



T.C.
EGE UNIVERSITY
Graduate School of Social Sciences



**“RHYMES AND REASONS”: THE POLITICS OF
LANGUAGE AND FORM IN JAMES JOYCE’S NOVELS**

PhD Dissertation

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Department of English Language and Literature

İZMİR

2024



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ETHICAL STATEMENT

I hereby declare that all information in this dissertation, titled “**Rhymes and Reasons’: The Politics of Language and Form in James Joyce’s Novels,**” which I submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences at Ege University, has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Ceren KUŞDEMİR ÖZBİLEK

PREFACE

I knew I was going to study Joyce for the rest of my life from the moment I first read his words. It was in a novel class that I first got a glimpse of his *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. I likened myself to Stephen Dedalus since we were, I thought, both intellectuals who were trying to flee from the national and religious constraints that our countries have put on us. *A Portrait* made me look more deeply into the strained relationship I have with my homeland. It was when I read *Ulysses* that I understood Stephen and I are actually less alike and I started to empathise more with Leopold Bloom because he is an everyman. *Ulysses* made me engage more with language and literary form and how these two are closely related with history and politics. I was amazed to see so many different styles, forms, and linguistic devices in one book. It made me feel connected to literature with a tighter bond. And when I first read *Finnegans Wake*, I understood nothing. I felt frustrated, questioned my textual analysis skills, and cursed Joyce. In my second reading, I started to get a faint glimpse of what is going on in the book. It was my later readings which confirmed that there is indeed something crucial going on in the text. I liked how Joyce's texts made me feel and think different things simultaneously and as I read more critical studies of his works, I started to notice some linguistic and formal patterns that have distinct political and historical meanings. Finally, I thought, a place where I can relate two of my passions: language and literary form, and politics and history.

I have always been a political person, and this dissertation is also a political one. It champions language and literary form as supreme political acts rather than attaining them secondary or technical roles in creating meaning.

Ceren KUŞDEMİR ÖZBİLEK

December, 2024

ÖZET

Bu tez çalışmasının amacı James Joyce'un *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) (*Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi*), *Ulysses* (1922), ve *Finnegans Wake* (1939) adlı romanlarında dil ve edebi formun politikasını incelemektir. Çalışmanın ana argümanı bu romanların politik bilinçdışlarının yalnızca yazarın özgün dil ve edebi form kullanımının, eserlerin yazıldığı dönemlerin ideolojileri, tarihsel olayları ve politik tahakkümünü nasıl şekillendirdiği ve aynı zamanda bunlar sonucu nasıl şekillendikleri incelenerek açığa çıkarılabileceğidir. Adı geçen romanların politikaları bu doğrultuda eserlerin biçimsel ve dilsel özgünlükleri bakımından incelenecektir. Tezin ilk bölümü James Joyce'u ve edebiyatını modernizm akımı bağlamında okuyacak ve aynı zamanda edebi formun nasıl politik bir olgu olduğunu tartışacaktır. Sonraki bölüm, yazarın eserlerini belirli bir tarihsel ve ideolojik bağlama daha iyi bir şekilde oturtmak adına İrlanda Sorunu olarak anılan olguyu inceleyecektir. Üçüncü bölüm *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (*Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi*) adlı eseri sanatçı romanı olarak analiz edecek ve romanın form ve dilini, ideolojik temellerini ortaya çıkarmak için epifani kavramı üzerinden romanın politikasına bağlayacaktır. Tezin dördüncü bölümü *Ulysses* adlı romana odaklanacaktır ve romanı, parodinin nasıl ideolojik bir şekilde kullanıldığını açıklayan biçimsel bir yaklaşımla inceleyecektir. Tezin yazarın son romanı *Finnegans Wake* ile ilgili olan son bölümü romanın formu yoluyla döngüsel bir tarih anlayışı sunduğunu savunacaktır. Tüm bu romanların incelemeleri Marksist edebiyat eleştirisi, özellikle de Fredric Jameson'ın politik bilinçdışı teorisi kullanılarak yapılacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: James Joyce, İrlanda, edebi form, politik bilinçdışı, modernizm, *Sanatçının Bir Genç Adam Olarak Portresi*, *Ulysses*, *Finnegans Wake*

ABSTRACT

This dissertation aims to explore the politics of language and literary form in James Joyce's novels: *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), *Ulysses* (1922), and *Finnegans Wake* (1939). The main argument of this study is that the political unconscious of these works can only be revealed by examining how the writer's idiosyncratic use of language and form inform, and in turn, is informed by the ideologies, historical events, and political imperatives of his time. In this respect, the politics of Joyce's novels is discussed within the lines of formal and linguistic peculiarities of his works. The first chapter situates Joyce and his writing in the context of the modernist movement. The next chapter discusses the Irish Question at length to better position Joyce's works in a particular historical and ideological context. Chapter 3 analyses *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* as *Künstlerroman* and relates its form and language to its politics through the term epiphany to uncover its ideological underpinnings. The fourth chapter focuses on *Ulysses* and analyses it through a formal approach that reveals how parody operates ideologically in the novel. The last chapter, which is about Joyce's last work *Finnegans Wake*, argues that the novel presents a cyclical view of history through its form. The analyses of these works are executed through the lens of Marxist literary criticism, specifically Fredric Jameson's theory of the political unconscious.

Keywords: James Joyce, Ireland, literary form, political unconscious, modernism, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Ulysses*, *Finnegans Wake*

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INTRODUCTION

I've put in so many enigmas and puzzles that it will keep the professors busy for centuries arguing over what I meant, and that's the only way of insuring one's immortality.

—James Joyce¹

When one mentions literary modernism in any context, it is without doubt that the name James Joyce follows. James Augustine Aloysius Joyce (1882-1941) has been one of the most esteemed—if not the most prominent—Irish writers and one of the most distinguished authors of the English language. Joyce's life, literary personality, and his oeuvre have come to be almost synonymous with literary modernism over the years and he is regarded as one of the most renowned names of 20th century literature. In his life of 59 years, Joyce lived as a novelist, short story writer, poet, teacher, and a literary critic. He is frequently referred to as a high modernist and his works are commonly described as dense, difficult to read, impenetrable, and experimental to the point of complete loss of meaning. Furthermore, as is the case with most modernist writers, Joyce has constantly been criticised for being apolitical and elitist. Nevertheless, it is critical to remember that in his works, Joyce conveys the experiences of Irish people in their daily lives with the background of an increasingly complex socio-political atmosphere of independence struggles, wars, and rebellions. Critic Dominick Manganiello argues that Joyce reflected the everyday instances of Irish people in his works, and his aesthetics was founded on societal analysis (2). Manganiello further asserts that “[s]uch an artistic aim, therefore, must necessarily include a concern with politics” (2). To claim that Joyce was apolitical or indifferent to ideological, historical, and political phenomena of his country is to disregard what an analysis of his intellectual occupation in literary form and playful experimentation in language may reveal about the manifestation of his political stance in his works. Joyce once wrote to his brother Stanislaus Joyce: “For God's sake don't talk politics. I'm not interested in politics. The only thing that interests me is style” (qtd. in Ellmann,

¹ qtd. in Ellmann, *James Joyce* 521. This work will be abbreviated as *JJ* in in-text citation.

JJ 697). It is easy to infer from Joyce's statement that he was not political in what he was writing, but there is a crucial distinction. Manganiello states that by politics, Joyce meant the turmoil of state politics and rampant political parties in general, not the ideological and historical realities of his days (2). The stress Joyce places on style makes his subject position in ideology quite clear: whatever he produced is so loaded with politics, history and ideology that they can only be unravelled with a focus on analysing "form" and language rather than "content"—plot, themes, characters etc.—to uncover such indirect and sometimes hidden political investment. Joyce's politics is where his aesthetics lies, and his aesthetics is always political.

Although he was self-exiled most of his life, Joyce produced his works in the shadow of the 20th century Irish politics. He was born in Dublin, Ireland to a middle-class family who constantly had to move home because of his father John Stanislaus Joyce's financial problems. Joyce received a strict Jesuit education, which is reflected in the abundance of religious references and metaphors his works contain. When Joyce's characters rebel against suffocating historical and political conditions, religious metaphors and allusions serve to sloganize the plight of the oppressed: Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916)² cries "I will not serve," mimicking Lucifer in the *Bible* who rebels against his father, God (*P* 201). The oppressive Catholic atmosphere of 20th century Ireland affected Joyce immensely and he often wrote about the constraints religion can inflict upon individual, artistic and intellectual development. Nothing could encapsulate this stifling environment better than his family. Joyce grew up in a family that was heavily engaged with Irish politics, specifically with Irish nationalism. His father was an ardent supporter of the nationalist Irish Parliamentary Party whose leader, Charles Stewart Parnell (1846–1891), was forced to stand down from politics due to an illicit love affair which was deemed abominable in Catholic Ireland. Father Joyce was infuriated with his country and especially with the Catholic Church which was quick to dismiss Parnell from the political arena to side with the British Conservative Party on morality grounds. Joyce was very much influenced by Parnell's downfall from his childhood onward and his works include numerous references to him. The first indication of his fascination with the political leader is the poem he wrote in 1891 when he was just eight years old. This

² Abbreviated as *A Portrait* from hereafter. The initial *P* will be used for *A Portrait* in in-text citation.

poem, titled “Et Tu, Healy,”³ is about the death of Parnell and was dedicated to the man himself: “His quaint-perched aerie on the crags of Time / Where the rude din of this ... century / Can trouble him no more” (qtd. in Joyce, *My Brother’s Keeper* 46)⁴. Young Joyce was clearly touched by Parnell’s death and the dawn it brought upon the struggle for Irish freedom, so much so that the 8-year-old is secretly relieved that the “rude din of this century can trouble him no more” now that he is dead (qtd. in Joyce, *MBK* 46). Joyce’s childhood passed amidst myriad political and historical instances like these, and these events became his fuel while writing his works.

Joyce’s political family life constituted his informal education, and his formal education immensely shaped his intellectual views. Joyce attended University College Dublin between 1898 and 1902, and studied English, French and Italian. He was introduced to literary circles as he spent more time at the university and began writing reviews for literary magazines. Two of the most famous of those are his first publication, the review of Henrik Ibsen’s *When We Dead Awaken* (1889), and the article titled “The Day of the Rabblement” (1901) in which he criticized the Irish Literary Theatre for not being open to world theatre and producing solely Irish plays. Around the same years, Joyce was introduced to the Irish public by Arthur Griffith (1871-1922), a distinguished Irish writer and the founder of *Sinn Féin*, the leading nationalist party at the time. Thus, it is inconceivable to sever the influence of politics from Joyce’s intellectual growth as these two arenas shaped his life reciprocally.

