, 15.2533). Staley cites three further references in *Finnegans Wake* (Staley, 147-148).

Staley suggests that the ‘Maynooth revision [...] justified itself on the principle that the answers should include the terms of the question’ (Staley, 147). He identifies ‘various imitations and parodies’ of this repetitive technique in *Stephen Hero* and Joyce’s Paris notebooks. However, the ‘*Deharbe Catechism*, like the Butler’s *Catechism* which the *Maynooth* superceded, does not repeat the terms of the question in the answer, and is the model followed in the “Ithaca” episode’ (Staley, 150). He adduces five examples showing textual similarities between sections of ‘Ithaca’ and sections of the *Deharbe*, for instance:

101. What evil consequences have, with original sin, passed to all men?

1. God’s displeasure, as well as their loss of the sonship of God and of the inheritance of Heaven;
2. Ignorance, concupiscence, and proneness to evil; and
3. Hardships, suffering, and death.

[*Deharbe*, 66]

What various advantages would or might have resulted from a prolongation of such an investigation?

For the guest: security of domicile and seclusion of study. For the host: rejuvenation of intelligence, vicarious satisfaction. For the hostess: disintegration of obsession, acquisition of correct Italian pronunciation.

[*Ulysses*, 679] (in Staley, 151)

The *Deharbe Catechism* was the original work of Joseph Deharbe. Born in Strasbourg in 1800, he became a Jesuit minister and taught in Switzerland until 1847 when, according to the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, the persecution of Jesuits in Switzerland forced him to leave for Germany.³¹ His catechism – which drew from a catechism published in Mainz in 1842, and from Jacques Bossuet’s catechism of the late 1600s – was published anonymously the following year, and being well received, it was adopted first in Bavaria, then by dioceses across Germany, before being translated into numerous languages.

In Steven Morrison’s dissertation on the subject of heresy in Joyce’s work, Morrison thinks that he finds, in ‘Eumaeus’, a decisive point where Bloom and Stephen’s mental streams converge.

31 The Jesuit order was banned in Switzerland from 1848 to 1973.

He cites the sentence from ‘Eumaeus’, ‘in accordance with the third precept of the church to fast and abstain on the days commanded, it being quarter tenses or if not, ember days or something like that’ (*U*, 16.276-278). He argues, ‘The fusion of narrative and subject makes it impossible to tell to whom those last four words belong: the concern with doctrine is clearly not Bloom’s; the lapse from doctrinal exactness is clearly not Stephen’s’ (Morrison, 141). However, the *Deharbe Catechism* demonstrates that this inexactness is a peculiar feature of Church teaching. For instance, the *Deharbe Catechism* reads:

What are we Commanded by the Third and Fourth commandments of the Church? ...

1. To confess our sins faithfully at least once a year; and 2. To receive the Holy Communion worthily at Easter or thereabouts. (in Staley, 141)

Staley identifies the relevance of this passage from the *Deharbe* for *A Portrait*, where Stephen refuses to make his ‘Easter duty’. With regard to Morrison’s argument, the word ‘thereabouts’ indicates that the phrase ‘or something like that’ from ‘Eumaeus’ could be precisely Stephen’s: a close echo of the vague specification found in this catechism of his early schooling. Morrison’s wider point, regarding a realisation in the text of *Ulysses* of the ‘incertitude which underlies the foundations of the dogmatic principle’, still stands. However, the example from the *Deharbe* shows that this incertitude sometimes presents itself in plain sight in Catholic texts, and does not always need to be asserted upon or inserted within them from the outside.³²

Sources Further Afield: Researching Joyce’s Library

Early in his essay, Staley maintains that, ‘The only catechetical endeavours other than the catechism issued by Trent that bears any significance in Joyce’s work are those of the early church Father, Origen’ (Staley, 137). Joyce’s interest in Origen, mentioning him in *Finnegans Wake*, supports this link, and Origen’s concept of synthesising the various branches of learning serves as a model and as a definition of method for ‘Ithaca’:

32 Joyce again emphasises his sense of the incertitude which underlies dogmatism – and his sense of the incertitude which is closely interwoven with religious rhetoric – when, in ‘Oxen of the Sun’, he slightly modifies a phrase from scripture (*U*, 14.1577). ‘*Ut implerentur scripturae*’ is, Gifford notes, a phrase which occurs in the Vulgate version of the Gospels and may be translated as ‘That the scriptures might be fulfilled’. However, Joyce changes the phrase from the indicative to the subjunctive, so that what ‘the Gospels assert as objective fact is rendered hypothetical (it might be, but not necessarily will be, fulfilled).’ (*Ulysses Annotated*, 449).

I hope that you will take from Greek philosophy everything capable of serving as an introduction to Christianity and from geometry and astronomy all ideas useful in expounding the Holy Scriptures; so that what philosophers say of geometry, music, grammar, rhetoric and astronomy – that they assist philosophy – we too may be able to say of philosophy itself in relation to Christianity. (in Staley, 138).

However, Staley's assertion – that only Origen's catechisms, the *Maynooth* and the *Deharbe* bear upon Joyce's work – is debatable within a wider context of religious catechisms, while entirely ignoring catechisms of a secular nature. For a start, Staley notes two references to 'Fander's' catechism in *Finnegans Wake*, but suggests that this was simply a more common name for the *Deharbe* version (Staley, 148). Hampson argues instead that Staley has confused two separate works, Fander's *Full Catechism of the Catholic Religion* being published in 1863 (Hampson, 236). This introduces another conventional catechism for consideration.

Viewing how closely Fander's catechism is associated within the text of *Finnegans Wake* with multiplication tables, Hampson proposes further examination of Joyce's conception of a 'mathematico-astronomico-physico-mechanico-geometrico-chemico sublimation' (Ellmann, 501). Stressing the popularity of secular catechisms – that is, series of questions and answers modelled on religious catechisms, and frequently utilising the device of the repetition of question within answer – across the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he finds catechisms produced on everything including astronomy, mineralogy, agriculture, geometry, and trade and commerce (Hampson, 238-239). Hampson demonstrates Joyce's utilisation of Richmall Mangnall's catechistic *Historical and Miscellaneous Questions* not only in *A Portrait*, where it is referred to for its evocation of 'great men', but also in 'Ithaca'. He writes that Mangnall's:

'Miscellaneous Questions in Roman History' includes the following exchange:

Who were the duumviri? Two magistrates appointed by Tullus Hostilius to give judgement in criminal affairs. (Mangnall, Q, p.37)

The opening of 'Ithaca' appropriates the term for its own purposes: 'Of what did the duumvirate deliberate during their itinerary'. (Hampson, 241).

Following this lead, Hampson suggests a whole body of schoolroom resources for the technical language of the episode. He argues that it is through this 'splicing of various discourses' that Joyce

‘releases the centrifugal forces of language’, and ultimately ‘subverts the catechisms of Maynooth and Mangnall’ (Hampson, 244 and 267).

Research into Joyce’s library proposes further candidates for inclusion within an account of Joyce’s catechisms. There are two essential works. The *Casus de matrimonio: fere quingenti quibus applicat et per quos explicat suá asserta moralia circa eamdem materiam*, by Maurice M. Matharan, published in 1893, contains 497 cases of matrimonial dispute. Father Matharan posits each case, then answers each in turn with the official decision of the Church, drawing support from Church doctrine and the writings of Catholic theologians. The work was part of Joyce’s Paris library, intact upon his death in 1941, and accounted in T. E. Connolly’s *The Personal Library of James Joyce: A Descriptive Bibliography*. Connolly describes it as the most marked book in Joyce’s library, with many sections underlined and whole answers marked off. R. B. Kershner has considered the *Casus de matrimonio* in the context of ‘linguistic slippage’ in ‘The Sisters’, the first story from *Dubliners*. He offers this useful translation of one case:

Albertina requests a disposition from the Holy See that she may be able to marry a relative in the second degree; she alleges delicate health, the danger of a bad reputation because of excessive intimacy with the betrothed, the smallness of the place, her late age [i.e. verging on permanent spinsterhood], and the insufficiency of her dower.

– Physical infirmity and the danger of a bad reputation because of intimacy with the betrothed are not of themselves impelling causes; if the betrothed woman is not able easily to find another man for herself, the three other causes can be sufficient although they must be applied separately. A place is considered small if it does not have more than three hundred hearths or fifteen hundred inhabitants, although in a whole parish many more may live; – generally, late age is considered to be that which passes 24 years and in certain regions 20 or even 18; – moreover dowry is insufficient which is not enough for marrying a man of her own station.

S. Congr. Conc., 16 Dec. 1876. – Cong. de Prop. Fide, 9 maii 1877. – Bucc., ench. t. 2. n. 866. Sanch., 1. 8. d. 19. n. 12 et seqq. – Gobat, exp. th. tr. 9. 642 et seqq. – Corradus, 1. 7. c. 2. n. 6. et seqq. – Krimer, n. 2071 et seqq. – Joder, p. 63 et seqq. (Matharan, in Kershner, 29)

The list of abbreviations and numbers are Matharan’s citations for this particular case. The subject matter of the book clearly made it important for Joyce, and its broad connection with the marital problems of Bloom and Molly is apparent. Matharan’s passage is catechistic in its structure,

including the terms of the question within the answer; while the specificity of its content – aside from suggesting the contemporary advice column, and containing the remarkable analysis that eighteen may be considered ‘late age’ in ‘certain regions’ – resembles ‘Ithaca’ in its reliance on lists and technicalities. The passage is highly numeric, amusingly arbitrary in its determination of what constitutes a small place, and the final sentence reads almost as a parody of the form in its tautological statement-of-the-obvious.

Having returned to Trieste from Zurich in 1919, Joyce left again the following summer when, in July, he and his family made their move to Paris. Trieste had been Joyce’s home for almost eleven years: from March 1905 until June 1915 (barring seven months spent in Rome from the middle of 1906 until early 1907), and for nine months between 1919 and 1920. Joyce had left furniture and books in Trieste upon departing for Zurich, and he returned to these after the war. When he moved on to Paris, most of his books were left behind – he took only a small selection with him, and struggled to have some others shipped to Paris. Richard Ellmann, in *The Consciousness of Joyce*, published 1977, was the first to compile a list of the ‘about 600 items’ which comprised Joyce’s Trieste library (James Joyce Online Notes, ‘Joyce’s Trieste Library’).

Among the many books essential to the study of Joyce contained in the Trieste library – including the works of Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Flaubert, Tolstoy, and D’Annunzio, Bergson, Bérard’s *Les Phéniciens*, and Mangnall’s *Questions* – there is *The Tabernacle and the Church; or, Type and Antitype. Catechetically Explained*. This text was first published in 1859. As its title indicates, it offers in the form of a catechism descriptions of aspects of worship: from the materials, including the tabernacle, the wider layout of the church, and the priestly vestments; to its prayers and songs; to the liturgy, special services, and feast days. In not only describing but providing the rationale for these facets of worship, the work often becomes narrative, drawing upon Biblical history. It also offers etymologies, for instance on the words ‘Church’ and ‘ecclesiastical’ (*The Tabernacle and the Church*, 4-6).

The Tabernacle and the Church was one of only three explicit catechisms in Joyce’s possession. It would have provided Joyce not only with a model for the catechistic form, but with a useful repository of information on the objects and services of the Catholic Church. Of the other two texts in Joyce’s library, the ‘*First Catechism* (London and Madras: Christian Literature Society for India, 1896)’ appears to have been an introduction to Tamil grammar. Finally, there is *A Buddhist Catechism according to the Sinhalese Canon*, by Henry S. Olcott, published in London in 1881 by the Theosophical Publication Society. This short text, of twenty-eight pages and ‘approved in Buddhist schools’, ‘aims only to present the main facts in the life of Gautama Buddha and the essential features of his Doctrine’. Its introduction laments the contemporary notion of Buddhism in

the West as constituting ‘no more orthodox Buddhism than the wild monkish tales of the middle ages are orthodox Christianity’. While the questions are for the most part concise and straightforward, the answers develop with a degree of theoretical complexity:

Q. What did Buddha’s wisdom embrace?

A. He knew the Possible and the Impossible; the causes of Merit and Demerit; he could read the thoughts of all beings; he knew the laws of nature, the illusions of the senses and the means to suppress desires; he could distinguish the births and rebirths of individuals; and other things. (*A Buddhist Catechism*, 24).

The Religious Aspect of Joyce’s Late Revisions to ‘Ithaca’

The structural and the narrative aspects of ‘Ithaca’ are important. Contiguous with the way in which the catechistic form opens out the linguistic space of the episode, there is a physical opening out of the words as they appear on the page: Tony Thwaites notes in the Gabler edition the ‘careful typography restored [...] in which both question and answer and one set of Q and A and the next are separated by differential blank spaces, across which, and indeed across the entire vast extent of the book, a hubbub of echoes call to each other’ (Thwaites, 657). Thwaites cites Hugh Kenner’s *A Homemade World*, in which Kenner writes of the Modernist text, and of Joyce in particular, ‘no uttering voice need be specified, nor unified. (Who asks, who answers in grave polysyllables, the questions in the seventeenth section of *Ulysses*?)’. Thwaites concludes that the questions and answers of ‘Ithaca’ ‘oscillate across or around or beyond or behind each other, never coinciding but always *in mind* of one another’ (Thwaites, 660).

Yet it would be wrong to consider ‘Ithaca’ solely as a structure which allows for a particularly diverse manner of linguistic interplay, wrong to consider it as a fundamentally narrative conceit. Nor does its subversion of the catechism result in a mere satire of religion or of religious method; nor is Joyce simply displaying his technical mastery, or his ability to innovate. There are more immediate, character-driven reasons for the nature of the episode. Though the narrative technique is impersonal, the episode is richly human. It is characteristic both of Bloom’s multi-faceted, associative, inquisitive mind and of Stephen’s more self-reflective, steadier, but still synergistic thought. If the narrative of the episode subsumes or dissolves the distinctive rhythms of their monologues, it retains many of the same functions. To a significant extent the tone is symptomatic of the time of day: 2 am in the morning, with the senses of both men reawakened after

the post-‘Circe’ comedown of ‘Eumaeus’, but with their thoughts and movements contemplative as they converse well into the early hours. If the episode is cold, it is because it is cold during the episode, downstairs in Bloom’s kitchen, with just the small fire which Bloom kindles, then outside in the back garden of the house. Joyce was particularly fond of the episode, describing it in a letter to Weaver as ‘the ugly duckling of the book and therefore, I suppose, my favourite’ (Ellmann, 500).

Until ‘Ithaca’, Joyce had written out the fair copy of his episodes on sheets of paper. For the earliest episodes, this fair copy was used in the typing out of those typescripts which were sent to *The Little Review* and later sent to Darantière.³³ Joyce would then send this fair copy to John Quinn in New York, who had paid for the manuscript. For ‘Ithaca’ and ‘Penelope’, however, Joyce wrote the fair copy in two notebooks, one blue and one green, the former containing ‘Penelope’ and the first part of ‘Ithaca’, the latter containing ‘Ithaca’’s second part. The order of these notebooks indicate that Joyce – while always intending ‘Penelope’ as *Ulysses*’s close – in fact wrote out ‘Penelope’ first, making ‘Ithaca’ the final episode Joyce wrote in fair copy (Gabler, ‘Review of *Ulysses: A Facsimile of the Manuscript*’, 1977). Groden asserts that ‘Penelope’ was completed in the fair copy on 24 September, ‘Ithaca’ a month later on 29 October (Groden, 187). Again, after their typescripts had been submitted, he would revise both episodes through the proofs right up until the days before his self-imposed 2 February, 1922 deadline.

In the unexpected development and expansion of ‘Ithaca’, it underwent significant changes at every stage: during the writing of its final working draft, through revisions at several typescript stages, and through revisions of the proofs. Joyce’s copious revisions to ‘Ithaca’ during the creation of its typescript make the episode an exceptional case in the course of *Ulysses*’s composition. Usually, a typescript was typed up with two or three copies, and one set of these was corrected by Joyce before being sent off to the printer. Thus for all the episodes besides ‘Ithaca’, the typescript stage resulted in just one set of corrections. For ‘Ithaca’, Joyce began revising the initial typescript so thoroughly that it was necessary to retype sections. In the end, there were ‘three rounds of revisions and three partial retypings. The final typescript is thus a mixture of the first, second, third, and fourth typings’ (Groden, 219).

Whereas Joyce sent the uncompleted typescript of ‘Penelope’ to Darantière at the end of September, in time for Larbaud’s séance, the typescript of ‘Ithaca’ did not go to Darantière until early December. While this made the numerous revisions of ‘Penelope’ through its four galley proof

33 Beyond the three episodes of the Telemachiad, the picture is much more complex. Episodes after this point were rarely uniformly typed up from Joyce’s fair copy (which is preserved as the Rosenbach Manuscript), but from a working draft, a ‘common ancestor in close, but distinct temporal succession’ (Gabler, 180). The exceptions – those episodes which were still typed from the fair copy – were ‘Wandering Rocks’, ‘Cyclops’, and the final three episodes, ‘Eumaeus’, ‘Ithaca’, and ‘Penelope’.

settings inevitable, it meant that, after all the typescript revisions, 'Ithaca' saw only two settings of the galley proofs, with Joyce revising two copies of each setting.

Having determined the catechistic structure, a significant body of Joyce's late revisions to 'Ithaca' show him building religious themes within his text. Indeed, the revisions which he made within the first few pages of the episode seem intent on establishing a religious context. Of the first nine question-and-answer sections, all but two were late insertions: six at the final working draft stage, and one (the eighth in the episode) an addition to the first proofs. Prior to this, the opening question, 'What parallel courses did Bloom and Stephen follow returning?', would have been immediately followed by what became the ninth question, 'What act did Bloom make on their arrival at their destination?'. The insertions – which can be minutely followed in Gabler's 'Critical and Synoptic' edition – allow the introduction of much religious terminology.

So the second question, 'Of what did the duumvirate deliberate during their itinerary?', was added to the final working draft, its response mentioning 'the Roman catholic church, jesuit education'. To the first proofs, Joyce added between these phrases 'the Irish nation', and to the second proofs, he added 'ecclesiastical celibacy', so that the published list reads, 'the Roman catholic church, ecclesiastical celibacy, the Irish nation, jesuit education' (*U*, 17.15-16). More, to the end of the same list, at a third proof stage (presumably to the page proofs), he added the phrase 'the maleficent influence of the presabbath'. In this manner the religious bearings of Bloom and Stephen's conversation are emphasised from the outset, and identified immediately as Roman Catholic, Jesuit, and Jewish.

To the response to the third question, on what Bloom and Stephen have in common, Joyce added the word 'orthodox' at the second proof stage, and 'heterodox' at the third proof stage. The list of errata tipped in to the second printing of *Ulysses* corrected 'religions' to 'religious', and 'religious' is what Gabler prefers, so that the published text in the Gabler edition reads,

Both indurated by early domestic training and an inherited tenacity of heterodox resistance professed their disbelief in many orthodox religious, national, social, and ethical doctrines. (*U*, 17.22-25).

The changes are significant in asserting Bloom and Stephen's resistance to orthodoxy in particular, while leaving open to them the possibility of belief in some aspects of certain religions. That is, Bloom and Stephen no longer disbelieve in 'many religions', but only in 'many orthodox religious doctrines'.

The fourth question, ‘Were their views on some points divergent?’, was another final working draft addition. It contains a discussion of Cormac mac Airt, which Joyce amended slightly at the second proof stage. He changed the year ‘288’ to ‘260’, and added to Mac Airt’s name a purported year of death ‘(† 266 A.D.)’. The passage now reads,

Bloom assented covertly to Stephen’s rectification of the anachronism involved in assigning the date of the conversion of the Irish nation to christianity from druidism by Patrick son of Calopornus, son of Potitus, son of Odysus, sent by pope Celestine I in the year 432 in the reign of Leary to the year 260 or thereabouts in the reign of Cormac MacArt († 266 A.D.), suffocated by imperfect deglutition of aliment at Sletty and interred at Rossnaree. (*U*, 17.30-36)

Aside from its apparent reference to the *Deharbe* ‘thereabouts’, the ‘anachronism’ in this passage deals with the establishment of Christianity in Ireland. Saint Patrick is conventionally held to have brought Christianity to Ireland in 432. Gifford notes that the *Maynooth Catechism* asserts this date, conventional but contested, and raises it to ‘virtually an article of faith’ (*Ulysses Annotated*, 335). Stephen, rejecting the *Maynooth*, affirms instead that Christianity had already been established in the country by Cormac mac Airt, a High King of Ireland who, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters* which chronicle early Irish history, reigned from 254 until 266 (modern historians suggest his date of death was in fact 277) (*Ulysses Annotated*, 566). Mac Airt’s conversion to Christianity is legendary rather than a matter of historical fact, but Bloom tacitly agrees with Stephen.³⁴

Gabler’s editorial decisions are particularly intriguing where he rejects a later revision or emendation in favour of an earlier one. The ninth question, beginning ‘What act did Bloom make’, was ‘corrected’ in the list of errata to read ‘What action did Bloom’ (*Ulysses: The 1922 Text*, 755). Gabler rejects the errata correction, presumably on the grounds that it was a misreading of the published text, and maintains the word ‘act’ which he cites as a revision of the third proof stage. ‘Act’ certainly bears more of a religious connotation, in keeping with the other revisions to the beginnings of the episode. This explicitly religious element, developed within the catechistic structure of ‘Ithaca’, revolving historically and doctrinally the religions closest to both men, is fundamental in shaping Joyce’s depiction of Bloom and Stephen as heavenly wanderers.

34 Only after confusing the issue himself earlier in the day, in ‘Lestrygonians’, when he considers Mac Airt’s choking to death at Sletty and anachronistically considers, ‘Saint Patrick converted him to Christianity. Couldn’t swallow it all however.’ (*U*, 8.666-667)

2. A Cloacal Obsession and Clotted Hinderparts: *Ulysses* and Arius

The Roots of Rebellion

When James Joyce first wrote Arius – the third century Christian theologian who was exiled from the Church for disputing the consubstantiality of God the Father and Christ the Son – into the body of his fledgeling novel *Ulysses*, he was still rooted thematically if not stylistically in the revolt against Roman Catholicism which characterises *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. In the fifth and final chapter of that earlier novel, after Stephen Dedalus decisively rejects the call to serve as a Jesuit priest, he resolves instead to embrace life away from the religious confines of Dublin and Ireland, pledging ‘to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race’ (*The Essential James Joyce*, 365).

By the time Joyce sent the final pages of *A Portrait* to Ezra Pound, in July or August of 1915 for the ongoing serialisation in *The Egoist*, work on *Ulysses* was already underway (Ellmann, 355). In fact Joyce first mentioned his work on the new novel in a letter to his brother Stanislaus written the start of the same summer, on 16 June (Grodén, 6). In October 1916, Joyce told Harriet Shaw Weaver that he had almost finished the first three episodes of *Ulysses*. And by March 1918 – little over a year after the full publication of *A Portrait* – the first episode of *Ulysses*, ‘Telemachus’ with its reference to Arius, was being serialised in *The Little Review*.

The overlap between his final revisions to *A Portrait* and the beginning of his work on *Ulysses* saw Joyce carry over several key characters and thematic concerns. Indeed ‘Telemachus’ starts more or less where *A Portrait* left off: Stephen Dedalus has returned to Dublin after a failed spell in Paris, but remains ‘lonely, isolated, arrogant, engaged in an intellectual revolt against the Catholic church’ (Grodén, 25). Now however Stephen’s renunciation of religion carries greater emotional resonance, because it is entangled with his mother’s still raw death. Having returned to Dublin upon hearing news of her illness, he refused to kneel and pray for her while she lay on her deathbed. As Buck Mulligan not so tactfully informs Stephen, ‘you have the cursed jesuit strain in you, only it’s injected the wrong way’ (*U*, 1.209).

Stephen feels guilt – which with a medieval-literary turn of phrase he renders as ‘remorse of conscience’ or ‘agenbite of inwit’ – over the fact of his mother’s death and his refusal to obey her dying wishes. He is still very much engaged in a struggle between his sense of religious and national subjection and his desire to be artistically and emotionally free. As he tells the Englishman

Haines in 'Telemachus', 'I am servant of two masters [...] The imperial British state, Stephen answered, his colour rising, and the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church' (*U*, 1.638-644). The thought and in this case even the phrasing closely echoes that passage from the fifth chapter of *A Portrait*, in which Stephen disappoints his mother by refusing to take communion at Easter. Speaking with his friend Cranly, who asks Stephen if he fears God would 'strike you dead and damn you if you made a sacrilegious communion', Stephen responds:

The God of the Roman catholics could do that now [...] I fear more than that the chemical action which would be set up in my soul by a false homage to a symbol behind which are massed twenty centuries of authority and veneration. (*The Essential James Joyce*, 358)

To such a mindset as the one shared by Stephen and Joyce at the outset of *Ulysses*, Arius and his paradigmatic tale of heresy and exile figure as the possibility of rebellion. To merely flourish the name of Arius is to undertake a rebellious act, and to embark privately on a rebellious course. Conjuring a figure from the Early Church who stood against the mainstream of Christianity at its foundational council is to undermine the Church at its very foundations. But as Joyce continued to write *Ulysses* – moving from the innovation of the interior monologue technique to a fuller development of Stephen in spiritual relationship with Leopold Bloom, his all-new creation – Arius became less a theological saw or a tool of rebellion, more connective tissue between the protagonists and material for Joyce's sudden stylistic and physiological shifts.

Arius Across the Text

'The main work of the Council of Nicaea in 325 was the condemnation of Arianism' (Ware, 30). Convened by the Roman Emperor Constantine, who had heard from the Greek-speaking east that the Church there was being divided, the Council sought to establish the precise nature of Christ, and the specifics of his relationship with God. The figurehead of the movement which the Council sought to refute was Arius (256-336), a Libyan who became a prominent and popular presbyter in Alexandria. Arius drew from both a religious and secular philosophical background: from the writings of Philo and Origen, and from 'certain currents in revived Aristotelianism and Iamblichus' version of Neoplatonism' (Williams, 31). Almost all of his writings have been lost, and we are left to define his arguments based on several of his letters, two quotations of his *Thalia* – his setting of doctrine to verse – and the accounts of his contemporaries, who were more often than not his

opponents in the controversy. The clearest account of his thought comes in a letter transcribed by Epiphanius, written by Arius to his chief opponent, Athanasius of Alexandria. Arius writes that,

God has begotten an only Son before eternal times [...] He has begotten him not in appearance but in truth [...] not an emanation, as Valentinus believed the Father's offspring to be [...] nor like Sabellius, who said "Son-Father" to divide the Unity [...] Thus there are three entities, a Father, a Son and a Holy Spirit. And God, who is the cause of all, is the sole and only being without beginning. But the Son, who was begotten of the Father though not in time, and who was created and established before the ages, did not exist before his begetting, but was alone brought into being before all by the Father alone, and not in time. Nor is he eternal, or co-eternal and co-uncreated with the Father (*Panarion*, 329-330)

Thus while accepting that Christ was begotten, and that God, Christ and the Holy Spirit exist as three distinct entities which together comprise a unity, still Arius argued that Christ was not co-eternal with God, and that there was therefore a point at which Christ did not exist.

The Council of Nicaea, after a heated debate lasting one month, decided firmly against Arius. It established a creed which holds the Father and the Son to be co-eternal and 'homoousios', which means consubstantial, of the same substance. Arius was immediately deposed and exiled, and he would die in 336 without being fully restored to communion. Yet the controversy which took his name continued on, with significant shifts in power within the Church,³⁵ and with some theologians proposing the word 'homoiousios', meaning of similar substance, as a compromise term (Williams, 70-71). Definitions at this stage in the Church's history were as daggers for the vehemence with which they were contested, and for the potential ramifications for participants in such debates; but those in the Church at the time could only 'hold to the now, the here, through which all future plunges to the past', with such fundamental doctrinal principles fluctuating violently between differing points of view.

Arianism has been called 'the archetypal Christian deviation, something aimed at the very heart of the Christian confession [...] By the time that the great upheavals of the empire were over, Arianism had been irrevocably cast as Other in relation to Catholic (and civilised) religion' (Williams, 1). Arius figures as the archetypal heresiarch throughout *Ulysses*. He appears by name only three times within the text of the novel, in 'Telemachus', 'Proteus', and 'Circe', but his thought characterises much of Stephen's argument in 'Scylla and Charybdis', and he can give sense to some

35 In fact Constantine would be baptised just prior to his death in 337 by Eusebius of Nicomedia, one of Arius's chief supporters, and someone whom Constantine had condemned twelve years earlier.

of *Ulysses*' more obscure passages, its metaphysical relations, and its preoccupation with bodily functions.

From the very first, 'Telemachus' is established within a frame of early Christian references. The first words spoken in the novel are intoned by Buck Mulligan, who recites from the opening of the Tridentine Mass, '*Introibo ad altare Dei*', which translates from the Latin as 'I will go to the altar of God'. The first instance of interior monologue establishes this religious framework as specifically patristic: it appears as Stephen, observing Mulligan's 'even white teeth glistening here and there with gold points', thinks 'Chrysostomos', referring to St. John Chrysostom, the Early Church Father given this epithet which means 'golden-mouthed' (*U*, 1.26). Arius emerges later in the episode as one of the:

horde of heresies fleeing with mitres awry: Photius and the brood of mockers of whom Mulligan was one, and Arius warring his life long upon the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, and Valentine, spurning Christ's terrene body, and the subtle African heresiarch Sabellius who held that the Father was himself his own Son. (*U*, 1.656-660)

Placed in the context of the 'slow growth and change of rite and dogma', 'Telemachus' thus develops a sense of the early church which notes its Fathers, but which posits its course as one impelled by those heresiarchs who initiated doctrinal disputes, asserting theories which others within the Church could think and react against. In Valentine, Sabellius, Arius and Photius, Joyce provides a summary of the most pertinent heretics in the first thousand years of the Church, leading ultimately to the East-West schism of 1054.

More, Stephen perceives 'the slow growth and change of rite and dogma' as 'like his own rare thoughts, a chemistry of stars' (*U*, 1.652-653). This ties the course of Church dogma and of Church history with the course of Stephen's mind – which, far from asserting both as fundamentally dogmatic in a narrow sense, is instead to suggest that both are complex, contested sites, defined by their difficulties and oppositions. The phrase 'a chemistry of stars' also implicates 'Ithaca': Joyce's 'mathematico-astronomico-physico-mechanico-geometrico-chemico sublimation', where 'all events are resolved into their cosmic [...] equivalentents' and Stephen and Bloom become 'heavenly bodies, wanderers like the stars at which they gaze'. Equivalent to the course of Church dogma and the course of Stephen's mind, the admixture of form and content in 'Ithaca', a 'chemistry of stars', ought to be viewed as constituting an arena not of stasis or of dull satire, but of slow growth, of rich mental activity, and of theoretical and actual potentialities.

Arius appears for the second time as Stephen walks along Sandymount strand in ‘Proteus’.³⁶ Contemplating his own conception and birth, ‘made not begotten’, Stephen wonders,

Is that then the divine substance wherein Father and Son are consubstantial? Where is poor dear Arius to try conclusions. Warring his life long upon the contransmagnificandjewbangtantiality. Illstarred heresiarch! In a Greek watercloset he breathed his last: *euthanasia*. With beaded mitre and with crozier, stalled upon his throne, widower of a widowed see, with upstuffed *omophorion*, with clotted hinderparts. (*U*, 3.49-54)

In ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ – as Stephen contrives to prove to his sceptics that Shakespeare should be equated in *Hamlet* with the ghost, Hamlet’s father, rather than with Hamlet himself – Arius is consistently figured without being explicitly mentioned. Through a close reading of Shakespeare’s texts, and making pointed use of details regarding Shakespeare’s life, Stephen’s immediate purpose is to propose the biographical nature of Shakespeare’s works. His broader philosophical interest becomes a speculation on the very nature of fatherhood. He evokes Arius when he describes the ghost in *Hamlet* as a ‘shadow now [...] a voice heard only in the heart of him who is the substance of his shadow, the son consubstantial with the father.’ (*U*, 9.479-481). He refers to Sabellius, stating that ‘the African, subtlest heresiarch of all the beasts of the field, held that the Father was Himself His Own Son’ (*U*, 9.862-863).³⁷ It is via the heresies of Arius and Sabellius that Stephen comes to the heart of his theme. He draws upon the significance that the notion of fatherhood, and its contested nature, holds in Christianity:

Fatherhood, in the sense of conscious begetting, is unknown to man. It is a mystical estate, an apostolic succession, from only begetter to only begotten. On that mystery [...] the church is founded and founded irremovably because founded, like the world, macro and microcosm, on the void. (*U*, 9.837-842)

36 It is along Dollymount strand at the end of the fourth chapter of *A Portrait* that an epiphanic vision of a girl – midstream and gazing birdlike out to sea – convinces Stephen to reject the priesthood in favour of his true vocation as an artist.

37 There are several potential sources for Joyce’s repeated depiction of Sabellius as ‘subtle’. In his 1907 essay, ‘Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages’, he writes of ‘the notorious opponent of St. Thomas [Aquinas], John Duns Scotus (called the Subtle Doctor to distinguish him [...] as the chronicles of that period tell us, an unbeatable dialectician’ (*Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing*, 109). The *Deharbe Catechism* indicates that ‘pride and subtle reasoning on the mysteries of our religion’ are important in leading people to ‘fall away from their faith’ (*Joyce Annotated*, 182). Joyce’s phrasing also echoes Milton’s depiction of the serpent in Book IX of *Paradise Lost*, and its model, Genesis 3:1.

Ultimately, this disruption of any static conception of fatherhood – encouraged by the heretical arguments concerning the relationship of the Father and the Son, and propelled through ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ – provides a metaphysical basis for the coming together of Stephen and Bloom, and for the conception of Bloom as a father to Stephen. Though Bloom has spotted Stephen from the carriage window in ‘Hades’, and while they tail and criss-cross throughout ‘Aeolus’, it is at the end of ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ that the pair meet for the first time: wordlessly, Bloom bowing in greeting as he passes between Stephen and Mulligan on his departure from the library.³⁸

Arius is mentioned for the third and final time in ‘Circe’, in a context which carries over from that portrayed in ‘Proteus’. Speaking to Zoe, Stephen admonishes her:

You would have preferred the fighting parson who founded the protestant error. But beware Antisthenes, the dog sage, and the last end of Arius Heresiarchus. The agony in the closet.
(*U*, 15.2641-2643)

If the nature of Arius’s heresy is well known and well attested, and makes clear his significance for any discussion on the concept of fatherhood in *Ulysses*, then the sense of his death provided in ‘Proteus’ and ‘Circe’ seems more specific and harder to explain. An adequate source for Stephen’s evocation of Arius’s agonised death, in ‘a Greek watercloset [...] stalled upon his throne [...] with upstuffed *omophorion*, with clotted hinderparts’, has thus far not been found.