Since Joyce experienced the diverse sides of the Irish Question⁵, his response to the turbulent political phenomena in his country was somewhat ambivalent. He was always against the British colonial rule which subjected him to the three masters, just like they do Stephen Dedalus in *Ulysses* (1922): the British imperial state, the Holy

³ From Latin, “You too, Healy?”, resonating the lines “Et tu, Brute?”, spoken by Julius Caesar during his assassination in William Shakespeare’s play *Julius Caesar* (1599) upon seeing his friend Marcus Junius Brutus among the assassins (III.i.77). There is no historical account that the phrase was actually uttered by Julius Caesar; nevertheless, it has been associated with the theme of betrayal since then. The name Healy, according to Joyce’s brother Stanislaus Joyce, refers to Timothy Michael Healy, an Irish nationalist politician and a member of the parliament who abandoned Parnell to join the anti-Parnellites due to divisions in the Irish Parliamentary Party (Joyce, *My Brother’s Keeper* 45-46).

⁴ Stanislaus Joyce’s book *My Brother’s Keeper* will be abbreviated as *MBK* from hereafter in in-text citation.

⁵ The Irish Question refers to the political situation in Ireland beginning in the 19th century and spanning to the early 20th century. The term specifically denotes the debates in the British government that tackled the problem of how to address the calls for Irish independence, the resulting rebellions, and growing Irish nationalism. The term will be expanded in Chapter 2 of this study.

Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church and his own country, Ireland, ridden with nationalism (1.636-644)⁶. As an anti-imperialist, Joyce was also uncomfortable with the opposite end of the ideological line which corresponded to Irish nationalism because for him, seeking refuge in another suffocating and essentialist ideology while escaping from the imperial rule was equally problematic. Joyce supported the Irish emancipation all his life but was against the dogmatic Irish stereotype propagated by Irish Revivalism. Irish Revivalism was a movement that was put forth by Irish nationalists in the late 19th and early 20th century as a way of reviving the forgotten Irish culture with its Celtic roots against the imperialist attempts at anglicizing it. Irish Literary Revival movement was the most prominent strain of this revivalist project. Nicknamed as “The Celtic Twilight,”—parodied by Joyce as the “cultic twalette”⁷ in *Finnegans Wake* (344)⁸—Irish Literary Revival and its proponents such as William Butler Yeats, Lady Gregory, John Millington Synge, George Russell and Edward Martyn tried to revive the Celtic roots of the culture by foregrounding Irish texts, folklore, music and art in general. The Irish Literary Theatre was founded in 1899 with the purpose of producing plays by Irish authors and played by Irish actors for the Irish audience. Since the movement was established with Irish nationalist intents, it argued that by bringing back the Celtic roots of the culture and speaking Irish instead of the colonizer’s language, the Irish could put up a cultural fight against colonialism. Joyce thought this was naïve at best and levelled at the same frequency as imperialism at its worst because of its essentialist and stable view of history, culture and ideology. Richard Ellmann exceptionally summarizes Joyce’s ambivalent political stance with the following lines:

[h]is attitude towards Ireland became more complex, so that he told friends, when the British had to give up their plans to conscript troops in Ireland, “*Erin go bragh!*”⁹ and predicted that some day he and Giorgio would go back to wear the shamrock in an independent Ireland; but when this temporary fervor waned,

⁶ References to *Ulysses* are given in the format of chapter numbers followed by line numbers. The letter *U* will be used in in-text citation.

⁷ Joyce seems to emphasize here the cult-like nature of the nationalist and revivalist projects and also ridicule such attempts by rendering them as scatological activities, hence the word “twalette” which sounds like “toilettes” (meaning toilet) in French.

⁸ References to *Finnegans Wake* are given in the format of page numbers. The abbreviation *FW* is used in in-text citation.

⁹ The phrase means “Ireland forever” in Irish Gaelic.

he replied to someone who asked if he did not look forward to the emergence of an independent country, "So that I might declare myself its first enemy?" Would he not die for Ireland? "I say" he said, "let Ireland die for me." (JJ 399)

Joyce's complex relationship with Ireland saturates all his works. Marjorie Howes and Derek Attridge in their book *Semicolonial Joyce* (2000) argue that Joyce's works can be read as "both strongly supportive of Irish nationalism and highly critical of it" (2). In the same strain, Emer Nolan states in *James Joyce and Nationalism* (1994) that "his writings about Ireland may not provide a coherent critique of either colonised or colonialist; but their very ambiguities and hesitations testify to the uncertain, divided consciousness of the colonial subject, which he is unable to articulate in its full complexity outside his fiction" (130). Joyce's writings were formed by his life as his life was equally shaped by his works. His ambivalent reaction to Ireland's colonial status can be seen in his works in which the themes of exile and artist's freedom are discussed within historical and ideological realities of his time. *A Portrait* ends with Stephen Dedalus going into self-exile to find his artistic freedom because of political oppression, which forces him to succumb to Irish nationalism; and Leopold Bloom of *Ulysses* becomes the wandering Jew on the streets of Ireland due to the backlash he receives from his fellow nationalist Irishmen upon preaching about love and union of all nations. Both characters reflect Joyce as an Irish at different stages of his life and show different layers of his criticism against the oppressive political conditions in Ireland. Like his characters, Joyce himself went into a self-imposed exile with his wife Nora Barnacle by leaving Ireland in 1904. They lived in Paris, Trieste, and Zurich and made a brief visit to Dublin in 1912, saying goodbye to it for the last time.

Despite his constant criticism and contempt of Irish politics and his self-exile of more than thirty-five years, Joyce always wrote about his country. His oeuvre includes a short story collection *Dubliners* (1914) and three novels: a semi-autobiographical *Künstlerroman* (artist's novel) *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) whose precursor was the posthumously published novel *Stephen Hero* (written in 1904-1906, published in 1944); his *magnum opus* *Ulysses* (1922); and his last work *Finnegans Wake* (1939). Joyce also published a play named *Exiles* (1918) and three poetry collections: *Chamber Music* (1907), *Giacomo Joyce* (written in 1907, published in 1968) and *Pomes Penyeach* (1927). He was primarily a prose writer and

published articles of historical and political analyses and reviews of literary pieces which were compiled in the non-fiction collections, *The Critical Writings of James Joyce* (1959) and *Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing* (2000). His works were in constant dialogue with the modernist movement both historically and aesthetically. Modernism was a philosophical and artistic movement that began in the late 19th century with *fin de siècle* (turn of the century) movement in the Western world and spanned as far as the 1940s. Modernist artists aimed to break the ties with the old forms of art and literature which could no longer be articulate enough to reflect the realities of the changing world ridden with industrialism, war, new technologies and upturned social order and roles. Literary modernism relied on experimental language and form: the stream of consciousness technique which allows penetration into characters' minds; fragmentated narrative as a result of a lack of unified narrative structure which stems from fragmented experiences of the world; tendency towards non-chronological narratives, and the use of pastiche and parody. James Joyce, Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), Ezra Pound (1885-1972), T. S. Eliot (1888-1965), Dorothy Richardson (1873-1957), William Faulkner (1897-1962), D. H. Lawrence (1885-1930), Franz Kafka (1883-1924), Marcel Proust (1871-1922), and W. B. Yeats (1865-1939) were among the most celebrated modernist writers who employed the aforementioned techniques in their writings to understand and lay bare the inner workings of the newly formed humanities.

The myriad trajectories of modernism that can be traced in Impressionism, Imagism, Surrealism, Futurism, feminist modernism, and nationalist, conservative, and even fascist tendencies that allured some writers—for example, Ezra Pound—testify to the various traditions within the movement and its heterogenous nature. The movement was not, therefore, unified in its aesthetics and politics. Andrzej Gasiorek argues that modernist practices “develop[ed] and mutate[d] at different speeds” and modernism “denotes an unstable set of unfolding practices, not a fixed style or ideological viewpoint” (559). As one of its forerunners, Joyce also propagated a heterogenous, divergent, and ambivalent understanding of the movement in his works and this evinces the fact that Joyce's works are the fixtures of modernism itself. Joyce's attitudes towards and his place in the movement in terms of aesthetics and politics are equally tangled and simultaneously in and out of it. As was the consensus

among previous generation of Joyce critics, Joyce was seemingly interested only in the aesthetics of his works but since politics and aesthetics, and form and content are inseparable, his works are intrinsically political by the very specific forms and linguistic capabilities they employ. As recent political readings of Joyce's works by Dominick Manganiello, Colin MacCabe, Emer Nolan, Robert Spoo, Derek Attridge, Marjorie Howes, Vincent Cheng, Enda Duffy, James Fairhall, Andrew Gibson, Karen Lawrence, Vicki Mahaffey, Patrick McGee, Len Platt, and Christine van Boheemen-Saaf clearly show, Joyce's aesthetics and politics are two sides of the same coin. For example, Colin MacCabe in *James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word* (1978) relates Joyce's use of language to his politics by deeming his language as a political revolution itself; Emer Nolan in *James Joyce and Nationalism* (1994) reads Joyce's works in line with various strands of different nationalisms, specifically Irish nationalism, and Vincent Cheng in *Joyce, Race and Empire* (1995) argues that Joyce's writing is a testimony to his status as a colonial subject. James Fairhall, in *James Joyce and the Question of History* (1996), states that "however we try to define his ambivalent, elusive politics—nationalist, left-wing, liberal, socialist, anarchist, Vichian, and so on—he was in any event not a passive esthete, but a literary revolutionist for whom writing represented the supreme political act" (63). Joyce's aesthetics has been his politics from the beginning.

Marxist literary theory engages in such readings of texts as historical, political and ideological productions/reflections of the eras they are written in. Terry Eagleton argues that Marxist criticism "is not merely a 'sociology of literature,' concerned with how novels get published and whether they mention the working class. Its aim is to explain the literary work more fully; and this means a sensitive attention to its forms, styles and meanings. But it also means grasping those forms, styles and meanings as the products of a particular history" (*Marxism* 2). According to this definition, in addition to analysing a literary work in terms of its references to particular historical and political events and figures, one should also pay attention to why it is written in that particular form. Literature belongs to the superstructure side of the Marxist diagram of society, meaning that it maintains and shapes the base (production and relations of production) through ideology. Everything that is not directly related to production, such as literature, culture, art, religion, law, and education, is mediated

through ideology that is born out of the base. Eagleton explains that ideology is “the way men live out their roles in class-society, the values, ideas and images which tie them to their social functions and so prevent them from a true knowledge of society as a whole” (*Marxism* 15). This “false consciousness”¹⁰ is created by the ruling class, who determines the pervasive ideas in a society in order to legitimize their power and hold the rest of the society in check. Literary works, in this respect, are the products of the historical eras they are written in; thus, they are the *symptoms* of certain ideologies. However, they are also the *cure* through which ruling ideologies can be challenged and rewritten. Eagleton argues that “[a] scientific criticism would seek to explain the literary work in terms of the ideological structure of which it is part, yet which it transforms in its art: it would search out the principle which both ties the work to ideology and distances it from it” (*Marxism* 18). Joyce’s characters in his novels exemplify this double-edged function of literary works in relation to ideology. *A Portrait*, for example, encapsulates its protagonist Stephen Dedalus’s desire to escape from the ideological nets that are thrown at him: “You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets” (220). Enslaved by Ireland’s oppressive ideological apparatuses—nationality, language, and religion—Stephen Dedalus tries to save his soul from his country, “the old sow that eats her farrow”¹¹ (*P* 220). The novel ends with Stephen leaving Ireland for a better and freer future. Thus, the narrative acts as a symptom of certain ideologies in Ireland at the time and it also presents a cure for political and historical shackles in the form of Stephen’s reformed understanding of aesthetics and politics and the idea of self-exile. The fact that the novel is a *Künstlerroman* reinforces this idea of a cure, that hope of freeing oneself from ideological restraints through finding one’s own artistic path. Reading Joyce’s works both as the products and critiques of the ideological realities of their times can reveal how they conform to and, at the same time, challenge certain ideologies of Irish history and politics in specific literary forms.

Analysing the politics of language and form of a text means revealing its

¹⁰ False consciousness is a term coined by the Hungarian philosopher and literary critic György Lukács in his *History and Class Consciousness* (1923). It denotes the social subject’s inability to recognize the oppression of the ruling ideology because they are always already immersed in it. This ruling ideology also legitimizes and normalizes its own existence.

¹¹ With this phrase, Joyce emphasizes the fact that Ireland tends to damage and destroy its own people through various ideological repression mechanisms.

political unconscious, a term coined by the influential Marxist literary critic Fredric Jameson. Jameson in his book *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (1981)¹² offers a new hermeneutics in which he combines psychoanalytic and Marxist interpretations of texts. Jameson's ground-breaking work opens with the words "[a]lways historicize!" and it does justice to the slogan by prioritizing historical and political readings of texts (PU ix). According to Jameson, a political analysis of a text is not a supplementary method of critique but "the absolute horizon of all reading and interpretation" (PU 1). He contends that "[h]istory is [...] the experience of Necessity"¹³: "History is what hurts, it is what refuses desire and sets inexorable limits to individual as well as collective praxis [...]" (PU 87-88). His iconic assumption of history's ability to "hurt" depends on the "necessities" and restraints it puts on subjects and holds them from the realm of freedom. Jameson sees the end goal of Marxist mode of interpretation as "the collective struggle to wrest a realm of Freedom from a realm of Necessity" (PU 3).

Jameson's hermeneutics does not treat the text as an open source which reflects its historical and political context readily to the reader, and neither history is a text to be read in his argument. He proposes that "history is not a text, not a narrative, master or otherwise, but that, as an absent cause, it is inaccessible to us except in textual form, and that our approach to it and to the Real¹⁴ itself necessarily passes through its prior textualization, its narrativization in the political unconscious" (PU 20). Thus, a text is not a mere reflection of its historical and ideological context; since history is always already textualized, one has to read not only between but also *under* the lines, as it were, to unearth the political unconscious of a text. This reading consists of interpreting the textual instances that "remained unrealized in the surface of the text,

¹² The abbreviation PU will be given in in-text citations for *The Political Unconscious*.

¹³ Jameson took the concept of "necessity", and rewrote it with the capital N, from Karl Marx's *Capital*. In *Capital*, the term denotes the daily relations of production that divide people into categories of the oppressed and the oppressor and force them to fill their time doing "necessary" things such as working and surviving instead of enjoying freedom and socializing. Jameson reworked the term to include history as a necessity to be experienced.

¹⁴ "The Real" is a central term in French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan's theory of the psyche. According to Lacan, the psyche develops through three realms: the Imaginary, the Symbolic, and the Real. The Imaginary refers to the pre-language period that is associated with nature and the body while with the introduction of language (and therefore, structure and law), the self enters into the realm of the Symbolic which is governed by the regulation principle. The Real is everything that remains outside the Imaginary and the Symbolic; it is "an ontological absolute, a true being-in-itself" and it cannot be directly experienced since everything is filtered in the psyche either with or without language (qtd. in Evans 162). According to Lacan, it "resists symbolization absolutely" (67).

which have failed to become manifest in the logic of the narrative, and which we can therefore read as what the text represses” (PU 33). Therefore, what the text does not say or what it tries to hide due to ideological and historical restraints is just as crucial as what it explicitly says. The form of a text emerges as a space through which certain historical and political anxieties are manifested, and these anxieties or symptoms are only graspable if the language and the form of the text are scraped, as it were, from their false consciousnesses. In Joyce’s texts, the hidden historical and ideological anxieties stem from Joyce’s strained relationship with his country and the narrative structures and forms of his works are the grounds where this latent content can be taken to the surface. For example, *Ulysses* deals with the ideological and historical realities of its time via various styles in different chapters: the use of newspaper form in the chapter “Aeolus,” the parodic interpolations in “Cyclops,” and the survey of English language enacted in “Oxen of the Sun” show that Joyce actively used, and most importantly deformed, language to indicate how language, form, politics, and history influence each other. In other words, the political unconscious of *Ulysses* can be revealed if the text is read by considering its language and form in parallel with its political and historical context.

Nevertheless, the text in Marxist literary criticism does not remain as a symptom that is passively conveyed by words. The transformative power of the text reforms its relationship with the Necessity (or the Real) and offers alternative ways to both reinterpret and renegotiate inescapable historical realities. As Jameson argues “[h]istory can be apprehended only through its effects, and never directly as some reified force” and texts become the effects through which cures or solutions to symptoms are conveyed (PU 88). The subtitle of his book *The Political Unconscious—Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*—reveals the second part of Jameson’s argument: texts are socially symbolic acts that are produced as imaginary (re)solutions to the problems that cannot be otherwise solved in the politico-historical dimension. Jameson asserts that “[t]he individual narrative, or the individual formal structure, is to be grasped as the imaginary resolution of a real contradiction” (PU 62). The emphasis on formal structure here is crucial since it delegitimizes the primacy of content over form. This is previously explained by Jameson in *Marxism and Form* (1974): “[t]he content of a work of art stands judged by its form, and that it is the realized form of

the work that offers the surest key to the vital possibilities of that determinate social moment from which it springs” (55). Slavoj Žižek also proposes in *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (1989) that “the ‘secret’ to be unveiled through analysis is not the content hidden by the form [...] but, on the contrary, the ‘secret’ of this form itself” (3). Žižek highlights here the same repressed psychoanalytic component in texts with the word “secret.” Jameson’s idea of the political unconscious attempts to read texts by combining psychoanalytic and historical analyses in order to unravel “the secret” their forms hold. In the same vein, Hayden White asserts that “narrative, far from being merely a form of discourse that can be filled with different contents, real or imaginary as the case may be, already possesses a content prior to any given actualization of it in speech or writing” (xi). Thus, the narrative form is not only the exterior that gives shape to the content, but it is the very content itself that has *a priori* ideological, historical, and political implications.

In line with the aforementioned critical viewpoints, this dissertation aims to explore the politics of language and form in James Joyce’s novels and argues that idiosyncratic use of language, narrative, and form in Joyce’s novels is indicative of his commitment to scrutinise the political, ideological and historical realities of his time by using language and narrative form as tools of critique. The political unconscious of Joyce’s novels can only be revealed through a close examination of how these idiosyncrasies of language and literary form are interconnected with the political, ideological and historical realities of the writer’s time. In the same vein, this dissertation will not only read the language and the form of the writer’s novels in the context of literary modernism but also analyse them by reading them in parallel with the political and historical context of Ireland to reveal the politics of forms, language, and narrative techniques employed in the writer’s works. In short, this study aims to reveal the historicization of language and form and “literarisation” of history and politics in Joyce’s novels.

Chapter 1 of the study explores the historical and epistemological background of modernism in order to better situate Joyce’s works within the movement. The experimental use of language, form, and narrative in literary modernism as well as the general outline of the movement in arts and philosophy will be examined. Specifically, the techniques that Joyce frequently used in his works such as stream of consciousness,

interior monologue, free indirect speech, and parody will be discussed in lieu of the movement. Moreover, this chapter will scrutinise the novel's place in the movement as a narrative form and the reason why it became the dominant genre. The chapter will also explore the politics of literary form through the ideas of the political unconscious and form as ideology. This kind of an exploration provides a solid ground on which a thorough understanding of Joyce's novels can be built. Thus, the formal concern of the study will be discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 2 introduces the Irish Question that has informed Joyce's works. Ireland's problematic relationship with the British Empire, its colonial status, the cultural, historical and political oppositions to this colonisation, and Joyce's views on the Irish Question are explored in this chapter. Irish nationalism, its reflections in the literary arena such as the Irish Literary Revival movement and Joyce's reactions to them are also examined. By tracing Ireland's colonial past to Joyce's time, this chapter will fulfil the historical strain of the study.

Chapter 3 focuses on Joyce's first novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916). The novel tells the story of a young Irish man Stephen Dedalus's intellectual and artistic awakening in the form of a *Künstlerroman*, the artist's novel. The importance of *Künstlerroman* as a narrative structure will be examined in this chapter in line with the historical and political context of Ireland. Stephen Dedalus's literary ambitions and the historical, political, religious, and ideological "necessities" that prevent him from realising himself as an artist will be analysed through Joyce's utilization of epiphanies and the issue of language employed in the narrative as a distinct socio-political phenomenon. By problematizing the subjects of language, history, politics, and religion, the novel offers a more direct and rebellious critique of British imperialism at a local level and of totalizing viewpoints on a larger scale.

Chapter 4 furthers the discussion of politics of language and form with Joyce's landmark work *Ulysses* (1922). Joyce's experiments on language and form can be most noticeably observed in this novel which employs different stylistic and narratological experimentations in each chapter including parody, pastiche, puns, alliteration, portmanteau words, interior monologue, free indirect speech and stream of consciousness. As in *A Portrait*, historical and political allusions are abundant in *Ulysses*, but more prominently, the text employs language and narrative form on an

experimental basis to comment on and critique historical, ideological and political realities of Joyce's Ireland. This chapter of the dissertation will extensively analyse a prominent chapter of the novel—"Cyclops"—that is both historically and politically loaded and formally idiosyncratic. "Cyclops" positions parody as a tool to elaborate on totalizing points of view in history, politics, and ideology, outlined through a critique of Irish nationalism. Not just with this chapter but as a whole, *Ulysses* employs a polyphonic and dialogic narrative that uses language and literary form as a way of resisting and overthrowing historical, political, and ideological imperatives.