Sourcing Joyce’s Sense of Arius’s Death I: Critical Failures

Of those critics who have devoted space to Arius, Frederick K. Lang, in *Ulysses and the Irish God*, asserts that regarding the heresiarchs, ‘Fortunately, Joyce’s sources seem to have been limited to only two books [...] Father Joseph Rickaby’s *Of God and His Creatures: An Annotated Translation (With Some Abridgement) of the Summa Contra Gentiles of Saint Thomas Aquinas* [and] two unabridged editions of the *Summa Contra Gentiles*, one apparently in Latin and the other in French’ (Lang, 41-42). However, though Aquinas is severe where he considers Arius’s thought – writing that the Arian idea of the Son of God, ‘as some kind of creature, pre-eminent over all other creatures’, is ‘manifestly repugnant to divine scripture’ as ‘anyone can see who considers diligently what scripture says’ (Aquinas, *SCG*, 4. 6:15 and 7:1) – he notes neither the facts of Arius’s life nor

38 Several critics – including, notably, Hugh Kenner – have identified ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ as the apparent ‘key’ to *Ulysses*; the episode that appears to open itself up as a site for the interpretation of the novel (see Morrison, 123-124).

discusses their details in the *Summa Contra Gentiles*. Rickaby does provide the dates of Arius's denunciation and death in his abridgement, but affords no further information. The *Summa Contra Gentiles* cannot have provided Joyce with any sense of Arius's death.

Roy Gottfried, in *Joyce's Misbelief*, assumes that Joyce took all of his knowledge of Arius from the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* was published in 15 volumes in the United States between March 1907 and 1912, with a master index following in 1914. Gottfried analyses the depiction of Arius's death in 'a Greek watercloset' in 'Proteus' in terms of the 'marginalization of the alien'. He asserts that this marginalisation 'is borne out by what little is known of Arius, even in the dogmatic but comprehensive text of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. He is "said to be a Libyan by descent", a certainly vague enough geographical placement that allows extrapolation.' (Gottfried, 111). Thus interpreted by Gottfried, Stephen's sense of Arius's death is nothing more than an extrapolation, which serves as a cipher for Ireland's displacement from, but ultimate subservience to, religious authority as held in Rome. The specificities of Stephen's depiction are discarded.

Following Gottfried, Geert Lernout, in *Help My Unbelief: James Joyce and Religion*, also discusses the heresiarchs in *Ulysses* solely with 'some help from the *Catholic Encyclopedia*'. Lernout argues that 'the *Catholic Encyclopedia* is authoritative for Joyce's notions of church doctrine not only because it offers a good view of the thinking of the Catholic Church in the first quarter of the twentieth century, but mostly because Joyce used it as a direct source for information about catholicism' (Lernout, 143). Applied as it is to the heresiarchs, this is problematic on two counts. Firstly, Lernout, in discussing the heresiarchs in *Ulysses*, is inevitably considering how Stephen defines and determines them – for it is through Stephen's mind that the heresiarchs appear. And it may be asked whether Joyce was interested in conveying, in Stephen, a 'view of the thinking of the Catholic Church in the first quarter of the twentieth century'. Stephen, with his Jesuit education, and his continued reading of Aquinas, is steeped in much older religious thought. Rather than presuming that Joyce drew on Stephen's behalf from the modern thinking of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, it seems fairer to Joyce, and more appreciative of his compositional methods, to assume that he drew on Stephen's behalf from an older source, or from a complex of sources.

The second problem is that while Joyce did utilise the *Catholic Encyclopedia* as a source for information about Catholicism, it was by no means the only source he utilised, and it is simply insufficient conceived as the only source for his knowledge of Arius. It is not only likely or fairer to assume that he drew Stephen's sense of the heresiarchs from elsewhere: it is clear that he drew from elsewhere. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* contains entries on 'Arius' and 'Arianism'; on Arius's death, it only notes:

By imperial rescript Arius required Alexander of Constantinople to give him Communion; but the stroke of Providence defeated an attempt which Catholics looked upon as sacrilege. The heresiarch died suddenly, and was buried by his own people. (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, 'Arius')

The single line provides nothing remotely suggestive of a death in a 'Greek watercloset [...] with clotted hinderparts'.

Lernout's wider analysis of the religious aspects in 'Proteus' is questionable in so far as he states that 'In "Proteus" too [...] God is almost completely absent: the few references to religion are all ironical [...] The reference to Arius's death (itself almost certainly a fabrication of his adversaries) is detailed but hardly relevant to the discussion' (Lernout, 147). Lernout's book endeavours to re-contextualise Joyce as a devout unbeliever. In the first chapter of his work, he cites Steven Morrison's dissertation as an attempt to find a 'third way, between the Scylla and Charybdis of Joyce as "the guilt-free apostate" on the one hand and "the Catholic *malgré lui*" on the other' (Lernout, 24), which is to say, between competing conceptions of Joyce as a Catholic or anti-Catholic writer.

Morrison's dissertation is entitled 'Heresy, Heretics and Heresiarchs in the Works of James Joyce'. It is the most extensive and persuasive exploration of the subject. Morrison concludes that Stephen is engaged in *Ulysses* in a struggle 'without end' against dogmatic patterns of thought; that the heresiarchs, and particularly Arius, figure within this struggle as important representatives of an 'anti-dogmatic principle'; while Bloom is the 'impossible person' who 'represents what the end product of such a struggle might actually look like, were it possible to conclude it.' (Morrison, 128 and 140). Still, Morrison is uncertain when it comes to sourcing Joyce's knowledge of Arius.

He suggests Aquinas's *Summa Contra Gentiles* and *Summa Theologica*, Flaubert's *La Tentation de Saint Antoine*, Dante's *Divina Commedia*, and John Henry Newman's *Arians of the Fourth Century* as potential sources. Like the *Summa Contra Gentiles* on which it was based, the *Summa Theologica* concerns itself with theological explication rather than biographical fact: Aquinas does pair Arius and Sabellius, when he writes of 'the error of Arius, who placed a Trinity of substance with the Trinity of persons; and the error of Sabellius, who placed unity of person with the unity of essence', and he argues against their heresies, but he provides nothing of their lives (Aquinas, *ST*, I, 31.2). Similarly, *La Tentation* and the *Divina Commedia* are useful in pairing the two heresiarchs, but they provide nothing biographical. Arius and Sabellius appear in turn in *La Tentation*, Arius excitedly expounding his doctrine across a few lines, Sabellius disputing it in one;

of Joyce's use of Flaubert's episode of the heresiarchs, Fritz Senn has remarked 'The similarity is mainly in the quick succession of position statements' (in Baron, 138). Canto XIII of *Paradiso* swiftly passes over 'Sabellius, Arius, and those other fools, / Who, like to scymitars, reflected back / The scripture-image, by distortion marr'd.' (Dante, trans. Cary).

Newman becomes an important figure in Stephen's developing aesthetic consciousness when, confronted in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, he names him as the greatest prose writer. This was a view Joyce held in his youth, and still towards the end of his life he would remark, 'nobody has ever written English prose that can be compared with that of a tiresome footling little Anglican parson who afterwards became a prince of the only true church' (Ellmann, 682). Arianism was a theme which Newman returned to throughout his writings; Morrison argues that he viewed it as 'the type of all heresies', and therefore the chief adversary of his work (Morrison, 116). Newman's *Arians of the Fourth Century*, published in 1833, provides a detailed account of the theological and philosophical precursors of Arianism, and it affords acute interpretations of the key terms involved in the Arian debate. A section on Sabellius notes his African origin, and discusses the relation of the two heresies. Newman does relate Arius's death. He is judgemental in his tone, but scant in detail:

On the evening before the day of his proposed triumph, Arius passed through the streets of the city with his party, in an ostentatious manner; when the stroke of death suddenly overtook him, and he expired before his danger was discovered.

Under the circumstances, a thoughtful mind cannot but account this as one of those remarkable interpositions of power, by which Divine Providence urges on the consciences of men in the natural course of things, what their reason from the first acknowledges, that he is not indifferent to human conduct. (Newman, 269)

Morrison concludes that 'Joyce's understanding of Arius, informed by none of the sources hitherto examined to the exclusion of any of the others, was ultimately his own' (Morrison, 116). Stressing that Joyce's 'interest extends beyond the theological ramifications of Arianism to the figure of the heresiarch himself', Morrison resigns his search:

no source examined so far gave Joyce the vivid and precise detail with which Stephen considers Arius 'stalled upon his throne'. This detail, it must therefore be assumed, is entirely Stephen's creation, his imagination elaborating upon the extreme paucity of reliable documentation. (Morrison, 118)

Though the specificity of the detail Joyce provides in ‘Proteus’, its lack of immediate context, and its repetition in ‘Circe’ all speak against Joyce imagining the scenario of Arius’s death, still on the other hand its manner fits broadly within Joyce’s ‘cloacal obsession’, and the relevant items of dress – ‘beaded mitre’, ‘crozier’, and ‘*omophorion*’ – could have been drawn from a resource such as *The Tabernacle and the Church*. If we can dismiss Aquinas, Dante, Newman, Flaubert, and the *Catholic Encyclopedia* as authorities for Joyce’s vivid depiction, then it is true that recapitulations of Arius’s death have appeared elsewhere. In his essay on Milton and Arianism, Michael Lieb asserts that ‘the story of the violent, as well as bizarre, manner of Arius’ own death in 336 A.D. is one Milton surely knew, and it is one that resonates throughout history’ (Lieb, 198). He cites Ephraim Pagitt’s *Heresiography*, published in 1645, which associated Arians with Judas and warned that Arius died ‘with his Bowells falling out of his belly’; noting moreover, with undisguised glee, the burning to death of two contemporary Arians (Lieb, 198).³⁹ The Oxford English Dictionary indicates that the title of Pagitt’s work was a neologism, derived from an earlier *Christianography*. The *Heresiography* preceded by one year Thomas Edwards’ *Gangraena*, a much larger volume which also categorised, listed and condemned Christian heretics.

Sourcing Joyce’s Sense of Arius’s Death II: The Church Fathers

Joyce’s depiction in *Ulysses* of Arius’s death can in fact be sourced much more closely, and more revealingly for its intertextual connections and for the light it can shine upon other aspects within Joyce’s text. For this, we must look to those Church Fathers who wrote around the time of Nicaea. Joyce had easy access to their writings owing to a breadth of editions and translations which were produced across the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Jacques Paul Migne, a French priest, opened in 1836 in the outskirts of Paris a publishing house called the Imprimerie Catholique. He set about publishing the extant works of the Church Fathers in their original tongues. Between 1841 and 1855, the *Patrologia Latina* appeared in 217 volumes: featuring those ecclesiastical writers who had written in Latin, it covered the course of the Church over a span of a thousand years from 200 a.d. until 1216. From 1857 until 1866, the *Patrologia Graeca* saw published – across 166 volumes and covering until the fifteenth century – the writings of those Church Fathers who had written in Greek. The first series of the *Patrologia*

³⁹ These men were Bartholemew Legate and Edward Wightman, each accused of Arianism, and the last two men to be burnt at the stake in England. Legate was the last to be burnt in London, on 18 March, 1612. Wightman was burned at Lichfield the following month, 11 April.

Graeca saw these writings published in Latin translations; while the second series added, wherever possible, the original Greek in parallel text.

Migne's endeavour was and remains unprecedented for its sheer exhaustiveness. While the *Patrologia Latina* comprised the works of many rulers, Popes and Bishops, including the writings of Saint Patrick, the *Patrologia Graeca* contained many of the early historical writings on the Church: aside from the theological treatises and Biblical commentaries of Origen, Athanasius, the Cappadocian Fathers, and John Chrysostom, there were the Church histories of Eusebius of Caesarea, Socrates Scholasticus, and Sozomen, and the polemical works of Irenaeus, Epiphanius, and Theodoret of Cyrus (Patristica.net, *Patrologia Graeca*). Migne typically reprinted old editions of works, and utilised early Latin translations which show a limited familiarity with Greek. However, in many instances his series provided the only widely available version of a text: the *Patrologia Latina* and *Patrologia Graeca* became essential resources within academic libraries, and remain vital today where modern critical editions have not been forthcoming.⁴⁰

In 1885, the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (ANF) began to be published in the United States, in Buffalo then in New York City, by the Christian Literature Publishing Company. In ten volumes, edited initially by A. Cleveland Coxe, and later with input from Philip Schaff, the series provided English translations of the writings of the Church Fathers until 325 a.d.. The *Ante-Nicene Fathers* was an American edition of the translations undertaken by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, and published between 1867 and 1873 in Edinburgh, by T. & T. Clark, in a series entitled the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*.

The *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* was itself impelled by the Oxford movement's *Library of the Fathers*, an earlier series of English translations devoted to the Early Church. Pre-dating Migne's original-language versions, it saw between 48 and 51 volumes published from 1838 until 1885, though with 37 volumes having appeared by 1853, the project's final years represented a slow diminishing of impetus. Its editors included John Henry Newman. With much of the series focusing on Saints Augustine and Chrysostom, the final four volumes reached Saints Ambrose, Athanasius, and Cyril of Alexandria; but there was no place for the scholars Eusebius, Epiphanius, Rufinus, Socrates Scholasticus, Theodoret, or Sozomen.⁴¹ The perception that the apparatus to the series was too Catholic led to the commissioning of the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*. Yet the *Ante-Nicene*

40 A complementary undertaking, the *Patrologia Syriaca*, was begun in 1897 – intending to collate and publish ecclesiastical writings in Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Coptic, Ge'ez, Georgian, and Slavonic. The project was reconfigured in 1904 as the *Patrologia Orientalis*. With 53 volumes produced so far, under a variety of editors, the series remains ongoing (Brepols.net, *Patrologia Orientalis*).

41 The editors of the *Library of the Fathers* intended additional volumes, including one comprising Eusebius's *Church History*, and one comprising Theodoret's *Ecclesiastical History* and his *Compendium of Heretical Accounts*. The volume on Theodoret was to include notes based on Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen. Neither of these volumes were completed ('*Library of the Fathers: List of Titles*').

Christian Library was sold out of Edinburgh on a limited basis, by subscription, and it struggled for subscribers and for funds.

Adding one additional volume – which included the commentaries of Origen – to the texts already translated by Roberts and Donaldson, the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* proved much more successful. It sold so well that a new series was at once envisaged, and published from the following year: entitled the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (NPNF), and edited by Schaff, the new series was a collaborative effort published simultaneously in Europe and in North America, by T. & T. Clark and the Christian Literature Publishing Company, plus additional sponsors.

The first series of the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* came in fourteen volumes, eight covering Augustine, and six concerning Chrysostom. The second series, also in fourteen volumes, and with Henry Wace joining Schaff as co-editor, began with Eusebius's *Church History*; and it concluded publication in 1900 with its final volume on the Seven Ecumenical Councils. This second series contained translations of Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Athanasius.⁴²

Of the Early Church sources which are pertinent to a study of Joyce, religion and heresy, Eusebius of Caesarea's (260/265 – 339) *Church History* was completed about 325, and considers the foundation of the Church up until this period. It therefore makes no mention of Arius or of the impending Arian controversy. Eusebius of Caesarea's *Life of Constantine*, a panegyric unfinished upon Eusebius's death, was criticised by Socrates Scholasticus in the introduction to his *Ecclesiastical History* as having 'but slightly treated of matters regarding Arius, being more intent on the rhetorical finish of his composition and the praises of the emperor, than on an accurate statement of facts' (NPNF2-02, *The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates Scholasticus*, Chapter 1, 'Introduction'). Irenaeus (died 202) wrote his *Against Heresies* (also known as *On the Detection and Overthrow of the So-Called Gnosis*) around 180. The work was produced in five volumes, and remains one of the best extant contemporary depictions of Gnosticism. It appeared as the seventh volume of the *Patrologia Graeca*, in a Latin translation with fragments of the original Greek text; and was translated into English in the first volume of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Irenaeus may have been a source for Joyce's sense of Gnosticism – which features prominently in 'The Sisters' – and the heresy of Valentine, but his work was written well before Arius's time.

Much of our knowledge regarding the details of Arius's life and thought comes from Athanasius (296/298 – 373). Despite his youth, Athanasius was one of Arius's main opponents

⁴² It is worth noting that, in 1882, Schaff published his translation of Johann Jakob Herzog's *Realencyklopädie* – an encyclopedia for the Protestant faith. Schaff's encyclopedia was revised and updated between 1908-1914, as the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*. Its entry on Arius simply notes 'he suddenly died the day before the solemnity at the age of over eighty years', referring the reader interested in a fuller account to the Church Fathers (*New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, 'Arius').

during the Council of Nicaea, and he would spend much of his life combating Arianism. Becoming the twentieth Bishop of Alexandria in 328, in 335 the First Synod of Tyre, led by Eusebius of Nicomedia, deposed him for allegedly mistreating Arians and for wrongdoings over the supply of grain (NPNF2-04, Life of St. Athanasius, 335-337). He would be reinstated in 337, and would persist as Bishop of Alexandria until his death in 373, in the meantime suffering four further exiles lasting a combined period of fourteen-and-a-half years.

Athanasius therefore cannot be considered an impartial source, but he affords us the only allegedly eye-witness account of Arius's death. Athanasius's Letter 54, 'To Serapion, concerning the death of Arius' – translated as part of the fourth volume of the second series of the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* – reads,

I conceive that when the wonderful circumstances connected with his death become known, even those who before questioned it will no longer venture to doubt that the Arian heresy is hateful in the sight of God.

I was not at Constantinople when he died, but Macarius the Presbyter was, and I heard the account of it from him [...] While Eusebius and his fellows threatened, the Bishop prayed; but Arius, who had great confidence in Eusebius and his fellows, and talked very wildly, urged by the necessities of nature withdrew, and suddenly, in the language of Scripture, 'falling headlong he burst asunder in the midst,' and immediately expired as he lay, and was deprived both of communion and of his life together.

Such has been the end of Arius: and Eusebius and his fellows, overwhelmed with shame, buried their accomplice (NPNF2-04, Athanasius Letter 54, 'To Serapion')

The quotation from scripture which Athanasius utilises here is from Acts of the Apostles 1:18. This passage details the death of Judas Iscariot. Having bought a field with the thirty pieces of silver he earned by betraying Jesus, Judas dies in it: 'falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out'.

As a professed eye-witness account of Arius's demise, Athanasius's letter was undoubtedly a key source for many of the subsequent historians who would elaborate on the theme. It outlines a number of details which link to Joyce's depiction in 'Proteus'. The phrase 'urged by the necessities of nature' implies the toilet, while the quotation from scripture, aside from tying Arius to Judas, introduces the concept of a bursting, with which Joyce will play in the course of his novel. It also locates Constantinople as the place of Arius's death. In 336, Constantinople was still in many ways a Greek city. After being settled by the Greeks around 657 b.c., the city existed as Byzantium until

330 a.d., when it was dedicated and renamed by Constantine. Thus Joyce could conceive of Arius's death in a 'Greek watercloset': while playing into Stephen's identification with Greek language and Greek mythological history, Joyce was not simply extrapolating from Arius's birth in Libya, as Gottfried argues, but was drawing from the explicit historical account of his passing.

Athanasius's letter additionally describes Arius's death as circumventing his impending re-entry into communion with the Church. Athanasius repeated the details of this account in his 'Circular to Bishops of Egypt and Libya', a treatise against Arianism written in 356, which again quotes Acts 1:18 and notes, 'the sun had not set, when the necessities of nature compelled [Arius] to that place, where he fell down, and was forthwith deprived of communion with the Church and of his life altogether' (NPNF2-04, Athanasius, 'Circular to Bishops of Egypt and Libya'). Still, despite its foundational import, what is in Athanasius does not appear sufficiently descriptive to have furnished Joyce with his expressive depiction of Arius's death.

In their *Ulysses Annotated*, Don Gifford and Robert J. Seidman refer for the passage on Arius in 'Proteus' to Epiphanius's *Adversus Haereses* (*Ulysses Annotated*, 47). Translated under this title from the Koine Greek into Latin in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, today Epiphanius's work is properly known as the *Panarion*, to distinguish it from the *Against Heresies* of Irenaeus. Epiphanius's (315 – 403) *Panarion* deals with eighty religious sects, in three books across seven volumes. In section 69, entitled 'Against the Arian Nuts', Epiphanius calls the 'Arian sect' a 'fearful, many-headed serpent'; and he provides us with our only physical description of the man, depicted as one who was 'unusually tall, wore a downcast expression and was got up like a guileful serpent' (*Panarion*, 325). Again, two letters written by Arius which Epiphanius transcribes provide us with a clear sense of Arius's doctrine.

On Arius's death, however, Epiphanius is brief. According to Epiphanius, pressured by Eusebius of Nicomedia to restore Arius to communion, the Bishop of Constantinople prayed, hoping for:

God either to take his life so that he would not be polluted by communion with Arius, or to work a wonder. And his prayer was answered. Arius went out that night from the need to relieve himself, went to the privy, sat down in the stalls inside, and suddenly burst and expired. Thus, just as he belched out a dirty heresy, he was overtaken and surrendered his life in a smelly place. (*Panarion*, 331)

Epiphanius furthers the view of Arius's death as an act of divine providence, and he echoes Athanasius and scripture in affirming that Arius 'burst' in the act of relieving himself. The

colouring detail added by Epiphanius's account is the explicit suggestion that Arius died sitting down in a 'privy'. This ties in with Joyce's depiction of Arius dying in a 'Greek watercloset', 'stalled upon his throne', but in detail and in tone Epiphanius does not match Joyce's vulgarity nor his punning. After the Latin translations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Epiphanius's writings appeared as volumes 41 and 42 in the *Patrologia Graeca*; in Russian translation in the mid-nineteenth century; and in a German translation undertaken by Karl Holl, published in three parts in 1915, 1922, and 1933. Epiphanius does not feature in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*. The English translation published between 1987 and 1993, translated and edited by Frank Williams, describes itself as the first full English translation of Epiphanius's work.

Rufinus (340/345 – 410) translated much Greek patristic material, including the works of Origen, into Latin. In translating Eusebius's *Church History* into Latin from the Koine Greek, he added material of his own, across two additional chapters, to take the work up to 395 and the death of Theodosius I. His account of Arius's death reads:

Arius, hemmed in by a crowd of bishops and laity, was making his way to the church when he turned aside at a call of nature to a public facility. And when he sat down, his intestines and all his innards slipped down into the privy drain, and thus it was in such a place that he met a death worthy of his foul and blasphemous mind. When news of this was later brought to the church to Eusebius [of Nicomedia] and to those with him who were pressing the holy and innocent Alexander to receive Arius, they departed overcome with shame and covered with confusion. (*The Church History of Rufinus*, 25-26)

Rufinus seems indebted for his account to his predecessors: he takes from Athanasius the conceit of a 'call to nature', and the shame of Arius's followers, and from Epiphanius the detail that Arius's death occurred seated within a privy. He adds a sense of the public nature of Arius's demise, along with the horrifying physical particular that his 'intestines and [...] innards slipped down into the privy drain'. Rufinus is otherwise known for his commentary on the Apostles' Creed, and for his lengthy exchanges through a series of 'apologies' with Jerome, the chief transcriber of the Vulgate Bible.⁴³ While these works were translated into English in the nineteenth century, as is the case with Epiphanius's *Panarion*, Rufinus's additional chapters to Eusebius's *Church History* did not appear in English until much later. The 1997 Oxford University Press publication, with a translation by Philip R. Amidon, proclaims itself the first ever English translation of Rufinus's Books 10 and 11.

⁴³ Rufinus and Jerome argued predominantly over Rufinus's translations of Origen, with which Jerome disagreed. Origen's thought had recently been discredited by Epiphanius.

Unlike the other ecclesiastical writers who wrote of Arius's death, who were predominantly of the Eastern Church, Rufinus's writings were published not in the *Patrologia Graeca* but in the *Patrologia Latina*, as part of the twenty-first volume.

Of course, though Joyce never mastered Greek, he read and spoke Latin fluently after his years of Catholic education. He read Aquinas in Latin, one page each day, and in 'Scylla and Charybdis', Stephen refers to 'Saint Thomas [...] whose gorbellied works I enjoy reading in the original' (Ellmann, 342; *U*, 9.778-779). So it is conceivable that Joyce (and fictionally Stephen) could have used Latin translations of the Church Fathers for what is contained in *Ulysses* about Arius. The *Patrologia Latina* and *Patrologia Graeca* are clearly a potential source – and they have been asserted as a source for some of Joyce's religious knowledge, with regard, for instance, to the writing of Saint Augustine.⁴⁴

The strength of Schaff's *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* as a potential source for Joyce on Arius is that the series provided, across a short space of time and contiguous with Joyce's early life, popular, readily available, relatively concise and yet comprehensive English translations of the most relevant works. Again, the ANF and NPNF were produced as part of a Protestant response to the Catholic *Library of the Fathers* series. Gottfried devotes a chapter of *Joyce's Misbelief*, entitled 'The Literary Advantages of Protestantism', to the assertion that Joyce often deliberately utilised Protestant sources as a way to distance himself from Catholicism and Irish Nationalism (Gottfried, 105).

Socrates Scholasticus and the Remorse of Conscience

It is with Socrates Scholasticus's *Ecclesiastical History*, as it is translated in the NPNF2-02, that an especially intriguing textual link with *Ulysses* emerges. Socrates Scholasticus (born 380) set himself the task of improving upon the later history of the Church as it appeared in Eusebius's *Life of Constantine*: covering the period from 305 until 429, his immediate concern was to define the historical context around the Council of Nicaea. His account of the death of Arius is the most detailed, the most explicit, and the most vulgar:

⁴⁴ Gifford relays the thought of Stephen's from 'Scylla and Charybdis', 'Hold to the now, the here, through which all future plunges to the past', to Augustine's *De Immortalitate Animae* ('On the Immortality of the Soul'). Augustine writes 'And expectation is of future things, and memory is of things past. But the intention to act is of the present, through which the future flows into the past'. Gifford identifies this passage in the *Patrologia Latina*, 32:1023A (*Ulysses Annotated*, 199).

It was then Saturday, and Arius was expecting to assemble with the church on the day following: but divine retribution overtook his daring criminalities. For going out of the imperial palace, attended by a crowd of Eusebian partisans like guards, he paraded proudly through the midst of the city, attracting the notice of all the people. As he approached the place called Constantine's Forum, where the column of porphyry is erected, a terror arising from the remorse of conscience seized Arius, and with the terror a violent relaxation of the bowels: he therefore enquired whether there was a convenient place near, and being directed to the back of Constantine's Forum, he hastened thither. Soon after a faintness came over him, and together with the evacuations his bowels protruded, followed by a copious hemorrhage, and the descent of the smaller intestines: moreover portions of his spleen and liver were brought off in the effusion of blood, so that he almost immediately died. The scene of this catastrophe still is shown at Constantinople, as I have said, behind the shambles in the colonnade: and by persons going by pointing the finger at the place, there is a perpetual remembrance preserved of this extraordinary kind of death. (NPNF2-02, *The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates Scholasticus*, Chapter 38, 'The Death of Arius')

This is a remarkable passage not only for its detailed depiction of a gruesome death; for its 'composition of place', which refers to city landmarks, emphasises the public setting, and provides the event with a historical validity in noting how the specific location of Arius's death is remembered; and for its attempt to psychologically analyse the heresiarch (where other accounts provide instead the troubled thoughts of the Bishop of Constantinople, or of Arius's followers). It is remarkable especially in relation to *Ulysses* for the phrase 'a terror arising from the remorse of conscience seized Arius'.

The phrase 'remorse of conscience' figures throughout *Ulysses* in Stephen's interior monologue, via the archaic formulation 'agenbite of inwit'. Snatches of the formulation and of its sense shoot into Stephen's mind at disparate points in the day. Groden states that the development of this 'extremely significant motif' was one of Joyce's late revisions to his novel (Groden, 199). By the time Joyce came to write the fair copy, 'agenbite of inwit' appeared only once in the text, vocalised as part of Stephen's argument in 'Scylla and Charybdis', where the sense of the archaic phrase is made plain: evoking Ann Hathaway, lying in Shakespeare's second-best bed after she has committed adultery with his brother, Stephen says, 'Agenbite of inwit: remorse of conscience. It is an age of exhausted whoredom groping for its god' (*U*, 9.809-810).

In his later revisions, Joyce expanded and established this phrase as a fundamental aspect of Stephen's consciousness. It reflects his ill-defined but inescapable sense of guilt, particularly over

the death of his mother and the disintegration of his immediate family. Joyce added the phrase six more times, in three episodes of his text. In ‘Telemachus’ it becomes entwined with Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*, as the hyper-literate Stephen thinks ‘Agenbite of inwit. Conscience. Yet here’s a spot’ (*U*, 1.481-482). An additional flash in ‘Scylla and Charbydis’ sees Stephen consider a debt owed: ‘Go to! You spent most of it in Georgina Johnson’s bed, clergyman’s daughter. Agenbite of inwit’ (*U*, 9.195-196). Then in ‘Wandering Rocks’ Stephen feels a stinging, repeating, helpless remorse as he talks with his sister Dilly and witnesses his family’s poverty:

She is drowning. Agenbite. Save her. Agenbite. All against us. She will drown me with her, eyes and hair. Lank coils of seaweed hair around me, my heart, my soul. Salt green death.

We.

Agenbite of inwit. Inwit’s agenbite.

Misery! Misery! (*U*, 10.875-880).

Joyce derived the formulation from the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, a translation into Kentish Middle-English of a French treatise on Christian morality, undertaken by Michael of Northgate in the fourteenth century. *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, literally again-bite of in-wit, translates precisely into modern English as remorse of conscience. The link between Northgate’s translation and Joyce is clear; and aside from Socrates Scholasticus as translated in the NPNF, there are other potential sources for Joyce’s interest in the phrase ‘remorse of conscience’. The Oxford English Dictionary associates the phrase first, in 1387, with a translation by John Trevisa of Ranulf Higden’s history-of-the-universe *Polychron*: in this translation, the ‘remorse of conscience’ is felt by Pope Leo.⁴⁵ Shortly afterwards, in 1413, the phrase appeared in Chaucer’s poem *Troilus and Criseyde*. More pertinently, Aquinas used the phrase when dissecting sin in the *Summa Theologica*. Aquinas, who draws upon Augustine’s *Confessions* in his discussion of sin and forgiveness, writes that whomever is guilty of sin ‘incurs a threefold punishment; one, inflicted by himself, viz. remorse of conscience; another, inflicted by man; and a third, inflicted by God’ (Aquinas, *ST*, I-II, 87.1).

The translation as it appears in the NPNF seems deliberative despite this select group of literary forebears. The clause ‘a terror arising from the remorse of conscience seized Arius’ is rendered in the Latin, in volume 67 of the *Patrologia Graeca* (which volume includes the ecclesiastical histories of both Socrates and Sozomen), as ‘terror quidam ex conscientia scelerum ei

⁴⁵ Trevisa is the third most frequently cited source in the Oxford English Dictionary for the first evidence of a word; behind Chaucer and the Philosophical Transactions, but ahead of Shakespeare and the Wycliffe Bible (OED, ‘Top 1000 Sources in the OED’).

subortus est'. 'Conscientia scelerum' translates more transparently as a 'sense of guilt' or 'guilty conscience'. 'Remorse of conscience' was itself archaic by the turn of the twentieth century; the Oxford English Dictionary indicates that it was a regional usage, with 'remorse of mind' the more commonly utilised expression.

Theodoret (393-457) wrote three works which bear upon the life of Arius. His *'Eranistes'* or *'Polymorphos'* presents three dialogues which depict a Monophysite beggar considering numerous heresies, while Theodoret's 'Orthodox' personage answers his questions and corrects his errors.⁴⁶ The second of the three dialogues, subtitled 'The Unconfounded', contains the exchange,

Eran. – What is there to compel us to call the Saviour Christ, "man"?

Orth. – The divine and mutually inconsistent opinions of the heretics.

Eran. – What opinions, and contrary to what?

Orth. – That of Arius to that of Sabellius. The one divides the substances: the other confounds the hypostases. Arius introduces three substances, and Sabellius makes one hypostasis instead of three. Tell me now, how ought we to heal both maladies. Must we apply the same drug for both ailments, or for each the proper one ?

Eran. – For each the proper one. (NPNF2-03, Theodoret's *Dialogues*, Dialogue II)

Formally, the dialogue mirrors Joyce's presentation of speech throughout his literature, where he eschews quotation marks in favour of em dashes; and the tone and manner of question and response resembles a catechism. This particular exchange is also notable for bringing together Arius and Sabellius.

Theodoret's other major work is his *Ecclesiastical History*, which was completed around 449, and covers the rise of Arianism to the deaths of Theodore of Mopsuestia in 428 and Theodotus of Antioch in 429. In the fifth book of his *History*, Theodoret discusses 'Telemachus the monk', who was stoned to death (and later canonised) for attempting to halt a gladiatorial fight in Rome. Theodoret's work maintains for posterity numerous letters and sources not found elsewhere, but his history is less detailed than Socrates Scholasticus's, and more partisan. Referring throughout to the 'Arian plague', on the death of Arius he passes over to the 'excellent Athanasius', and simply quotes Athanasius's letter in full (NPNF2-03, *The Ecclesiastical History of Theodoret*, Chapter XIII).

⁴⁶ Monophysitism is the position that Christ, after the Incarnation, possessed only a single nature, either divine or a synthesis of divine and human. This position was rejected decisively by the Council of Chalcedon in 451, in favour of Dyophysitism, which holds that Christ maintained two natures – the divine and the human – in his one person. Chalcedon caused a schism between Oriental Orthodoxy and the rest of the Church which persists today.

The collected writings of Theodoret comprised volumes 80 to 84 of the *Patrologia Graeca*. His *Ecclesiastical History* and his '*Eranistes*' or '*Polymorphos*' were both translated for the *Nicene and Anti-Nicene Fathers*. His *Compendium of Heretical Mythification* – an early work of heresiology - was intended for the *Library of the Fathers*, to be translated by Rev. R. Scott, but this was never published. The *Compendium* was translated into English in part in 2006, by Istvan Pasztori Kupan, and it deals more particularly with Arius's death:

Arius, however, thinking that the emperor's pledges would be confirmed, came forward at first dawn. Then his stomach urged excretion, and he went into the public toilet, leaving his escorting house-servant outside. Suddenly, his bowels having been loosened and having excreted, he died sitting inside. When those sitting nearby observing the incident cried out, the servant ran inside and on seeing him dead, disclosed what had happened to [Arius's] household. (in Kupan, 215)

The final broadly contemporaneous source on the death of Arius was written by Sozomen (400-450). His *Ecclesiastical History* was comprised of two works, the first of which covered until 323, and is now lost. The second remains and concerns 323 until the accession of Valentinian III in 425. Sozomen's history closely follows that of Socrates Scholasticus, without the same attention towards establishing dates. Yet Sozomen closely checked Socrates Scholasticus's facts against other extant sources, supplemented his work with readings of Rufinus, and his account is notable for its resolutely impartial and impersonal style. On Arius's death, he writes:

Late in the afternoon, Arius, being seized suddenly with pain in the stomach, was compelled to repair to the public place set apart for emergencies of this nature. As some time passed away without his coming out, some persons, who were waiting for him outside, entered, and found him dead and still sitting upon the seat. When his death became known, all people did not view the occurrence under the same aspect. Some believed that he died at that very hour, seized by a sudden disease of the heart, or suffering weakness from his joy over the fact that his matters were falling out according to his mind; others imagined that this mode of death was inflicted on him in judgement, on account of his impiety. Those who held his sentiments were of opinion that his death was brought about by magical arts. (NPNF2-02, *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen*, Chapter 29, 'Arius is burst asunder while seeking Natural Relief')

Sozomen goes on to quote from Athanasius's 'Circular to Bishops of Egypt and Libya'. He then attaches to this a curious coda to Arius's death:

It is said that for a long period subsequently no one would make use of the seat on which he died. Those who were compelled by necessities of nature, as is wont to be the case in a crowd, to visit the public place, when they entered, spoke to one another to avoid the seat, and the place was shunned afterwards, because Arius had there received the punishment of his impiety. At a later time a certain rich and powerful man, who had embraced the Arian tenets, bought the place of the public, and built a house on the spot, in order that the occurrence might fall into oblivion, and that there might be no perpetual memorial of the death of Arius. (NPNF2-02, *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen*, Chapter 30, 'Account given by the Great Athanasius of the Death of Arius')

Perhaps this plays into Joyce's notion that Arius was 'widower of a widowed see'. Arius never held a bishopric, so the narrow sense of a 'see' as the seat of a bishop would not strictly apply to the station he held at the end of his life. It is unclear whether Joyce was aware of this: the reference to 'upstuffed *omophorion*' appears ambiguous: an omophorion is a vestment worn by a bishop, but Joyce's modification, making it 'upstuffed' whereas typically it would fall over the shoulders, seems to pervert its traditional sense. Alternatively, we may witness Joyce here playing both with the unfulfilled potentialities of Arius's life, and with his demise seated upon a throne thereafter left vacant.