Finally, Chapter 5 examines Joyce's last novel *Finnegans Wake* (1939) in terms of cyclical histories and cyclical narratives through philosophical terms of "coincidence of contraries," coined by the 16th century Italian philosopher Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), and another Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico's (1668-1744) idea of *corsi e ricorsi*, which can be literally translated from Italian as "passages and returns." Alluded as a dream narrative, *Finnegans Wake* defies all notions of plot, linguistic clarity, chronological narrative, and characterization typical of the novel genre. It is a novel of the pure unconscious whose language does not "work" anymore in the strictest sense; but by not working in traditional linguistic terms, it works differently, and it works through its political unconscious more centrifugally. *Finnegans Wake* not only employs a cyclical narrative to reinforce the circular nature of the text itself, but also reveals the cyclical nature of history *through* the text. A reading of the "Willingdone Museyroom" passage (Book I, Chapter 1) of the novel, which narrates a visit to a museum, illustrates the non-linearity of history by disrupting traditional causal relationships. The passage operates in line with Joyce's desire to surpass the well-drawn boundaries of history and to create a textualized history and a historicized text.

The main argument of this study is that Joyce's idiosyncratic use of language and form is closely connected to how he translates history, ideology and politics into his works. The linguistic and formal analyses of Joyce's novels provide an opportunity to attest how his novels operate in the context of modernism, especially in experimental language use and narrative form. The political and historical readings of the author's novels cannot be comprehended without this linguistic and formal analysis since language and form have been Joyce's weapons against historical and political

turmoils and colonial/national oppression. Thus, this study aims to present a thorough reading of Joyce's novels chronologically by tracing how language and form in these works can be read as historical and political criticism. Such a formal reading reveals that Joyce's works are strictly historical and political not because they mention and deliberate upon historical and political events and ideas of the author's time, but because they do this in specific narrative forms and linguistic styles. Only by linking his stylistic innovations of language and literary form to the historical and political content of his works that a thorough analysis of Joyce's oeuvre can be done, and the political unconscious of his novels can only be uncovered by combined formal, linguistic, political, and historical readings.

What this study aims to do is to relate two ends of textual analysis through the help of some nodes: the formal end with its questions of linguistic and stylistic aesthetics and the historical end with its political implications. There is no direct causal relationship between the two since they are always already intertwined and in the process of change, historically and politically. The entangled relationship between the two can be unearthed in Joyce's texts by dissecting some intersection points. In *A Portrait*, this point is conceptualized in epiphany; in *Ulysses*, it is embodied in the use of parody; and in *Finnegans Wake*, this point is revealed through the circular nature of both the narrative of the novel itself and history as a concept.

CHAPTER 1: MODERNISM, LITERARY FORM, AND JAMES JOYCE

*Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.*

—W. B. Yeats, “The Second Coming” (1919)

1.1. A Brief History of Modernism

James Joyce produced his works in the historical framework of modernism, and it is crucial to unpack modernism as a movement in order to situate Joyce’s writings in the wider literary-historical context. Modernism is an artistic and cultural movement that reflects the social and cultural transformations experienced in the Western world in the late 19th and early 20th century¹⁵. Although it cannot be pinpointed, it is widely accepted that modernism roughly corresponds to the period between 1890s and 1940s (Friedman, “Periodizing” 426). Entrapped in the destructive practices of the modern industrial life—including urbanization, newly emerging technologies and later the devastating effects of World War I—the West sought new ways of conveying the increasingly complex life experiences since the old ways of seeing and interpreting reality were rendered obsolete. Such rapid changes in life paved the way for the need to create new methods of adapting one’s existence to the new realities by rejecting traditional techniques that were not articulate enough to make sense of the unfamiliar experiences. American poet Ezra Pound’s slogan—“Make it new!”—epitomizes the core of the movement by highlighting its experimental leanings in parallel with the need to create new ways of comprehending the world. In this respect, modernism indicates a deliberate break from the old ways of interpretation, a rupture that seemed inevitable. Philip Tew and Alex Murray read the movement “as a new beginning, almost a cultural and aesthetic revolution” (2). Modernism’s own self-declaratory technique distinguishes it from previous

¹⁵ The terms modernism and modernity that are discussed in this study are bound to be Eurocentric although various modernisms, understandings of modernity, and modernization processes exist throughout the world depending on different geographies and cultures.

movements as it “continually attempt[ed] to assert its own beginnings, to mark itself as rupture, whether aesthetic, social, political, sexual or cultural” (Tew and Murray 2).

Modernism’s revolutionary nature works against many of its preceding and contemporary artistic movements including realism. Peter Childs suggests that modernism can be comprehended by what it is not and provides a comparative definition in this respect:

Modernism is [...] not realism, the dominant mode of the novel from its inception in Britain in the eighteenth century with the rise of bourgeois capitalism to the present day. Realism, according to many critics, is characterised by its attempt objectively to offer up a mirror to the world, thus disavowing its own culturally conditioned processes and ideological stylistic assumptions. (2-3)

As any preceding and succeeding movement, modernism was a reactionary set of ideas. It was a response to the suffocating frameworks of knowledge propagated by realism—which was itself a reaction to Romanticism¹⁶, modernism’s precursor—that were proved to be inadequate in keeping up with the increasingly complex realities and historical necessities it claimed to reflect. Thus, unlike realism, modernism did not seek to offer a mirror to look at the new world and claim to show it as it exactly was. Instead, it acknowledged its socially and “culturally conditioned processes” and conferred new ideological and historical meanings upon its stylistic choices by rejecting direct mimetic rendering of the newly emergent world and focusing on how this new world could be seen through the self’s own consciousness, senses, identities, and traumas (Childs 3). This “logic of the subjective” is one of the hallmarks of the movement as it bases its entire repertoire of theory and practice on the concept of the self seeing the world in its own way (Tew and Murray 15). In this sense, modernism brought new perceptions through which the emergent sensibilities can be realized and articulated.

¹⁶ Romanticism was an artistic movement in Europe spanning from the end of the 18th century to the first half of the 19th century. It was formulated as a reaction to Age of Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution with emphasis on irrationality, emotions, nature, and the idea of beauty. In Germany, *Sturm und Drang* (storm and stress in German) movement with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller; Edgar Allan Poe and Nathaniel Hawthorne in the U.S.; Samuel Taylor Coleridge, John Keats, William Wordsworth, Mary Shelley, Percy Bysshe Shelly, and Lord Byron in Great Britain led the literary strain of Romanticism.

Although modernism is largely associated with the self and the subjective mind, it was not severed from society. The movement itself was born out of the changes in the community that reflected “the shift in social relations and the disintegration of hierarchical values” (Tew and Murray 3). This shift was the result of a transforming world bombarded by scientific, historical, philosophical, and political changes. Peter Childs argues that “[m]odernism can be taken as a response by artists and writers to several things, including industrialisation, urban society, war, technological change and new philosophical ideas” (20). Thus, it is possible to read the movement “as transparently representative of the author’s society” and its techniques “as alternative ways of representing reality and the world” (Childs 3). In this way, it becomes a complex, socially driven, reactionary and subversive movement which has tried to open up new ways of seeing, reading, writing, producing, being, and living. Its socially grounded nature is telling in terms of its ways of operation. Andrzej Gasiorek explains this in length as follows:

Modernism [...] was an integral part of the social world in which it emerged. It was not a rarefied and esoteric movement but a complex form of cultural activity that cannot be separated from a broad range of phenomena, among them the loss of religious belief, the secularisation of knowledge, the changing nature of gender relations and the sexual politics of the period, the development and spread of technology, the rise of the professions; the role of literary networks and the social spaces in which they operated; the histories of empire, colonialism, and decolonisation; the production and circulation of “little magazines”; the work of independent publishers, editors, and patrons; and the multiple interactions between painting, literature, dance, music, sculpture, theatre, and cinema. (19-20)

All these social changes and the emergent phenomena testify to modernism’s ties with the social and the human, and its commitment to read both anew. Moreover, as Gasiorek asserts, complex and often overlapping relationships between various strands of society contributed to modernism’s birth as new knowledge disseminated with an unprecedented speed due to modernization.

While pondering upon what modernism is, the words “modern” and “modernity” are encountered frequently, and it is sensible to differentiate between

these concepts before mapping modernism as a movement. The term “modern” comes from the Latin *modo* which means “current” (Childs 12). Thus, it denotes everything that is happening now and distinctively separate and different from the past. The focus is strictly on the present in the modern and for something to be modern, there is required to be a break from the past modes of thinking. The connotations of the word, therefore, have come to depend on how many different “nows” have been defined so far against what came before. Different historical eras have produced their own understanding of the modern by comparing themselves with the rest. Childs states that “[i]n the late fifth century, for example, the Latin *modernus* referred to the Christian present in opposition to the Roman past; modern English is distinguished from Middle English; and the modern period in literature is considered to be from the sixteenth century on, although it is sometimes used to describe twentieth-century writing” (12). More or less, as Child attests, the term has evolved to be synonymous with the cultural hegemony of the post-Enlightenment life with its struggle to break free from the clutches of something called “modernity.”

While modernism refers to a late 19th and early 20th century movement in search of new forms to express new realities, modernity dates back to a much earlier point in history. It is now a consensus that the Renaissance period—roughly between the 14th and 16th century and labelled as the beginning of the early modern period—was the grandparent of what we call modernity. As a cultural and historical period, the Renaissance was a time of great social, political, and artistic revolutions. Its humanistic origins appointed man as “the measure of all things”¹⁷, and the movement tried to revive and surpass the achievements of classical antiquity which it regarded as ideals. Many significant events in world history such as the invention and the spread of the printing press, the discovery of the New World, experiments in astronomy, and the translation of the *Bible* from Latin to German by Martin Luther—which led to Protestant Reformation—marked the period as a time of immense breakthroughs that reformed the whole world by breaking the ties with the religious scholasticism of the Middle Ages.

¹⁷ “Man as the measure of all things” is a concept attributed to the Greek philosopher Protagoras (c. 490 BC – c. 420 BC). In one of his surviving testimonies, he declares that “[o]f all things the measure is man: of those that are, that they are; and of those that are not, that they are not” (43). This concept later reverberates in one of the most celebrated writers of the Enlightenment period Alexander Pope’s “An Essay on Man” (1733): “The proper study of mankind is man” (281).

In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Enlightenment or the Age of Reason emerged as the *modernus* of the Renaissance period. Enlightenment ideals included a firm belief in the idea of progress through science; the supremacy of reason, evidence, and observation; critique of religion; the separation of church and state; and the idea of individual freedom. René Descartes, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Adam Smith, Immanuel Kant, John Locke, Voltaire, and Thomas Hobbes all contributed to further these ideals about “social transformation, types of political institution, forms of knowledge, projects of rationalization of knowledge and practices, and technological mutations” (Foucault 43). At the heart of the Enlightenment was the belief that reason—and in relation to that, science—was the sole tool for human progress. In this respect, the thinking frameworks of the Enlightenment were a model for modernity. David Harvey explains that “Enlightenment thought embraced the idea of progress, and actively sought that break with history and tradition which modernity espouses” (12). Susan Stanford Friedman contributes to the discussion by relating key Enlightenment thinkers with specific conditions of modernity:

[M]odernity signifies a specific set of historical conditions developing in the West, including the industrial revolution, conquest of and expansion economically and politically into other continents, the transition to urban culture, the rise of the nation state, and growing power of the bourgeoisie. Consistent with this periodization, philosophers often regard the theories of reason in Locke, Kant, and Hegel as the embodiment of a distinctly modern secularism and humanism. (“Definitional Excursions” 500)

Enlightenment’s ideal of human progress under the guidance of science and reason was a driving force for modernity’s expansion and influence not only in areas such as economics and science, but also in social relationships and politics with the concepts of secularism, democracy, and liberalism, which culminated in the French Revolution that took place at the end of the 18th century.