The Impact of the Church Fathers upon *Ulysses*

Together the Church Fathers offer the accretion of details which appear in Joyce: the fact of Arius's death; its location in Constantinople, an old Greek city (with Socrates Scholasticus providing the 'composition of place' by way of atmosphere and place names); its cause 'urged by the necessities of nature' with 'evacuations [of the] bowels'; its occurrence enthroned in a privy-watercloset, in apparent agony; and the lingering sense of abandonment thereafter. There is the suggestive associating of Arius with Judas; and Socrates Scholasticus's psychological analysis, his imaginative entering into the mind of Arius in order to bring out the phrase 'remorse of conscience', which appears so prominently in Joyce's published text.

It is necessary to consider why for Joyce – though there is still ‘agony in the closet’ – instead of emerging innards and excretion and hemorrhage there are ‘clotted hinderparts’ (*U*, 3.54).⁴⁷ Perhaps Joyce is wilfully subverting narrative history; perhaps he is interpreting Arius’s downfall as one caused by his not excreting in sufficient time, considering that instead of withdrawing to a ‘public place’, Arius should simply have committed to his act in public, out in the open air as per Stephen and Bloom; perhaps the clotted hinderparts are a remnant of the hemorrhaging of blood.⁴⁸ Most clearly, Joyce seems to be playing upon the manner of Arius’s death in order to evoke the failure of his belief. Arius’s death means that his theology remains stillborn, clotted, usurped by another: a possibility not made possible, and not becoming a dogmatic principle which would have defined the course of the Church, but instead made heretical and curtailed, a ‘disappointed bridge’ (*U*, 2.39).

Yet for Joyce Arius’s heresy is important precisely because it was once possible, because it was crucially significant, and because it was and remains rejected. Though the Church and the narrow path of history decided against Arius, the dogma of Nicaea may be defined as ‘*the tables of the law, graven in the language of the outlaw*’, for Arianism was essential to instigating and defining the terms of the debate which Nicaea sought to settle. Arius’s thought remains potent because it evinces a way hidden away, apart from the dogmatic thinking which would define religion and interpersonal relationships. This is why Joyce can describe Arius’s death as ‘*euthanasia*’: perceived by Joyce, there is not only a certain glory but a potency and a continued relevance in defeat, and Arius was as well to die so that he and his theory could live on beyond the Church’s struggles and its confines.

When Arius is conceived as representing a central conceptual theme in the text of *Ulysses*, then his signature begins to appear more frequently within that text. Discussing the range of religious appellations applied to Bloom in ‘Circe’, Morrison sees in the accusation, ‘He is an episcopalian, an agnostic, an anythingarian seeking to overthrow our holy faith’, a ‘concealed reference to Bloom as Arian. The apparent tenuousness of the reference should not put off consideration of this aspect to Bloom’ (Morrison, 138). With the terms of Arius’s death as depicted in ‘Proteus’ properly defined and understood, then it becomes especially fruitful to focus on his relation to the excretory motif which runs throughout *Ulysses*.

In ‘Calypso’ Bloom recalls acquiring a painting, ‘The Bath of the Nymph’, free with the softcore pornographic magazine *Photo Bits*. Paying three and six for a frame, the painting presently

47 The ‘agony in the closet’ parallels and contrasts with the ‘Agony in the Garden’, which Jesus experiences in Gethsemane after the Last Supper and prior to his arrest.

48 Psalm 78:66 in the King James Version, and 77:66 in the Douay-Rheims, both depict a God resembling a drunkard who ‘smote his enemies’ on ‘the hinder parts’ by way of reproach.

hangs – as per Molly’s suggestion – over his and Molly’s bed. In ‘Circe’, the nymph of the painting emerges from her frame and chastises Bloom for those indiscretions which she has witnessed from her hanging place. Beginning her tale, she recounts:

You found me in evil company [...] surrounded by the stale smut of clubmen, stories to disturb callow youth, ads for transparencies, truedup dice and bustpads, proprietary articles and why wear a truss with testimonial from ruptured gentleman. Useful hints to the married. (*U*, 15.3245-3252)

A truss is a medical appliance, typically a belt, which provides support for hernia patients essentially by pushing their hernia back into place. An advertisement piece in the *Scientific American* of March, 1879, describes an appliance which is ‘cup-shaped, with a self-adjusting ball in the centre, and adapts itself to all positions of the body, while the ball in the cup presses back the intestines just as a person does with the finger. With light pressure the hernia is held securely day and night, and a radical cure is certain. It is easy, durable and cheap.’ (*Scientific American*, Vol. 40, No. 13, March 1879). Given the nature of Arius’s death as it is depicted both in ‘Proteus’ and in the accounts of the Church Fathers – replete with their mentions of falling intestines and bursting asunder – it is possible to discern in this ‘ruptured gentleman’ of ‘Circe’ the figure of Arius.

Indeed, ‘ruptured gentleman’ is in general an apposite epithet for a heresiarch: one who has ruptured from the Church, in that they have been excommunicated and cast from it, because they have ruptured the Church, by not only forwarding but founding a school or a sect in support of a contested, and ultimately denied, theological point of view. Arius as the archetypal heresiarch is arguably *the* ‘ruptured gentleman’ in the history of Christianity. The preceding and succeeding clauses further support the reading. As a heresiarch rather than a mere heretic, Arius produced the ‘proprietary articles’ of Arianism. And as ‘widower of a widowed see’, Arius’s testimonial – the example of his life and demise – does provide pertinent ‘hints’ for those who would wish to stay ‘married’ to the Church.

In several contexts *Ulysses* is a novel about rupture and schism. These terms, of course, define the history of the Church: from the Council of Chalcedon in 451 which caused a schism between Oriental Orthodoxy and the rest of the Church; to the Great Schism, or East-West Schism, of the eleventh century; the Papal Schism which divided the Catholic Church between 1378 and 1418; and the schism of the Protestant Reformation from 1517.⁴⁹ Stephen is schismatic in his relationship to the Church, pulling away from communion without rejecting all of its beliefs. He is

49 Joyce riddles on the Great Schism, Greek and Slavic in the ‘Mookse and Gripes’ section of *Finnegans Wake*.

also ruptured from his family and friends: at a distance from his father, particularly after the death of his mother, and feeling incapable of helping his family's poverty; and conceiving Mulligan as a 'usurper', with whom he will not spend another night out at Martello tower.

Rupture and schism are the defining characteristics of Bloom's family life. His wife Molly is continuing an affair with Blazes Boylan, who Bloom surreptitiously avoids throughout the day, and who arrives at 7 Eccles Street to rendezvous with Molly during 'Sirens'. His daughter Milly is away in Mullingar, working for a photographer; her fifteenth birthday fell on the previous day, her first birthday away from home, and Bloom hatches numerous schemes by which to pay her a visit. He continues to dwell too on the deaths of his son, Rudy, and his father, Rudolph Bloom (born Rudolf Virag): the former in infancy eleven years ago; the latter almost eighteen years ago, by suicide while staying at the Queen's Hotel, Ennis, County Clare.

Synonyms for 'rupture' in *Ulysses* identify these themes: they emerge to refer precisely to these familial concerns. 'Ruptured' appears only once in the text, when referring to the 'ruptured gentleman' of 'Circe'. 'Rupture', 'schism' or 'schismatic' do not appear at all, surprisingly in a work which contains so many references to Church history, and which touches on some of those figures central to major religious schisms. 'Sundered' comes once in 'Proteus', as part of the same passage which deals with Arius, and once in 'Scylla and Charybdis': on both occasions suggesting the complex nature of procreation and of fatherhood in particular. 'Sundering' comes twice in 'Scylla', to imply unfaithfulness on the part of Shakespeare's wife. 'Separation' appears in 'Calypso', with regard to Milly; and twice in 'Ithaca', on the occasion of Bloom and Stephen taking leave, and when Bloom contemplates Molly's infidelity. 'Disunion' again depicts Bloom and Stephen's parting. 'Dissension' does not feature in the text. 'Division' occurs nine times, but most with the sense of an organisational department; it appears in its broader sense, as between two parties, in 'Ithaca', again to refer to Milly. None of these ruptures or separations are final. Just as, with Joyce's encouragement, Arius's thought persists despite his ruptured end, so despite Molly's infidelity the final note of the novel is one which affirms her relationship with Bloom; Milly is last mentioned with regard to her future; and for Rudy and Rudolph, to quote Derrida:

This is what must be enunciated, this is what must be *recalled*, for at stake is an act of memory – this is what must engage memory in the present, *in the presence of the dead*, if that can be said; for however difficult this remains to say (Cicero will agree: *difficillius dictu est, mortui vivunt*), the dead live and the absent are present. (*Politics of Friendship*, 95)

Thwaites compares the ‘brief sharp unforeseen heard loud lone crack emitted by the insentient material of a strainveined timber table’ which Bloom hears in ‘Ithaca’ with the ‘shout in the street’ which Stephen identifies as God in ‘Nestor’ (Thwaites, 654). He notes that the playground shouts which Stephen hears, ‘Hooray! Ay! Whrrwhee!’, have ‘nestled within [...] the tetragrammaton YHWH’. Indeed, Joyce’s second schema states a relationship between the two episodes of his novel, for both are identified as catechisms: where ‘Ithaca’s’ technic is ‘Catechism (impersonal)’, ‘Nestor’s’ is ‘Catechism (personal)’. Yet rather than ‘balancing precisely’ the ‘shout in the street’ which Stephen offhandedly calls God, as Thwaites argues, the lone crack in ‘Ithaca’ is instead one instance of a motif which echoes throughout the text. The idea of the ‘shout in the street’ is present, for instance, at the end of ‘Cyclops’: as the citizen shouts to his dog while Bloom hastily departs, depicted as Elijah in a chariot in a culmination of the theme of the ‘throwaway’ (*U*, 12.1910-1918). This scene and the idea of the ‘shout in the street’ also bear comparison with the accounts of the death of Arius. Socrates Scholastics provides the keenest sense of the public nature of the setting, Arius parading proudly ‘through the midst of the city, attracting the notice of all the people’, before he is forced to enquire for a convenient place. Epiphanius defines Arius’s heresy as something ‘belched out’; while Theodoret describes how ‘those sitting nearby observing the incident cried out’ at the moment of Arius’s death.

The Culmination of ‘Ithaca’

Stephen and Bloom take leave of one another, Stephen departing 7 Eccles Street, a little beyond the halfway point of ‘Ithaca’ – yet it is the episode’s climax, and the culmination of two disparate paths which have tended towards one another through the course of the day. The astrological aspect of the episode is expanded as Bloom and Stephen pass through the passage at the back of Bloom’s house out into the garden, and see ‘The heaventree of stars hung with humid nightblue fruit’ (*U*, 17.1039). Bloom points out to Stephen the constellations, and they discuss their distance from the earth, the habitability of planets, the nature of sight, the aesthetics of the spectacle, and the ‘special affinities’ existing between moon and woman. Bloom notices the light of a lamp emanating from his and Molly’s bedroom, and elucidates her ‘invisible attractive person’ to Stephen. Then, after a moment’s silent contemplation,

At Stephen’s suggestion, at Bloom’s instigation both, first Stephen, then Bloom, in penumbra urinated, their sides contiguous, their organs of micturition reciprocally rendered

invisible by manual circumposition, their gazes, first Bloom's, then Stephen's, elevated to the projected luminous and semiluminous shadow. (*U*, 17.1186-1190)

Urinating in tandem, Stephen then leaves; and Bloom, left with the sensations of 'bellchime and handtouch and footstep and lonechill', is reminded of deceased friends. He considers remaining alone outside, to witness the 'disparition of three final stars, the diffusion of daybreak, the apparition of a new solar disk', but with 'deep inspiration' he returns inside, and moves about the house towards bed, and the bodily warmth of Molly.

This act of joint urination can be read as the culmination, even as the apotheosis of the relationship between Stephen and Bloom not only because it marks the end of the time they spend together, but because there is a certain excremental motif which runs throughout *Ulysses*, and which strongly figures both protagonists. Acts, occurrences and physiological facts both urinary and defecatory have an expressive quality in Joyce's novel: they remain intimately personal, yet profoundly human, and emerge as expressions of freedom. Joyce's readiness to display and dwell upon such facts and such acts was characteristic of his entire oeuvre.

A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man was first published on 29 December 1916, in the United States by B. W. Huebsch. A month and a half later – and having already serialised the work in the magazine between 1914 and 1915 – The Egoist Press published it in England, on 12 February. H. G. Wells reviewed *A Portrait* in the *Nation* on 24 February. His review was highly complimentary: he wrote that Sterne could not have bettered the Christmas dinner scene, and noted the novel's 'quintessential and unfailing reality'; but he lamented what he saw as Joyce's apparent 'cloacal obsession' (Ellmann, 414). This was a perception seemingly shared by other early critics. For *The Egoist's* June edition, Pound compiled a list of Joyce's reviews, including a piece in the *Everyman* which stated, 'Mr. Joyce is a clever novelist, but we feel he would be really at his best in a treatise on drains' (*Pound/Joyce*, 118).

This sense of Joyce extended on into *Ulysses*. As he composed the novel, Pound began to write in his letters to Joyce of Joyce's '*obsessions* arseore-ial, cloacal [...] arsethetic', advising him that 'any obsession or tic shd. be very carefully considered before being turned loose' (*Pound/Joyce*, 158). In his role as Joyce's editor as *Ulysses* was serialised in *The Little Review*, Pound had reservations particularly about 'Calypso' and 'Sirens'. He excised 'about twenty lines' from 'Calypso', all from the final few pages of the episode: after the point at which Bloom kicks 'open the crazy door of the jakes' in his garden and, 'asquat on the cukstool', begins to defecate (*Pound/Joyce*, 301). He defended himself, writing 'The contrast between Bloom's interior poetry and his outward surroundings is excellent, but it will come up without such detailed treatment of the

dropping feces' (*Pound/Joyce*, 131). On the ending to 'Sirens' – an opportune 'Ppprrpffrrppffff', caused in Bloom's opinion by his lunchtime drinking of a glass of burgundy, followed by the word 'DONE.' – Pound argued 'One *can* Fahrt with less pomp & circumstance' (*Pound/Joyce*, 158).⁵⁰ Reviews of *Ulysses* expressed related concerns.⁵¹ Among later critics, Nabokov noted the extraordinary extent to which Bloom dwells on physiological matters (*Lectures on Literature*, 298).

Before (within the structure of the novel) Bloom descends to the end of his garden in 'Calypso', there is Stephen urinating along Sandymount strand in 'Proteus':

In long lassoes from the Cock lake the water flowed full, covering greengoldenly lagoons of sand, rising, flowing. My ashplant will float away. I shall wait [...] Better get this job over quick. Listen: a fourworded wavespech: seesoo, hrss, rsseeiss, oos. Vehement breath of waters amid seasnakes, rearing horses, rocks. In cups of rocks it slops: flop, slop, slap: bounded in barrels. And, spent, its speech ceases. It flows purling, widely flowing, floating foampool, flower unfurling. (*U*, 3.453-460)

The imagery echoes at the end of 'Lotus Eaters', where Bloom foresees himself bathing, 'his trunk and limbs riprippled over and sustained, buoyed lightly upward, lemonyellow [...] the dark tangled curls of his bush floating, floating hair of the stream around the limp father of thousands, a languid floating flower.' (*U*, 5.568-572). The act is recalled again in 'Nausicaa', where Bloom, along Sandymount strand in the evening, masturbates as he watches Gerty MacDowell from a distance: 'and O! then the Roman candle burst and it was like a sight of O! and everyone cried O! O! in raptures and it gushed out of it a stream of rain gold hair threads' (*U*, 13.737-739).

Prefacing Bloom's defecating at the end of 'Calypso', that episode opens with a statement of Bloom's preference in food for 'grilled mutton kidneys which gave to his palate a fine tang of faintly scented urine' (*U*, 4.4-5). There is the furtive fart at the end of 'Sirens'. A series of objects, occurrences and reminiscences relating to the theme – peaking with Stephen and Bloom's urination, and also incorporating Molly – appear through 'Circe', 'Ithaca', and 'Penelope'. In 'Circe',

50 In the same letter Pound asserts a 'gallic preference for Phallus – purely personal – know mittel europa humour runs to other orifice'. In his commentary on Pound's letters, Forrest Read suggests that 'Pound came more and more to think that Joyce's imagination, either by temperament or because of his subject, was essentially analytical and satiric and tended towards the excremental. His own imagination, by contrast, was essentially phallic in its motive of desire. "Phallic" and "excremental" appeared to Pound to be an essential difference between poetry and prose' (*Pound/Joyce*, 146). Despite Pound's mention of the 'other orifice', it is clear that Joyce's interest was broadly excremental rather than confined to the behind.

51 *The Sporting Times* – a British weekly devoted primarily to sport, and known as 'The Pink Un' for its pink paper – led its 1 April, 1922 edition with a front page declaring 'The Scandal of "Ulysses"'. Inside, the columnist 'Aramis' reviewed Joyce's newly-published novel, writing that it 'appears to have been written by a perverted lunatic who has made a speciality of the literature of the latrine' (*The Sporting Times* 34 (1 April, 1922), p. 4). Joyce was photographed with Beach inside Shakespeare and Company sitting in front of a poster of this front page.

Bloom's urine is even examined (and found by the doctor to exhibit the '*fetor judaicus*', i.e. the 'Jewish stench') (*U*, 15.1797). And this is all concerning the issuing of matter from the nether parts: there is, moreover, a profundity of material within Joyce's text relating to the parts themselves. Bloom, for instance, in 'Scylla and Charybdis', is witnessed by Mulligan staring upon the 'mesial groove' of a statue in the National Museum. He has planned this over lunch in 'Lestrygonians'; and remarking upon it, Mulligan refers to the famous marble statue of the 'Venus Kallipyge', the 'Venus of the beautiful buttocks' (*U*, 9.616).

Wonderworker

Aside from noticing the 'arian' in the description of Bloom as an 'anythingarian', Morrison remarks on his being treated like a heretic in 'Circe'. Mid-way through the episode, Bloom is apprehended by a Brother Buzz, who '(Invests Bloom in a yellow habit [...] and hands him over to the civil power, saying) Forgive him his trespasses.' (*U*, 15.1926-1929). The colour yellow in Christianity has 'many negative connotations: "Yellow is sometimes used to suggest infernal light, degradation, jealousy, treason, and deceit. Thus the traitor Judas is frequently painted in a garment of dingy yellow. In the Middle Ages heretics were obliged to wear yellow"' (Ferguson, in *Ulysses Annotated*, 13). Morrison notes that Bloom being handed over to the civil power is

absolutely according to medieval form: the Church would hand over its heretics with a plea for clemency on the implicit although never stated understanding that any secular ruler deciding to show such mercy would immediately find himself excommunicated for abetting heresy. (Morrison, 137)

Bloom is then set on fire, ironically by the Dublin Fire Brigade.

Like Arius, Bloom too suffers from rectal problems. At the close of 'Calypso', he is in his watercloset, the privy at the end of his garden, with a copy of a 'prize titbit: *Matcham's Masterstroke*':

Midway, his resistance yielding, he allowed his bowels to ease themselves quietly as he read, reading still patiently that slight constipation of yesterday quite gone. Hope it's not too big bring on the piles again. (*U*, 4.507-510)

As he leaves his watercloset, coming forth ‘from the gloom into the air’, the bells of St. George’s Church toll. Within Bloom’s interior monologue, they sound,

Heigho! Heigho!
Heigho! Heigho!
Heigho! Heigho! (U, 4.546-548)

Michael Groden writes that ‘Joyce always planned the first six episodes as a unit’ – although the ‘exact parallelism in the episodes was apparently a late idea’, as in the schema Joyce sent to Carlo Linati in September 1920, the times of Stephen’s third episode, ‘Proteus’, and Bloom’s third, ‘Hades’, do not correspond, the former taking place between 10-11am, the latter between 11am-noon.⁵² Both ‘Calypso’ and ‘Telemachus’ take place between 8-10am. Stephen, of course, out at Sandycove, cannot hear the bells of St. George; but at the end of ‘Telemachus’, around the same time that Bloom does hear them, Stephen thinks the lines,

Liliata Rutilantium.
Turma Circumdet.
Iubilantium te virginum. (U, 1.736-738)

These words are from the ‘Rite for the Commending of a Departing Soul’, one of the ‘Prayers for the Dying’ which can be found in the Roman Ritual.⁵³ In *Ulysses*, they function similarly to the phrase ‘agenbite of inwit’, in that they implicate Stephen’s remorse over the death of his mother. The prayer can be read as part of the last rites by any responsible person in the absence of a priest, and presumably this was done while Stephen’s mother lay dying. Stephen, however, refused to kneel and pray for her; earlier in ‘Telemachus’ he envisions her with ‘glazing eyes, staring out of death’, accusing him while others kneel with words from the prayer (U, 1.273-277).

The prayer is evoked differently in *Ulysses* each time Stephen calls it to mind. Initially in ‘Telemachus’, he recalls it in a full sensible form: ‘*Liliata rutilantium te confessorum turma*

52 David Hayman has noted a pattern not only between episodes 1-4, 2-5, and 3-6, but also between 1-6, 2-5, and 3-4: “‘Telemachus’ and ‘Hades’ are social or group chapters ... ‘Nestor’ and ‘Lotus Eaters’ present Stephen and Bloom in the center of a larger dramatic frame and give their voices and reactions clear precedence ... ‘Proteus’ and ‘Calypso’ are the protagonists’ most isolated performances’ (Hayman, in Groden, 30-31).

53 The Roman Ritual is an official ritual work of the Catholic Church; it is distinct from the Roman Missal, which contains the text for the Mass, and the Breviary (since 1974 known as The Liturgy of the Hours), which contains prayers for everyday use. The ‘Rite for the Commending of a Departing Soul’ can also be found in the *Layman’s Missal and Prayer Book*.

circumdet: iubilantium te virginum chorus excipiat.’ (*U*, 1.276-277). This translates ornately as, ‘May the lilled throng of radiant confessors encompass thee; may the choir of rejoicing virgins welcome thee’. By the end of ‘Telemachus’, he has excised some words – the ‘*te confessorum*’ and ‘*chorus excipiat*’ – and divided the remainder into three short phrases. In ‘Scylla and Charybdis’, he remembers the scene of his mother’s death and thinks ‘*Liliata rutilantium*’, recalling too ‘I wept alone.’ (*U*, 9.222-224).⁵⁴ In ‘Circe’ the prayer is sung, ‘voicelessly’ and tailing away, by a choir as Stephen’s mother rises, emaciated, to make an appearance from the grave (*U*, 15.4164-4165).

Morrison describes St. George’s bells as ‘analogous to those which were for Stephen “proud potent titles” clanging “the triumph of their brazen bells”’, thus linking them to Stephen’s sense of the servility which the Church would impose, and to the passage which introduces the heresiarchs. He notes that the sound of George’s bells will become, in ‘Ithaca’, the ‘very last sensory experience which Stephen and Bloom will share on this day’ (Morrison, 133). Here, after their parallel urination, Bloom unlocks the garden door, and he and Stephen shake hands before Stephen departs. As their hands unclasp, the bells of St. George’s Church toll the half-hour. In the ‘echoes of that sound’, Stephen hears:

Liliata rutilantium. Turma circumdet.

Iubilantium te virginum. Chorus excipiat. (U, 17.1230-1231)

This is again a reformulation of the prayer. It retains the fractured sentences and stoppages as they appear at the end of ‘Telemachus’, but adds the final phrase, ‘Chorus excipiat’, and unveils the whole over two lines of the page instead of three. Gifford translates the text as: ‘Bright [glowing] as lillies. A throng gathers about. Jubilant you of virgins. Chorus rescues [releases, exempts or receives].’ (*Ulysses Annotated*, 586). The change in Bloom’s perception is more subtle. He hears in these bells a now unexclaimed,

Heigho, heigho,

Heigho, heigho. (U, 17.1233-1234)

54 There is a certain martyrdom in Stephen’s remorse over his mother’s death. His ‘I wept alone’ evokes John 11:35, the shortest verse in most English translations of the Bible, which reads simply ‘Jesus wept’ (in the Douay-Rheims Bible, ‘And Jesus wept’). More immediately, it recalls the ‘On me alone’ of ‘Telemachus’, as Stephen thinks of the staring of his mother’s eyes. Gifford links this phrase to the ghost of Hamlet’s father beckoning Hamlet (*Ulysses Annotated*, 19).

Alone in 'Ithaca', a potential remedy for Bloom's rectal troubles is revealed. In an unlocked draw in the front room of his house, amidst assorted paraphernalia, Bloom uncovers '1 prospectus of The Wonderworker, the world's greatest remedy for rectal complaints':

Quote the textual terms in which the prospectus claimed advantages for this thaumaturgic remedy.

It heals and soothes while you sleep, in case of trouble in breaking wind, assists nature in the most formidable way, insuring instant relief in discharge of gases, keeping parts clean and free natural action, an initial outlay of 7/6 making a new man of you and life worth living. Ladies find Wonderworker especially useful, a pleasant surprise when they note delightful result like a cool drink of fresh spring water on a sultry summer's day. Recommend it to your lady and gentlemen friends, lasts a lifetime. Insert long round end. Wonderworker. (*U*, 17.1824-1833)

The prospectus comes replete with testimonials, from 'clergyman, British naval officer, wellknown author, city man, hospital nurse, lady, mother of five, absentminded beggar'. The absentminded beggar's testimonial amusingly exclaims 'What a pity the government did not supply our men with wonderworkers during the South African campaign! What a relief it would have been!'. There are three forms of reference to Africa through *Ulysses*. The first is to the Boer Wars. The second is to 'Peter Claver S.J. and the African Mission' (*U*, 5.323). Claver was a Spanish Jesuit priest who served as a minister in Colombia and to African Americans, becoming the patron saint of both groups of people; while the 'African Mission' implies the extensive Jesuit ministry in Africa in the 1800s. The third is to Sabellius, the 'African heresiarch'. A tenuous but not impossible reading of Joyce's text could see in the figure of the 'absentminded beggar' Theodoret's Monophysite beggar, remarking on the certain benefits which a wonderworker would have provided those beset by the 'African' heresies of Arius and Sabellius. Whatever, the passage on the Wonderworker, and Bloom sitting in the privy in 'Calypso', together establish him a close dialogue with Arius.⁵⁵

The Wonderworker prospectus has arrived at 7 Eccles Street 'addressed (erroneously) to Mrs L. Bloom with brief accompanying note commencing (erroneously): Dear Madam'. Bloom, presumably owing to embarrassment, has had the prospectus addressed to his wife. Yet Molly has

55 An alternate to the 'Wonderworker' is suggested in 'Scylla and Charybdis' when, as Bloom passes out of the library between Mulligan and Stephen, Mulligan warns Stephen 'O, Kinch, thou art in peril. Get thee a breechpad'. Stephen thinks 'Manner of Oxenford' in response, apparently identifying homosexuality with English private and university education (*U*, 9.1211-1212).

toilet troubles of her own. This particular motif is introduced in ‘Calypso’, when Bloom, having realised that he is burning the kidney which he has just bought for breakfast, cries out and, ‘stubbing his toes against the broken commode, hurried out towards the smell’ (*U*, 4.382-383). If the ‘cracked looking-glass of a servant’ is a symbol of Irish art, the cracked commode is definitively Joycean; and it is appropriate that a urinary theme begins with a damaged kidney. The motif resumes in ‘Circe’, again prompted by the nymph who, shortly after her recollection concerning the ‘ruptured gentleman’, laments, ‘What have I not seen in that chamber? What must my eyes look down on?’. Bloom eventually understands which occurrence she has in mind:

BLOOM

(reflects precariously) That antiquated commode. It wasn’t her weight. She scaled just eleven stone nine. She put on nine pounds after weaning. It was a crack and want of glue. Eh? And that absurd orangekeyed utensil which has only one handle.

(The sound of a waterfall is heard in bright cascade.)

THE WATERFALL

Poulaphouca Poulaphouca

Poulaphouca Poulaphouca (*U*, 15.3292-3300)

Poulaphouca is a townland in County Wicklow, now best known for the Poulaphouca Reservoir, which was created between 1937 and 1947 after a long period of planning. It has since been one of the two major sources of Dublin’s water supply – the other being the Vartry Reservoir, at Roundwood, also in Wicklow. Previously, Poulaphouca was known for the Poulaphouca Waterfall, which since the building of the reservoir has dried up. The implication of its mention here in ‘Circe’ is clear: Joyce evidently finds the word onomatopoeic, and suggestive of the overflow of urine from an overburdened commode.

The same matter is repeated in ‘Ithaca’. One question-and-answer section concerns the flowing of water from ‘Roundwood reservoir in county Wicklow of a cubic capacity of 2400 million gallons’ (*U*, 17.164-165). Bloom’s weight is identified: he weighs less than Molly at ‘eleven stone and four pounds in avoirdupois measure’ (*U*, 17.91-92). Moving into the bedroom, where Molly lies presently asleep, he perceives among the ‘impersonal objects’ of the room ‘A commode,

one leg fractured, totally covered by square cretonne cutting, apple design, on which rested a lady's black straw hat. Orangekeyed ware [...]’ (*U*, 17.2102-2103).

As he gets into bed, tail-to-top,⁵⁶ and kisses the ‘plump mellow yellow smellow melons’ of Molly’s rump, Molly drowsily awakens. She queries Bloom on his day – a ‘catechetical interrogation’ – before Bloom sleeps (*U*, 17.2249). Molly is now well awake, and full of thought in the period before her second-sleep. ‘Penelope’, the final episode of *Ulysses* – which Joyce conceived as ‘the indispensable countersign to Bloom’s passport to eternity’ (*Selected Letters*, 278) – is Molly’s interior monologue, a stream-of-consciousness in eight paragraphs, without punctuation save for one or two full stops.⁵⁷ Dwelling upon her intimacy with Boylan earlier in the day, she momentarily thinks of the broken commode:

wheres the chamber gone easy Ive a holy horror of its breaking under me after that old commode I wonder was I too heavy sitting on his knee (*U*, 18.1136-1138)

The relationship between Molly and this broken commode is a means of connecting her within the cloacal theme of the novel. While ‘Penelope’ may be viewed as a countersign rather than a counterpart to ‘Ithaca’; and though of the two predominant relationships in *Ulysses*, ‘Penelope’ is devoted to that between Molly and Bloom where ‘Ithaca’ focuses on Bloom and Stephen; still the motif of the commode ties Molly with Stephen and Bloom in physical action, in humane, bodily union. The manner of Arius’s death, and its figurations throughout Joyce’s text, inevitably implicate him alongside these three, to offer a theological frame of reference for the reading of the novel, and to impart to and emphasise within each character a nature which is indelibly theoretical, exploratory, and transgressive.

56 This is the way Joyce and Nora slept whilst in Rome: in a letter to Stanislaus, 7 December 1906, Joyce writes ‘Our room is quite small: one bed: we sleep “lying opposed in opposite directions, the head of one towards the tail of the other”.’ (*Selected Letters*, 139). In *Ulysses*, this sleeping arrangement is prefigured in the ‘head by tail’ pears which Boylan sees in ‘Wandering Rocks’ (Garden, 175).

57 The proper number of periods in the episode has been a matter of debate, with some arguing for two – one at the end of the fourth paragraph, at the mid-point of the episode, and one at the episode’s close – and others arguing for just one at the close. Again see, *The New York Review of Books* ‘The Continuing Scandal of “Ulysses”’: An Exchange’ (September 29, 1988).

3. The Assertion and Elision of Character in ‘Cyclops’

Character from Nothingness: Bloom as Stereotyped Jew

Against dominant critical interpretations of ‘Cyclops’ – which focus on the stylistic innovation of the episode, embodied by Joyce’s use of passages interpolating the narrative text; or which analyse the content of the episode as a dialogue on the brand of political nationalism espoused by the citizen – I propose a perspective which restores the primacy of Bloom’s character, and emphasises the episode’s inflationary utilisation of the rhetoric of the early Church. In ‘Telemachus’, Stephen Dedalus proclaims, ‘I am servant of two masters [...] The imperial British state [...] and the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church.’ (U, 1.638-644). In ‘Cyclops’ Joyce once more works through the language of the early Church and its related debates as a means of undermining these twin authorities.

In his critical study of *Ulysses*, Hugh Kenner suggests a correlation between the passage which introduces the heresiarchs in ‘Telemachus’ and the interpolations which characterise ‘Cyclops’. Kenner posits that the shorter interpolations in ‘Telemachus’, such as Stephen’s initial interior utterance ‘Chrysostomos’, may be considered ‘notation for a brief movement of Stephen’s psyche’ (Kenner, 97). The longer interpolations in the episode, however, require a different explanation. Kenner cites the passage beginning ‘The proud potent titles clanged over Stephen’s memory’, which references Photius, Arius, Valentine and Sabellius in turn (U, 1.650). He suggests that,

What has happened, as repeatedly in ‘Cyclops’, is that a once-potent phrase – ‘the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church’ – has been snatched up from the plane of banality where it made its entry [...] and installed in a pocket of time outside the scene’s clock time, to generate a highly styled interpolation which (*‘Zut! Nom de Dieu!’*) is also parodic high style. And we have been charmed by the convention of the opening pages into supposing that this interruption is like ‘Chrysostomos’, a flick of the chameleon Stephen’s tongue, though it can’t have been. It exists alongside the narrative, with Stephen’s presence to excuse it. (Kenner, 98)

Thus Kenner argues that the passage in ‘Telemachus’ ought not to be read as Stephen introducing the heresiarchs, but as a separate narrative element only justified by Stephen’s presence.

By the time he came to write ‘Cyclops’, according to Kenner’s view, Joyce retained the same manner of interpolations, but was content to do away with their justification: ‘In deciding not to justify the parodies by the presence of someone to whose mental workings they are congruent, Joyce confirmed the convention that *Ulysses* is from now on at the disposal of the Arranger, who is free to interpolate what he likes without a by-your-leave.’ (Kenner, 98).

This reading has for Kenner significant implications towards the understanding of Joyce’s novel. An appreciation of the similarities between the interpolations of ‘Cyclops’ and ‘Telemachus’ forces us to reread the earlier episodes of *Ulysses*: it suggests that even before ‘Wandering Rocks’ – the point at which Groden and many other critics identify a decisive stylistic shift – *Ulysses* was ‘fissured already, and the microplanes of its surfaces minutely canted’ (Kenner, 98). So according to Kenner we may read the introduction of the heresiarchs in ‘Telemachus’ as both a precursor to, and as the first instance of, Joyce’s extravagant extra-narrative deviations.

Yet despite the interpretive powers of Kenner’s argument, it remains unclear why the extended passage in ‘Telemachus’ ‘can’t have been’ entirely Stephen’s interior monologue. The interpolation is of a piece with ‘Chrysostomos’ in so far as both develop a patristic frame of reference: it is consistent that a character who thinks immediately of Saint John Chrysostom upon the sight of gold-pointed teeth will be able to readily summon other Church Fathers. More, as someone with an intimate knowledge of the early Church, who has himself turned away from organised religion, it is natural that Stephen – having stated, provoked by Haines, that as an Irishman he is subject to a ‘Roman catholic and apostolic’ master – will turn in his thoughts towards early Church heresiarchs, who are those figures within the early Church who symbolise free-thought and the possibility of rebellion.

The preoccupation with Mulligan in the passage on the heresiarchs seems clearly Stephen’s. Mulligan is named twice in the passage, and both times identified with mockery. Mulligan is also present in the only other extended interpolation in ‘Telemachus’: that is, the only other passage in the episode which seems to diverge from and divest itself of the body of the narrative; neither comprising speech, describing the actions of characters or the surrounds of the Martello tower and Dublin bay, involving Stephen explicitly remembering his past, nor reducible to a ‘brief movement of Stephen’s psyche’.⁵⁸ This other extended interpolation emerges as Stephen views the elderly woman who has come to deliver the milk:

58 Beyond the question of interpolations in ‘Telemachus’ and their potential attribution to Stephen, it is worth noting that many of Stephen’s explicit recollections in the episode – whether carrying the boat of incense at Clongowes or witnessing his mother on her deathbed – are decidedly religious.

He watched her pour into the measure and thence into the jug rich white milk, not hers. Old shrunken paps. She poured again a measureful and a tilly. Old and secret she had entered from a morning world, maybe a messenger. She praised the goodness of the milk, pouring it out. Crouching by a patient cow at daybreak in the lush field, a witch on her toadstool, her wrinkled fingers quick at the squirting dugs. They lowed about her whom they knew, dewsilky cattle. Silk of the kine and poor old woman, names given her in old times. A wandering crone, lowly form of an immortal serving her conqueror and her gay betrayer, their common cuckquean, a messenger from the secret morning. To serve or to upbraid, whether he could not tell: but scorned to beg her favour. (*U*, 1.397-407)

Markedly similar in rhythm and tone to the passage a few pages later on the heresiarchs, the interpolation identifies Haines, an Englishman, as this milkmaid's 'conqueror', and again posits Mulligan deleteriously as a 'gay betrayer'. These consistencies allow us to read both interpolations as decisively Stephen's, his own rhetorical flourishes rather than early interpositions of an external 'Arranger'. Such passages from 'Telemachus' are still implicated by the interpolations in 'Cyclops', but they indicate an ambiguous area of exploration between character, narrative, religion, and state, rather than affirming a textual location strictly outside the confines of character.

Despite feeling that in the later episodes of the novel Joyce withdraws from the close characterisation of Bloom and Stephen, and replaces this with exuberant stylistic innovation, Kenner himself makes a movement back towards characterisation when he explains how these episodes harmonise with Bloom's state of mind. Kenner writes that by 'Cyclops', 'Stephen and Bloom, by now densely established as characters, are commencing their metamorphosis into types and portents. By the time they take cocoa in Bloom's kitchen ("Ithaca") and part in his back garden, it will be hard to say whether we are more conscious of their human substantiality or of their symbolic grandeur' (Kenner, 101).⁵⁹ At the same time, 'Joyce has not forgotten his former criterion of fidelity to the rhythm of his characters' thoughts'. Kenner notes how the apparent lack of narrative cohesion and the divestment of character which occurs from 'Sirens' through to 'Oxen of the Sun' is mirrored in Bloom: his workday effectively ending in 'Scylla and Charybdis' when he accesses the *Kilkenny People* at the National Library, he has witnessed Blazes Boylan leaving for 7 Eccles Street in 'Sirens', and now has few plans and feels he cannot return to his home. If the narrative of *Ulysses* is in flux following 'Wandering Rocks', then this reflects in part Bloom's own vacillations.

59 Kenner notes that in his initial planning for the episode, Joyce considered making Stephen a part of 'Cyclops', and that 'the episode might revert to the book's initial style, interior monologue and neutral narrative' (Kenner, 98).

The only item left on Bloom's agenda for the day – now that he has visited the post office and picked up Martha Clifford's letter, bathed, attended Paddy Dignam's funeral, discussed with councillor Nannetti the Keyes advertisement and followed this up at the library – is to meet with Martin Cunningham at Barney Kiernan's pub, to go over the matter of Dignam's insurance. This is the immediate purpose of the 'Cyclops' episode within the narrative of *Ulysses*. Yet as Kenner discerns, it is a purpose significantly hidden from the reader. Bloom must have agreed to meet Cunningham in 'Hades', either on the journey to or in the aftermath of Dignam's funeral, but despite two oblique references in 'Sirens' to the impending meeting, it is not until mid-'Cyclops' that the nature of the meeting is explained:

As a matter of fact I just wanted to meet Martin Cunningham, don't you see, about this insurance of poor Dignam's. Martin asked me to go to the house. You see, he, Dignam, I mean, didn't serve any notice of the assignment on the company at the time and nominally under the act the mortgagee can't recover on the policy. (*U*, 12.760-764)

Bloom is speaking to Joe Hynes, who responds, 'that's a good one if old Shylock is landed'.⁶⁰ The nameless narrator of the episode immediately takes up the narrative thread, paraphrasing as Bloom provides more detail. Dignam evidently used his insurance as a security to loan money from a lender named Bridgeman, and with Dignam now dead and his debt unpaid, his insurance would therefore pass to the lender, leaving Dignam's family with nothing. However, Cunningham has spotted a technicality – Dignam never served his company with notice of the deal with the lender – which appears to make the lender's claim unenforceable, thereby securing the insurance money for Dignam's wife.

'Nameless', irritated by the talk of Dignam's insurance, rounds on Bloom, bringing up his involvement in an apparently disreputable Hungarian lottery scheme. Ironically, however, it is precisely Bloom's handiness when it comes to matters of money which Martin Cunningham seeks. The implication is that Bloom will lead the negotiations between Dignam's wife and the moneylender, with Cunningham – along with his companions, Jack Power and Crofton (who appear in 'Grace' and in 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room respectively' from *Dubliners*; while Power travels with Cunningham, Bloom, and Simon Dedalus in 'Hades' earlier in the novel) – seeming of the opinion that Bloom will possess the necessary subtlety and tact to make the best of a delicate situation.

⁶⁰ Bloom at this point responds in turn to Hynes: '– Well, that's a point, says Bloom, for the wife's admirers. – Whose admirers? says Joe. – The wife's advisers, I mean, says Bloom.' (*U*, 12.767-769). This is one of several instances whereby a verbal slippage of Bloom's introduces a sexual innuendo.

Through a wonderful process of exegesis, Kenner analyses why Bloom's participation in this undertaking is elided within Joyce's narrative (Kenner, 103). He notes that not only is Bloom's planned meeting with Cunningham only briefly hinted at – whereas a fuller exposition would have given the novel a stronger narrative backbone – but more, the visit to the Dignam house does not become part of the text. Even when recounting his day in 'Ithaca' in response to Molly's 'catechetical interrogation', Bloom makes no mention of the visit.⁶¹ Indeed, after 'Cyclops' – according to Joyce's schema, and apparent from the depiction of time in the novel – a period of two or three hours passes before the action of 'Nausicaa' commences.⁶² It is by some distance the longest span of time missing from Joyce's account of the day. It is during these hours that Bloom travels to the Dignam house with Cunningham, Power and Crofton, but while Bloom considers Dignam's death four times in 'Nausicaa', and twice thinks of Mrs. Dignam – calling to mind her button nose, which is presumably indicative of his just having seen her – Kenner is right to assert that mention of this event is 'absent' from Bloom's ruminations, apart from one phrase suggesting its atmosphere and his future intentions: 'Houses of mourning so depressing because you never know. Anyhow she wants the money. Must call to those Scottish Widows as I promised' (*U*, 13.1226-1227).

It is Hynes' brief reference to Shylock which indicates why Bloom himself elides the event from his thoughts, and effectively from the told story of his day. Joyce's narrative is in this sense a product of Bloom's preference, a product of the workings of his mind: narrative style and narrative selection again reflect character.⁶³ Martin Cunningham is related to Shakespeare in 'Hades', when Bloom looks momentarily at his eyes and thinks, 'Sympathetic human man he is. Intelligent. Like Shakespeare's face. Always a good word to say.' (*U*, 6.343-345). Thus the course of action which would lead Bloom to Dignam's house – Cunningham's cultivation of Bloom – is figured as Shakespeare creating Shylock. Bloom, who is unwilling by nature to be moulded, specifically intuits the readiness of others to assert upon him the stereotype of Jewish moneyman or moneylender, and just as intuitively, he rejects the association. While recovering for Dignam's family the money by which they may live may be a noble act of selfless charity, Bloom neither looks forward nor takes any pride in it, because the assertion of a stereotype has taken away his agency as a 'conscious rational' human being.

61 These interrogations have become more frequent, 'Ithaca' notes, since the onset of Milly's puberty, '9 months and 1 day ago', 15 September 1903. Their effect has been to circumscribe Bloom's 'complete corporal liberty of action' (*U*, 17.2288-2292).

62 According to Joyce's second schema, 'Cyclops' takes place at 5 pm, 'Nausicaa' at 8 pm.

63 Though the psychology of Bloom and of the novel may be further explored if this hypothetical question is asked: whether an account of Bloom's visit to the Dignam's is written and then suppressed, or whether it is never so much as written. That is to say, is the narrative rejected from the outset, or is it maintained as a possibility and only rejected after the fact?

The Politics of Inflation

The point is that through what is written and unwritten, said and left unsaid in ‘Cyclops’, Joyce maintains a keen focus on the character of Bloom in what is a playfully but determinedly moral episode. And beyond recalling the religious and political matter of ‘Telemachus’ and subtly indicating Bloom’s private struggles with his Jewishness, Joyce once again uses the religious rhetoric of the early church to pull apart the authoritative language of church and state.

From absence, Bloom becomes the focus of ‘Cyclops’, even as the episode would seem to move away from him by replacing his inner monologue with the narration of ‘Nameless’.⁶⁴ Bloom is conspicuous in the episode in part because he is no longer so conspicuous: we lose not only his train of thought, but also a sense of his body – otherwise so central to any conception of Bloom, frequently engaged in explicit bodily acts and always preoccupied with the physiological – as he becomes a mere voice among voices in Barney Kiernan’s pub. It is into this vacuum, amidst the relative darkness of the pub, and against its narrow conceptions – Nameless’s ribald and entertaining but single-tracked pattern of speech, which tends to slight others and adduce to them selfish motives; and the citizen’s nationalist and racist ideology – that Joyce introduces his vast and varied interpolations.

They constitute a centrifugal rather than a centripetal force. Where Nameless works to develop a limited, doubting consensus within the confines of the pub – which even takes in Martin Cunningham who, in Bloom’s absence, despite initially asking for ‘Charity to the neighbour’, ultimately offers a toast only to ‘bless all here’, thereby excluding whomever is not present (*U*, 12.1665-1673) – the interpolations propel outwards and away from this centre. In his *Discourse in the Novel*, Mikhail Bakhtin opposes centripetal ‘unitary language’ with centrifugal ‘heteroglossia’. Centripetal ‘unitary language’ endeavours towards ‘guaranteeing a certain maximum of mutual understanding and crystalizing into a real, though still relative, unity’, whereas centrifugal ‘heteroglossia’ implicates ‘another’s speech in another’s language, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way’ (Bakhtin, 270 and 324). And it is something of the same movement which Joyce utilises in ‘Cyclops’, as the interpolations disrupt the unity of Nameless’s

64 The narrator of ‘Cyclops’ receives the title ‘Nameless One’ when he reappears in ‘Circe’, with a ‘featureless face’, as one of the jury who emerge from the fog to accuse Bloom (*U*, 15.1143-1144).

narration and of the citizen's Irish nationalist rhetoric, implicating other avenues for thought and displaying other utilisations of language.⁶⁵

In this sense the interpolations serve a moral function, allowing for a multiplicity of voices, and giving form to life beyond Barney Kiernan's pub. They allow for the wandering of consciousness which both Nameless and the citizen would apparently limit, and which we lose as readers when separated from Bloom's roaming inner voice. As the interpolations draw upon and transgress specific literary genres – those of medieval romance literature, Biblical prose, and newspaper reportage – there is a link with 'Ithaca', in which Joyce adopted the technical jargon of specific sciences to fulfil his 'mathematico-astronomico-physico-mechanico-geometrico-chemico sublimation' (Ellmann, 501). Kenner stresses too that the interpolations resemble the headings in 'Aeolus', both episodes being 'journalistic in thrust', and 'Cyclops' in fact vulgarising the same themes which 'the *bricoleurs* of "Aeolus" had imagined themselves to be treating with suave detachment' (Kenner, 100). It is via the interpolations that 'Cyclops' transcends what Bakhtin identifies as the 'stylistics of "private craftsmanship"' and moves towards the 'open spaces of public squares, streets, cities and villages, of social groups, generations and epochs' (Bakhtin, 269).

Yet if the interpolations instigate an opening out and decentralising of language, it is important that they do not achieve this entirely in isolation. They repeatedly move off from and feed back into the pub narrative. An appreciation of the extent to which the interpolations and pub narrative entwine, alongside an identification of the moral function of the interpolations, calls into question their reputation as merely parody. This is a reputation which has persevered through the most detailed analyses of the episode: Kenner repeatedly identifies the interpolations as 'parodies', and Don Gifford's *Ulysses Annotated* annotates each interpolation with the description 'Parody', summarising each with a sense of which literary form they are subjecting to parody. Likewise, traditional readings of 'Cyclops' which assert it as Joyce's most political episode – owing to the citizen's avid nationalist discourse – fail to capture the true dynamism of an episode which abounds equally in religion, and conceives early Christianity as a site of origin from which Irish political disputes still develop.

In *Joyce's Revenge: History, Politics, and Aesthetics in Ulysses*, Andrew Gibson reads 'Cyclops' as a form of complex retribution taken by Joyce upon Anglo-Irish revivalism. From the outset, Gibson recognises that this reading subverts the political focus of earlier critics:

65 The German sociologist Robert Michels (1876-1936) defined and analysed centripetal and centrifugal politics in his 1911 book *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. The French philosopher and art historian Georges Didi-Huberman's (b. 1953) essay 'Knowledge Movement (The Man Who Spoke to Butterflies)' contains the idea that 'The image is not a closed field of knowledge, it is a whirling centrifugal field'.

From Hugh Kenner onwards, scholars have recognized that ‘Cyclops’ develops a ‘critique’ of what Kenner himself calls the ‘neo-Celtic movement’ and its ‘pseudo-histories’ [...] But they have also tended to see this aspect of ‘Cyclops’ as of secondary importance alongside its criticism of the citizen and his brand of nationalism, and Bloom’s stout resistance to him. In fact, ‘Cyclops’ engages in a sustained assault on Anglo-Irish, revivalist historiographies and constructions of Irish history, and the politics and aesthetics implicit in them [...] An anti-revivalist animus is central to ‘Cyclops’ and is the determining context for the chapter’s other themes, rather than a more or less incidental embroidery upon them. (Gibson, 107-108)

Gibson views among the Anglo-Irish revivalists Samuel Ferguson, Lady Gregory, Douglas Hyde, and W. B. Yeats – but most of all, he sets up a dialogue between Joyce and Standish O’Grady, whose *History of Ireland* was published between 1878 and 1880. Gibson calls this ‘the most crucial work of Irish historiography of the period. Its importance in the culture Joyce knew can hardly be underestimated.’ (Gibson, 108). According to Gibson, the Anglo-Irish revivalists blurred the line between history and mythology, seeking to consolidate through an ancient heroic past their place in the Ireland of the present. Working by exaggeration and excluding ‘vulgar’ reality from their works, O’Grady in particular emphasised an ideal history of Ireland expunged of Christianity:

O’Grady thought that the advent of Christianity had ‘ruined’ the ancient culture [...] the ‘scholastic Irish were great in annals and chronology, but the functions of the poet and maker were not theirs, nor vividness of perception, nor sympathy, nor grandeur of thought’. The choice between Oisín and Patrick was clear. This choice – a choice between the heroic past and Irish Catholic traditions – was also a choice between ways of imagining history. (Gibson, 109)

The thrust of Gibson’s argument places the interpolations of ‘Cyclops’ centre stage, as he conceives them as a series of critiques of revivalist concerns and methods. He carefully notes the stylistic echoes – the use of double-epithets, exaggerations of size, and lists or ‘runs’ – by which Joyce mocks revivalist endeavour (Gibson, 114-115). More, he astutely identifies the close relationship between Anglo-Irish revivalism and English cultural nationalism, and convincingly argues that Joyce found Irish nationalism also complicit with these dominant modes of historical perspective.

Yet Gibson's attempt to contextualise 'Cyclops' entirely within the confines of contemporary Irish politics and politicised culture leads him to confusion where religion is addressed. Gibson admits that he has 'reservations' about the use of the term 'parody' to describe the interpolations, because the episode is 'rather a massive recycling of a stock-in-trade':

Joyce was making light of a whole mode of discourse that speciously presented itself as a form of historiography [...] Into the formulas to which Revival historiography resorted, Joyce introduces precisely what it sought to exclude: Catholicism, the Middle Ages, the colonial past and present [...] In effect, he emphasizes the actual, compromised, adulterated character of a history and culture that the Revival had attempted to purify, but only at the cost of evasion and massive omission. (Gibson, 117)

In this sense, Joyce exposes revivalism in the same way as he exposes Christianity through highlighting the heresiarchs and the *Deharbe* 'thereabouts': by revealing, asserting and extending what narrow doctrine would elide or dismiss and leave hidden. However, because Gibson touches usefully but only briefly upon the religious aspects of Joyce's text in his effort to prove that anti-revivalism drives the interpolations, he is unable to provide a wholly accurate account of Joyce's text. Gibson contradicts himself when he first argues that Joyce's art in 'Cyclops' is 'an art of deflation', and writes that 'for Joyce heroic and gigantic forms required deflation' (Gibson, 113 and 115); but then agrees with Karen Lawrence that 'Cyclops' is Joyce's most Rabelaisian chapter, because Joyce uses 'a Rabelaisian "gigantism" – a medieval and Catholic one – to criticize, modify, and indeed transform its revivalist equivalent' (Gibson, 118). That is, Gibson stumbles over whether Joyce is engaged in deflating language, inflating it, or both. Any sense of Joyce elaborating the interpolations largely to prick the balloon of revivalists seems to detract from their multiplicity and from the involved entertainment they afford: if we see them as more than a critique, then we must look more closely at their 'gigantic', inflationary qualities.

Leaving the episode's religious movements and modes on the margins of his analysis, Gibson also sidelines Bloom:

Almost everything else in 'Cyclops' can be fitted around its central concerns as I have described them [...] Take the historical theme and the 'parodies' as a starting point, and it becomes clear that Joyce's presentation of Bloom is ambiguous and playful partly because he can afford to let it be so. There is only a limited amount at stake. (Gibson, 126)

Without a full understanding for the moral bearing of the interpolations, and dismissing Bloom's characterisation in the episode as 'not intended to be largely significant', Gibson is left with the unconvincing argument that Joyce uses 'historical precision' as his chief weapon against the citizen's hyperbolic nationalism (Gibson, 123). While these interpolations may be richly suggestive, there is nothing historically precise about the examples Gibson provides: a jocular parody of the Apostles' Creed, which Gibson depicts as an 'exact reference' to the contemporary state of naval discipline; and a scurrilous account of a 'Zulu chief' visiting England, in which the 'dusky potentate' swallows 'several knives and forks, amid hilarious applause from the girl hands', which Gibson pretends constitutes Joyce viewing the 'colonial power' with a 'steely exactitude' (*U*, 12.1510-1533).

Readings of the interpolations in 'Cyclops' as literary parodies only; as secondary to the political discourse which takes place in the bar, narrated by Nameless; or as amounting predominantly to a critique of revivalist historiography – all these are undermined as soon as we appreciate the extent to which religion shaped Joyce's process of composition. In a passage from *Ulysses in Progress* to which Gibson refers, Groden writes that for 'Cyclops':

Joyce apparently decided to drop the monologue technique, which he had already distorted practically beyond recognition in 'Sirens'. He lacked a clear idea of the technique that would replace it, but, contrary to what we might expect, his initial impulse was in the direction of the parody passages rather than in that of the first-person naturalistic narrator. (Groden, 118)

Joyce's initial work on 'Cyclops' – which Groden dates to 'shortly before' 19 June, 1919 – consisted of two groups of four scenes (Groden, 117). The first four scenes, which Joyce wrote out in ink, provided the episode with its basic structure: comprised 'mainly of parody passages', the four scenes began with the interpolation 'In Inisfail the fair there lies a land, the land of holy Michan' (*U*, 12.68), and ended with 'When, lo, there came about them all a great brightness' (*U*, 12.1910). These interpolations held their respective positions, bookending Joyce's text throughout his further work on the episode. In the published text of *Ulysses*, the 'holy Michan' interpolation is the second in 'Cyclops', after the late addition of 'For nonperishable goods bought of Moses Herzog' (*U*, 12.33); while the 'When, lo' interpolation remains as the episode's closing and climatic passage.

This is to say that Joyce's earliest work on 'Cyclops' meant hanging the episode upon two interpolations which explicitly reference religion. Together, the first four scenes which he wrote provided a fixed skeleton on which to build. The second group of four scenes, which he wrote in

pencil, developed incidents for the middle of the episode (Grodén, 117). He numbered his scenes 1 to 8 in blue pen in his copybook, and after revising the latter four, the first stage of the development of ‘Cyclops’ was complete. Grodén notes that at this point, Joyce had not yet finalised a list of the minor characters who would appear in the episode (Grodén, 117).

Grodén explains that between work on these initial eight scenes and the autograph fair copy purchased by John Quinn sometime in late August or early September – from which the typescripts for *The Little Review* were prepared, and which is now part of the Rosenbach Manuscript – there is little in the way of transitional documentation. A single sheet of paper is all that survives. This sheet bears a list of events for ‘Cyclops’, and a short passage intended for the episode. The passage contains part of Joyce’s parody of the Apostles’ Creed. The list comprises eleven events, ‘in an order approximating that of the final version’ (Grodén, 122). Three of these are explicitly religious: the first, ‘Religion – Saints (Isle of)’; the eighth, ‘Saints’; and the tenth, ‘Discussion Jews’. The eleventh event on the list indicates ‘Finale’, which we know Joyce had already conceived and written as the ‘When, lo’ interpolation. Again we see that religion was at the very heart of Joyce’s conception of ‘Cyclops’.⁶⁶

Narrative Synthesis and Splendid Waste

Grodén writes that Joyce’s notesheets for ‘Cyclops’ – in the collection of the British Museum and edited in 1972 by Phillip F. Herring – lend support to the outlined order of composition, by which Joyce began work on the episode with an emphasis on religion and the interpolations (Grodén, 118). Considering the importance of these ‘curious notesheets’ for Joyce, Grodén asserts that they held ‘precise meanings’ for him in spite of their chaotic appearance: though sometimes obscured by the layering of Joyce’s revisions, Joyce relied on his notesheets for everything from the correction of single words, to the insertion of entire passages (Grodén, 139-142). Grodén quotes Herring, who in his introduction to the *Notesheets* confirms, ‘Each episode was repeatedly “dipped” into the storehouse of material contained in Joyce’s notes and supplemented by his memory’ (in Grodén, 143).

66 As with many of his later episodes, Joyce heavily revised ‘Cyclops’ through several stages of placards and page proofs. However, the additions he made were ‘chiefly verbal or phrases, rarely passages’ (in Grodén, 123). Grodén cites Joyce’s extension of the list of ‘saints and martyrs’ as a prominent example among Joyce’s later revisions, showing that the religious aspects of his text continued to preoccupy him beyond the initial phase of composition (Grodén, 159).

Looking through the ‘Cyclops’ notesheets as edited by Herring, amid the numerous notes pertaining to politics and religion, and specifically to Judaism, there is a note on centrifugal and centripetal forces. Joyce notes:

Irel: centripetal ambition (Zionism)

– fugal " (Columb) (in Herring, 96)

Herring elucidates this note, explaining that Zionism may be read as a centripetal force because it looks solely towards the ‘centre’ of Israel. ‘Columb’, on the other hand, refers to Saint Columba, the Irish missionary credited with the spread of Christianity across Scotland during the sixth century. After being exiled from Ireland, from 563 Columba established a base on the Western island of Iona, in the Hebrides, where he and his followers built an abbey. Not content with ministering beyond his home country, Columba continued to travel over Scotland: spreading the Christian faith to the Orkneys and throughout the land of the Picts, which consists of modern-day Scotland’s north and east (Herring, 98). Thus Columba represents a centrifugal force since his evangelism ‘proceeded in all directions away’ from both Ireland and Iona (Herring, 98).

Joyce did not cross out this note with coloured pencil as was his practise when directly transferring material into the body of his text; and his only use of the words ‘centripetal’ and ‘centrifugal’ appears later, in ‘Ithaca’, where they touchingly relate Bloom and Stephen as they shake hands upon Stephen’s departure from Bloom’s home (*U*, 17.1214-1225). As Herring writes elsewhere, frequently through Joyce’s composition of *Ulysses*, ‘particular ideas moved continually upstream like salmon’ (Herring, 523). Nevertheless, the note shows Joyce contemplating in the process of writing ‘Cyclops’ how different religious perspectives tend to uphold or disrupt authoritative centres.

Following Gibson’s reading which prioritises Joyce’s language in ‘Cyclops’ as an attempt to deflate Anglo-Irish revivalist rhetoric, Mark Osteen’s *The Economy of Ulysses: Making Both Ends Meet* offers a rapprochement with the episode’s tendency towards inflation. Osteen investigates ‘Cyclops’ in terms of economic paradigms and economic exchange. He sets the patterns of exchange in the episode against the twin backgrounds of Homeric Greek gift-giving culture, and the indigenous American potlatch ceremony:

Each participant in a potlatch attempts to outdo the others in generosity, which often takes the form of extravagant gift giving but may also involve actual destruction of property [...] But the gifts in a potlatch only seem voluntary; actually there are three intersecting

obligations – to give, to receive, and to reciprocate. To fail in any of the three is to suffer social humiliation and loss of honour (Osteen, 263).

Osteen extends this understanding with reference to the economic theories of Georges Bataille. Bataille, he notes, seeks a ‘general economy’ in contrast to the ‘restricted economy’ of purchasing and saving. Generalising from the potlatch, he finds the principle of expenditure and loss in all social activities, and discerns that humans ‘subsist not in order to save, but in order “to accede to the insubordinate function of free expenditure”’ (in Osteen, 265). Osteen summarises, ‘Since, according to Bataille, social rank is an economic exchange value as tangible as property, squanderers may gain prestige from their expenditures’ (Osteen, 265).

As the narrator of the episode, Nameless provides an exceptional case. Osteen notes how his narration is filled with economic connotations, and suggests that Nameless hopes to thereby build a sense of financial credibility which will uphold his narrative voice. Yet at the same time, in Nameless’s eyes, everyone in ‘Cyclops’ is depicted as a ‘con-man, thief, or sponger’ (Osteen, 255). In reducing all economic activity to fraud, Nameless undermines his claimed narrative authority: he discredits the basis of his own prestige, and begs the question as to his own motive in recounting the events he narrates.⁶⁷ Meanwhile many of the other characters in ‘Cyclops’ engage in the sort of squandering identified by Bataille: drinking, buying round after round, and gambling, with the provision that these are not acts of generosity, but show individuals in competition, socialising but seeking ‘to get something for nothing’ (Osteen, 264).

Osteen depicts Joyce’s apparent reservations about such squandering. Joyce’s reservations are ‘best embodied in the one character who does not participate in the potlatch’ (Osteen, 267). This is Bloom, who refuses to accept a drink from Hynes when he enters Barney Kiernan’s, who fails to buy a round, and who does not gamble in spite of the allegations of the pub-dwellers. Yet if Joyce has reservations about throwing away money, he has few about extravagantly using up words, in both the pub narrative and the interpolations. For Osteen, ‘Joyce’s defiance of organic unity and the economic relationship of words to meaning violates that Jamesian “sublime economy” of realism and replaces it with one of splendid waste.’ (Osteen, 273).

So there are competing impulses in ‘Cyclops’, between monologic authority and dialogic extravagance, between economic conservatism and economic excess. Joyce’s attitude can be interpreted amidst these conflicts:

67 Osteen suggests that Nameless’s narration is ‘presumably in exchange for more drinks’ (Osteen, 254).

while the episode satirizes the excesses of the characters and narrators and privileges Bloom's prudent economic behavior, it reinstates the value of excess by foregrounding its own exuberant linguistic energy. There remains, however, a crucial difference between his verbal economy and the financial expenditures of the characters. For Joyce, these losses become assets. Unlike the potlatch at Kiernan's and the Dublin economy in general, his expenditure is also productive labor that subverts the economy of balance and the discourses of authoritarianism. It is therefore the antithesis of the idleness of characters like Nameless and the Citizen and of their bullying rhetoric. (Osteen, 275)

Nevertheless, the episode remains the site of a 'collision' between contradictory elements, and the effect of this is the emergence of the comic. Indeed, for Bataille this is the tendency wherever opposites are brought together. He writes that 'It is contradictory to try to be unlimited and limited at the same time, and the result is comedy' (in Osteen, 274). Thus Osteen concludes his chapter on 'Cyclops' by dubbing it Joyce's 'politicoecomedie': an arena where the political and economical and the artistic and comic combine.

Still, while he appreciates that these are blurred in the final passage of 'Cyclops', Osteen argues that the pub narrative and the interpolations split the episode into two distinct 'narrative zones'. He suggests that any exchange between these discrete zones is limited. He writes that while:

Joyce's juxtaposition of these voices destroys the claims of each to sole authority, only the reader stationed outside the text recognizes the relativizing effect of this alternation. The dialogue does not occur within the narrative but only as a frame around it. In fact, this refusal to acknowledge alternative ideologies or points of view characterizes the entire episode [...] Just as the characters in the episode talk a good deal but have little actual dialogue, the narratives fail also to carry out genuine exchange (Osteen, 257)

While Osteen's book is an original study which provides a valuable insight into some of the narrative undercurrents and character motivations within 'Cyclops', his contention here is something I want to argue against. There is significant interchange between Nameless's narration, which recounts events in Barney Kiernan's pub, and the narrative interpolations. It is not merely an issue of the latter existing 'alongside' the former, as Kenner puts it. While it is true that the interpolations only very rarely advance the pub narrative – the account of the city hall meeting attended by John Wyse Nolan and Lenehan being the clearest exception (*U*, 12.1183-1189) – they continually take their lead from a line or a theme espoused in the pub, call back to its concerns, and

entwine with and impel its continuance. The two narrative elements in ‘Cyclops’ are not competing parallel lines, but tapestries.

In *James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses*, Frank Budgen better asserts the synthesis of these narrative elements. Analysing the episode, he recalls telling Joyce:

Every event is a many-sided object. You first state one view of it and then you draw it from another angle to another scale and both aspects lie side by side in the same picture. (Budgen, 157)

Budgen has the same sense as Osteen regarding Nameless’s stance towards others. Where Osteen suggests Nameless views all as con-men, thieves, and spongers, Budgen writes that to Nameless, ‘all heroes are blockheads, all saints are rogues, and he looks at the gods only to see if their clay feet are cracking up nicely’ (Budgen, 157). There is abundant evidence of this unscrupulous meanness throughout ‘Cyclops’. Nobody is exempt from Nameless’s dismissive criticisms. Even his drinking partner, Joe Hynes, is subject. When Nameless first spots him, in the opening passage of the episode, he depicts him ‘dodging along Stony Batter’ and soon suggests, ‘Decent fellow Joe when he has it but sure like that he never has it’ – a defamation which proves utterly incorrect as Joe repeatedly stands him and the citizen drinks (*U*, 12.65-66).

Already early in the episode, Nameless appears certain of Bloom’s parsimonious nature, remarking ‘he’d let you pour all manner of drink down his throat till the Lord would call him before you’d ever see the froth of his pint’ (*U*, 12.684-686). The citizen and his dog have already been the subject of abuse, when Nameless brings up an allegation against the citizen: ‘As much as his bloody life is worth to go down and address his tall talk to the assembled multitude in Shanagolden where he daren’t show his nose [...] for grabbing the holding of an evicted tenant.’ (*U*, 12.1312-1316). And aside from asserting their selfishness or bringing up problematic events from their past, Nameless can insult people in other ways too. When Crofton – a character whose name we, as readers, may already know from ‘Ivy Day in the Committee Room’ – enters alongside Martin Cunningham and Jack Power, Nameless incessantly muddles the name of this ‘orangeman’, calling him ‘Crofter’, ‘Crawford’, and finally ‘whatever you call him’ (*U*, 12.1769).

Yet Nameless is caustic rather than malicious, and it is too strong to call him ‘evil’. Budgen himself accepts that he is so ‘vividly presented’ that ‘we are forced to like him in spite of his poisonousness’ (Budgen, 158). At points, Nameless actively engages the reader: after depicting a fraudulent offer for passage to Canada, he asks ‘What? Do you see any green in the white of my

eye? Course it was a bloody barney.’ (*U*, 12.1088-1089). Gibson argues that, in contrast to the citizen and the interpolations, Nameless provides ‘liberatingly comic relief’:

He may lack any sense of history himself. But he and his discourse embody Joyce’s wicked challenge to the ‘historical imagination of others. If he lacks a name, it is chiefly within all extant Irish historical and political discourses, constrained as they remain by the colonial past. But here, Joyce is saying, is an actual Irishman, living in history, and you must take him with all his imperfections. (Gibson, 126)

In attempting to position Nameless as the democratic fulcrum of ‘Cyclops’, Gibson is guilty of what he has just criticised in the context of interpretations of the citizen: an approach towards Joyce which ignores the multiplicity of his language, in favour of a narrower view which considers his “sympathy” or “lack of sympathy” with his creation’ (Gibson, 124). Equally disconcerting is any implication that linguistic vitality in ‘Cyclops’ resides solely in Nameless’s person. Rather, Nameless’s verbal energy is the grounding feature in a multifaceted text, whose elements receive their shape and vitality largely in relation to one another.