Peter Childs explains that the word “modernity” was used for the first time by Charles Baudelaire in his essay “The Painter of Modern Life” (1863) to describe “the fashionable, fleeting and contingent in art, in opposition to the eternal and immutable” (Childs 4). In Baudelaire’s formulation, modernity becomes “a way of living and of experiencing life which has arisen with the changes wrought by industrialisation,

urbanisation and secularisation; its characteristics are disintegration and reformation, fragmentation and rapid change, ephemerality and insecurity” (Childs 15). Series of rapid changes in technology transformed the way people were living and “new understandings of time and space: speed, mobility, communication, travel, dynamism, chaos and cultural revolution” have come to be synonymous with the idea of modernity (Childs 15).

Jürgen Habermas, one of the most influential philosophers writing on modernity, argues that modernity was a project “formulated by the philosophers of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century” which focused on “relentless development of the objectivating sciences, of the universalistic foundations of morality and law, and of autonomous art, all in accord with their own immanent logic” (45). Closely linked to Enlightenment’s mode of rationalizing the world, social relationships, and arts, modernity has come to “mark this period of human history, the point at which man was able to reject other forms of control,” largely religion, “and asserts self-determination” (Tew and Murray 12). The underlying premise of the Enlightenment was to compartmentalise every life experience under reason and scientific progress; thus, it was teleological in that it was structured around the purpose of human progress and world order achieved by proper use of human reason.

Habermas’s understanding of modernity as an extension of the Enlightenment coincides with the term “historical modernity” as a historical category. According to Habermas, modernity is an uncompleted project, which still continues today in the form of postmodernity. One of the main reasons for this continuity is the development of capitalism which paved the way for unprecedented changes both in economic and social spheres. Matei Calinescu writes that modernity in this sense is “a stage in the history of Western civilization—a product of scientific and technological progress, of the industrial revolution, of the sweeping economic and social changes brought about by capitalism” (41). There have been many critical inquiries into modernity as a historical concept. Such critiques of modernity were carried out by Friedrich Nietzsche who asserted that “God is dead,” indicating the void opened by modernity itself (*Gay Science* 109); by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer in their *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947) in which modernity as an extension of the Enlightenment is the harbinger of culture industry, technocracy and authoritarianism; by Walter Benjamin

in his “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” (1935) where he writes about how mechanical reproduction brought about by modernity depreciates artistic production; and by Michel Foucault who has criticized the oppressive and authoritative power regimes of modernity and its normative knowledge practices. Marshall Berman in *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (1988) states that

[m]odern environments and experiences cut across all boundaries of geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality, of religion and ideology: in this sense, modernity can be said to unite all mankind. But it is a paradoxical unity, a unity of disunity: it pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish. To be modern is to be part of a universe in which, as Marx said, “all that is solid melts into air.” (15)

The evaporation of materiality is the direct negation of modernity carried out by none other than itself. While propagating stability, solidity, and progress, modernity has betrayed its own ideals in an ironic and parodical turn of events. In this irony, the subject suffers the most as it has to sacrifice its individuality as modernity has attempted to assert authority as the regulating force. David Harvey writes that modernity “not only entails a ruthless break with any or all preceding historical conditions, but is characterized by a never-ending process of internal ruptures and fragmentations within itself” (12). Just as its precursor, the Enlightenment, which “was doomed to turn against itself and transform the quest for human emancipation into a system of universal oppression in the name of human liberation,” modernity itself turned into rigid frameworks of knowledge and normative modes of relating to reality (Harvey 13). As a complex experience that is capable of everything “except solidity and stability,” modernity has negated its own trajectories of order and harmony (Berman 19). The ambivalent and unstable nature of modernity is concurrent with modernism’s own varied trajectories as it has evolved as a response to the chaotic formations of modernity.

Aesthetic modernity, which has come to be known as modernism, appeared on the stage as a concept entirely different from, and a reaction to, its historical counterpart. Fredric Jameson argues that modernism “essentially corresponds to a

situation of incomplete modernization” (*Singular Modernity* 141). In Jameson’s conceptualization, modernism was a response to a gradual—but incomplete—modernization process consistent not only with modernity’s ambivalences but also modernism’s fragmented and ruptured nature as well. David Harvey traces the beginnings of this split that led to modernism and writes that in the second half of the 19th century “the idea that there was only one possible mode of representation began to break down. The categorical fixity of the Enlightenment thought was increasingly challenged, and ultimately replaced by an emphasis upon divergent systems of representation” (28). This shift in different modes of representation ultimately became modernism’s hallmark.

Rapid industrialization and mechanization of the world that began in the late 18th and early 19th century—the beginning of the era known as the late modern period—brought about the transformation of society from feudalism to capitalism in which the bourgeoisie held the power of the capital in their hands. Aesthetic modernity was an outright rejection of the middle-class values and it “appeared as a great attempt to free modern artists from the impurities [and] vulgarities of modern life” (Berman 30). “Initially conceptualized as a site of resistance to modernity’s regulatory and routinizing practices,” modernism as an artistic movement positioned itself directly at the opposite side of the experience of modernity by highlighting fragmentary, blurry, and unregulated subjective experiences (Latham and Rogers 15). Modernity as a historical category, therefore, gave birth to its aesthetic counterpart modernism in which the harm brought about by modernity tried to be worked out in the aesthetic realm. Gasiorek states that

[m]odernism has therefore frequently been seen as an aesthetic and cultural reaction to late modernity and modernisation. In short, modernist engagements with modernity are inextricable from their sustained exploration of its consequences for subjectivity—for what it meant to be an individual faced with the challenge of living in a world whose cultural, economic, political, and social coordinates were being altered almost beyond recognition. (8)

In order to free the subject from the devastating effects modernity, modernism came to rescue with various modes of self-expression ranging from painting and architecture to music and literature. Friedman writes that modernity and modernism in the literary

arena are more associated with “the radical rupture from rather than the supreme embodiment of Renaissance Enlightenment humanism and accompanying formations in the West” (“Definitional Excursions” 500-1). Social change and transformation are the crux of modernism according to Friedman, and writers and artists of this era were preoccupied with conveying the “future effects of epistemological, ontological, political, technological, demographic, cultural, and aesthetic transformations” (Friedman, “Definitional Excursions” 501).

In short, although its meaning changes according to different historical eras, the adjective modern has evolved to describe the 20th century arts and life whereas modernity as a historical era, which has its roots in the Renaissance and Enlightenment periods, has always had an adverse relationship with modernism as an aesthetic category. Modernism “as an unending permanent revolution against the totality of modern existence” was a rebellious act to establish new forms self-expression that were under threat from the traditionalizing and totalizing influences of modernity (Berman 30). It denotes a paradigmatic shift in world view and a deliberate attempt to rewrite the subject and the world under the harsh conditions of modernity.

Modernism was primarily a movement in arts and philosophy. In arts, it showed itself as abstract art, the technique of collage, atonal music, and later on in specific avant-garde movements such as Impressionism, Symbolism, Cubism, Futurism, Expressionism, and Surrealism. All these movements foregrounded different artistic innovations; Impressionism highlighted vagueness, Symbolism relied on suggestive imagery, Cubism played with the idea of fragmentation, Futurism took technology and machinery as artistic objects, Expressionism’s focus was on emotions, and Surrealism worked on the irrational. Christopher Butler writes about the artistic movements in modernism that “the growth of abstraction in painting, which involved the destruction of the conventions of 19th century realism, [...] insisted on the spectator’s awareness of the artwork’s own conventions, and so brought about a much more obliquely suggestive relation of work to world” (*Modernism* 16). All in all, what all these artistic movements had in common was the reworking of reality through experimentation that highlights the subjective interpretation of it, ranging from abstraction to automaticity.

Modernism as a movement of ideas has its precursors in philosophy and, ironically, science. Various ideational shifts in philosophy and science proved that binary modes of thinking were no longer relevant to the interpretation of the changing world. Among the philosophers and scientists who have influenced the modernist movement, the most important figures are theoretical physicist Albert Einstein (1879-1955), biologist and naturalist Charles Darwin (1809-1882), philosopher and economist Karl Marx (1818-1883), neurologist and psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) and philosophers Henri Bergson (1859-1941) and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900). These thinkers contributed to the movement with their ideas about relativity, human evolution, economic alienation, the unconscious mind, language, time, and ethics.

Undoubtedly the world's most distinguished scientist of all times, Albert Einstein was a theoretical physicist who is known for his theory of relativity. His theories of special and general relativity—established in 1905 and 1915 respectively—“overturned Newtonian physics and showed that in the case of objects travelling near the speed of light, strange occurrences such as diminished size and decreased mass can be expected” (Childs 65). Although Einstein's theories were purely scientific in themselves, they had an immense effect on modernism in terms of subjectivity. Einstein's theory brought together two of the most important elements of physics—time and space—which are also modernism's most frequently used devices to situate the modern subject in the chaotic modern world. David Ian Paddy writes that Einstein's “theory encompassed a notion of simultaneity, which demonstrated that two events, apparently simultaneous to one observer, will not necessarily be so for another in a different place (due to time differentials and other variables)” (128). Together with other influential physicists Max Planck and Werner Heisenberg's works on quantum theory and the Uncertainty Principle¹⁸, Einstein's theory of relativity had enormous repercussions in social and cultural life. It firstly showed that since everything is relative and bound to other variables in science, it is inescapable that it is even more so in the social and cultural spheres. The scientific theories of relativity and uncertainty were translated back into modernism and they “complemented the radical forms and

¹⁸ The Principle of Uncertainty speculates that it is not possible to predict exactly how, when, and at which speed atoms and subatomic particles move at a given time.

perspectives offered by writers and painters, and indeed appeared to serve as a perfect analogy for many avantgarde opinions about social relations” (Childs 66).