Just as importantly, it must be remembered that it is Nameless who allows Bloom a voice, consistently and throughout the episode. While he is quick to slander others, and while he may become drunker and more irritable as the episode progresses, still he lets Bloom’s speech come through in his narration, apparently unfettered. Nameless frames the speech of others with his asides, but he never seems to mould, to add by way of insertion or else redact the speech of other characters. Whether this shows a certain aspect to Nameless – a certain idealism or a commitment to journalism at its best – is less significant than the very fact of this generosity on Nameless’s part, which allows Bloom some of the loftiest and most profound expressions in the whole of *Ulysses*. Speaking to Budgen, Joyce remarked:

‘You see, [Nameless] is really a great admirer of Bloom who, besides being a better man, is also more cunning, a better talker, and more fertile in expedients.’ (Budgen, 169).

Osteen’s concept of ‘splendid waste’ can be applied more broadly to *Ulysses*, and with particular resonance for Joyce’s utilisations of the rhetoric of the early Church. Across his novel, from ‘Telemachus’ and his evocation of the heresiarchs onwards, Joyce inserts, manipulates, and invokes historic and contemporary debates around the language of early Christianity. And throughout, to borrow Osteen’s words, ‘his expenditure is also productive labor that subverts the

economy of balance and the discourses of authoritarianism' (Osteen, 275). Joyce is intent on showing through early Church rhetoric how the Christian faith has suffered its own excesses: excommunicated heretics and torn itself apart through a series of schisms owing to convoluted doctrinal disputes which often rest on single letters or clauses; overburdened itself with language; obfuscated and hesitated in its endeavour to appear exact. The closing interpolation to 'Cyclops' is an especially nuanced example of waste, as it masks a crucial reference to Saint Patrick in an excess of Biblical allusion. Revealing the fact and the extent of this reference restores the centrality of Bloom within the episode, and identifies Joyce's stylistic innovation as a synthesis of religion and politics.

4. 'Cyclops' and the Rhetoric of the Early Church

'Elijah is Coming'

'Lestrygonians' opens with Bloom handed a 'throwaway', a leaflet advertising the coming to Dublin of a 'Dr John Alexander Dowie restorer of the church in Zion' (*U*, 8.13-14). Dowie was a Scottish-born evangelist who ministered extensively in Australia and the United States. Positing himself as a faith healer and declaring himself the third coming of the prophet Elijah, he gained a following and, by 1901, had meticulously planned and founded the city of Zion, in the state of Illinois. Having a monopoly on power and by most accounts fraudulently acquiring his followers' money, Dowie would be forced from power in Zion in 1906, and he died the following year. Gifford notes that he did not visit Dublin in 1904, but he did embark on a brief tour of Europe in the middle of June (Gifford, 157).

Handed the leaflet, Bloom immediately reads it as referring to himself:

Bloo Me? No.

Blood of the Lamb. (*U*, 8.8-9)

He walks on, reading as the leaflet asserts 'Elijah is coming'. Bloom's thoughts pass through a series of religious and scientific themes, on polygamy, on uses for phosphorus, on Genesis' command to 'increase and multiply', and on fasting. On O'Connell bridge he looks down and sees flapping gulls,

Looking for grub. Wait.

He threw down among them a crumpled paper ball. Elijah thirtytwo feet per sec is com. Not a bit. The ball bobbed unheeded on the wake of the swells, floated under by the bridgepiers. Not such damn fools. (*U*, 8.56-59)

This thrown away leaflet, ignored by the gulls, continues to make its way eastward and westward down the Liffey river. It appears three times in 'Wandering Rocks' – in those passages featuring Katey, Boody, and Maggy Dedalus, Tom Kernan, and Buck Mulligan and Haines – as a structural device, connecting characters, indicating their related locations and the fluid passing of time across the episode. The repetitious manner in which this throwaway is relayed introduces a

gently rhythmical motif, and at the same time suggests a culmination, some final place of destination. Each time the ‘throwaway’ reappears, it is described as a ‘skiff, a crumpled throwaway’, and references the coming of Elijah.

Elijah, as recounted in the Old Testament Books of Kings, was a prophet and miracle worker who lived in the ninth century b.c. He defended the worship of Yahweh, the god of the Israelites, challenging the worship of the local Canaanite idol Baal. Belief in the second-coming of Elijah stems from a passage in the Book of Malachi, which reads:

⁵Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord:

⁶And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse. (Malachi 4:5-6 KJV)

This passage and the fulfilment of its prophecy have been variously debated. Many Christians believe that the prophecy of Elijah’s coming was fulfilled by the life and the ministry of John the Baptist, and by the life and death of Jesus: according to this reading, John the Baptist was the second Elijah, presaging the coming of the Lord, Jesus Christ. The synoptic gospels provide the framework for this belief. The gospel of Matthew explicitly identifies John the Baptist with Elijah twice, most clearly as Jesus explains to his disciples, ‘But I say unto you, That Elias is come already [...] Then the disciples understood that he spake unto them of John the Baptist.’ (Matthew 17:12-13 KJV). More, where 2 Kings 1:8 describes Elijah as ‘an hairy man, and girt with a girdle of leather about his loins’, Matthew 3:4 echoes in its depiction of John the Baptist with ‘raiment of camel’s hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins; and his meat was locusts and wild honey’.

While the gospels of Mark and Luke are less explicit, Mark also links John the Baptist to Elijah by virtue of their shared appearance, and Mark 9:13 has Jesus telling his disciples that Elijah has ‘indeed come’. In Luke, an angel of the Lord appears to Zacharias, John the Baptist’s father, and tells him that his son ‘shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of fathers to the children’ (Luke 1:17 KJV). However, the gospel of John shows John the Baptist rejecting the association: ‘Art thou Elias?’, he is asked, ‘And he saith, I am not. Art thou that prophet? And he answered, No.’ (John 1:21 KJV). If Elijah is identified with John the Baptist, it may be asked whether he will come for a third time – as John Alexander Dowie proposed – before the final Day of Judgement. But Jews reject John the Baptist as Elijah just as they reject Jesus as the Messiah. As Martin Cunningham notes in ‘Cyclops’, they are ‘still waiting for their redeemer’ (*U*, 12.1644).

Between Irish Nationalism and Judaism

And Martin Cunningham continues the thought: ‘For that matter so are we’. He thereby compares the Jews’ wait for a Messiah who will restore their homeland with Ireland’s wait for a leader who will succeed in liberating the country from English rule. This is a movement, between Irish nationalism and Judaism, which Joyce makes repeatedly in *Ulysses* and in ‘Cyclops’ most of all. It features not only consciously, from the mouths of the episode’s more open-minded characters, but unconsciously too in suggestive phrases. Most notably, the citizen unwittingly makes the connection himself on several occasions. As he and J.J. O’Molloy begin to argue about law and history – preceding the citizen’s lengthy paean to Irish trade, which mirrors the interpolations in its exaggerations, rhetorical flourishes, and use of lists – the citizen asks, ‘Where are our missing twenty millions of Irish should be here today instead of four, our lost tribes?’ (*U*, 12.1240-1241). The evocation of ‘lost tribes’ suggests the ten lost tribes of Israel. These were Israelites supposedly deported from the Kingdom of Israel during the Assyrian conquest of the eighth century b.c.; according to Gifford, ‘The loss of ten of the original twelve tribes was regarded as Jehovah’s punishment of his ‘chosen people’ because they were disobedient to his will’ (Gifford, 350). Thus Ireland’s loss – at the hands of the English, owing to famine, disease, and the resultant emigration – is equated to the loss and the dispersion of the Israelites.

The tribes of Israel are implicated elsewhere in ‘Cyclops’, central to two of the episode’s interpolations, and each time intertwined with the sense and development of the Irish nation. Shortly after J.J. and Ned Lambert enter Barney Kiernan’s pub, the discussion turns to the courthouse and to the ‘Canada swindle case’ where testimony was given by ‘an ancient Hebrew Zaretsky [...] swearing by the holy Moses he was stuck for two quid’ (*U*, 12.1091-1093). A James Wought – referred to anti-Semitically by Nameless as being ‘of the bottlenosed fraternity’ – has fraudulently taken the money of Zaretsky and others, having advertised passage by boat to Canada for an impossibly low price.

In the interpolation which follows, set within the courthouse, Frederick Falkiner, the real-life Recorder of Dublin, sits alongside ‘the high sinhedrim of the twelve tribes of Iar, for every tribe one man’ (*U*, 12.1124-1125). The ‘sinhedrim’ refers to the Sanhedrin, the ancient Jewish court of Jerusalem which was finally dissolved in the fifth century a.d., by Roman decree. Some Jews interpret Isaiah 1:26 as indicating that the restoration of the Sanhedrin will prefigure or accompany the coming of their Messiah. Of the ‘twelve tribes of Iar’ which the interpolation lists, the first is the

‘tribe of Patrick’. In this instance, where the pub narrative of ‘Cyclops’ would oppose Irishman and Jew – as those in Barney Kiernan’s joke over Jews brought before an Irish judge – the interpolation gestures to bring them together, with a complex of Dublin court and Sanhedrin, and with legendary Irishmen leading an Israelite construct of tribes.

Emboldened by his lists of Irish trades, harbours, and grievances against the English, the citizen asks Bloom what he considers his nation. ‘Ireland, says Bloom. I was born here. Ireland.’ (*U*, 12.1431). The citizen says nothing but spits in the corner of the pub, provocatively clearing out his mouth. He takes out a handkerchief to swab himself dry; and this leads into an interpolation which depicts in fantastic detail a ‘muchtreasured and intricately embroidered ancient Irish facecloth’ (*U*, 12.1438-1439). The facecloth is attributed to the ‘authors of the Book of Ballymote’. This is a compilation of Irish history and myth first published about 1391. It contains a history of the lost tribes of Israel which depicts their forced migration to Europe, and posits that their descendants became the Celts and Anglo-Saxons. A form of British Israelism with scant supporting evidence, this pseudo-history may nevertheless have appealed to Joyce in the same manner as Bérard’s conception of a Phoenician Odysseus. Both would have served similar purposes as literary precedents binding together Joyce’s interests and source materials: in Bérard’s case, Homer and Judaism; in the case of the *Book of Ballymote*, Irishman and Jew.⁶⁸ The interpolation goes on to list the illustrations on the ‘emunctory field’ of the facecloth – that is, the portion where one blows one’s nose – which include representations of Croagh Patrick, a mountain on the coast of County Mayo climbed by pilgrims each July, and Saint Patrick’s Purgatory, the site on Station Island in Lough Derg, County Donegal, where Patrick had a vision of purgatory and hell.

The citizen once again furrows his nationalist sentiment with Jewish rhetoric when he discusses ‘our greater Ireland beyond the sea’. The citizen is referring to the millions of Irish who emigrated to the United States through the course of the nineteenth century. The English may have driven Irishmen abroad, and ‘Twenty thousand of them died in the coffinships. But those that came to the land of the free remember the land of bondage.’ (*U*, 12.1372-1373). The citizen’s declamation recalls Bloom’s earlier entanglement with a related phrase in ‘Aeolus’. In Deuteronomy 5:6, the Lord declares himself to the Israelites as He who ‘brought thee out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage’. But in ‘Aeolus’ Bloom, recollecting his father reading to him as a child, remembers the passage faultily and thinks, ‘All that long business about that brought us out of the land of Egypt and into the house of bondage’ (*U*, 7.208-209).⁶⁹ That is, Bloom thinks of a delivery

68 The *Book of Ballymote* also contains a life of Saint Patrick; the *Tecosca Cormaic*, an Old Irish instructive text which depicts a dialogue between Cormac mac Airt and his son, Coirpre Lifechair; genealogies; rules on Irish versification; and Greek and Latin fragments including a fragment of Virgil’s *Aenid*.

69 Bloom’s recollection here of his early religious instruction also involves the tribes of Israel, ‘Then the twelve brothers, Jacob’s sons.’ (*U*, 7.210).

into bondage rather than a delivery from bondage. He repeats his apparent mistake in ‘Nausicaa’. Yet – aside from the sexual innuendo of a delivery into bondage – the context of the citizen’s remark suggests the truth in Bloom’s referential error. Like the Israelites in Egypt, the Irish too consider themselves in bondage under English rule; and in moving from Hungary to Ireland, and converting from Judaism to Protestantism, Bloom’s father Rudolf, and by extension Bloom himself – who would convert from Protestantism to Catholicism in time for his marriage to Molly – was moving only from one bondage into another.

In such a manner the narrative elements of ‘Cyclops’ entwine. Sharing formal – particularly when the citizen expounds in lists Ireland’s virtues – and referential characteristics, the interpolations develop from the narrative continuing within the pub, and they reinforce and comment upon the same set of themes before ceding back into the pub discourse. The construction is not to establish a single and comprehensive point of view, but rather to allow for a multiplicity of voices on the episode’s themes, and to undercut excesses of language in both directions: the fluid and colloquial, but narrow and increasingly bigoted language of the pub; and the florid literary, journalistic and religious language of the interpolations.

‘I was just going to throw it away’

After ‘Wandering Rocks’, in ‘Cyclops’ the theme of the ‘throwaway’ reemerges, but amidst a different context. As a broad thematic concern, the concept of the ‘throwaway’ in *Ulysses* suggests the nature of chance and happenstance: things thrown away, misinterpreted or considered irrelevant, which reappear endowed with an unexpected symbolic or pragmatic importance. This concept coheres through the various explicit manifestations of the term across Joyce’s text.

Lenahan enters Barney Kiernan’s with John Wyse Nolan as the citizen continues to rail against the English. The citizen expresses the view that the English are not European, saying, ‘You wouldn’t see a trace of them or their language anywhere in Europe except in a *cabinet d’aisance*.’ (*U*, 12.1205). A *cabinet d’aisance* is French for a watercloset. This is a viewpoint which Lenahan has already heard earlier in the day, in ‘Aeolus’, when professor MacHugh cites the shared ‘cloacal obsession’ of the Romans and the English – an apparent turnabout by Joyce of the criticism H. G. Wells made of *A Portrait* in the *Nation* in 1917 (*U*, 7.489-495).

Nameless notes that Lenahan appears displeased:

- What’s up with you, says I to Lenehan. You look like a fellow that had lost a bob and found a tanner.
- Gold cup, says he.
- Who won, Mr Lenehan? says Terry.
- *Throwaway*, says he, at twenty to one. A rank outsider. And the rest nowhere. (*U*, 12.1215-1220)

So the word reappears as the name of the horse which has just triumphed in the Gold cup. Lenehan states that he and others, including Blazes Boylan, have lost money on the result: ‘We’re all in a cart. Boylan plunged two quid on my tip *Sceptre* for himself and a lady friend.’ (*U*, 12.1222-1223). ‘Twenty to one’, he laments, ‘Such is life in an outhouse. *Throwaway*, says he. Takes the biscuit, and talking about bunions. Frailty, thy name is *Sceptre*.’ (*U*, 12.1226-1228).

It soon becomes apparent that Lenehan believes Bloom to have won significantly on the outcome to the race. Early in ‘Lotus Eaters’, at about 10 am in the morning, Bloom takes the day’s copy of the *Freeman’s Journal* from his jacket pocket and rolls it into a baton, with which he walks down Westland row, tapping ‘at each sauntering step against his trouserleg’ (*U*, 5.50). At the end of the episode he runs into Bantam Lyons, who asks to look at the paper. He is keen to view the runners in the Gold cup. Bloom is eager to continue on his way: he has just bought a lemon soap from the chemists on Lincoln Place, and he has determined that he wishes to take a bath before attending Dignam’s funeral.

Better leave him the paper and get shut of him.

- You can keep it, Mr Bloom said.
 - Ascot. Gold cup. Wait, Bantam Lyons muttered. Half a mo. Maximum the second.
 - I was just going to throw it away, Mr Bloom said.
- Bantam Lyons raised his eyes suddenly and leered weakly.
- What’s that? His sharp voice said.
 - I say you can keep it, Mr Bloom answered. I was going to throw it away that moment.
- Bantam Lyons doubted at instant, leering: then thrust the outspread sheets back on Mr Bloom’s arms.
- I’ll risk it, he said. Here, thanks. (*U*, 5.529-541)

Bantam Lyons has apparently taken Bloom’s words as a surreptitious hint. Bloom, we understand, has neither interest in nor knowledge of the race; but Lyons has taken his repeated

assertion regarding the paper – that he was about to ‘throw it away’ – as a tip to bet on the horse Throwaway. When Bloom briefly leaves the pub in ‘Cyclops’, stating that he is headed to the court in search of Martin Cunningham, Lenehan is quick to accuse him of deception:

- The courthouse is a blind. He had a few bob on *Throwaway* and he’s gone to gather in the shekels.
- Is it that whiteeyed kaffir? says the citizen, that never backed a horse in anger in his life?
- That’s where he’s gone, says Lenehan. I met Bantam Lyons going to back that horse only I put him off it and he told me Bloom gave him the tip. Bet you what you like he has a hundred shillings to five on. He’s the only man in Dublin has it. A dark horse. (*U*, 12.1550-1557).

Lenehan’s references to shekels – Semitic units of currency – and to Bloom as a ‘dark horse’ are made in anger.⁷⁰ The presumption that Bloom has bet on Throwaway and is concealing his win allows the citizen a justification as his insulting of Bloom intensifies; and it appears also to turn Nameless more fervently against Bloom.

Nameless has previously depicted Bloom as a ‘cod’s eye’, referred to Molly Bloom as a ‘fat heap’, alleged Bloom’s involvement in the dubious Hungarian lottery scheme (‘O, commend me to an israelite! Royal and privileged Hungarian robbery.’ (*U*, 12.778-779)), and identified Bloom as ‘dunduckety mudcoloured’. The citizen’s dislike of Bloom is apparent from their first engagement, where they argue over the figures of Irish nationalist history, and the citizen glares at Bloom before stating, ‘The friends we love are by our side and the foes we hate before us’ (*U*, 12.523-234). The implication seems to be that Bloom is to be considered foe rather than friend. When the conversation turns to Denis Breen and Bloom expresses sympathy for his wife, the citizen remarks that pity should be held for any ‘woman marries a half and half’ (*U*, 12.1052-1053). Gifford suggests this indicates someone who is neither man nor woman, but it could just as readily refer to someone who is ‘half and half’ by virtue of race, nationality or religion, each of which applies to the Semitic/European, Hungarian/Irish, Jewish/Christian Bloom.

Following the discussion of the Canada swindle case, the citizen seemingly singles out the Jews when he remarks, ‘Those are nice things [...] coming over here to Ireland filling the country with bugs’ (*U*, 12.1140-1141). He continues on, accusing the same people of ‘Swindling the peasants [...] and the poor of Ireland. We want no more strangers in our house’ (*U*, 12.1150-1151).

⁷⁰ The shekel, incidentally, became the currency of the State of Israel in February 1980. What is now referred to as the old shekel was replaced by the Israeli new shekel in January 1986.

The phrase ‘strangers in our house’ invokes Yeats’ play *Cathleen ni Houlihan* (1902), in which an old Irishwoman complains that too many strangers forced her to leave her home and go wandering (see Gifford, 195). Stephen draws upon the phrase at the beginning of ‘Scylla and Charybdis’, but characteristically utilises it within a context of intimate betrayal rather than nationality or race (*U*, 9.37). The citizen’s insidious remarks concerning the Jews and his and Bloom’s continual disagreements come to a head after Bloom is asked by John Wyse to define the concept of ‘nation’. His definitions – ‘A nation is the same people living in the same place [...] Or also living in different places.’ (*U*, 12.1422-1428) – are roundly mocked, but would seem to astutely appreciate how nebulous the concept actually is, and how amorphous nations are in practise. The citizen then asks Bloom what he considers to be his nation, and spits upon Bloom’s response. Bloom is emboldened:

– And I belong to a race too, says Bloom, that is hated and persecuted. Also now. This very moment. This very instant.

[...]

– Are you talking about the new Jerusalem? says the citizen.

– I’m talking about injustice, says Bloom

[...]

– But it’s no use, says he. Force, hatred, history, all that. That’s not life for men and women, insult and hatred. And everybody knows that it’s the very opposite of that that is really life.

– What? Says Alf.

– Love, says Bloom. I mean the opposite of hatred. (*U*, 12.1467-1485)

The reference to ‘the new Jerusalem’ may be read with regard to numerous referents: to the Book of Revelation, which prophesies its coming at 3:12 and 21:2; to Emanuel Swedenborg’s *New Jerusalem and Its Heavenly Doctrine*; and to William Blake’s short poem ‘And did those feet in ancient time’. But for Gifford, and most clearly, it ‘encodes an anti-Semitic slur’ (Gifford, 364). The citizen is responding to Bloom’s heartfelt declaration with the suggestion that he is advocating Zionism, and its desire for a Jewish homeland centred on Jerusalem. That is, the citizen reduces Bloom’s humane appeal against persecution to a propagandising endeavour on the Jew’s behalf.

This is the point at which Bloom momentarily leaves Barney Kiernan’s, to see if Martin Cunningham is at the courthouse. Following Lenihan’s assertion that Bloom has in fact gone to collect his winnings, Nameless goes to the toilet, where his act of urination is interspersed with thoughts on Bloom’s past, which again insult Molly (‘flabbyarse of a wife’), and with calculations

concerning the extent of Bloom's win ('hundred shillings is five quid') (*U*, 12.1561-1572). The interjections which puncture his conjectures – 'ow!', 'hoik! phthook!', 'ah!' – indicate a urinary problem which Gifford suggests is gonorrhoea, and which contrasts with the quiet and painless streams of Bloom and Stephen in 'Proteus', 'Calypso', and 'Ithaca' (Gifford, 366). As he finishes his business, he thinks 'Ireland my nation says he (hoik! phthook!) never be up to those bloody (there's the last of it) Jerusalem (ah!) cuckoos' (*U*, 12.1570-1572). Gifford identifies 'Jerusalem cuckoos' as a 'disparaging nineteenth-century term for Zionists and, by late century, for all Jews on the assumption that all were involved in a Zionist conspiracy' (Gifford, 366). The phrase 'Jerusalem Cuckoo' also appears to have been the title of a music hall song from the late nineteenth century, attributed to a Mr. J. W. Rowley.⁷¹

References to and depictions of eyes ineluctably abound in the episode. The image of Cyclops is figured immediately, as the episode begins with Nameless almost losing an eye at the hands of a chimneysweep. When Nameless returns from the toilet, he finds the rest of the gatherers 'at it dingdong', alleging that 'it was Bloom gave the ideas for Sinn Fein' to Arthur Griffith. 'Gob', Nameless remarks, 'that puts the bloody kybosh on it if old sloppy eyes is mucking up the show. Give us a bloody chance. God save Ireland from the likes of that bloody mouseabout' (*U*, 12. 1573-1579). If his earlier depictions of Bloom as a 'cod's eye' can be set within a dialogue of coddling, and suggest craft and cunning as much as they do deceit; and if his view of Bloom as a 'Mister Knowall' is only mildly deprecatory, carrying some of the positive connotations suggested by Lenehan when, in 'Wandering Rocks', he calls Bloom a 'cultured allroundman'; now the 'sloppy eyes', and the mention of Bloom's 'old fellow before him perpetrating frauds', emerge more straightforwardly as agitated insults.

In Bloom's absence, with Martin Cunningham and company now having arrived at the pub by castle car, the citizen attacks him outright. After Lenehan posits that Bloom is off 'defrauding widows and orphans' – precisely the opposite end of his imminent undertaking with Cunningham – talk turns to his family life, and Ned Lambert recalls seeing Bloom buying infants' food six weeks

71 The song was attributed to J. W. Rowley in the January 1871 issue of *The Era*, an illustrated monthly magazine. It appears to have been referred to predominantly as 'Jerusalem Cuckoo' or 'I Am a Donkey Driver', but also as 'Jerusalem Donkey' or simply 'Donkey Driver'. The lyrics portray in mildly comic fashion a close relationship between a man and his donkey, named 'Jerusalem Cuckoo', as the donkey throws a lady off his back and – significantly for 'Cyclops' – is entered into and wins a Derby race. The song ends with the narrator vowing to die alongside the donkey, so close is their bond. A variant set of lyrics is more bawdy: the lady thrown off the donkey is fat, and the donkey suggestively turns her 'the wrong way up'; while the final line states that should the donkey die, 'I'll have a sealed skin jacket made out of me old Cuckoo'. In this version, Jerusalem Cuckoo still triumphs in the Derby. A copy of the song is on display via Broadside Ballads Online, from the Bodleian Libraries (Broadside Ballads Online, 'Jerusalem Cuckoo').

'Cuckoo' also becomes the refrain which closes 'Nausicaa', ostensibly emerging from a chiming clock but clearly referring to Bloom becoming a cuckold at the endeavour of Blazes Boylan (*U*, 13.1289-1306). In 'Scylla and Charybdis', Buck Mulligan clucks lewdly 'Cuckoo! Cuckoo!' upon Stephen's reference to the 'hornmad Iago', and to Shakespeare as both 'bawd and cuckold' (*U*, 9.1021-1025).

before his son Rudy was delivered (*U*, 12.1650-1652). ‘Do you call that a man?’, asks the citizen, before questioning the paternity of both Bloom’s children (*U*, 12.1654-1657). He calls Bloom ‘A wolf in sheep’s clothing [...] Virag from Hungary! Ahasuerus I call him. Cursed by God’. And then he says:

– Saint Patrick would want to land again at Ballykinlar and convert us, says the citizen, after allowing things like that to contaminate our shores. (*U*, 12.1671-1672)

Bloom Implicates Bloom

However, while Martin Cunningham’s cultivation of Bloom would position him in a stereotypical role as a subtle Jewish financial negotiator; and while Lenehan’s allegation that he is hiding his Gold cup winnings would make of him a stereotypical Jewish hoarder of money; still it is notable the extent to which Bloom implicates himself as a Jewish stereotype. Twice in ‘Cyclops’, Bloom feigns not to hear what is being said around him. On the first occasion, Alf Bergan and Joe Hynes are discussing the Keogh-Bennett boxing match. They bring up Blazes Boylan, who apparently manipulated a successful bet on the match’s outcome. Bloom repeatedly attempts to turn the conversation back upon tennis, and to ignore the mention of his wife’s illicit partner. When the conversation turns to an upcoming concert tour, organised by Boylan and featuring Molly, Bloom is forced to relent:

– Who? says Bloom. Ah, yes. That’s quite true. Yes, kind of a summer tour, you see. Just a holiday.

– Mrs B. is the bright particular star, isn’t she? says Joe.

– My wife? says Bloom. She’s singing, yes. I think it will be a success too. He’s an excellent man to organise. Excellent. (*U*, 12.991-995).

Bloom’s hesitations have not had the desired effect: Nameless immediately interprets that Molly and Blazes are having an affair: ‘Hoho begob says I to myself says I [...] Blazes doing the tootle on the flute [...] That’s the bucko that’ll organise her, take my tip.’ (*U*, 12.996-1002). The citizen is far less astute, but later, unknowingly, suggests Bloom’s predicament: ‘A dishonoured wife [...] that’s what’s the cause of all our misfortunes’ (*U*, 12.1163-1164).

On the second occasion, the citizen has just identified the Jews as ‘filling the country with bugs’:

So Bloom lets on he heard nothing and he starts talking with Joe, telling him he needn't trouble about that little matter till the first but if he would just say a word to Mr Crawford. And so Joe swore high and holy by this and by that he'd do the devil and all. (*U*, 12.1143-1146)

The ‘little matter’, about which Joe Hynes need not trouble till the first, is a debt which Hynes owes to Bloom. Bloom thinks of it in ‘Aeolus’, after suggesting that Hynes draw money from the cashier before he goes to lunch: ‘Three bob I lent him in Meagher’s. Three weeks. Third hint’ (*U*, 7.119). It is marked that precisely here in ‘Cyclops’ – upon the citizen’s first explicit attack on Jewish identity, in an episode where Bloom is repeatedly entrapped by tropes and prejudices against the Jews – Bloom adopts a role which seems to implicate himself as a Jewish moneylender. It is possible that by telling Hynes not to trouble about the debt, Bloom is deliberately or intuitively distancing himself from the stereotypical meanness of that role. On the other hand, he chooses to bring the debt up, and doesn’t offer Hynes a great deal of leeway on paying it: ‘the first’ is, after all, only half a month away. Joyce in ‘Cyclops’ is sure not to take anyone’s side firmly and unquestioningly. This is in accordance with the anti-dogmatic principle which structures his work. He refuses to assert and support a stereotype; but at the same time refuses to deny the circumstances by which stereotypes may arise and receive expression.

The interpolations and other apparently objective textual interpositions may also be seen to implicate Bloom. The passage where the citizen reads out from the newspaper the account of the visit of Alaki of Abeakuta to England appears close in tone to the interpolations – but that it is from the *United Irishman*, apparently written by Arthur Griffith under a pseudonym, and therefore both partisan and more brazenly parodic. Nevertheless, it is written by someone with no sense of what is going on within Barney Kiernan’s pub; yet still seems to comment on the course of events in the episode. This extends beyond the way in which the newspaper article stereotypes another race, with ‘His Majesty the Alaki of Abeakuta’ drinking ‘from the skull of his immediate predecessor’, and ‘executing a charming old Abeakutic wardance in the course of which he swallowed several knives and forks’ (*U*, 12.1520-1533).

The reference to ‘Ananias’ – a constituent part of the compound name ‘Ananias Praisegod Barebones’ – is cited by Gifford as relating to one of the Jewish high priests who judged Saint Paul in Jerusalem, depicted in Acts 23:1-5 (Gifford, 365). This Ananias commanded those standing by

Paul to ‘smite him on the mouth’ for his supposed transgressions against Jewish law. Yet there are equally intriguing possibilities. Two other Ananias’s appear in Acts. The first, with his wife Sapphira, sells a portion of land but withholds the full price when making a donation to the apostles. Criticised by Peter for his deceit, he dies; and the same fate befalls his wife when she too is criticised by Peter (Acts 5:1-10). Later an Ananias of Damascus, at the behest of the Lord, restores Paul’s sight (Acts 9:10-18). Ananias of Damascus is afterwards related as ‘a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the Jews which dwelt there’ (Acts 22:12). Thus in one reference we may find a sense of the Jew as judge, as mendacious when it comes to money, and as devout healer.

The *United Irishman* passage is followed by a discussion of the atrocities then being carried out by the Belgians in the Congo Free State. J. J. O’Molloy notes a report – compiled by an Irishman named Casement – which has identified the Belgians ‘Raping the women and girls and flogging the natives on the belly to squeeze all the red rubber they can out of them.’ (*U*, 12.1546-1547). At this, Lenahan immediately makes his supposition regarding the true nature of Bloom’s absence. At least for Lenahan, there is a palpable link between the Belgian rape and flogging of the natives in the Congo and Bloom’s abuse of the native Irish in dissimulating his Gold cup success. In a similar fashion, the interpolation in the courthouse featuring ‘Frederick the Falconer’ and the ‘twelve tribes of Iar’ concludes with the shackling of a ‘malefactor’, which leads immediately into the citizen’s first abuse of the Jews (*U*, 12.1136-1142). It is as though the figure surrounded by ‘the minions of the law’ and brought forth for judgement in the interpolation can be equated to Bloom, and this potential for parallel flows into and impels the pub narrative.

An Epiphany Procession

The final pages of ‘Cyclops’ build towards a culmination of the ‘Throwaway’ theme. As Martin Cunningham tempers the citizen’s outburst against Bloom with a toast – which, again, seems to exclude Bloom, as Cunningham offers ‘God bless all here is my prayer’ (*U*, 12-1673) – an interpolation begins which displays a religious procession, and sees Joyce extending his use of lists as religious functions, orders and sects, saints and martyrs, emblems, and miracles are listed in turn before a series of blessings are recited. Gifford identifies this, after Joyce’s essay of 1907, as a ‘vision of the Island of Saints and Sages’, which ‘parodies’ religious festivals and leads ultimately to the consecration of a cathedral (Gifford, 368). Yet he fails to identify the extent to which the procession of the interpolation is an Epiphany procession.

This is indicated in the text, as the throng winding their way through Dublin chant ‘the introit in *Epiphania Domini* which beginneth *Surge, illuminare*’ (U, 12.1721-1722). In *Epiphania Domini* confirms that this is the Epiphany Mass being celebrated; but as Gifford notes, the introit for the Mass does not begin ‘*Surge, illuminare*’. The introit for the Epiphany Mass is instead ‘*Ecce advenit dominator Dominus*’. ‘*Surge, illuminare*’ is a canticle sung later in the Mass. In his analysis of the masses and motets of the Renaissance composer William Byrd, Joseph Kerman suggests the potential musical difference between the two pieces:

Like many introits, ***Ecce advenit dominator Dominus*** seems to possess less character than other members of its Mass. ***Surge illuminare Hierusalem***, on the other hand, is a first-rate piece [...] The opening figure for ‘*Surge*’ may look simple enough on the page, but Byrd keeps the rhythm spinning brilliantly; then in the middle phrases, built out of more neutral material, he maintains a driving quality which reaches a climax in the fine swinging motive for the last phrase ‘*super te orta est*’. The fastest rhythms are saved for the alleluia. (Kerman, 303)

While the ‘*Surge, illuminare*’ may therefore give a sense of the whirling nature of Joyce’s procession, it also fits the broader context of ‘*Cyclops*’ in its reference to Jerusalem. Drawn from Isaiah 60:1-2, the canticle expresses, ‘*Rise up in splendor, Jerusalem! Your light has come, the glory of the Lord shines upon you*’ (see Gifford, 377).

The Epiphany Mass, celebrated twelve days after Christ’s birth, typically 6 January, celebrates Jesus being revealed as the Son of God to the Gentiles, who come in the form of the Three Wise Men. The website Catholic Online depicts the atmosphere of the celebration:

what a glorious Mass today’s is! We are almost overwhelmed by the majesty [...] If any Mass in the year should be celebrated with all possible magnificence, with music and incense, it is surely today’s [...] The Epiphany Mass is like a great offertory procession, led by the three Magi. This fact is emphasized in some parishes with a special procession before Mass. Three representatives of the parish bring up gold, frankincense and myrrh, together with the bread and wine for the Offertory, while the choir chants special antiphons from the Epiphany liturgy. (Catholic Online, ‘Feast of Epiphany’)

In the interpolation, after the followers of Augustine, Elijah, Francis and Dominic and a horde of Catholic saints, ‘last, beneath a canopy of gold came the reverend Father O’Flynn attended by

Malachi and Patrick'. These are the Three Magi of Joyce's Epiphany. 'Father O'Flynn' refers to the ballad by Alfred Percival Graves, published in 1879 in the collection *Father O'Flynn and Other Lyrics*. It may also encode a reference to Father Flynn in 'The Sisters', from *Dubliners*.⁷² 'Malachi' indicates both the prophecy of Elijah's second-coming, and Buck Mulligan, who in 'Telemachus' admits, 'My name is absurd too: Malachi Mulligan, two dactyls. But it has a Hellenic ring, hasn't it. Tripping and sunny like the buck himself.' (*U*, 1.41-42). Patrick is of course another reference to Saint Patrick. This lengthy interpolation comes to a close as Barney Kiernan's pub is consecrated, apparently as Dublin's first Catholic cathedral (Gifford, 377).