These scientific revolutions undermined the Enlightenment thinking that claimed everything can be logically and systematically known and predicted. Peter Childs exemplifies the reverberations of this in modern literature and art as follows:

A Newtonian universe found its reflection in the realist novel, where authors strove for principles and commonality in the strata of social life. Reliable, objective narrators encompassed the single perspective of a world governed by consistent, dependable scientific laws. Time was linear and narrative moved along chronological lines [...]. By contrast, Modernism expressed time moving in arcs, flashbacks, jumps, repetitions and, above all, subjective leaps and swerves. Space was compressed, oppressive, threatening and subjectively perceived. Einstein’s four-dimensional space-time continuum echoed the use of montage and collage in art. (67)

Einstein’s legacy of relativity and the complex interconnectedness of time and space were mostly reflected in modernist writing which tried to depict characters in oppressive and limiting settings that offer only one way of seeing the world. Modernists took Einstein’s theory of relativity and reworked it to explore the social position of the modern individual. The use of parallax, for example, which denotes “the apparent change in the position of an object that is caused by an alteration in the observer’s position,” can be found in abundance in modernist writing such as Joyce’s *Ulysses* and Virginia Woolf’s *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925) (Childs 68). In short, Einstein’s highly scientific theory of relativity was translated back into the language of daily life by modernists and gave them a unique method to convey subjectivity, ambivalence, perspective, and interconnectedness of things.

If Einstein changed the modernist worldview with physics, Charles Darwin did so through biology. Darwin was a naturalist and a biologist whose ideas about human evolution has dethroned humans as the sole intelligent beings in the universe. Darwin postulated that humans share common ancestors with primates and his idea of natural selection has suggested that humans live according to nature’s principle of survival of the fittest, meaning that the one who is the most adaptive to changes in the environment has more chance to survive. In his *On the Origins of Species* (1859), he “indirectly

challenges theological visions of the universe, demonstrating that it is governed more by chance than divine plan, while equally unsettling humanistic, anthropomorphic notions that homo sapiens are the most important species on the Earth” (Paddy 128). The Enlightenment thinking that humans are at the centre of the universe due to their ability to use logic has thus come to be questioned with Darwin’s ideas since they suggest that a chance principle may be at work rather than a logical or a divine plan. The reverberations of Darwin’s theories, however, were somewhat misleading in that they were later employed to promote eugenics and social Darwinism which was used by the Nazi to eliminate some social groups because they were not seen as “fit” to survive in society.

Modernity brought many changes that put pressure on the living, but industrialization might be the harshest one that crushed the individual in materialistic terms. This was voiced most fervently by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founders of the philosophy of Marxism. Their *Communist Manifesto* (1848) declared that “[a]ll that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind” (35). This sums up the uncertainties and ambivalences of modernity, and the resulting social void forces the individual to reassess their place in society which increasingly becomes more materialized and class based. Marx’s *Das Kapital*—published in three volumes in 1867, 1885, and 1894—revealed the inner workings of the modern capitalist system that exploits the working class—the proletariat—in order to make the bourgeoisie—the capitalist middle class—richer and thus more respectable in society. The transition from feudalism to industrialism that happened gradually between the 16th and 19th centuries accelerated the dissemination of the class-based societies to which the proletariat and the *homo economicus*—the middle class—belong. Marx argued that relations of production constitute the very consciousness of individuals and societies at large. Out of these economic relations, class struggle and alienation emerge as social conflicts. In the Marxist understanding of the modern world, modernity’s devastating effects in the form of industrialization divided the working self through exploitation of its labour by the bourgeoisie and made it stranger to its own realities. Marx’s legacy to modernism as a movement was most noticeable in his stance which proposes that

modernity as a process is the harbinger of the capitalist society and the most salient feature of Marxism that the modernists inherited was its critique of alienation.

On the relationship between modernism and Marxism, Peter Childs argues that modernist writers were affected by Marx's formulation of the alienated subject and they "attempted to represent alienated urban living" (30). Childs further explains that the technique of defamiliarization in modernist works stem from this alienation (30). *The Communist Manifesto*, according to Childs, "can be said to be the first Modernist manifesto in that its dialectical contrariness appears to presage the contradictions, ambivalences and double consciousness of Modernism" (30). According to Marx, "capitalism thrives on disturbance, uncertainty and the progress that is needed to stave off stasis" and this situation "describes the symptoms from which the Modernist writers would consider themselves to suffer" (Childs 30). Many modernist writers and artists sought to depict this alienation felt by the individual that stems from economic disparities in society and affects the whole social strata of the world. Many Marxist critics wrote on modernism and its ties with Marxism, some with more fervour and disdain than others. György Lukács, for example, argues in his "The Ideology of Modernism" (1957) that the movement is too subjective in its ideology and it negates history at the expense of the individual. Others like Fredric Jameson and Theodor Adorno see modernism as an extension of the critique that Marxism executes on modernity. Adorno argued that difficult texts of modernism "provoked new, unfamiliar, estranged conceptions of life. Which is to say that the dissonances and fractures of Modernist art expressed the individual's loss of control, centredness and harmony in the contemporary world" (Childs 34). Jameson's concepts of the political unconscious and narrative as a socially symbolic act offer political readings of modernist texts which reject to employ strictly objective interpretations of history.

Modernism's interest on the subjective and the workings of the mind owes a lot to Sigmund Freud's work on psychoanalysis. Freud was a neurologist who studied the human mind and founded psychoanalysis that consists of the "talking cure" through which repressed traumas can be healed. Freud's ground-breaking ideas about what constitutes the human mind were essential to modernists, especially to modernist writers who frequently used the techniques of stream of consciousness and free indirect

speech¹⁹ in their works. Freud argued that the human psyche consists of three parts: the id—which is the primitive part; the superego which tries to hold the id in check, and the ego in which a realistic balance is tried to be achieved between the id and the superego. Modernist literature in particular reflects this divided nature of the human psyche and the resulting fragmentation. Susan Stanford Friedman explains in *Psyche Reborn* (1987) that

[t]he starting point of modernism is the crisis of belief that pervades twentieth century western culture: loss of faith, experience of fragmentation and disintegration, and the shattering of cultural symbols and norms. At the centre of this crisis were the new technologies of science, the epistemology of logical positivism, and the relativism of functionalist thought—in short, major aspects of the philosophical perspectives that Freud embodied. (97)

Freud's ideas enabled modernists to use techniques that can help investigate the human mind to uncover its secrets, complexities, and traumas brought by the shattering experiences of modernity.

In *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899), Freud argued that dreams are wish-fulfilments, vehicles of repressed traumas and desires, and thus they must be analysed via free association²⁰ to resolve certain conflicts in the individual's mind. This dream analysis work enables the unconscious part of the mind to be brought to the surface and made conscious. According to Freud, there are two layers in dreams: the manifest content and the latent content. The manifest content consists of events and characters in a dream that the person remembers, so it refers to the literal content of a dream. The latent content is where the dream work must be enacted so as to reveal the repressed thoughts and emotions hidden by the manifest content. Fredric Jameson's idea of the political unconscious owes a great deal to Freud's conception of the dream work. Just as a dream needs to be excavated in order to make the latent content come to the surface, a text must be analysed through its form and narrative to unearth its inexplicit

¹⁹ Stream of consciousness refers to the narrative technique of presenting a character's thoughts in fluidity as they pass in the mind, with little to no interruption. Free indirect speech is a mixed mode of narration in which the character's voice is partly controlled by the narrative voice. The techniques of stream of consciousness and free indirect speech will be analysed later in this chapter of the study.

²⁰ Free association is a technique in psychoanalysis that refers to the analysand—the person undergoing psychoanalysis—speaking or writing in the order or content they want without censorship or aid from the analyst to bring unconscious material into the conscious level.

historical and political liaisons. Through these connections, a text becomes a socially symbolic narrative which both reflects and deflects its political and historical conditions.

About Freud's impact on modernism, Perry Miesel writes that "[t]he tradition of the unconscious is what joins modern literature with psychology, particularly psychoanalysis, in a variety of ways, and not just as cause to effect, or even as mere parallelism" (81). The idea of the unconscious is crucial in modernism in that modernist literature uses language as the tool to explore the hidden desires and thoughts in the mind. Peter Childs explains that "[i]n literature after Freud, many writers felt it was no longer sufficient to present the outsides of personalities and the surfaces of minds, as predominated in realist fiction; instead, the writer needed to explore hidden drives and desires, to deal in what Henry James called 'psychological realism'" (51). The exploration of the depths of the human mind, as opposed to trying to show it on surface via dialogue only, was one of the hallmarks of modernist literature and Freud "provided intellectuals and artists with a new vocabulary—narcissism, the uncanny, the death drive, the pleasure principle and repetition compulsion—and in essence radicalizes what it meant to be human, offering new ways of conceiving and portraying human psychology" (Paddy 129).

Apart from the material studies of the universe, human biology, the human mind, and the capital, the study of language was another turning point in the philosophical history of modernism. Ferdinand de Saussure is an important figure here as the founder of modern linguistics who influenced structuralism and post structuralism. He brought a systematic and a structural analysis to language by studying how language makes meaning. In *Course in General Linguistics* (1916), he argues that language is a system of signs, and those signs are composed of the signified and the signifier. The signified denotes the idea that is mentioned, and the signifier is the spoken sound that is attributed to the idea. Saussure stated that the relation between the signifier and the signified is totally arbitrary, meaning that there is no reason behind why a tree is called a tree since there is no inherent resemblance between the spoken sound and the idea. With the rule of arbitrariness comes another vital point of Saussure's theory, namely the concept of language as a system of differences. According to this concept, what gives a linguistic sign its meaning is its difference

from other signs. In this system of differences, the human factor is indispensable because in Saussure's theory there is *langue* (language) and *parole* (speech). *Langue* refers to the whole abstract system of language with its rules and limitations and *parole* is the distinct use of *langue*. While *langue* is general and governed by rules, *parole* is varied because it depends on the speaker. "The modernist writer's emphasis on words' resistance to fixed meaning or reference, as well as on language's power to form otherwise vague perception," writes R. M. Berry, "seems in retrospect to recall the self-regulating system of Saussure's *langue*" (116). Modernist writers extensively played with *parole* and exhausted the limits of language based on Saussure's revolutionary ideas to give shape to the subjectivizing nature of language.

The philosopher Henri Bergson was another critical name in shaping the philosophical background of modernism. His ideas on time and how the individual mind perceives and processes it are particularly crucial in literary modernism. In his *Time and Free Will* (1889), Bergson introduced some critical concepts such as intuition, chronological time, psychological time, and duration (*durée*). He believed that matter and facts have to be rendered by the mind through intuition "in order to achieve a *vision in depth of reality*" (Childs 49). This rendition of reality through intuition is enabled by how time is processed in the mind. Bergson argued that while chronological time refers to how time passes in the real world by the count of hours, minutes, and seconds, psychological time works differently: it is "measured by *duration*, defined as the varying speed at which the mind apprehends the length of experiences according to their different intensities, contents and meanings for each individual" (Childs 49). Thus, each individual's subjective perception of time is different, resonating the repercussions of Einstein's theory of relativity, and each version of time experienced in the mind changes the very fabric of reality sensed through intuition. Many modernist novels deal with psychological time in which characters interpret time on their own terms. Childs explains that Bergson's ideas about time "led to the use of different techniques in art, such as the abrupt beginning and open-ended conclusion to many modernist novels" (50). Together with Freud's idea of the psyche and how it is shaped by past events, Bergson's perspectives on time and the rendering of reality "resulted in the view that reality only exists in subjective apprehensions" (Childs 50). The use of stream of consciousness technique, for

example, is possible in modernist literature only through this subjective experience of time since the flowing thoughts and perceptions of characters can only come to the surface by tracing how they experience time rather than how it passes by in reality. Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* and James Joyce's *Ulysses* give ample space on the page for the thoughts of their characters although only a few minutes or even seconds have passed in chronological time. Time speeds up or slows down in modernist texts and modernism's rejection of temporal linearity is reflected in literary works in the form of nonlinear, fragmented and memory-laden narratives. Overall, Bergson's ideas on time allowed modernist writers to represent the flux of the mind through stream of consciousness and to depict time on a subjective basis rather than an overarching, objective one that is intrinsic to the realist mode of representation.

Friedrich Nietzsche was perhaps one of the most influential figures of the late 19th and early 20th century philosophy and he had an undeniable impact on the modernist movement. His ideas on the ills of modernity, religion, and universal morality and his insistence on the freedom of the individual, subjectivity, and personal morality resonate in modernism's basic tenets. Richard Murphy writes that "[i]f the traditions and systems of norms inherited from the previous century no longer seemed relevant to the new age, it was Nietzsche who had first formulated this situation" (201). This is encapsulated in his famous phrase "God is dead," allegorically meaning that the past conventions about how the world works did not hold true any longer (*Gay Science* 109). Nietzsche asserted that self-determination of the individual—will to power—is the only way to live life to the fullest. He was one of the first philosophers who acknowledged the "erosion of religious and moral certainties" (Gasiorek 7) and according to him

morality was in fact an expression of power, merely the force of group beliefs, and not an innate set of truths. Against the repressive systems of politics, religion and law (which impose suffering on the individual and demand ascetic habits of denied living), Nietzsche insists upon embracing life, freedom, passion and an individually derived morality. All of which reinforced Modernism's re-evaluation of Victorian morality and its quest for new forms in which to express radical new values. (Paddy 133)

Almost all modernist works championed the individual's freedom from the limitations of the past generation—particularly religion and other authority figures—and many heroes in modernist works, such as Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait* rebel against these restrictive ways of living, trying to “fly by those nets” of nationality and religion (*P* 220). Nietzsche also attached a great importance to art in battling against the disorienting effects of modernity. He stated in the preface to *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872) that “art—and not morality—is the true metaphysical activity of man [...] the existence of the world is justified [...] only as an aesthetic phenomenon” (8). Aesthetic occupation as asserting one's own morality and freedom echoes in many modernist works from Joyce's *A Portrait* and D. H. Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers* (1913) to Wyndham Lewis's *Tarr* (1918). Consequently, Nietzsche opened up ways to interpret reality and morality, and his “original understandings of morality, aesthetics, truth and language are reminders of literature's many roots in philosophical ideas” (Childs 61).

The philosophical precursors of modernism helped in the birth of the movement by generating original ideas and new ways to apprehend the changing nature of reality that came with modernity. However, it was World War I (1914-1918) that has impacted both the movement and the world entirely with its catastrophic effects. The violence and loss experienced in the war were the culmination of technological advancements, and rising nationalism and capitalism which were all hallmarks of modernity. Millions of people have lost their lives in the Great War and such a devastating event imprinted its mark on the cultural memory of the whole world, showing that life crumbled away under modernity. The resulting disillusionment brought many of modernity's claims into question. Sara Danius argues that the war “brought ideologies of progress into serious crisis, especially those related to modern technology” (69). Sense of despair and social trauma experienced after the war became one of the permanent features of modernism. Post-war modernist works explored these traumas with futility and nostalgia lurking in the background. Ezra Pound in his poem “Hugh Selwyn Mauberley” (1920) wrote about the war in the following fashion:

There died a myriad,
And of the best, among them,
For an old bitch gone in the teeth,
For a botched civilization. (“Hugh” 64)

Poetry became the appropriate vehicle after the war to convey the experiences of soldier poets who thought fighting for “a botched civilization” was a mistake (Pound, “Hugh” 64). British poets such as Wilfred Owen, Robert Graves, Siegfried Sassoon, and Rupert Brooke wrote war poems that are intense, mournful, nostalgic, ironic and bitter in tone, criticising war and its futility. T. S. Eliot’s “The Waste Land” (1922) sketches out a literal waste land of the world, left desolate after the war; Rebecca West’s *The Return of the Soldier* (1918) tells the story of an amnesiac World War I veteran and reveals the horrors of the trenches; and Virginia Woolf’s *Mrs. Dalloway* traces a veteran’s psychological scars after the war. The traumatic experience of the war influenced modernism’s search for new forms to convey the atrocities of the war as a way of working out the trauma. Marina MacKay asserts that “the effect of the war on modernism appears more generative than destructive: modernism seems less a casualty of the war than one of the war’s outcomes, and many critics have seen modernism not as a missed opportunity from the summer of 1914 but as among the cultural effects of an unprecedentedly traumatic war” (9). This alone testifies to modernism’s inherent ties with history and politics and its contingency upon historical and political events.

As outlined above, modernism was a complex set of relationships that happened in various strands of world knowledges such as social relationships, arts, literature, technology, industry, history, and politics. It cannot be expected from such an intricate movement to be stable and homogenous. Various strands of modernism were directly in clash, such as the mechanistic Futurism and the decadent Symbolism. Modernism was far from being a consistent and uniformed set of practices and it is exactly what distinguishes it from others that came before. It might be more appropriate to talk about “modernisms” rather than a coherent line of practices. In *Modernism: Evolution of an Idea* (2015), Sean Latham and Gayle Roberts argue that “the conversations, debates, and critical revisions of ‘modernism’ did not take place in a single arena; the terms changed as the players shifted positions; the conversations were sometimes parallel, sometimes orthogonal, sometimes deeply intertwined, and sometimes sharply divergent” (9). The equivocal nature of modernism cuts across any totalizing definition of the movement just as it rejects any clear-cut explanations and interpretations of the world, mind, and reality. Andrzej Gasiorek claims that

“modernism was at once utopian and dystopian, progressive and reactionary, orientated to a glistening future and drawn back to a comforting past” (34). Thus, rather than being a catch-all term for all experimental, decadent, and avantgarde art and literature, “modernism becomes less a single tradition or a byword for difficulty than a prismatic way of describing all kinds of aesthetic responses to the turbulence of modernity” (Gasiorek 34). There are several implications of this contingency. Firstly, it allows us to consider the pluralistic nature of the movement by acknowledging various and sometimes contradictory lines of thinking. This ideational gymnastics was perhaps the strongest side of the movement although it is possible to read it as a constant, and a rather desperate, struggle to find one’s place in the changing world. Moreover, this contingency paves the way for a more relational mode of critique that attests to the various historical, political, social and linguistic trajectories within the movement and grants the possibility of reading a modernist author’s works from various lines that inherently intersect.

1.2. Literary Modernism

Raymond Bradbury and James MacFarlane write that “[i]t has been generally recognized that Modernism was very much a movement *of* movements” (191). The concomitant trajectories in modernism corroborate its pluralistic nature, but if there is a cultural arena that can be the symbol of the whole movement, it surely is literary modernism. Many artistic movements in modernism had their counterparts in the literary arena and they all grew on mutual grounds of experimentation. Two of the most important artistic movements of modernism, Impressionism and Symbolism, for example, were also movements in literary modernism. Symbolist poetry was the precursor of the whole movement of Symbolism which used symbolic images and indirect association to express dreamy and myth-like experiences. Its roots date back to late 19th century with important figures including Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867), Stéphane Mallarmé (1842–1898), Paul Verlaine (1844–1896), and Arthur Rimbaud (1854–1891). Literary impressionism, on the other hand, originated from the Impressionist movement in painting. Childs writes that “[w]hat Monet and Seurat have in common, which is taken into Modernist writing, is the idea that there is a mist or halo to what the individual perceives. Seurat saw a point surrounded by a halo of

colour, Monet painted his views as though seen through fogs and mists” (111). Ford Madox Ford’s *The Good Soldier: A Tale of Passion* (1915) is probably the most known example of impressionistic literature which can be defined “as an offshoot of Realism interested principally in the transcription of visual reality as it affects the retina of the painter within a discrete, and short, period of time” (Saunders 204). The pictorial, nebulous, and flimsy narrative of John Dowell in the novel is like a series of vague pictures painted from afar and “through fogs and mists” (Childs 111).

Literary modernism was an international phenomenon although it was mostly recognized in the English-speaking world. Peter Childs argues about literary modernism that

[l]ike capitalism, art was becoming internationalist, and in many ways writers in Britain were late to acknowledge a Modernist movement embraced far earlier on the Continent. In the arts, despite the efforts of Jacob Epstein, T. S. Eliot, Edith Sitwell, Ezra Pound, Wyndham Lewis and D. H. Lawrence, the force of Modernism would not be greatly felt in Britain until after the war. Yet, it had long been felt across Europe—and, as many critics have noted, a large number of the pioneering Modernists writing in English were not from the British mainland: Pound, Conrad, Eliot, James, Yeats and Joyce. (72-73)

The Anglo-European roots of literary modernism are complicated further by the different periods in the movement that cannot be exactly pinpointed. Virginia Woolf wrote in her essay “Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown” (1924) that “on or about December 1910, human character changed” (421). The emergence of literary modernism that is characterized by the change in human character actually dates back to earlier points of convergence which can be divided into two phases: before and after the Great War. Before the war, Ezra Pound’s Imagism, W. B. Yeats’s Symbolist poetry, and Joseph Conrad and Ford Madox Ford’s Impressionism were already under way. Michael Levenson states that “[w]ithin prevailing narratives of English Modernism, the achievements in poetry and the novel between, say, 1914 and 1922 have been taken as the paradigm of modernist achievement” (6). After 1918, the shattering effects of the war became more prominent and it was the period of 1915-1925 that saw the most influential works of literary modernism being written such as Joyce’s *Ulysses*, Eliot’s “The Waste Land” and Woolf’s *Mrs. Dalloway*. While it

might be hasty to appoint any dates to its start and end, it should be noted that many modernist writers seemed to have finished writing their influential works by the 1940s as Samuel Beckett, who is regarded as the last modernist and the first postmodernist, published his second novel *Murphy* in 1938; Joyce published *Finnegans Wake* in 1939 and Virginia Woolf's last work *Between the Acts* came out in 1941.