Following the interpolation, Bloom returns to the pub, 'letting on to be in a hell of a hurry' (*U*, 12.1755). Nameless views Bloom as a 'Mean bloody scut' for not standing him a drink with his presumed winnings; but the citizen will not keep his thoughts to himself, and challenges Bloom directly. 'Don't tell anyone', he repeats, 'It's a secret' (*U*, 12.1762-1765). Martin Cunningham understands the situation and gets Bloom, along with Jack Power and Crofton, outside and onto the jaunting car. But the citizen follows, evidently now very drunk, 'spitting and spatting' and shouting 'Three cheers for Israel!' (*U*, 12.1791). A crowd gathers in the street and a loafer with a patch over one eye sings '*If the man in the moon was a jew, jew, jew*': after the American song 'If the Man in the Moon Were a Coon', popularised around the time by Ada Jones.

Bloom defends himself against the citizen's taunts. After ironically citing four famous Jews who had contentious relationships with the faith, the nature of the relationship between God the Father and Christ the Son is again entangled. 'And the Saviour was a jew and his father was a jew. Your God', says Bloom to the citizen; but Martin Cunningham, seeking to defuse the remark, retorts 'He had no father' (*U*, 12. 1805-1806). Bloom is unperturbed: 'Well, his uncle was a jew, says he. Your God was a jew. Christ was a jew like me.' (*U*, 12.1808-1809).

The citizen is enraged by the comparison, despite himself readily taking the Lord's name in vain. 'By Jesus, says he, I'll brain that bloody jewman for using the holy name. By Jesus, I'll crucify him so I will.' (*U*, 12.1811-1812). Early in the episode a heavily inebriated Bob Doran feeds the citizen's 'mangy mongrel', Garryowen, with the dregs of a biscuitbox (*U*, 12.491-497). Later Lenehan looks to this Jacobs' biscuit tin for solace, but finds it empty. In a temper, the citizen now heads back inside Barney Kiernan's and seizes the biscuitbox. As Joe Hynes and Alf Bergan try to restrain him, and Ned Lambert and J. J. O'Molloy are 'paralysed with the laughing', the citizen

72 Joyce becomes self-referential too in this interpolation when he lists as one of the symbols 'watertight boots', which Gifford identifies as an 'attribute' of Gabriel Conroy who, in 'The Dead', has a predilection for galoshes. Joyce's symbols incorporate the lewd: 'boxes of vaseline', an ointment which Bloom offers to Boylan in 'Circe' (*U*, 15.3792). And he refers to 'stags' horns', which Gifford relates as an attribute of Saint Julian Hospitator, mentioned as one of the procession's saints and the titular character of the second story of Flaubert's *Trois Contes*. These stags' horns also call to mind the 'flashing antlers' of Joyce's 1904 essay 'A Portrait of the Artist'.

throws this biscuit tin after Bloom. It misses the jaunting car, and goes ‘clattering along the street’ (*U*, 12.1857). The penultimate interpolation of ‘Cyclops’ depicts the falling of the biscuitbox as a ‘catastrophe’, ‘a violent atmospheric perturbation of cyclonic character’, the cause of an earthquake which demolishes the courthouse and its surrounds (*U*, 12.1858-1896).

Eyewitnesses to this catastrophe had ‘observed an incandescent object of enormous proportions hurtling through the atmosphere at a terrifying velocity in a trajectory directed southwest by west’ (*U*, 12,1879-1881). The context and the terminology of velocity and trajectory faintly recall Bloom throwing down the crumpled paper ball in ‘Lestrygonians’ – more faintly because the language of the interpolation is more formal and ornate, at some distance from the fragmentary, connective-tissue of Bloom’s consciousness. The sovereign pontiff decrees a special Mass for the dead; and men set about work on the salvage and removal of debris.

The jarvey carrying Bloom drives on. Nameless, who has expressed his thorough distaste for the citizen making such a ‘bloody murder about bloody nothing’, still has time to summarise Bloom’s supposed faults. ‘Gob, if he got that lottery ticket on the side of his poll he’d remember the gold cup’, he remarks, again citing the Hungarian lottery scheme and the horse Throwaway (*U*, 12.1897-1898). He refers to Bloom as ‘old sheepsface’. And he still will not leave the issue of Bloom’s winnings: ‘Hundred to five! Jesus, he took the value of it out of him, I promise you’.

The Culmination of ‘Cyclops’ I: Biblical References

As the jaunting car rounds the corner from Little Britain Street onto Little Green Street, the closing interpolation finally synthesises the twin narrative styles and the twin themes of ‘Cyclops’. Bloom is depicted fantastically ascending, as Elijah, into heaven:

When, lo, there came about them all a great brightness and they beheld the chariot wherein He stood ascend to heaven. And they beheld Him in the chariot, clothed upon in the glory of the brightness, having raiment as of the sun, fair as the moon and terrible that for awe they durst not look upon Him. And there came a voice out of heaven, calling: *Elijah! Elijah!* And He answered with a main cry: *Abba! Adonai!* And they beheld Him even Him, ben Bloom Elijah, amid clouds of angels ascend to the glory of the brightness at an angle of fortyfive degrees over Donohoe’s in Little Green street like a shot off a shovel. (*U*, 12:1910-1918)

Gifford cites numerous Biblical sources for this interpolation, which he describes as a parody of religious prose (Gifford, 381). First, he cites 2 Kings 2:11-12:

¹¹And it came to pass, as they still went on, and talked, that, behold, there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven.

¹²And Elisha saw it, and he cried, My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof. (2 Kings 2:11-12 KJV)

As the Biblical passage which concerns Elijah's apparent ascension, these verses from 2 Kings are of undoubted relevance.⁷³ More narrowly, they furnish Joyce with a chariot; while Elisha's expression, 'My father, my father', may be viewed as a repetition which inspires those made in the interpolation. Gifford's next citation is from the New Testament, and the gospel of Matthew. Matthew 17:1-9 recounts the Transfiguration of Jesus:

¹And after six days Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart,

²And was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light.

³And, behold, there appeared unto them Moses and Elias talking with him.

⁴Then answered Peter, and said unto Jesus, Lord, it is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, let us make here three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias.

⁵While he yet spake, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them: and behold a voice out of the cloud, which said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him

⁶And when the disciples heard it, they fall on their face, and were sore afraid.

⁷And Jesus came and touched them, and said, Arise, and be not afraid.

⁸And when they had lifted up their eyes, they saw no man, save Jesus only.

⁹And as they came down from the mountain, Jesus charged them, saying, Tell the vision to no man, until the Son of man be rise again from the dead. (Matthew 17:1-9 KJV)

Here we have an explicit 'voice out of heaven', a face shining 'as of the sun', clouds, and the use of the word 'raiment' which is so characteristic of Joyce's interpolation. Moses and Elijah

⁷³ Whether Elijah's ascension was complete, and whether he remained wholly in heaven, has been debated owing to a line at John 3:13, where Jesus says 'no man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven'.

appear as the miracle occurs, which unites the human and the divine and clearly demonstrates Jesus' divinity. A milestone in Jesus' life, Aquinas called the Transfiguration 'the greatest miracle'; while following the commentaries of Church Fathers including Origen, there is a tradition of celebrating the Transfiguration especially within the Eastern church.⁷⁴ The accounts of the Transfiguration in the other synoptic gospels share their details with the gospel of Matthew. Mark words his account slightly differently, describing how Jesus' 'raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow; so as no fuller on earth can white them.' (Mark 9:3 KJV). In the gospel of Matthew, it is immediately following Jesus' Transfiguration that John the Baptist is identified as the second-coming of Elijah (Matthew 17:12-13).

In fact three of the milestones of Jesus' life seem to bear inevitably upon this interpolation at the close of 'Cyclops'. Aside from the Transfiguration, it is worth considering Jesus' Death and Resurrection, and his Ascension forty days later. Just before Jesus expires on the cross, he calls for Elijah: 'And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' (Matthew 27:46 KJV). Then in the final chapter of Matthew, the 'angel of the Lord' appears to proclaim Jesus's resurrection to Mary Magdalene and to Mary, the mother of James:

²And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it.

³His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow (Matthew 28:3 KJV)

In the gospel of Mark, instead of the 'angel of the Lord', Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome enter Jesus's tomb and see a 'young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment' (Mark 16:5 KJV). In Luke, instead of an angel or a young man, 'behold, two men stood by them in shining garments' (Luke 24:4). The gospel of John does not depict Jesus calling Elijah on the cross, and its account of Jesus' Resurrection lacks the detail of the other gospel accounts, suggesting Joyce may have drawn predominantly from the synoptic gospels. The final verse of Matthew shows Jesus assuring his disciples, 'and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world' (Matthew 28:20 KJV).

The Ascension is briefly mentioned in the gospels of Mark and Luke, but more fully depicted in Acts 1:9-12:

⁷⁴ The site of the Transfiguration is unspecified in the gospels, but is usually identified as either Mount Tabor in Israel, or Mount Nebo, which is the ridge from which Moses viewed the Promised Land.

⁹And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight.

¹⁰And while they looked stedfastly toward heaven as he went up, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel;

¹¹Which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? this same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.

¹²Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a sabbath day's journey. (Acts 1:9-12 KJV)

Acts is taken to be an extension of the gospel of Luke, written by the same author, which explains the reference once again to 'two men' in bright clothing. Here Jesus' ascension into heaven is, like Bloom's, 'amid clouds'. This account in Acts is also figured earlier in *Ulysses*, in 'Telemachus', where Mulligan's 'ballad of joking Jesus' ends, '*What's bred in the bone cannot fail me to fly / And Olivet's breezy – Goodbye, now, goodbye!*' (U, 1.598-599). As Acts indicates, Mount Olivet is the place from which Jesus ascended, and in Mulligan's ballad Jesus' inherent ability for flight is accompanied by a windy day atop the mountain, aiding his ascension.

The Culmination of 'Cyclops' II: Saint Patrick's *Confessio*

Thus the culmination and the close of 'Cyclops' – so fundamental to Joyce's conception of the episode – calls back to a multitude of Bible accounts. Gifford further cites Song of Solomon 6:10, 'Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?' as a source for Joyce's phrase 'having raiment as of the sun, fair as the moon and terrible that for awe they durst not look upon Him' (Gifford, 381). However, despite the strength of these religious currents in 'Cyclops', the episode is still concerned as equally with politics as it is with religion. A Biblical parody for this closing interpolation would have been insufficient to bring together the episode's joint themes; and Joyce astutely drew upon other sources for his depiction of Bloom's ascension.

The interweaving of the religious and the political – like the interweaving of the interpolations with the pub narrative – has been given little attention in critical accounts of 'Cyclops'. While this is understandable in Mark Osteen's economic analysis of the episode, and in Frank Budgen's naturalistic reading, it remains the case even in studies which centre upon religion

in Joyce's work. In *Help My Unbelief*, Geert Lernout offers a brief overview of 'Cyclops'. He remarks that Martin Cunningham's rapping on his glass as he offers his toast 'becomes the sound of the sacring bell' which instigates the Epiphany procession; he notes the citizen's claim that Saint Patrick will have to convert the Irish over again; and he depicts the episode as a 'minor victory' for Bloom (Lernout, 169). Yet he passes on to 'Nausicaa' without considering the final interpolation. In *Joyce's Misbelief*, Roy Gottfried refers to 'Cyclops' only for its parody of the Apostles' Creed, 'they believe in rod, the scourger of almighty, creator of hell on earth [...]' (Gottfried, 103). Again, while Gifford's citations for the final interpolation are both extensive and insightful, they are limited to the Bible. Charles Peake, in *James Joyce: The Citizen and the Artist*, provides a standard view of the closing interpolation when he describes it as 'a farcical parody of Elijah's chariot of fire and the light which surrounded Christ at the Transfiguration' (Peake, 241)

In addition to the above Biblical accounts, Joyce clearly drew for the final interpolation of 'Cyclops' from Saint Patrick's *Confessio*. At key moments, as tributaries flowing into a larger stream, Patrick has been entwined within the politics of the episode, and connected to Bloom. He is head of the first of the 'twelve tribes of Iar' who comprise the Jewish Sanhedrin in the courthouse interpolation. There are the references to Croagh Patrick and Saint Patrick's Purgatory, embroidered Irish legends, 'moving scenes [...] today rendered more beautiful still by the waters of sorrow which have passed over them and by the rich incrustations of time.' (*U*, 12.1461-1464). Patrick is also conflated with Shakespeare, in the name 'Patrick W. Shakespeare' given among the list of heroes and heroines early in the episode (*U*, 12.190-191). Gifford notes that this 'echoes speculation about Shakespeare's Irish background', which John Eglinton references in 'Scylla and Charybdis' (*U*, 9.520-521; Gifford, 324). Most significantly – before Patrick appears alongside Father O'Flynn and Malachi, presiding over the Epiphany procession in 'Cyclops' – the citizen appropriates Patrick's name twice, the first time when issuing 'The blessing of God and Mary and Patrick on you' after receiving a drink from Hynes (*U*, 12.1504); and the second time when he asserts that 'Saint Patrick would want to land again at Ballykinlar and convert us [...] after allowing things like that to contaminate our shores' (*U*, 12.1671-1672).

In an interpolation where Dublin gathers to witness an execution, an 'animated altercation' breaks out over the date of Patrick's birth (*U*, 12.572-577). Patrick is, of course, traditionally held to be the founder of Christianity in Ireland. While popular belief maintains that his mission to Ireland – and so the history of Christianity in the country – began in 432 a.d., the dates of Patrick's life and the nature and beginnings of his mission have been subject to considerable debate.⁷⁵ This is

75 One perspective is that Pope Celestine I sent, in 431, the bishop Palladius to minister to Ireland; and that many of the traditions now associated with Patrick owe instead to Palladius.

remarked upon in ‘Ithaca’, where Stephen notes the traditional view but asserts instead that the conversion of Ireland to Christianity took place in 260 a.d. ‘or thereabouts’, during the reign of Cormac mac Airt (*U*, 17.27-46). Bloom accepts Stephen’s ‘rectification’, having earlier, in ‘Lestrygonians’, entirely confounded the issue, mistakenly thinking that Patrick was directly responsible for converting Mac Airt (*U*, 8.666-667). If he is uncertain regarding the details of his life, Bloom can still respect Patrick’s qualities as a fellow ad-man: in ‘Lotus-Eaters’, he considers, ‘Clever idea Saint Patrick the shamrock’ (*U*, 5.330).

The sequence of references in ‘Cyclops’ connect Patrick to a variety of interlinked themes and concepts – to Jewish identity; to Jewish law and to broader conceptions of justice; to England’s national poet; and to specific sites amidst Ireland’s nature – before the citizen invokes his name to uphold his narrow Irish nationalism. These connections are all brought to bear as Patrick becomes an implicit force in Bloom’s ascension and in the conclusion of the ‘throwaway’/‘Elijah is coming’ motif.

There are other instances in ‘Cyclops’ of Joyce inflating individual phrases and individual passages with a variety of competing and suggestive potential sources. As J.J. O’Molloy and the citizen argue on law and history, ‘Some people, says Bloom, can see the mote in others’ eyes but they can’t see the beam in their own.’ (*U*, 12.1237-1238). Gifford cites this as a reference to Matthew 7:3, where towards the end of the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus says, ‘And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother’s eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?’ (Matthew 7:3 KJV). A mote is a splinter, and a beam a large log or rafter: the former indicates a small blemish, the latter a much greater fault. The saying is thought to reflect Jesus’ background in carpentry.⁷⁶ However, it has other provenances. The saying appears to be of Jewish origin, found in the Talmud, in the Bava Batra – part of Judaism’s oral law – in Folio 15b (Come-and-Hear, Tractate Baba Bathra, Folio 15b).⁷⁷ The quotation also appears as the closing lines of ‘The Reeve’s Prologue’ in Chaucer’s *The Canterbury Tales*: ‘He kan wel in myne eye seen a stalke / But in his owene he kan nat seen a balke’ (‘The Reeve’s Prologue and Tale’: An Interlinear Translation). In this manner Joyce is able to draw in a few words upon a diversity of religious and cultural associations.

76 As an English translation from the original Koine Greek, ‘mote’ descends from the West Frisian ‘mot’, meaning ‘peat dust’ (OED, ‘Mote’).

77 The Bava Batra is the third of three Talmudic tractates which were originally considered a single volume, and deal with civil damages. The first and second tractates in the series are the Bava Kamma and the Bava Metzia. Folio 60b of the Bava Kamma contains the teaching, ‘When dogs howl, the Angel of Death has come to a town. But when dogs frolic, Elijah the prophet has come to a town.’ (Come-and-Hear, Tractate Baba Kamma, Folio 60b). This teaching is implicated towards the end of ‘Cyclops’ when the ‘mongrel’ Garryowen runs, apparently noiselessly though urged on by the citizen, after Bloom and the jaunting car, ‘his lugs back for all he was bloody well worth’ (*U*, 12.1907-1908).

Joyce evidently read Patrick's *Confessio*. Observing to Padraic Colum in 1928 that 'Saint Patrick is the only saint a man can get drunk in honor of', he added, 'But he waited too long to write his *Portrait of the Artist*' (in Ellmann, 602). There is much in the *Confessio* that would have related to Joyce and suggested this parallel. An autobiography laden with theology and philosophy, which recounts in sixty-two parts his tribulations with his faith and the temptations of the flesh, most notable is Patrick's depiction of betrayal by a close friend. The thirty-second part of the *Confessio* reads:

But rather, I am grieved for my very close friend [...] The one to whom I entrusted my soul!
And I found out from a goodly number of brethren, before the case was made in my defence
[...] that in my absence he would fight on my behalf [...] But how did it come to him,
shortly afterwards, to disgrace me publicly, in the presence of all, good and bad, because
previously, gladly and of his own free will, he pardoned me, as did the Lord, who is greater
than all? (Saint Patrick, *Confessio*, 32)

This mirrors the deep sense of betrayal Stephen feels at the hands of his friends in *A Portrait*, and particularly regarding Mulligan in *Ulysses*. Several passages later, Patrick describes a rejection of gifts which more directly impinges upon the economies of 'Cyclops':

And many gifts were offered to me with weeping and tears, and I offended them [the donors], and also went against the wishes of a good number of my elders (Saint Patrick, *Confessio*, 35)

He assures later that he gave back whatever 'small unasked for gifts' he did receive from those to whom he ministered; while suggesting he spent considerable funds of his own in an attempt to grow the nascent church in Ireland.

The most remarkable passage in Patrick's *Confessio* involves a decisive encounter with Christ. Having initially been taken to Ireland as a captive – and before his return there to minister – Patrick escapes by boat, back to England, his home country. Reaching land after three days on the water, he journeys for twenty-eight days with a group of men who grow increasingly hungry. Pleading that they show faith and patience, the men at last come across a herd of swine and are sated. Patrick, however, eats none of the meat. Then:

The very same night while I was sleeping Satan attacked me violently, as I will remember as long as I shall be in this body; and there fell on top of me as it were, a huge rock, and not one of my members had any force. But from whence did it come to me, ignorant in the spirit, to call upon Helias? And meanwhile I saw the sun rising in the sky, and while I was crying out Helias, Helias with all my might, lo, the brilliance of that sun fell upon me and immediately shook me free of all the weight; and I believe that I was aided by Christ my Lord, and that his Spirit then was crying out for me, and I hope that it will be so in the day of my affliction, just as it says in the Gospel: In that hour, the Lord declares, it is not you who speaks but the Spirit of your Father speaking in you. (Saint Patrick, *Confessio*, 20)

In this passage, the twentieth from Patrick's *Confessio*, we find many of the elements which characterise the closing interpolation of 'Cyclops'. There is the characteristic use of the interjection 'lo'; repeated references to the sun and its brightness; a voice from heaven; and most indicative of all, the doubled exclamation 'Helias, Helias', echoed in the '*Elijah! Elijah!*' which marks the finale of 'Cyclops' as the final destination of the throwaway, crumpled skiff.⁷⁸

Beyond the final interpolation, this passage of Patrick's connects with other facets of Joyce's text. Andrew Gibson argues that the citizen enters 'Cyclops' as a mock heroic figure, and that 'The throwing of the biscuit-tin' as he chases after Bloom 'is reminiscent of various flights of various missiles in [O'Grady's] *History* and elsewhere' (Gibson, 116). Of course, in the *Odyssey*, Polyphemus throws rocks after the escaping Odysseus; and it is this which the citizen's biscuit tin immediately evokes within the confines of Joyce's Homeric parallel. However, Patrick's description of a falling rock, which instigates his calling upon Helias, offers a third equivalent for Bloom's predicament. Homer, Patrick, and the mythologies of the Anglo-Irish revivalists are layered on top of one another, as the emblems of ancient Greek, early Irish Christian, and ancient Irish culture. More, the final sentence of Patrick's passage obliquely reinterprets Stephen's heretical conceptions of fatherhood, and his theory concerning the provenance of the ghost in *Hamlet*.

In uniting Patrick's *Confessio* with more overt references to the Bible, Joyce provides through religion a conclusion to the political entanglements and nationalistic assertions of his episode. He offers a turnabout as Bloom, the 'perverted Jew' – who the citizen believes would be rid from a pure and perfect Ireland, and who has repeatedly used Patrick as a figure of exclusion – joins hands with Ireland's national Saint. Thus Bloom's apotheosis is also a commitment to political freedom and personal liberation. Upon this achievement, the twin narrative elements of 'Cyclops'

78 'Helias' is a rendering in Latin of the Greek form of Elijah's name. 'Helias' was often used in Ecclesiastical Latin, including in the Vulgate Bible.

finally become whole. When Bloom ascends ‘to the glory of the brightness at an angle of fortyfive degrees over Donohoe’s in Little Green street like a shot off a shovel’,⁷⁹ narrative strands merge and cede into both Bloom’s consciousness – the depiction of a trajectory of ‘fortyfive degrees’ reflecting the velocity in ‘Lestrygonians’ of ‘Elijah thirtytwo feet per sec is com’ – and into Nameless’ linguistic exuberance.

The *Confessio* on the Island of Saints and Sages

Just as the citizen’s brand of nationalism demands racial purity in the face of a supposedly contaminating other, Gibson writes of Anglo-Irish Revivalism that, as far as its relationship with English culture:

The demands were repeatedly for purity. The reality, again and again – as Joyce underlines – was interinvolvement. (Gibson, 125)

National and cultural purity were things in which Joyce did not believe. In ‘Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages’ – the lecture which Joyce gave in Trieste on 27 April, 1907 – Joyce described Irish civilisation as:

an immense woven fabric in which very different elements are mixed, in which Nordic rapacity is reconciled to Roman law, and new Bourgeois conventions to the remains of a Siriac religion. In such a fabric, it is pointless searching for a thread that has remained pure, virgin and un-influenced by other threads nearby. What race or language [...] can nowadays claim to be pure? No race has less right to make such a boast than the one presently inhabiting Ireland. (*Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing*, 118)

The reference to ‘the remains of a Siriac religion’ is curious, but somewhat elucidated later in the lecture when Joyce remarks that one of the few things to shake early Irish Christian faith was ‘the doctrine taught by Nestorius in the fifth century regarding the hypostatic union of the two natures of Jesus Christ’ (*OCPW*, 122). Nestorius sits happily alongside Sabellius and Arius as one of the most controversial heresiarchs of the early Church. Holding that Christ possessed two natures – one human, one divine – in two persons, he argued that this division meant the Virgin Mary could

⁷⁹ Ellmann notes that ‘Like a shot off a shovel’ was one of John Joyce’s trademark expressions (Ellmann, 22).

be called ‘Christotokos’, which is ‘Christ-bearer’, but not ‘Theotokos’, which means ‘God-bearer’. When his viewpoint on the term ‘Theotokos’ was condemned at the First Council of Ephesus in 431, the Assyrian Church of the East continued to follow Nestorius’s teachings and schismed from the rest of the Christian faith.

The Second Council of Ephesus in 449 sought to further challenge Nestorius by asserting that Christ possessed only a single, divine nature in his one person. This council proved contentious, however, and the Council of Chalcedon of 451 was convened to repudiate its findings. The creed issued by the Council of Chalcedon affirmed the principle of the Hypostatic Union, according to which Christ is conceived to have possessed two natures in one person. But this only entrenched existing divisions between the East and West, and saw a further schism, as the churches of Oriental Orthodoxy split from the remainder of Christendom. Syriac Christianity, today as in Joyce’s time, refers to both the Church of the East, which follows the East Syrian Rite, and the Oriental Orthodox Syriac Orthodox Church, which follows the West Syrian Rite.

The mention of ‘Siriatic religion’ in his 1907 lecture is one indication of the extent to which Joyce’s religious temperament remained constant over the next fifteen years, and throughout the period in which he composed *Ulysses*. He maintained – more than an interest in the early Church – a belief that its debates were formative episodes in the course of civilisation, and equally pertinent for rediscovering and reformulating the present day. More, it shows that Joyce was concerned with the early Church on more than an abstract, theoretical level. Rather, he was keen to relate these episodes of the early Church practically to the path of Irish religious and political history.

Joyce’s understanding of Christianity meant that for him, this formative early Church existed from the first century until the time of Photius in the 800s. For Joyce, Photius was the decisive figure in the Great Schism between East and West: just as Stephen rectifies the date of Ireland’s conversion to Christianity in ‘Ithaca’, Joyce eschewed the date of 1054 and understood that after Photius, schism was inevitable and Christianity had ineluctably changed. This understanding is clearly expressed in a letter Joyce wrote to Budgen concerning Zurich’s Altkatholische Kirche, which separated from Rome in 1871. Joyce describes ‘the Filioque clause in the creed concerning which there has been a schism between western and eastern christendom for over a thousand years’ (Budgen, 351). He notes that this is the subject matter of the ‘The Mookse and the Gripes’ passage from *Finnegans Wake*, which he was then in the process of writing; specifying for Budgen ‘paragraph beginning when that Mooksius and ending Philioquus’ (Budgen, 351). ‘Philioquus’ is a compound of ‘Photius’ and ‘Filioque’; and through his concern with Photius and his dating of a schism which had already lasted ‘over a thousand years’, Joyce defines his period of concern.

This is identical with the period which Joyce, giving his ‘history of the Irish Church from the early centuries of the Christian era’, defines as formative for the course of Ireland. Joyce runs through Irish missionaries from Mansuetus in the first century, ‘under the apostolate of St Peter’, to Sedulius the Younger who lived in the mid-800s (*OCPW*, 111-112). He affirms that, ‘Overall, the period that ended with the invasion of Ireland by Scandinavian tribes is an uninterrupted record of apostles, missions, and martyrs’ (*OCPW*, 112).

Following the Scandinavian invasions of the 800s, ‘culture necessarily languished’, although ‘Ireland did have the honour of producing three great heresiarchs, John Scotus Erigena, Macarius, and Virgilius Solivagus’ (*OCPW*, 113). But from the invasion of the English in 1169, Ireland ‘ceased to be an intellectual force in Europe’; while receiving scant reward for its continuing fealty to an increasingly ignorant and despotic Rome (*OCPW*, 114 and 122). Joyce portrays Ireland under and a ‘double yoke’ – a phrase which suggests Stephen’s ‘I am a servant of two masters’ in ‘Telemachus’ – and concludes that today ‘No self-respecting person wants to stay in Ireland’ (*OCPW*, 123-124).

Still, of early Christian Ireland Joyce says, ‘For seven or eight centuries it was the spiritual focus of Christianity’ (*OCPW*, 122). And harkening back to this period, Joyce suggests:

the Irish nation’s desire to create its own civilization is not so much the desire of a young nation wishing to link itself to Europe’s concert, but the desire by an ancient nation to renew in a modern form the glories of a past civilization. (*OCPW*, 111)

In this context, the ‘glories of a past civilization’ refer not to an Anglo-Irish revivalist past, pre-Christian and mythologised, but to Ireland’s accountable Christian past, conceived as a specialised, estimable part of an interconnected, global historical whole. Ireland’s political questions of the day – its desire to create its own civilisation as part of the modern world – profoundly implicate its early Christian past.

All of this shows that the interposition of Patrick’s *Confessio* upon the final interpolation of ‘Cyclops’ is not Joyce inserting a narrowly Irish text upon a grand Christian narrative, nor is it Joyce retreating to or elevating the past as a means of parodying the cultural politics of the present. Instead, Joyce is taking a religious frame of reference already established in *Ulysses* – that of the early Church and its margins and disputes – and usefully extending its reach into contemporary Irish political terrain

In ‘Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages’, Joyce considered:

perhaps [...] we shall witness a monk in Ireland throw off his cowl, run off with a nun, and proclaim aloud the end of the coherent absurdity that is Catholicism, and the beginning of the incoherent absurdity that is Protestantism.

But a Protestant Ireland is almost unthinkable. Beyond doubt, Ireland has so far been the Catholic Church's most faithful daughter. (*OCPW*, 121)⁸⁰

While Gibson focuses in *Joyce's Revenge* on placing Joyce within the political and literary-cultural contexts of his time – with regard predominantly to Anglo-Irish revivalism, but also to Irish nationalism, both of which he relates as complicit with English authority – Joyce looked equally towards contemporary religious debates between Catholics and Protestants. Throughout his texts, Joyce is careful with his religious sources – in *A Portrait*, for instance, sometimes drawing from the Catholic Douay-Rheims Bible instead of the more commonly utilised King James Version, which was commissioned by the Church of England – and the denominational affiliation of the sources he uses is often significant. But more than a question of taking sides, the excerpts of religious rhetoric which he draws upon are means of hinting at and stretching out wider debates.

So it is worth looking in closer detail at Joyce's use of the passage from Patrick's *Confessio*. We find that the specific passage which Joyce drew from for the final interpolation in 'Cyclops' became a topic of heated dispute among Irish Catholic and Protestant theologians in the 1800s. In particular, the reference in Patrick's text to 'crying out Helias, Helias' became a key point of contention, as the two faiths fought for proprietorship over Patrick's legacy in Ireland.

Patrick's *Confessio*, written in Latin, comes to us via eight medieval manuscripts, with the earliest being the ninth-century Irish illuminated manuscript, the *Book of Armagh*. The *Book of Armagh* contains the *Confessio* in an abridged form, with significant passages omitted – 'deliberately, as it seems, in order to promote St Patrick as a most successful missionary and glorious founder of monasteries in Ireland' (*Confessio.ie*, 'The Book of Armagh'). There are six manuscripts from between the tenth and twelfth centuries, held in Paris, London, Rouen, two in Salisbury, and Arras; and a final manuscript from the seventeenth century, held at the Bodleian in Oxford. These manuscripts contain various missing passages and numerous textual differences.

The first ever printed edition of the *Confessio* was edited by Sir James Ware, based on the *Book of Armagh*, London, and Salisbury manuscripts, and published in 1656. Daniel Papebroch edited an edition based on the Arras manuscript in 1668. This edition is significant because two leaves of the Arras manuscript were subsequently lost, meaning that Papebroch's edition is now the

80 Kevin Barry notes the similarity between this passage from Joyce's lecture and Stephen's remark in *A Portrait*: 'What kind of liberation would that be to forsake an absurdity which is logical and coherent and to embrace one which is illogical and incoherent?' (*OCPW*, 319)

primary source for the missing passages (Confessio.ie, ‘Arras’). The fundamental edition of the Latin text published in Joyce’s day came in 1905, edited by Newport J. D. White, and titled *Libri Sancti Patricii: The Latin Writings of Saint Patrick*. A ‘diplomatic transcription’ of the *Book of Armagh*, including its excerpt of the *Confessio*, was edited by John Gwynn in 1913 (Confessio.ie, ‘J. Gwynn [transcript]’).

Basing his research on all eight of the manuscripts, plus White’s 1905 edition, in 1950 Ludwig Bieler published what is still considered the canonical version of the reconstructed Latin text (Confessio.ie, ‘L. Bieler’). The pertinent passage of the *Confessio* in Bieler’s edition reads:

Eadein uero nocte era ni dormiens et fortiter temptauit me satanas, quod memor ero quamdiu fiero in hoc corpore, et cecidit super me ueluti saxum ingens et nihil membrorum meorum praeualens. Sed unde me uenit ignaro in spiritu ut Heliam uocarem? Et inter haec nidi in caelum solem oriri et dum clamarem ‘Helia, Helia’ uiribus meis, ecce splendor solis illius decedit super me et statim discussit a me omnem grauitudinem, et credo quod a Christo Domino meo subuentus sum et Spiritus eius iam tunc clamabat pro me et spero quod sic erit in die pressurae meae, sicut in euangelio inquit: In illa die, Dominus testatur. non uos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus Patris uestri qui loquitur in uobis. (Bieler, 68-69)

Where some of the manuscripts contain the ‘clamarem’ ‘Helia’ only once – that is, depict a single utterance of the cry ‘Helia’ – Bieler’s authoritative edition features the doubled exclamation ‘Helia Helia’. This practise has been followed since, in R. P. C. Hanson’s Latin edition of 1978, and in the English translations published by A. Hood in 1978, Thomas O’Loughlin in 1999, and P. McCarthy in 2003.

The English translation of the *Confessio* published closest to the completion of *Ulysses* was that published by Newport J. D. White in 1920, in the book *St. Patrick: His Writings and Life*. In White’s translation of the relevant passage, Patrick utters his call to Helias only once: ‘while I was shouting “Helias” with all my might, lo, the splendour of that sun fell upon me’ (White, 38). However, we know that Joyce had finished the fair copy of ‘Cyclops’ by September 1919; and the episode was published in *The Little Review* between November 1919 and March 1920 (Grodén, 122-123). It is unlikely that White’s translation had any bearing on Joyce’s text.

Two significant works for Joyce may have been Charles H. H. Wright’s *The Writings of St. Patrick, The Apostle of Ireland*, published in 1894, and Margaret Anna Cusack’s *The Life of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, published in 1871. Before White, the translations of the *Confessio* into

English which these works contain were those nearest to Joyce in time. They also offer opposing perspectives on Patrick's life and writing: Cusack's work is Catholic, while Wright's is Protestant.

In *The Writings of St. Patrick, The Apostle of Ireland*, Charles H. H. Wright translates the *Confessio* passage:

But the same night while I was sleeping, and Satan greatly tempted me, in a way which I shall remember as long as I am in this body. And he fell upon me like a huge rock, and I had no power in my limbs, save that it came to me, into my mind, that I should call out "Helias." And in that moment I saw the sun rise in the heaven; and while I was crying out "Helias" with all my might, behold the splendor of that sun fell upon me, and at once removed the weight from me. And I believe I was aided by Christ my Lord, and His Spirit was then crying out for me, and I hope likewise that it will be thus in the days of my oppression, as the Lord says in the Gospel, "It is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father, which speaketh in you." (Wright, 54-55)

Cusack's *The Life of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland* in fact contains two translations of the *Confessio* passage. The first is by Cusack, while the second is by William M. Hennessy. In turn, their translations read:

"On the same night," says the saint, "as I slept, Satan strongly tempted me, and he appeared to fall on me like a great rock, so that I had no strength in my limbs. But how it came into my mind that I should invoke [invocarem] Elias I know not; and then I saw the sun arising in the heavens, and whilst I called Elias, Elias, with all my might, behold the splendour of the sun fell upon me and removed all my heaviness. I believe that I was succoured by my Christ, and that his Spirit even then cried out for me, and I hope that I will be so also in the day of my adversity, as the Lord testifies in the Gospel. For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you." (Cusack, 143)

and Hennessy's:

But the same night, while I was sleeping, I was strongly tempted by Satan (of which I shall be mindful as long as I shall be in this body), and there fell as it were a great stone upon me, and there was no strength in my limbs. And then it came into my mind, I know not how, to call upon Elias, and at the same moment I saw the sun rising in the heavens, and while I

cried out Elias with all my might, behold, the splendor of the sun was shed upon me, and immediately shook from me all heaviness. And I believe that Christ my Lord cried out for me; and I hope that it will be so in the day of my adversity, as the Lord testifies in the Gospel: It is not upon you that speak, &c. (in Cusack, 590-591)

Viewing all three of these translations, Cusack's contains the double exclamation 'Elias, Elias'; while Hennessy's renders a single 'Elias', and Wright's a single 'Helias'. Wright does note that several of the *Confessio* manuscripts contain the variant 'Helias! Helias!' (Wright, 133). More important than an issue of quantity, however – although Cusack's doubling, or perhaps Wright's note, most clearly suggests Joyce's text – is the dispute with which the texts engage regarding the reference of these various terms: 'Helia', 'Helias', 'Elias' and so on.

In their respective works, Cusack and Wright both engage with an earlier study of the *Confessio* by James Henthorn Todd. Todd was a noted nineteenth-century religious scholar and liberal Protestant. Cusack sees the 'Elias' in Patrick's text as an unmistakable reference to the prophet Elijah. Wright, however, calls this 'far-fetched', and argues that Patrick's 'Helias' is, as 'has been explained by Dr. Todd', instead 'equivalent to *Eli*, the Hebrew for "my God", which occurs in the Gospel account of the crucifixion' (Wright, 133). Wright also suggests a potential connection between Patrick's 'Helias' and the word 'Helios', which is Greek for 'the sun'.⁸¹

It is, however, quite a logical leap to progress from 'Eli' to 'Elias' or 'Helias'. English-language Bibles are uniform in translating Jesus' words on the cross as 'Eli, Eli' in the Gospel of Matthew, and 'Eloi, Eloi' in the Gospel of Mark. Meanwhile, the King James Version and Darby Bible were typical in using 'Elijah' as the name of the prophet in the Old Testament, and 'Elias' as his name in the New. The Douay-Rheims has 'Elias' throughout. Most modern English-language Bible translations consistently refer to the prophet as 'Elijah'.

In the Septuagint – the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Koine Greek, which was probably Patrick's source for the Old Testament writings – 'sun' is ἥλιος, while 'Elias' is Ηλίαν in the books of Malachi, Ecclesiasticus, and Maccabees. Ecclesiasticus and Maccabees are considered non-canonical by Protestants, but canonical by Catholics, and they were included in the Septuagint. Wright accepts that Patrick's recorded use of these books must be regarded as one of his 'drawbacks' for Protestants (Wright, 10). He is unable to explain the nature of any connection between 'Helias' and 'Helios'. Todd apparently concludes that Patrick's transcribers suffered a slip of the nib (Cusack, 3).

81 Thomas Olden makes the same arguments as Wright in *The Confession of St. Patrick*, published in 1853.

At stake is a difference of belief. Catholics – as well as the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox churches – believe in the doctrine of the intercession of the saints. This means that saints can be asked, through prayer, to intercede in human affairs. Protestants believe that invoking individual saints amounts to idolatry. Thus for Protestants, evidence that Patrick invoked the prophet Elijah runs contrary to their faith. It places Patrick within a mainstream of Catholic Christianity.

Responding to Todd's assertion that Patrick was not invoking the prophet Elijah, Cusack writes:

Dr. Todd cannot admit that St. Patrick invoked the Saints, though it was the practice of the universal Church from the earliest ages [...] Why must these writers twist and torture language, and make the wildest conjectures to explain away plain facts? (Cusack, 3)

Amid a heated and thoroughgoing criticism of Todd, during which she bemoans his 'prejudice', Cusack notes that supplication to the sun would make of Patrick a pagan (Cusack, 2-3). Later in her work, she views the ancient lives written of Patrick, and reaffirms her point:

We have very ancient authority for supposing that by the word used by St. Patrick he meant Elias the Prophet. There is also the authority of the version of the *Confession* contained in the Book of Armagh. Indeed, it is probable there would never have been any question about the saint's meaning had not some few persons found it difficult to reconcile the fact of his invocation of a saint with their anxiety to make it appear that the early Irish converts were not Catholics. (Cusack, 144).

Hennessy too affirms that Patrick means Elijah. He writes that this aspect of the *Confession* has received little attention historically; but in the midst of the recent conflict of opinion:

that he intended the prophet Elias there can be no possible doubt, from his statement that he knew not how it occurred to him to invoke him, an expression which he could not have used had he applied the name Elias to our Lord. (in Cusack, 568)

Of course, in the final interpolation of 'Cyclops', Joyce opts for '*Elijah! Elijah!*', as those gathered behold 'ben Bloom Elijah, amid clouds of angels ascend to the glory of the brightness' (*U*, 12.1914-1917). But again, in opting for 'Elijah' rather than something more ambiguous, Joyce does

not stress his preference for a Catholic reading of Patrick's text. The reference to Elijah completes the 'throwaway' motif, which in its focus on John Alexander Dowie alongside Elijah introduces into *Ulysses* an eschatology, resonating from Jesus and the first-century Christians unto the Christian fundamentalists of Joyce's day. And it succeeds in placing 'Cyclops' thoroughly within the conception Joyce outlined in his 1907 lecture in Trieste, as Joyce uses a passage from the early Church to implicate the contested sites which continue to shape contemporary Irish civilisation.

In so much of Joyce's utilisation of the rhetoric of the early Church, there is this multi-layered, centrifugal movement: from a pleasure in the language, upon which Joyce verbally and stylistically innovates; to a development of its philosophical gestures and themes; and to a richly suggestive indication of the debates centring upon this language, which reproduce and continue to impact the present day. Joyce's expansion towards such debates at the culmination of 'Cyclops' make Bloom – who is, after all, Catholic and Protestant as well as Jew, baptised a Protestant after the conversion of his father from Judaism, then himself converting to the Catholic faith prior to his marriage to Molly – one with the course and cause of Ireland.

5. Photius and the Theme of Mockery

Buck Mulligan and his Brood

Photius heads the list of heretics which emanates from Stephen in 'Telemachus'. While he does not suffuse Stephen's thought as do Arius and Sabellius, with their heresies pertaining to substance and fatherhood, and while he does not impact so clearly on the novel's consistent cloacal theme, still Photius is notable as the only heretic explicitly related to one of *Ulysses*'s characters. In 'Telemachus', he is introduced as the characteristic figure in a collective of which Buck Mulligan is also part, 'Photius and the brood of mockers of whom Mulligan was one' (*U*, 1.656-657).

The relationship between Photius, Stephen, Mulligan and mockery is contested in so far as both Stephen and Mulligan are at points identified as mockers. In 'Telemachus', Mulligan cites in turn the 'mockery' of Stephen's 'absurd name, an ancient Greek!', the 'mockery' of Stephen's 'Secondleg' clothes, and the 'mockery' of Stephen's mother's death and his unwillingness to pray in her final moments (*U*, 1.34, 1.116, 1.204-210). In each instance here, the sense of 'mockery' which Mulligan evokes cuts both ways. It is both active and passive, with Stephen simultaneously culpable and innocent of its excesses. Stephen is guilty of mockery because, as a point of pride and inner conviction, he would not accede to his mother's dying wishes, because he wears and has to wear secondhand clothes, and Mulligan somehow manages to implicate him too in the absurdity of his name. He is a victim of the mockery of fate in so far as he did not, after all, choose his own name, because his lack of clothes are a product of his family's economic hardship, and owing to the untimely but ineluctable fact of his mother's death.

In 'Scylla and Charybdis', Stephen's high intellectualism makes his listeners doubt the sincerity of his expressions. John Eglinton calls him a 'delusion', as Stephen asserts that he does not believe himself in the theory he has just expounded concerning Shakespeare's life and works (*U*, 9.1064). When Mr Best and the Quaker librarian discuss Oscar Wilde's story upon Shakespeare's sonnets, and the librarian posits that 'The mocker is never taken seriously when he is most serious', this may be applied equally to Mulligan's mocking nature and to Stephen's denial (*U*, 9.542-543). Has he disavowed a theory in which he actually believes, owing to a lack of confidence, and faced with the accusation that his theorising has been nothing more than an elaborate game, a sordid 'French triangle'? 'I believe, O Lord, help my unbelief', Stephen thinks to himself, before qualifying, 'That is, help me to believe or help me to unbelieve? Who helps to believe? *Egomen*. Who to unbelieve? Other chap.' (*U*, 9.1078-1080).

Laying aside the views of others, Stephen may allow himself as a mocker in so far as the word implicates subtlety of thought. He associates the word with philosophical subtlety in ‘Nestor’, when he thinks of ‘Averroes and Moses Maimonides, dark men in mien and movement, flashing in their mocking mirrors the obscure soul of the world, a darkness shining in brightness which brightness could not comprehend’ (*U*, 2.158-160). This sentence in *Ulysses* recalls Joyce’s 1904 autobiographical essay, ‘A Portrait of the Artist’, in which the author flings ‘disdain from flashing antlers’ at his ideological opponents (see Ellmann, 145-146). Later in the essay, Joyce suggests himself as a ‘mocking devil’ positioned between the two ‘camps’ of ‘sensitiveness and dulness [...] Their Intensities and Their Bullockships’ (*Poems and Shorter Writings*, 217). The passage evokes ‘Nestor’, which makes of Stephen a ‘bullockbefriending bard’ after he agrees to pass on Mr Deasy’s letter on foot and mouth disease to the *Evening Telegraph* (*U*, 2.431). It also poses a Homeric navigational concern, with Joyce hoping to sail between hostile territories without succumbing to either one.

Through the course of these philosophical investigations, Stephen is too subtle, stern, and introspective to be roundly identified as a mocker. He is not inclined to ridicule or to jeer at people or at arguments. When he does engage in mockery, it is with careful nuance, and often in the form of mimicry of texts. He mimics the commandment of the *Deharbe Catechism* that one ‘receive the Holy Communion worthily at Easter or thereabouts’ when, in ‘Eumaeus’, his ‘mind’s eye’ dwelling on his family’s lack of food, he recalls the ‘third precept of the church to fast and abstain on the days commanded, it being quarter tense or if not, ember days or something like that’ (*U*, 16.276-278). Again, Stephen’s impulse here is to subvert dogma by subtly highlighting its inexactitude.

Though Stephen will parody supposedly authoritative texts, and will briefly adopt the pose of mocker in the performative aspect of his own Shakespeare proof, it is Mulligan who Stephen identifies as a mocker, grasping the word with all of its negative connotations. Stephen considers Mulligan’s mockery to be neither insightful nor fondly familiar, but cruel.⁸² It is a mockery readily spoken to the ‘stranger’ Haines, and Stephen regards it as ‘Idle mockery’ (*U*, 1.660-661). Mulligan’s depiction of the ‘mockery’ of Stephen’s name, clothes, and mother’s death is itself a form of mockery; and whether for his own sake or in raw feeling for his mother, the phrase Stephen heard Mulligan use, ‘*O, it’s only Dedalus whose mother is beastly dead*’, has evidently wounded Stephen personally (*U*, 1.198-199). Stephen at least states that he has taken offence over Mulligan’s dismissive reference to him – as ‘*only Dedalus*’ – rather than over Mulligan’s blunt reference to his mother’s death.

82 John Benignus Lyons has remarked that ‘mockery of himself and others’ was characteristic of Oliver St. John Gogarty’s correspondence with Joyce; whereas in letters to other acquaintances, Gogarty could temper his mockery, instead ‘displaying his finer qualities [...] revealing unexpected moments of melancholy’ (Lyons, 20-21).

When Mulligan makes his final appearance, in ‘Circe’, it is again to crudely highlight the ‘mockery’ of Stephen’s mother’s passing:

BUCK MULLIGAN

(shakes his curling capbell) The mockery of it! Kinch dogsbody killed her bitchbody. She kicked the bucket. (tears of molton butter fall from his eyes on to the scone) Our great sweet mother! *Epi oinopa ponton*. (*U*, 15.4177-4180).

This passage shows the extent of Mulligan’s mockery, which ranges from careless and unfeeling vulgarity to ribald sentimentality. Where Stephen will mock often quite esoteric texts to open them up for re-evaluation, Mulligan draws broadly from Homer to make fun at the expense of individuals. Bloom contrasts Stephen’s form of mockery with Mulligan’s directly following the ‘something like that’ from ‘Eumaeus’. He advises Stephen, ‘I wouldn’t personally repose much trust in that boon companion of yours who contributes the humorous element’ (*U*, 16.279-280).

Indeed, for Bloom as well as for Stephen, mockery is no idle or humorous endeavour but a real and persistent threat to self. Molly functions both overtly and obliquely as Bloom’s mocker. Aside from the fact that she is committing adultery with Blazes Boylan and thereby making a cuckold of Bloom, in ‘Calypso’ she responds to Bloom’s explanation of metempsychosis with ‘mocking eyes’ (*U*, 4.344); and in ‘Circe’ she regards him with ‘a slow friendly mockery in her eyes) O Poldy, Poldy, you are a poor old stick in the mud! Go and see life. See the wide world.’ (*U*, 15.328-330). In ‘Oxen of the Sun’, surrounded by young men of Stephen’s age and acquaintance, Bloom is ‘conscious of some impudent mocks which he however had borne as being the fruits of that age upon which it is commonly charged that it knows not pity’ (*U*, 14.845-847). Earlier, in ‘Aeolus’, a ‘file of capering newsboys’ trail in Bloom’s wake through the *Evening Telegraph* newsroom, ‘zigzagging white on the breeze a mocking kite, a tail of white bowknots’ (*U*, 7.444-446). Seemingly harmless fooling, in ‘Nausicaa’ Bloom recalls that these newsboys made him feel ‘awkward’. ‘Still’, he thinks to himself, ‘you learn something. See ourselves as others see us. So long as women don’t mock what matter?’ (*U*, 13.1056-1059).

In ‘Scylla and Charybdis’, Stephen too feels mocked by the crowd. When Mulligan enters the library, voicing an ‘Amen!’ in response to Stephen’s words on fatherhood and consubstantiality, Stephen thinks, ‘Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?’ (*U*, 9.481-483). He sees Mulligan’s ‘ribald face’, and again refers to a ‘Brood of mockers: Photius, pseudo-Malachi, Johann Most’ (*U*, 9.485-492).

As Geert Lernout details in *Help My Unbelief*, the reference to a ‘pseudo-Malachi’ could indicate either of two historical figures in accompaniment to Malachi ‘Buck’ Mulligan (Lernout, 159-160). Saint Malachy was an Archbishop of Armagh, who died in 1148 and was canonised in 1199, to whom the ‘Prophecy of the Popes’ was attributed when it was first published in 1595 by a Benedictine monk named Arnold Wion. The ‘Prophecy of the Popes’ comprises 112 short phrases, meant to predict the 112 Popes following its purported date of composition in the twelfth century. While Wion affirmed Malachy as the author of the prophecies, modern historians identify the ‘Prophecy of the Popes’ as a forgery not written until the 1500s. Thus Malachy stands as their pseudo rather than legitimate author. The second candidate is the author of the Book of Malachi, the last book of the Old Testament. Both *Easton’s Bible Dictionary*, published in 1897, and the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, revised between 1908 and 1914, present the argument that ‘Malachi’ is not the real name of the author of the book, but instead simply indicates the Hebrew term for a ‘messenger’ of God (*Easton’s Bible Dictionary*, ‘Malachi’; *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, ‘Malachi’). If this is accepted, then the Book of Malachi must be considered pseudoepigraphical. In either case, in referring to a ‘pseudo-Malachi’, Joyce links Mulligan to false prophets and problems of authorship, which – as Gifford argues – distinguish him both from Stephen and from the prophet Elijah, who through the course of his life inveighed against the false god Baal, and made true the prophecy of his own return during the Transfiguration of Jesus (Gifford, 224).

Johann Most was a German-American anarchist, who in the late 1800s published a mocking, blasphemous version of the Nicene and Apostles’ creeds in his newspaper *Die Freiheit*. Lernout notes that Most subsequently published his article in the form of a pamphlet; it was first translated into English in 1888, with various translations circulating at the time throughout Europe (Lernout, 160). It is clear that Joyce read Most’s creed at some point, for following this list of mockers in ‘Scylla and Charybdis’, Stephen’s interior monologue continues with a closely similar parody of the creed: ‘He Who Himself begot middler the Holy Ghost and Himself sent Himself, Agenbuyer, between Himself and others, Who, put upon by His fiends, stripped and whipped, was nailed like bat to barndoor [...]’ (*U*, 9.493-499). While parodying the convoluted rhetoric of the creed, Stephen’s modifications here may also encode a subtle mockery of Most.

Eglinton is identified as ‘Mocker’ in contrast to Stephen when the discussion turns to Shakespeare’s ‘secondbest’ bed (*U*, 9.690-699). And when Stephen later charts the full course of his intellectual life, he finds it has been beset by a sequence of mockers – whose mockery has, however, at times helped sharpen his intellect:

Where is your brother? Apothecaries' hall. My whetstone. Him, then Cranly, Mulligan: now these. Speech, speech. But act. Act speech. They mock to try you. Act. Be acted on. (*U*, 9.977- 979)⁸³

The Photian Schism

Of the four heresiarchs identified by Stephen in 'Telemachus', Photius lived latest. He ruled as the Patriarch of Constantinople in two periods, from 858-867 and from 877-886. This was a time of increasing conflict between Rome and Constantinople. The First Council of Nicaea in 325 had upheld the 'ancient custom' of the primacy of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch (EWTN Library, 'First Council of Nicaea (325)', Canon 6).⁸⁴ To these three, the Council of Chalcedon in 451 essentially added Jerusalem – to which Nicaea had already accorded an honorary primacy, owing to the number of pilgrims who had begun travelling there – and Constantinople (EWTN Library, 'The Council of Chalcedon', Session 7 and Canon 28). The prestige given by the Council of Chalcedon to Constantinople was dismissed by Rome. Pope Leo I rejected the twenty-eighth canon of the Council, which regarded the see of Constantinople second in importance only to Rome, while assenting to the rest of the Council's canons.⁸⁵

Still, in the east of the Church, which was the site of all Christianity's early Ecumenical Councils, the significance of the see of Constantinople was widely embraced. Constantinople was the seat of empire, and the Emperor Justinian (reigned 527-565) established the concept of the Pentarchy as a political construct, uniting the five patriarchal sees of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem as the universal rulers over Christendom. As Constantinople continued to assert itself, and especially with the other eastern patriarchates marginalised after 661 by the rise of Islam, the power struggle between Rome and Constantinople intensified.

Volume 12 of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 'Philip – Revalidation', first published in 1911, describes Photius's father as 'a *spatharios* (lifeguard) named Sergius' – 'lifeguard' being a curious

83 Gifford notes that of Stephen's closest acquaintances, only Lynch is omitted from this list of mockers (Gifford, 246). Lynch does mock Stephen later, in 'Circe': following Stephen's analysis of the 'Self which it itself was ineluctably preconditioned to become', Lynch responds '(with a mocking whinny of laughter grins at Bloom and Zoe Higgins) What a learned speech, eh?' (*U*, 15.2120-2125).

84 The sixth canon of the First Council of Nicaea reads: 'The ancient customs of Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis shall be maintained, according to which the bishop of Alexandria has authority over all these places since a similar custom exists with reference to the bishop of Rome. Similarly in Antioch and the other provinces the prerogatives of the churches are to be preserved.' (EWTN Library, 'First Council of Nicaea (325)')

85 Rome would not formally accept Constantinople as a patriarchate until the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, which was convened in Rome after the Fourth Crusade had seen Crusaders raid and capture Constantinople from the Byzantine Empire.

appellation, in 1911, for a bodyguard, as by then the word had taken its modern meaning within the context of a beach or swimming pool. The Iconoclastic period had broadly come to a close with the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, which restored the use and veneration of icons throughout Christendom. Remnants of the Iconoclasm remained, however, and Photius's family were excommunicated by an Iconoclastic synod at some point during his youth. According to Vladimir Baranov, 'the father and mother of young Photius were banished and died in exile for their Iconodulic views' under 'the last Iconoclastic Patriarch John Grammaticus', who was Patriarch of Constantinople between 837 and 843 (Baranov, 6).

Ignatius became Patriarch of Constantinople in 847, and served for almost eleven years before, at the end of 857, he was deposed owing to a dispute with Emperor Michael III and his uncle and effective regent Bardas. Photius was appointed to replace Ignatius. Though related to Tarasios, the Patriarch of Constantinople from 784-806, he was a layman rather than a cleric at the time of his appointment, and renowned as a scholar. In 861, petitioned by Michael and Photius, Pope Nicholas I sent two legates to Constantinople to oversee a council meant to judge on Ignatius and affirm or refute Photius as Patriarch. The Pope's legates sided with Photius, but Ignatius appealed to Nicholas, and at a Lateran council in Rome in 863 he declared that Ignatius must be restored and Photius retire the patriarchate or face excommunication. Photius and Michael refused Nicholas's demands, and a four-year schism between the western and eastern churches – referred to as the Photian Schism – commenced.

Intensifying the acrimony between Constantinople and Rome was the issue of Bulgaria, whose Knyaz, Boris I, had recently converted to Christianity. Baptised in Constantinople, Boris began corresponding with Photius on matters of the faith. Members of the Byzantine clergy began travelling to Bulgaria to baptise new converts; but in 866, Boris – happy to play the opposing sides off against one another – sent emissaries to the Pope. Nicholas I responded by making Bulgaria part of the Roman Patriarchate, and sent to Bulgaria two bishops – one of whom was Formosus, who would himself later become Pope.

In 867, Photius responded by issuing an encyclical and calling a synod in which he excommunicated Nicholas, citing issues with Rome's teachings concerning fasting, its forbidding of the marriage of priests, its processes of Confirmation, and finally invoking the Filioque. This refers to the addition to the Nicene Creed of the phrase 'and the Son' (in Latin, 'filioque') to the line '[We believe] in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father'. That the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father and the Son was an addition first made to the Nicene Creed by the Third Council of Toledo in 589 – a council which saw Visigothic Spain decisively reject Arianism and join the Roman Church. The Filioque was seen as an anti-Arian insertion as it appears

to reinforce the consubstantiality of Father and Son which Arius had denied. Though the Filioque would not become officially part of the creed until 1014, its teaching soon spread throughout western Christendom, among the Franks and the English and to the seat of the church in Rome.

As Photius looked to consolidate power in the east and matters between Constantinople and Rome came to a head, in September 867 Basil I usurped the Byzantine throne. Michael III was assassinated, and Basil soon deposed Photius and reinstated Ignatius in an attempt to restore relations with Rome. Pope Nicholas I died in November, before hearing word of the changes which had taken place in Constantinople; but in 869 his successor, Pope Adrian II, agreed to send legates to Constantinople to confirm Ignatius's reinstatement. The council subsequently held in Constantinople from 869-870 is regarded as the Eighth Ecumenical Council by the Catholic Church. While Photius gradually regained Basil's favour, Ignatius remained Patriarch until his death in 877, at which Photius was once again awarded the role.

Pope John VIII had succeeded Adrian II in 872, and in 879 sent legates for a further council in Constantinople, meant to clarify the situation with Photius and with regard to Bulgaria, which after 869 had become part of the Constantinople See, but with an autonomous archbishop. The council held in Constantinople between 879-880 is regarded by the Eastern Orthodox Church as the Eighth Ecumenical Council. The decisions made at the council, and the ratification of these decisions, is a matter of significant debate: some accounts hold that the council saw Bulgaria return to the See of Rome, and there is disagreement too regarding the degree to which the Filioque was discussed. After this council, as the history becomes murky, it is unclear whether Photius was excommunicated for a final time by Rome, and whether a second Photian Schism occurred: but regardless he remained as Patriarch of Constantinople until Basil I died in 886. Leo VI replaced Basil as Emperor, and soon deposed Photius in favour of his brother, Stephen. Photius spent the remainder of his life writing, dying sometime in the 890s.

Photius's life was a litany of charge and counter-charge between Constantinople and Rome, and in consequence biographies and church histories which recount his life conflict depending on the perspective and the denominational affiliation of the author. Two of the most prominent competing accounts are those written by Adrian Fortescue and Francis Dvornik. Fortescue was an English Roman Catholic priest who, in the early 1900s, became an eminent English-language scholar in the history of eastern Christianity. His *The Orthodox Eastern Church* was first published in 1907, with a second edition following in 1908. A noted ultramontanist, where Fortescue recounts a dispute between East and West, he unerringly sides with Rome. Dvornik was a Czech priest and a leading twentieth century authority on Slavic and Byzantine Church history. His *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* was first published by Cambridge University Press in 1948, and

reprinted in 1970. As the subtitle implies, his work is a conscious attempt to recover Photius from an array of legends regarding his life, typically instigated by his ideological opponents.

So for the council in 861, Fortescue presents the whole proceedings as a manipulation by Photius and Michael, and describes the two legates sent by the Pope as ‘the worst ambassadors ever sent by the Holy See to any place’ (Fortescue, 144); while Dvornik portrays Ignatius as stubborn, and suggests that even allowing him a trial was ‘an important concession to the Pope’ (Dvornik, 80). Likewise Fortescue analyses Nicholas I’s decision, in 863, in favour of Ignatius and for Photius to be excommunicated from the Church, as Rome taking up ‘the cause of a lawful bishop who was being persecuted by the civil power’ (Fortescue, 149). For Dvornik, Nicholas I was less concerned with Photius’s legitimacy than he was about manoeuvring for Bulgaria (Dvornik, 93).

Fortescue alleges that letters sent to Nicholas I before and after the councils of 861 and 863, purportedly by Emperor Michael III, were in fact written duplicitously by Photius (Fortescue, 143 and 150). He characterises Photius’s conduct following 863 as ‘the typical attitude of the schismatic, who betrays the Church to the State rather than obey the Pope’ (Fortescue, 150). Dvornik, on the other hand, writes that ‘It must be admitted that till 867 Photius’ attitude was perfectly dignified [...] This was the only attitude he could adopt without prejudicing his own rights and the peace of Christendom.’ (Dvornik, 129). Fortescue states that, by Photius’s encyclical of 867, the relationship between Rome and Constantinople was one of ‘war’; an assertion Dvornik explicitly rejects, positing that the encyclical and the council of 867 spoke against Nicholas’s conduct rather than the theology of the western church, with the Filioque at this juncture only a minor issue (Fortescue, 152-153; Dvornik, 129).

Indeed, on the Filioque, Dvornik writes:

Photius had no reason whatsoever for falling out with Nicholas over the *Filioque* [...] In 860 he had, in his enthronement letter to the Pope, professed his faith in the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father only, and the Pope, instead of rebuking him for his profession, declared in his letter of 18 March 862 that the faith of Photius was perfectly orthodox. Photius could then suppose, or at least pretend, that in this respect the Pope did not essentially differ from the Greeks. (Dvornik, 122)

Fortescue accepts that ‘Photius at first did not think more of [the Filioque] than of the other points he had discovered.’ (Fortescue, 154). However, he asserts that it soon became ‘the shibboleth of the quarrel [...] It had much the most appearance of being a real abuse, and it has given them the chance of calling us heretics.’ (Fortescue, 154).

On the council held in Constantinople between 869-870, Fortescue writes that Photius ‘behaved very badly’ and ‘used the words that our Lord had spoken at his trial, making a comparison that was simply blasphemous.’ (Fortescue, 158). Dvornik instead offers that Photius ‘kept an unbroken and dignified silence’ throughout, before the council closed by excommunicating him for a second time, following the will of Adrian II, who was eager to consolidate his Papacy through a show of force (Dvornik, 149). Both Fortescue and Dvornik depict the subsequent battle between Rome and Constantinople for primacy in Bulgaria; and Photius finding some common ground with Ignatius while gradually reconciling with Basil. Fortescue embraces while Dvornik rejects the view that this reconciliation owed to a genealogy of Basil forged by Photius as a means of flattering the emperor (Fortescue, 161-162; Dvornik, 164). To this end, Fortescue accepts while Dvornik dismisses the historical accounts of Nicetas and Simeon Magister.

Dvornik characterises the council of 879-80 as the culmination of a convoluted process towards the ratification of Photius’s position, during which Pope John VIII laboured under the same misapprehensions as his predecessors. He recounts a series of letters sent by John VIII to Basil, Photius, and the eastern bishops, and a Commonitorium sent to Constantinople with the Papal legates, all of which indicate that Photius is to be approved as the Patriarch of Constantinople, but only provided certain conditions are met (Dvornik, 173-177). Alternately, Fortescue states that Pope John VIII was only too ready to acknowledge the patriarchy of Photius, and fully absolved him before the council took place. He describes this behaviour of John Paul VIII’s as showing ‘deplorable weakness’, and suggests that ‘One of the explanations of the Pope Joan myth is, that it began as an irony on this very act of John VIII’ (Fortescue, 162). Again, Fortescue makes disagreement between Rome and Constantinople over the Filioque a central facet of proceedings, while Dvornik relegates any disagreement to a procedural point rather than a fundamental issue of theology (Fortescue, 163; Dvornik 196-198).

Fortescue depicts a council run amok, with Photius having ‘it all his own way’ (Fortescue, 163). Thus upon receiving the Acts of this council, meant to acknowledge Photius and restore his relations with Rome, Pope Nicholas VIII was forced to once again excommunicate Photius: ‘The schism had once more broken out. It lasted till Basil I’s death (886). Dvornik instead writes that ‘the legates did not, in the course of the Council, deviate from their duty [...] but remained faithful to the instructions they had received on the essential point which the Pope valued most highly – the primacy of the Roman See.’ (Dvornik, 200-201). He admits that Photius and the legates altered some of the lesser aims set out by the Pope in his Commonitorium, and he notes ongoing tension over Bulgaria; but he ultimately rejects the notion of a second Photian Schism, writing ‘whatever has been said about Photius’ second condemnation by John VIII is sheer perversion’ (Dvornik, 183

and 214-215). Dvornik identifies the source of this notion as an ‘anonymous compiler’ opposed to Photius, who collected together a disparate group of texts during the reign of Pope Formosus in order to attack the recently deceased former Patriarch (Dvornik, 216).⁸⁶

Sourcing Joyce’s Sense of Photius: Mockery and the Two Souls Doctrine

In *Help My Unbelief*, Geert Lernout writes, ‘That Photius was a heretic, from the point of view of the catholic church must be clear enough, but it is not at all evident why he would be among Stephen’s “brood of mockers”’ (Lernout, 146). Lernout offers as an explanation John Julius Norwich’s *Byzantium: The Apogee*. As Lernout explains, Norwich’s account – first published in 1991 – depicts how Photius challenged Ignatius during Ignatius’s first period as Patriarch of Constantinople:

the brilliant Photius argued that man had two souls, one capable of error and the other infallible; this deeply heretical theory was taken seriously by all, including the patriarch, after which Photius ‘cheerfully’ withdrew it, much like Stephen in ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ admits that he does not even believe his Shakespeare theory. Norwich concludes that ‘Photius was responsible for perhaps the only really satisfactory practical joke in the whole history of theology, and for that alone he deserves our gratitude’ (Norwich 1993: 63-4). It is clear that this kind of provocation puts Photius firmly in the league of mockers like Mulligan [...] but we do not know where Joyce might have found this rather obscure anecdote of Byzantine history. (Lernout, 146).

Though he is not mentioned by Lernout and not explicitly referenced in the passage by Norwich, it is clear that Norwich sourced his account from Dvornik’s *The Photian Schism*. Norwich does reference Dvornik’s work in the bibliography at the back of his book (Norwich, 372). In *The Photian Schism*, Dvornik spends several pages considering Photius and the two-souls doctrine. He locates the evidence for the idea that Photius did expound such a doctrine in two sources. The first is Anastasius the Librarian, who wrote a preface to the recorded acts of the Council of

⁸⁶ Even on the date of Photius’s death, accounts differ markedly. In *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, Fortescue puts Photius’s death at 6 February, 891, though he notes ‘this date is not quite certain’ (Fortescue, 165). In the *Catholic Encyclopedia* entry he wrote several years later, Fortescue instead offers ‘The date of his death, not quite certain, is generally given as 6 February, 897’. Dvornik places it on 6 or 9 February, 892 (Dvornik, 262). Meanwhile, the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia* has Photius living ‘probably a full decade or more’ after 886.

Constantinople 869-870. In his preface, Anastasius recalls that while still a professor, Photius ‘concocted a sham doctrine on the two souls, and explained [...] that he only wanted to see what the Patriarch, ignorant of syllogisms and contemptuous of philosophy, was going to do about it, were a heresy to suddenly burst at his feet.’ (Dvornik, 32-33). Anastasius thus places Photius’s two-souls doctrine about the time of a synod which took place in Constantinople in 853. This is the point in time at which Dvornik discusses the doctrine in his chronological interpretation of Photius’s life; and thus it is the point in time at which Norwich and Lernout place Photius’s expounding of the doctrine. As Dvornik indicates, Anastasius the Librarian’s preface was collected in Giovanni Domenico Mansi’s vast, unindexed Latin edition of the Church councils, the *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, published in thirty-one volumes in Florence and Venice between 1758 and 1798 (Dvornik, 32-33 and 458).

The second source which Dvornik relates which connects Photius to the two-souls doctrine is Simeon Magister. Simeon Magister, also known as Simeon Logothete, was a Greek hagiographer now believed to have lived in the late tenth century. Dvornik refers to him as ‘Pseudo-Simeon’, apparently for the spuriousness of his works. He notes that Anastasius the Librarian and Simeon Magister differ as Simeon asserts that Photius preached the two-souls doctrine during the Council of Constantinople 869-70. However, he is scathing of Magister’s account, calling it ‘fantastic romancing’ which ‘should be classed with the mendacious fabrications scattered over Byzantium by Photius’ worst enemies’ (Dvornik, 33). Simeon Magister’s writings were collected in the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, referred to as the CSHB, Bonn Corpus, or *Byzantine of Bonn* (Dvornik, 33 and 458). Published in fifty volumes between 1826 and 1897, this corpus of primary sources on Byzantine history comprised texts in their original Greek with parallel Latin translations.⁸⁷

What is certain is that the two-souls doctrine was anathematised by the Council of Constantinople 869-70. The eleventh canon of the council – regarded as the Eighth Ecumenical Council by the Western Church – reads:

Though the old and new Testament teach that a man or woman has one rational and intellectual soul, and all the fathers and doctors of the church, who are spokesmen of God, express the same opinion, some have descended to such a depth of irreligion, through paying attention to the speculations of evil people, that they shamelessly teach as a dogma that a

⁸⁷ The Bonn Corpus was developed by the German classicists August Immanuel Bekker and Barthold Georg Niebuhr. The pair sought to update the earlier *Byzantine du Louvre*, the product of the Jesuit scholar Philippe Labbe, and published in twenty-four volumes in Paris between 1648 and 1711. Since 1966, the International Association of Byzantine Studies has worked on the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, or CFHB, which aims to update and supplement the Bonn Corpus.

human being has two souls, and keep trying to prove their heresy by irrational means using a wisdom that has been made foolishness.

Therefore this holy and universal synod is hastening to uproot this wicked theory now growing like some loathsome form of weed. Carrying in its hand the winnowing fork of truth, with the intention of consigning all the chaff to inextinguishable fire, and making clean the threshing floor of Christ, in ringing tones it declares anathema the inventors and perpetrators of such impiety and all those holding similar views; it also declares and promulgates that nobody at all should hold or preserve in any way the written teaching of the authors of this impiety. If however anyone presumes to act in a way contrary to this holy and great synod, let him be anathema and an outcast from the faith and way of life of Christians. (Papal Encyclicals Online, 'Fourth Council of Constantinople 869-870')

Yet Dvornik remains dubious as to whether the two-souls doctrine can properly be attributed to Photius. He admits that the presence of this eleventh canon shows the heresy 'must have been preached in Byzantium by somebody', but he argues 'its author was certainly not Photius, nor one of his students' (Dvornik, 33). Dvornik asserts that there is too little evidence to connect Photius with the doctrine: the eleventh canon makes no mention of him, despite other canons freely criticising him by name; and 'Photius' bitterest enemies, bishop Stylianos, Theognostos and Nicetas, knew nothing about it.' (Dvornik, 33). More, 'Photius' writings do not permit one to suppose that he was the author of the doctrine on the two souls: whatever he wrote on the existence of the human soul was perfectly orthodox' (Dvornik, 34).

As a piece of theology, the two-souls doctrine has a long and convoluted history. Through Plato's *Timaeus* and the writings of the Stoics, Greek philosophy had developed a conception of the universe and of man as comprising a 'nous' (intellect) or 'pneuma' (spirit) alongside a 'psyche' (soul) and 'soma' (body).⁸⁸ This tripartite distinction is found in the writings of Paul the Apostle. In 1 Thessalonians 5:23, for instance, he writes 'And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

The tripartite view of man was commonplace within the early Church, but from the fourth century it became linked with a series of heresies, or 'errors'. The Apollinarian error, condemned by the First Council of Constantinople in 381, taught that in Christ the human spirit had been replaced

⁸⁸ Reverend J. B. Heard's *The Tripartite Nature of Man*, published by T. & T. Clark in 1868, astutely discusses how the early Church confounded the concepts of 'nous' and 'pneuma', resulting in a false dichotomy between the intellectual and carnal man which was 'the root error of the Gnostics', or else in a form of semi-panteism which conflated the human spirit with the divine (Heard, x-xi).

by divine Logos, and was thus seen to falsely strip Christ of his humanity. Soon afterwards, the Semi-Pelagian error taught that the human spirit was exempt from the original sin which affects body and soul. This doctrine is markedly similar to the two-souls doctrine later associated with Photius: it merely substitutes an infallible spirit for an infallible soul. When Augustine challenged the Semi-Pelagian error, declaring it heretical and maintaining the totality of original sin, the tripartite view disappeared from Christianity, and the bipartite view – of a dichotomy between body and soul – was consolidated (Heard, x-xii).

The tripartite view re-emerged in the thought of Martin Luther. In his commentary on the Magnificat, which he wrote in 1521, he states, ‘The nature of man consists of the three parts – spirit, soul, and body’ (Godrules.net, ‘Works of Martin Luther, The Magnificat’). Luther describes the bipartite distinction between spirit and flesh as pertaining not the nature of man, but to his qualities. More pertinent for its relationship to Joyce, Rudolf Steiner – the Austrian thinker whose *The Philosophy of Freedom*, published in 1894, provided the foundations for Anthroposophy; and who headed a German section of the Theosophical Society between 1902 and 1912 – between 1916 and 1924 gave a series of lectures which sought to elaborate and redefine the concept of the human spirit in the context of Christian faith. Steiner explicitly referred to the eleventh canon of the Council of Constantinople 869-70 as constituting the ‘abolition of the spirit’ (see Meyer, 121; and Prokofieff, 301-303 and 507).⁸⁹ Joyce was familiar with at least one of Steiner’s works while writing *Ulysses*: Steiner’s *Blut ist ein ganz besonderer Saft*, published in Berlin in 1910, was part of his Trieste library (JJON.org, ‘Joyce’s Trieste Library’). The work was translated into English in 1912 as *The Occult Significance of Blood*.

While delving into the theology of the two-souls doctrine affords several points of connection with Joyce, and draws out some of the theological concerns at play in his work, it is not necessary to search in the Mansi or Bonn corpuses for his sense of Photius as a mocker.⁹⁰ Adrian Fortescue was pre-eminent among Byzantine scholars writing in English in the 1900s and 1910s, and *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, first published in 1908, not only afforded Joyce a colourful if partial account of Photius’s life, replete with incidents which could be read as examples of his mocking behaviour. More than this, Fortescue explicitly refers to Photius’s ‘mockery’ in trialling Ignatius during the council held in Constantinople in 861 (Fortescue, 145). Though Fortescue wrote the *Catholic Encyclopedia* entry on Photius – published as part of the twelfth volume of the

89 In his lectures and writings, Steiner especially condemned the dogma of papal infallibility, which was formally defined between 1869 and 1870. He linked this dogmatic definition with the Council of Constantinople 869-70, seeing it as ‘the culmination of a thousand year process which began at the Eighth Ecumenical Council’ by which the Church sought to dismiss the role of the spirit in the faith (Prokofieff, 303).

90 Aside from Lernout’s suggestion, Gifford offers no source for the reference to Photius and ‘the brood of mockers’ (Gifford, 26 and 224), while Gottfried again presumes the *Catholic Encyclopedia* as Joyce’s source for his knowledge of Photius (Gottfried, 56-57).

Catholic Encyclopedia in 1911 – he does not make use of the same term in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* article.

Gregory Asbestos and on into the Wake

Photius reappears, hidden in plain view in the multivoiced text of *Finnegans Wake*, James Joyce's final novel. In a work which takes as its structural basis the Viconian cycle, *Finnegans Wake* abounds in oppositions: Shaun and Shem, Butt and Taff, Mookse and Gripes, east and west, England and Ireland, Rome and a conflation of Greece, Russia, and old Constantinople, which says nothing of HCE and ALP or Issy's divided nature. The solitary explicit reference to Photius himself is encoded in 'The Mookse and the Gripes' passage:

While that Mooksius with preprocession and with proprecession, duplicitly and diplussedly, was promulgating ipsofacts and sadcontras this raskolly Gripes he had allbust seceded in monophysicking his illsobordunates. But asawfulas he had caught his base semenoyous sarchnaktiers to combuccinate upon the silipses of his aspillouts and the acheporeoozers of his haggynown pneumax to synerethetise with the breadchestviousness of his sweatovular duucose sofarfully the loggerthuds of his sakellaries were fond at variance with the synodals of his somepooliom and his babskissed nepogreasymost got the hoof from his philioquus.
(*The Restored Finnegans Wake*, 123-124)

The word 'philioquus' at the end of this passage is a compound of 'Photius' and 'Filioque', the Latin term added to the Nicene Creed to indicate that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father 'and the Son'. This term became the doctrinal rationale for the longstanding power struggle between eastern and western Christianity, which culminated in the East-West Schism of 1054, proving final. 'The Mookse and the Gripes' is in fact a treatment of *The Fox and the Grapes*, one of Aesop's fables, in which a fox tries to jump to reach grapes from a vine, but dismisses them as 'sour grapes', and therefore undesirable, when he cannot quite manage to reach them (McHugh, 152). Joyce explicated this connection, as well as his sense of the East-West Schism, in a letter to Frank Budgen on the Altkatholische Kirche:

The old catholics Augistiner Kirche are a good example of a Mooks gone Gripes. They separated from Rome in 71 when the infallibility of the Pope was proclaimed a Dogma but

they have since gone much more apart [...] But most important of all they have abolished the Filioque clause in the creed concerning which there has been a schism between western and eastern christendom for over a thousand years, Rome saying that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son. Greece and Russia and the East Orthodox churches that the procession is from the father alone, ex patre without Filioque. Of course dogmas subsequently proclaimed by Rome after the split are not recognized by the east church, such as the Immaculate conception. See the Mooks and the Gripes that is West and east, paragraph beginning when Mooksius and ending Philioquus. All the grotesque words in this are in russian or greek for the three principal dogmas which separate Shem from Shaun. When he gets A and B on to his lap C slips off and when he has C and A he loses hold of B (in Budgen, 351)

Again through his sense of a schism ‘between western and eastern christendom for over a thousand years’, Joyce makes it clear that his own understanding of the schism, and the controversy over the Filioque, predates 1054, extending back to the time of Photius. Whether it is the nature of the Trinity and the relationship between Father and Son, the procession of the Holy Ghost, or more recent definitions like Papal infallibility and belief in the Immaculate Conception, just as for the fox hungry for grapes from the vine, questions of dogma from the early church to the present remain sour and slippery. The East-West schism however still stands apart, as the decisive break in church history.

The ‘grotesque russian or greek’ words in ‘The Mookse and the Gripes’ passage from *Finnegans Wake* readily jump out to anyone with a detailed knowledge of doctrine and church history. ‘Preprocession’ and ‘proprecession’ play on the procession of the Holy Spirit; ‘raskolly’ implies both Dostoevsky’s *Crime and Punishment* but more closely ‘raskol’ (раскол), which is the Russian word for ‘split’ or ‘schism’; ‘monophysicking’ indicates Monophysitism, which after the Council of Chalcedon in 451 led to the schism of Oriental Orthodoxy from the mainstream of Christianity, the Monophysite position holding that Christ had just a single nature which was divine or a perfect synthesis of divine and human, and so on in the same vein.⁹¹ These references have mostly been grasped by critics of Joyce, with a few notable exceptions. In *Joyce’s Misbelief* Roy Gottfried for instance reads ‘breadchestviousness’ as ‘Russian for procession of the Holy Ghost’, suggesting that the concept ‘comes out in the passage as something physical, something connected with the quotidian in life or art’ (Gottfried, 58). In fact, ‘breadchestviousness’ indicates both the

91 Elsewhere in *Finnegans Wake*, in a passage replete with Slavic and Greek imagery, Joyce mentions ‘Chaka a seagull’, presumably a reference to Anton Chekhov (*The Restored Finnegans Wake*, 328-329).

Eucharist and the Advent season, for in Russian ‘prechastie’ (причастие) means ‘Communion’ or ‘Eucharist’ and ‘prichestvie’ (пришествие) means ‘coming’ or ‘advent’.

It is peculiar though – given the role of Photius in *Ulysses* – how many critics miss his intrusion on ‘philioquus’. Discussing ‘The Mookse and the Gripes’ passage, Gottfried suggests only that ‘the filioque clause is parodied at the last as a sort of swift dismissal or kick in the head – “got the hoof from his philioquus”’, before connecting the phrase back to Monophysitism (Gottfried, 58). In *Help My Unbelief*, Geert Lernout makes nothing at all of the passage. Raphael Slepon’s online ‘extensible elucidation treasury’ FWEET, despite its 84,135 searchable notes on Joyce’s novel, sees the Greek ‘philiou’, for ‘favourite’ or ‘dear’, in the compound, and the Filioque, but no mention of Photius (FWEET, ‘philioquus’). And Roland McHugh in his *Annotations to Finnegans Wake* likewise finds no place for the esteemed onetime Patriarch of Constantinople.

A failure to spot Photius in the text of *Finnegans Wake* renders another important figure from Joyce’s long, heretical, eastern-oriented early church invisible: Gregory Asbestos, a Metropolitan of Syracuse in Sicily. He is a minor figure in the history of the church, without an entry of his own in the Catholic Encyclopedia, although he makes one brief mention in the entry on Photius, and another in the entry of Pope Leo IV. He features more prominently however in Adrian Fortescue’s *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, where he is portrayed as a close ally to Photius in his struggle against Ignatius. In fact Fortescue – who mentions Asbestos six times in his text – notes that he was the first ‘head of the opposition’ to Ignatius, subsequently ordaining Photius, and being excommunicated in 854 by Ignatius as punishment (Fortescue, 136-137). In *Finnegans Wake*, Gregory Asbestos figures in ‘The Mookse and the Gripes’ passage in the form of his alter-ego, ‘asawfulas’, and again as ‘Gregary’ in the following snatch of dialogue:

– Offer thousand thousand yores, amsered Gripes the gregary, be the goat of Mac-Hammud’s, Ah Mookse, yours may be still more botheared. (*The Restored Finnegans Wake*, 124)

As Butt and Taff, the actors-cum-narrators of the story ‘How Buckley Shot the Russian General’, play on the television screen in the bar as HCE is working in his pub, Gregory Asbestos rains on the nationalist parade as Taff, ‘asbestos can, wiz the healps of gosh and his bluzzid maikar, has been sulphuring to himsalves all the pungataries of sin praktice in failing to furrow theogonies of the dommed’, a damnably religious intrusion which reveals the Holy Spirit as ‘the Aweghost, the Gragious One’ (*The Restored Finnegans Wake*, 273). Finally, in another section of the text replete with Russian, Slavic, and Greek words and figures, there comes to ‘Asbestopoulos! Inkupot!’, as

the early church, heresy, and east and west throb and course and become one with Joyce's world literature (*The Restored Finnegans Wake*, 328).

Conclusion

Competing critical conceptions of James Joyce continue to emerge and they often prove difficult to reconcile, schismatic in so far as they are oppositional and sometimes vehemently held, cyclical in that the same themes keep recurring. At stake are issues of identity: aesthetic or ‘arsethetic’, religious through all of its varieties and denominations, scholarly, cultural, political, historical.

Is *Ulysses* the epitome of the realist novel as envisioned by Ezra Pound – its first reader as he edited episodes for serialisation in *The Little Review* – an ‘obscene’ and ‘impassioned meditation on life’, so down-to-earth as to run the risk of being viewed as provincial (*Pound/Joyce*, 139-140 and 196-197)? Or should we read *Ulysses* after Joyce’s own schema and according to the view popularised by T. S. Eliot in *The Dial*, as a symbolist framework, a ‘mythical method’, ‘a way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history’ (*The Dial*, November 1923)? Approaching while not staying confined to a middle ground, Edmund Wilson in his landmark study of early twentieth-century literature *Axel’s Castle* wrote that Joyce:

has, in ‘Ulysses’, exploited together, as no writer had thought to do before, the resources both of Symbolism and of Naturalism [...] ‘Ulysses’ has been logically thought out and accurately documented to the last detail: everything that happens is perfectly consistent, and we know precisely what the characters wore, how much they paid for things, where they were at different times of the day, what popular songs they sang and what events they read of in the papers, on June 16, 1904. Yet when we are admitted to the mind of any one of them, we are in a world as complex and special, a world sometimes as fantastic or obscure, as that of a Symbolist poet (Wilson, 165)

Wilson added that ‘of each of his episodes Joyce has tried to make an independent unit which shall blend the different sets of elements of each – the minds of the characters, the place where they are, the atmosphere about them, the feeling of the time of day’, the text thus ‘imposing upon itself all the Naturalistic restrictions in regard to the story it is telling at the same time that it allows itself to exercise all the Symbolist privileges in regard to the way it tells it’ (Wilson, 166-167).

Wilson was drawing particularly from the Gilbert schema for *Ulysses*, furnished by Joyce with its lists of organs, colours, symbols, arts, and technics. His sense of *Ulysses* as a novel defined by independent units and technical shifts – he noted elsewhere ‘I do not think that Joyce has been equally successful with all these technical devices [...] “Ulysses” suffers from an excess of design

rather than from a lack of it', concluding that the 'gigantic interpolations of the Cyclops episode [...] are funny in themselves [...] yet the effect is mechanical and annoying' (Wilson, 168-172) – was taken up by Michael Groden and later geneticists who tended to view the finished text as a process through discrete stages, each markedly different in terms of their organising principles and technical aspects.

In *Ulysses in Progress*, the foundational and still the central text when it comes to *Ulysses* and genetic criticism, Groden identified three stages – from 'Telemachus' to 'Scylla and Charybdis', 'Wandering Rocks' to 'Oxen of the Sun', and finally from 'Circe' to 'Penelope' via a circumlocutory route taking in 'Eumaeus' and 'Ithaca' – marked by a shift 'from characters to correspondences, from story to structure', and from 'compression' to 'encyclopedic expansion', the final four episodes showing Joyce 'carry to new extremes his interest in both realistic and symbolic details' (Groden, 37 and 51-52). In a similar vein, in the essay 'Paragraphs in Expansion (James Joyce)', part of the collection *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avante-textes*, Daniel Ferrer and Jean-Michel Rabaté interpret three 'very different stages in the evolution of *Ulysses*', suggesting 'Joyce reread his own rough drafts and finished chapters in order to learn, from his own text, the implications of his writing' (*Genetic Criticism*, 141).

Yet in the process of working through Joyce's notesheets and drafts, while continuing to identify different stages of creation and 'profound' transformations in narrative technique, Ferrer and Rabaté realise 'as is often the case with Joyce, distinctions are subverted as soon as they are put in place' (*Genetic Criticism*, 146). They consider 'Circe', and Joyce's passage in that episode 'from a narrative to a dramatic form', the episode taking the appearance of a 'theatrical script' (*Genetic Criticism*, 146). For Groden, by the time Joyce had finished 'Circe', 'he had left the middle stage behind for new developments [...] he had included so much previous material that, in addition to the characters' psyches, *Ulysses* itself was turned inside-out' (Groden, 54). He argues that while Joyce 'mined' his earlier episodes for some of the hallucinations in 'Circe', the result is numerous 'violations of character' and a narrative voice 'quite removed from the characters', namely from both Stephen and Bloom (Groden, 59). Instead Ferrer and Rabaté focus on the continuities present in the episode, beyond the disorientating formal shift, stating:

the passage from a narrative to a dramatic form is readily accompanied, as we could have expected, by a change in focalization, but contrary to what should have been the case, it moves from a strict external focalization to a varying focalization [...] It becomes clear that entire scenes, far from assuming the objectivity and neutrality we might expect from the theatrical form, are in fact focalized by a few specific actors (*Genetic Criticism*, 146)

Foregoing the poles of realism and symbolism and challenging the genetic concern with different stages and techniques, my thesis has stressed the continuities in *Ulysses*, within a religious frame of reference and with an emphasis on character until the last. Echoing Frank Budgen, who wrote that for Joyce ‘Technical considerations, problems of homeric correspondence, the chemistry of the human body, were secondary matters [...] Bloom was first’, I have shown how from the ‘sober and clear [...] morning light of the Irish coast’ in ‘Telemachus’ to the post-‘Circe’ sobering-up of ‘Eumaeus’ and then ‘Ithaca’, the ‘baldest coldest’ episode of the book, Joyce was concerned with not only the consistency but the continual deepening of character, in a way sometimes obscured but ultimately filtering through his bold experimentations with encyclopedism, parody, theatricality, musicality, and interior monologue, his first technique (Budgen, 107; Wilson, 167; Ellmann, 501).

‘Chrysostomos’, the first flash of Stephen’s psyche, and the clanging titles of ‘The imperial British state and the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church’ which conjure ‘A horde of heresies fleeing with mitres awry’: these do not simply foreshadow the interpolations in ‘Cyclops’, instead establishing the primacy of the early Church for both the material and the form of the later amplifications, and setting us on a path which through throwaways and Elijah will link Bloom to Saint Patrick, Ireland’s patron saint (*U*, 1.26 and 1.643-657). Stephen’s family, his friendships, and his religious character continue to be elaborated, Buck Mulligan the archetypal mocker of ‘Telemachus’ returning in ‘Circe’ to give Stephen a few last Hellenic kicks, while Florry ponders – in the midst of a sentimental education – whether Stephen is ‘out of Maynooth’ (*U*, 15.2533 and 15.4180). And Bloom, that ‘anythingarian’, transcends the cuckstool of ‘Calypso’ to embody in ‘Ithaca’ the ‘Wonderworker’, a symbol strangely humane, in the face of ‘agony in the closet’ becoming ‘the world’s greatest remedy for rectal complaints’ (*U*, 15.2643 and 17.1819-1820).

Place, the time of day, indeed the minds of the characters influence the form of the later episodes in *Ulysses* – from the anxiety-ridden revelry of ‘Circe’, where in the glare of other Dubliners Bloom reckons with Molly’s infidelity and Stephen his mother’s death, to the catechism-cum-communion of ‘Ithaca’ whose impersonal style allows Stephen and Bloom to consubstantiate – rather than being dictated by an author-narrator at some remove from the text. The shift from the interior monologue to other techniques is not a decisive shift away from character. Through Arius, a little-known third century heretic and an apparently minor presence in *Ulysses*, the connective tissue of the mind and the physiological processes of the body come to predominate.

Or to ask another question, this time of Joyce himself: is he the master innovator, who through his linguistic exuberance and technical innovations reshaped our sense of what the modern

novel could be, are we still, even now, ‘learning to be James Joyce’s contemporaries’, or does he seem today ‘a little less original and God-like, a little more accidental in his actions and choices’, happy enough to take his information ‘second-hand’ (Ellmann, 3; McCourt, xv; Van Hulle, 119)? In a letter to the avant-garde composer George Antheil, Joyce himself relented, writing ‘I am quite content to go down to posterity as a scissors and paste man for that seems to me a harsh but not unjust description’ (*Letters I*, 297). But Frank Budgen, Joyce’s closest confidante as *Ulysses* took shape in Zurich, again offers a course correction by giving us a telling glimpse of the writer at work:

I enquired about *Ulysses*. Was it progressing?

“I have been working hard on it all day,” said Joyce.

“Does that mean that you have written a great deal?” I said.

“Two sentences,” said Joyce.

I looked sideways but Joyce was not smiling. I thought of Flaubert.

“You have been seeking the *mot juste*?” I said.

“No,” said Joyce. “I have the words already. What I am seeking is the perfect order of words in the sentence. There is an order in every way appropriate. I think I have it.” (Budgen, 20)⁹²

Another of the aims of this thesis has been to take us closer to Joyce as a scholar, as a writer, and as an all-round artist. This stretches beyond the thoroughgoing demonstration of Joyce’s interest in early Church history: his quarrying of that history for a range of philosophical conceits around substance and procession; his curiosity when it comes to the lives of some of the figures – especially the marginalised or heretical figures – of the early Church; his sense of early Church history within the broader fabric of cultural history, even as a sort of cultural loom; and my investigation into the sources which not only provided grist to his mill, but substantially enlivened his work. There is for instance the explication of the cloacal theme which carries through *Ulysses*; an understanding of how sexual experience in Joyce’s fiction – with particular reference to ‘The Sisters’ and the bird girl scene in *A Portrait* – can run counter to or uneasily alongside calls to religious duty; via the *Missa Papae Marcelli* and an identification of the song ‘Jerusalem Cuckoo’ I

92 Budgen continues on the theme of Joyce’s originality, comparing his working practises to those of painters, before Joyce explains to him how *Ulysses* will be “the epic of the human body”. “But the minds, the thoughts of the characters”, Budgen begins to protest. “If they had no body they would have no mind,” said Joyce. “It’s all one. Walking towards his lunch my hero, Leopold Bloom, thinks of his wife, and says to himself, ‘Molly’s legs are out of plumb.’ At another time of day he might have expressed the same thought without any underthought of food. But I want the reader to understand always through suggestion rather than direct statement.” (Budgen, 21)

have touched upon some of Joyce's uses of music; and on into *Finnegans Wake* explored suggestive compounds and assorted wordplay in Russian and Greek.

When it comes to Joyce and Catholicism however, a third way, a middle ground, a course correction is no easy feat. From the dubious relationship between the young narrator and Father Flynn in 'The Sisters' to the theological mishaps of 'Grace' as Joyce in *Dubliners* poked at the paralysis of the Church, to the decisive break of *A Portrait* as Stephen rejects the priesthood to embrace the sensuous 'advent of life', Joyce not only butted heads with his Catholic Jesuit upbringing, from the outset of his fiction making his strained entanglement with Catholicism the driving force of his work (*The Essential James Joyce*, 303). Yet it was the reception to *Ulysses* which really enshrined his reputation as an anti-Catholic writer, and critics have been split more or less neatly ever since: Shane Leslie, the self-styled 'Dog of the Lord', setting out the view of *Ulysses* as an anti-Catholic travesty, demanding 'its removal from Catholic houses [...] for in its reading lies not only the description but the commission of sin against the Holy Ghost'; while the readings of T. S. Eliot and Hugh Kenner hinted at a rapprochement between Joyce and Catholicism, which blossomed in the more explicitly religious texts of Kevin Sullivan, Father William Noon, and Father Robert Boyle, and tended to revolve around the idea that Joyce's mind, and Joyce's categories, had remained somehow fundamentally Catholic (in Lernout, 216).

Geert Lernout – one of the many critics who have viewed Joyce as an anti-Catholic writer but for all of the right reasons, rebelling against an oppressive institution and breaking free from dogmatic patterns of thought – warns against the attempts to 'recuperate' Joyce for 'an alternative and decidedly liberal form of Catholicism', rejecting both the recuperation and the reformulation of the Church. At the conclusion of *Help My Unbelief: James Joyce and Religion*, he writes:

As the staunch catholic convert Shane Leslie understood all too clearly, James Joyce with *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Ulysses* knowingly and willingly marked his distance from the church. According to the rules of the church he was baptized in, James Joyce lived and died as an apostate, as somebody who had placed himself knowingly and willingly outside of that church. It would be a great injustice (if not a mortal sin) to drag him back in. (Lernout, 217)

My thesis has not sought to drag Joyce back in, kicking and screaming, to the cloisters of Catholicism, or to suggest that his interest in alternate Church histories somehow shows him reconstituting his faith, but nor does it portray someone always conscientiously marking his distance from Catholicism. Instead of a fixed mind stuffed full of religious doctrine, and fixed

categories from which theological matter must emanate, I have sought to portray a writer at work, drawing freely from the material which interests him, and subsuming it for the sake of his art. I have tried to stay away from one of the risks identified by Lernout – namely that of ‘interpreting the theological relevance of some of the religious references [rather than] offering new insights about Joyce’s work as a whole’ – by always relating Joyce’s early Church references back to a chronological reading of his texts, and by demonstrating their interrelation with other themes – on the family, on friendship, on the human body and its sacred and vulgar processes – and other linguistic concerns (Lernout, 15).

The crux of this thesis is in the identification, across Joyce’s literature, of the primacy of the early Church. References to gnosticism and simony in ‘The Sisters’, the first story of *Dubliners*, invoke images of the east which echo through ‘Araby’, implicate Simon Magus, the ‘Father of Heresies’, and in the process place the shifting foundations of early Christianity at the very forefront of Joyce’s work (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, ‘Simon Magus’). Indeed, it is as if Joyce presents his stories of contemporary paralysis with a glimpse at Catholicism’s hacked and withered roots. Arius in *Ulysses*, initially conceived as a heretical other alongside Sabellius, Valentine, and Photius, gradually emerges to unite Bloom and Stephen through the metaphysics of consubstantiality and the grisly cloacal manner of his death. Through Saint Patrick, present even in absence, Joyce binds Bloom to the ‘Island of Saints and Sages’ and subverts the easy identities of virulent nationalism (*OCPW*, 108). And finally Photius opens up some of the cultural oppositions and linguistic possibilities, even affording us a new way of looking at *Finnegans Wake*.

If Joyce seems to dwell on heretics and heresy, this is less to foreground rebellion, more Joyce trying conclusions and pondering the ‘portals of discovery’ given to us by mistakes (*U*, 9.229). He wants to resurrect the challenges posed to Church dogma by the heretics, to carry through their philosophical implications, and to show that for all of its inflexibility and boasts of authority, Church doctrine is at best a convenient resting place. But he is even more interested in the heretics as people, the forgotten figures of history who through him find new voice and new flesh. This is a ‘strandentwining cable’, a relationship between Joyce and the heretics of the early Church which transcends influence and amounts to so much more than cut-and-paste.

Partly it reflects his sense of world history as a cycle. In ‘*Strandentwining Cable*’: *Joyce, Flaubert, and Intertextuality*, Scarlett Baron has borrowed the term for an in-depth study of the relationship between Joyce and Flaubert. She writes that:

James Joyce’s radically intertextual poetics found fruitful points of departure in the works of Gustave Flaubert. The emphasis at all points has been on elaboration, transformation,

deviation. Neither author comes out of this study the weaker for the connections that are discerned between them: it is hoped, rather, that this account of their artistic intersections will enhance appreciation of the dazzling complexity of their respective enterprises (Baron, 276)

One of the questions posed by my thesis is the extent to which we can map traditional concepts of influence, and the modern ideal of intertextuality, onto Joyce's relationship with these heretics of the early Church, which bears the characteristics of a dialogue even though the specifics of their thought and the details of their lives tended to reach his purview only second-hand. In the essay 'Twenty-first-century critical contexts', part of *James Joyce in Context*, Sean Latham conceives a "polycentric" modernity' capable of activating 'heretofore latent critical and textual energies', connecting 'mobile and often provisional interpretive networks which can neither be fully synthesised or mapped', and enabling Joyce's work to circulate 'in a more fully global context' (Latham, 153). My thesis suggests that any such 'polycentric modernity' might find a useful place for these early Church heretics, reaching back to ancient Libya and Constantinople to reenergise the elided past.

Identifying the primacy of the early Church for Joyce's literature has meant elucidating also Joyce's peculiar sense of the early Church: one beset by conflict and rupture, ultimately extending all the way from the first century until the time of Photius in the 800s, when as Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople he proved not just a precursor but the first act in what would ineluctably lead to the Great Schism between East and West. In the process I have argued against recent trends in Joyce studies – exemplified by Vincent Cheng in *Joyce, Race, and Empire* and Andrew Gibson in *Joyce's Revenge: History, Politics, and Aesthetics* – which at the expense of the 'holy Roman catholic and apostolic church' have sought to emphasise questions of Irish nationalism, Irish revivalism, and the 'imperial British state' (*U*, 1.643). It is not that the state is unimportant, but that for Joyce, as a fact of history, the Church comes first.

Ireland after all was the 'Island of Saints and Sages' before it became a site of Catholic and Protestant dispute, much less revivalist rhetoric. Likewise, against critics like Lernout who seek to keep Joyce in his immediate early twentieth century context, it might be said that Europe was the site of schism, of conflict between Rome and Constantinople, long before the Protestant Reformation and the twentieth century flourishing of free thought. Critics who view the interpolations of 'Cyclops' largely as an attempt to prick the balloon of revivalism, as well as those who identify in the 'parodies' only mirthless attacks on the contemporary Church, fall equally guilty of ignoring the episode's exuberant, inflationary qualities, and its exposition through throwaways

and Elijah of Saint Patrick and an ascendant Bloom. The early Church anyway, as a discrete period in the history of Christianity, despite all of its connotations for politics and nationalism, has been perennially overlooked even in studies of Joyce and the Church.

The original contribution my thesis makes to Joyce studies comes in its attribution of hitherto unidentified sources for Joyce's understanding of the early Church. In this regard, my thesis makes three key claims: settling on the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates Scholasticus, as translated in the second edition of the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, when it comes to Joyce's references in *Ulysses* to Arius, his Christology, and particularly the manner of his death; identifying a reference to the *Confessio* of Saint Patrick at the climax of 'Cyclops', reshaping our sense of the religious and nationalist material in that episode and Bloom's place therein; and citing *The Orthodox Eastern Church* by Adrian Fortescue as the source from which Joyce drew his sense of Photius and Mulligan as 'mockers', a source which extends on to the multilingual uses of Photius and Gregory Asbestos in *Finnegans Wake* (*U*, 1.656-657). My thesis makes a number of smaller claims pertaining to original sources, for example regarding the 'subtle African heresiarch Sabellius' and the music hall song 'Jerusalem Cuckoo'; but the larger claims in particular require some clarification (*U*, 1.659).

The *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, published across two series and twenty-eight volumes between 1886 and 1900, and *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, published in two editions in 1907 and 1908, represent pertinent sources of material, in English, both contemporary to Joyce. I have navigated the textual history of Saint Patrick's *Confessio*, through the slew of translations by Irish Protestants and Catholics across the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and beyond their doctrinal prejudices, Joyce's reference in 'Cyclops' to the *Confessio* – replete with the interjection 'lo', depictions of the sun, a glorious brightness, and a voice from heaven, and the double exclamation 'Elijah! Elijah' – seems both pivotal and absolute. But even within the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* – one of several sources, in Latin or in English, for the writings of the early Church – Socrates Scholasticus is surrounded by the accounts of competing Church Fathers, and source attribution can become a game of pick and choose.

Don Gifford in *Ulysses Annotated* and Weldon Thornton in *Allusions in Ulysses: An Annotated List* opt for Epiphanius and Sozomon when it comes to Joyce's understanding of Arius (*Ulysses Annotated*, 47; Thornton, 46). Socrates Scholasticus has in his favour the graphic depiction of Arius' demise in the midst of a Greek city – with evacuating bowels, a 'copious hemorrhage', the 'descent of the smaller intestines', and 'portions of his spleen and liver [...] brought off in the effusion of blood' – plus the phrase 'remorse of conscience', which has previously been attributed to the fourteenth century religious treatise *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, but in this context relates more

suggestively to grisly death (NPNF2-02, *The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates Scholasticus*, Chapter 38, ‘The Death of Arius’). As for Fortescue and *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, his account of the life of Photius is the only one contemporary to Joyce which suggests the identification of Photius as mocker, and the only one which mentions Gregory Asbestas, the Metropolitan of Syracuse (Fortescue, 145). Fortescue wrote the *Catholic Encyclopedia* entry on Photius without incorporating the same details, and rather than being drawn to the *Catholic Encyclopedia* as an easy source for early Church history, Joyce probably relished the opportunity to forego the work.

New sources are hard to come by where it concerns an author so pored over as James Joyce. They offer fellow scholars new research opportunities, points of connection which might encourage new readings of Joyce’s work. They may of course prove especially fruitful for scholars engaged with the topic of Joyce and Catholicism. And they are no doubt worth calibrating against the copious evidence of Joyce’s notesheets and drafts, so that other references might be identified and the reliability of the source texts confirmed. If Joyce did use the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* and *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, did he own or borrow the texts or read them in any of the libraries he attended in Trieste, Zurich, or Paris? Clarification of this point would afford even greater insight into Joyce’s working methods, and into the depth of his scholarship, which this thesis suggests was wide-ranging, focused on contemporary English-language sources, yet uncommonly acute.

As with all research, this thesis remains a work in progress, in so far as its implications suggest how much more can be done. Winding its way into *Finnegans Wake*, the references to Photius and Gregory Asbestas and the use of Russian and Greek compounds and transliterations are worth disentangling for their own sakes, elucidating some of the novel’s complex themes and its multilingual scope. They also imply – amid the oppositional dialogues of Shaun and Shem, Butt and Taff, Mookse and Gripes – a new way of reading the structure of the novel, one which places alongside the flow of the Viconian cycle the rupturing, ‘raskolly’ nature of schism (*The Restored Finnegans Wake*, 124). The early Church for Joyce was both the source and the confluence of culture, a commingling of Middle Eastern Judaism, ancient Greek philosophy, and Mediterranean gnosticism which swiftly found its way across so much of the world, from the margins like Ireland and Libya to the centres of Constantinople and, primarily, Rome. It was destined to go forth and multiply by way of strife and division, splintering into Syriac Christianity, Eastern Orthodoxy, Catholicism, and Protestantism. Joyce used it as a means of navigating the past, the sister of the future, of navigating a course decisively taken, and other possibilities uncharted and deferred.

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