As can be seen, the most renowned names of literary modernism were English speaking writers from the British Isles and the U.S. although there are important names from European countries such as Umberto Saba, Luigi Pirandello and Italo Svevo in Italy, Franz Kafka in German speaking Bohemia (Czech Republic) and Rainer Maria Rilke in Austria. Apart from the obvious "Anglo-" nature of the movement, the composition of the modernist writing canon was mostly and undeniably masculine. Major names of the movement are all men with Eliot, Pound, and Wyndham Lewis—dubbed as the "men of 1914"—and other major figures like Joyce, William Faulkner, D.H. Lawrence and Robert Musil. The women writers of the movement include Virginia Woolf, H.D. (Hilda Doolittle), Edith Wharton, Djuna Barnes, Dorothy Richardson, and Gertrude Stein. Women writers of modernism were greatly influenced by the New Women movement that emerged in the late 19th century. The movement advocated for a new understanding of gender relations and "consolidated and advanced many feminist ideals, including the rights to vote, hold public offices, own property, pursue postsecondary education, and enter professional society" (Latham and Rogers 226). Women modernists sought to invoke a feminist rhetoric that can help discuss the challenges of being a woman in the modern world. Woolf's novels and her book length essay "A Room of One's Own" (1929) explore feminist themes such as the female psyche, women's rights, female subjectivity, and empowerment. "Reading Woolf criticism over the last four decades," writes Bonnie Kime Scott, "provides a worthy survey of the changing perspectives offered by and in gender studies. Works such as *Orlando*, a transsexual, transhistorical fantasy novel written for her lesbian lover, and *Three Guineas*, her radical feminist analysis of fascism at home and abroad, transform our sense of the modernist project" (539). It is indeed mostly through Woolf that modernist writing can be said to have a feminist trajectory. Besides its masculine composition, literary modernism was also exclusively white and middle (sometimes even upper) class because of the dominance of British and American writers. The New

Negro movement as a part of Harlem Renaissance sought to challenge this white majority and tried to establish a new black consciousness in the modern times with poet and novelist Langston Hughes (1901-1967) as its leader. In short, the amalgamated architecture of the whole modernist movement was not enough to rescue it from its male oriented and white strain.

As for narrative forms, literary modernism flourished mostly in poetry and novel for a number of reasons. Poetry's lyrical intensity worked in parallel with modernism's focus on subjectivity and experimental language, and the movement's insistence on psychological depth and the subjective nature of reality could be best worked on in the novel form. Drama, on the hand, fell behind because of its inherent emphasis on realistic representation, which most literary modernists sought to rewrite. Christopher Innes states that "the theatre's intrinsic connection to physical reality and social existence (communicated at a minimum through the bodies of the actors and their relationship to each other) make some of the key modernist principles inapplicable" (131). Fragmented narrative, the rendering of reality through the unconscious, and the rejection of direct mimesis, for example, appeared to be unsuitable for the representational dramatic structure, and apart from the surreal theatre of Antonin Artaud (Theatre of Cruelty), Bertolt Brecht's epic theatre, and Konstantin Stanislavski's dramatic system of "art of experience," modernist drama seemed to be less influential than modernist poetry and prose.

In poetry, Symbolism appeared to be the most prominent trajectory with the works of T. S. Eliot and W. B. Yeats. Marshall C. Olds explains that Symbolism was "a vital part of the development of literary modernism" and it first began to flourish in France and Belgium in the second half of the nineteenth century (50). Olds adds that it had an immense effect on "European and American literatures throughout the first half of the twentieth century" (155). Charles Baudelaire, Stéphane Mallarmé, Paul Verlaine, and Arthur Rimbaud's poetry was the beginning of a long tradition of symbolism in literary modernism that came to influence British and American poets. The defining feature of Symbolism was its tendency to depend on symbols rather than the direct handling of the poem's subject. Thus, it is a term "as applied to the works of these poets in that it refers at once to an important feature of poetic content and to an attitude toward the figurative operation of literary language" (Olds 155). Dense

figurative language and the reliance of indirect associations between words and the subject matter instead of direct and clear language use defined the lyric poetry of the symbolists. W. B. Yeats, one of the most famous Irish poets, heavily used symbols in his poetry. His “Sailing to Byzantium” (1927), “The Second Coming” (1920), “The Tower” (1928) and “The Secret Rose” (1897) include symbols such as the gyre²¹, tower, and gold, which were all drawn from mythology and nature. T. S. Eliot’s “The Waste Land” can also be regarded as a symbolist poem in which the desolate geography serves to signify both the post-war landscape and the cultural and existential barrenness of the modern world. Although poetry laid the foundations of literary modernism by borrowing from art, the novel has become the crux of the movement by incorporating many indispensable tenets of it such as fragmented narrative, stream of consciousness, free indirect speech, and stylistic experimentation. Before delving into what constitutes the modernist novel, it is imperative to trace the origins of the novel genre to situate the modernist novel in the larger history of literary forms.

1.3. The Novel

The supremacy of the novel form is not exclusive to modernism but pervades all literary history. The noun “novel” refers to “a great variety of writings that have in common only the attribute of being extended works of fiction written in prose” (Abrams and Harpham 252). In this definition, the feature of the novel that stands out is its length. It differs from novella and short story, which are shorter, in this aspect. In its adjective form, it means “new and original, not like anything seen before” (“novel”). As an addition to its length, the novel as a literary form has to be “new” and “original.” *The Oxford Companion to English Language* traces the origins of the word to 16th century with the word *novella* (*storia*) which literally means “a little new (story)” (McArthur 711). This focus on newness corresponds to the form’s ability to express new and changing things in changing realities. Novel’s transformative power comes from its ability to break away from the norms of the time it is written in and to offer new perspectives via character and plot depth. Indeed, its expansive nature

²¹ The word “gyre” originally comes from the geographic term of the same name. It denotes “a circular pattern of ocean currents (flows of water in a particular direction)” (“gyre”). In its cultural use, gyre is explained as “a circular movement in which each circle is above, below, or wider than the one before” (“gyre”). Yeats used the gyre image to symbolize overlapping historical eras.

“permits authors to develop one or more characters, to establish their motivation, and to construct intricate plots” (Murfin and Ray 256). The novel as a literary genre constantly shifts and adapts itself to social, historical, and cultural changes to survive as a “new” and an “original” form.

The Oxford Companion to the English Language also traces what counted as “novel” in different times: “In the 14c, collections of stories in Italian and French, such as Boccaccio’s *Decameron*, were known as novels. In the 17c, the term generally referred to romances of illicit love, and in the 18c, history was used for the long prose works (often in several volumes) that led to the modern novel in English” (McArthur 711). This historical survey shows that new forms that distinguished themselves from their predecessors were deemed as novels. One of the most common perceptions about the origins of the form is that the novel took its roots from the romance genre. Romance originally meant “a work written in the French language, which evolved from a dialect of the Roman language, Latin” (Abrams and Harpham 48). Indeed, it is agreed among literary scholars that the genre originated in France in the 12th century (Murfin and Ray 75). The romance as a literary form includes “high adventure, thwarted love, mysterious circumstances, arduous quests, and improbable triumphs” (Murfin and Ray 75). Unlike the epic, which focuses on heroes and their deeds, the romance is about courtly love and chivalric virtues. The fact that the word for the novel genre in some languages, including Turkish, is *roman* reflects these ties between the romance and the novel. Terry Eagleton explains this relationship by arguing that “[n]ovels are romances—but romances which have to negotiate the prosaic world of modern civilization” (*English Novel* 9). In Eagleton’s understanding, novels are modern romances in which the complexities of the newly conceptualized modern life are worked out. Michael McKeon explains the dialectic between the romance and the novel as “the dialectical antithesis between progressive and conservative ideology” (174). The transition from the religious conservatism of the Middle Ages to the beginning of the modern world over the course of the 17th century presents, according to McKeon, “an intersecting pattern of political, religious, and socioeconomic debates whose language and preoccupations suffuse much of the early novel itself” (174).

There have been some debates about the origins of the novel as we know it today and the first examples of it. Mikhail Bakhtin and Margaret Ann Doody, for

example, trace the birth of the modern novel to Hellenistic romances and the narratives of the Mediterranean (Eagleton, *English Novel* 8). It is generally agreed by scholars that—after romances, *novellas*, chapbooks, and satirical romances of the Renaissance period—Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's *Don Quixote* (*The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha*) (1605) can be regarded as the first example of the modern novel. Written as an anti-romance which mocks the features of the romance genre, the novel “is in fact less the origin of the genre than a novel about the origin of the novel” (Eagleton, *English Novel* 9). Eagleton explains that the novel's unique stance stems from the fact that it “takes this clash between romance and realism as its subject-matter, thus turning a formal issue into a thematic one” (*English Novel* 9). Thus, *Don Quixote* can be regarded as an important example of the modern novel genre, if not the first one, which reflects its protagonist's search for a chivalric romance and the resulting disappointment of not finding it in the real world. Don Quixote's “ingenious” nature is what drives his thirst for an imaginary world, and this is explored in the novel through his inner world. When English literature is concerned, Aphra Benn's *Oroonoko: or, the Royal Slave* (1688), Daniel Defoe's *Robinson's Crusoe* (1719), and Samuel Richardson's *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740) are contested as the first modern English novels.

It would be more explanatory, however, to explore why the novel form rose to prominence rather than debating about the examples of the first modern novels. The social and historical backgrounds of the 18th century in which the novel emerged suggests close ties with the technological advancements in the printing press and the increase in the number of literate middle-class people who could spare time and money for reading (McArthur 711). This is most aptly explained by Ian Watt in *The Rise of the Novel* (1957). Watt examines the philosophical, economic and social trends and conditions of the 18th century—including the development of professions, the reading public, the emergence of the middle class, the rise of capitalism, developing printing press, and writings for women by women—and argues that these changes paved the way for the rise of the novel. Jameson furthers this argument by indicating that the novel plays a crucial role “what can be called a properly bourgeois cultural revolution—that immense process of transformation whereby populations whose life habits were formed by other, now archaic, modes of production are effectively

reprogrammed for life and work in the new world of market capitalism” (PU 138). The public interest in reading novels rose in the 18th century for a reason: the novel encapsulated the everyday reality of people under changing economic and social circumstances as opposed to romances which reflected the lives of the nobility through improbable and supernatural events.

The social roots of the novel’s emergence intersect with its complex preoccupation with the idea of verisimilitude. Verisimilitude can be defined as “the quality of seeming true or of having the appearance of being real” (“verisimilitude”). The novel’s verisimilitude effect stems from its ability to narrate not the marvellous and the uncommon events of the romance, but situations that can be appropriated by outside reality. The novel whose “primary criterion was truth to individual experience, individual experience which is always unique and therefore new” has tried to convey this verisimilitude by relying on the subjective experience of reality (Watt 13). Watt explains this criterion with the term “formal realism” in *The Rise of the Novel*:

The narrative method whereby the novel embodies this circumstantial view of life may be called its formal realism; formal, because the term realism does not here refer to any special literary doctrine or purpose, but only to a set of narrative procedures which are so commonly found together in the novel, and so rarely in other literary genres, that they may be regarded as typical of the form itself. (378)

Formal realism in Watt’s conceptualisation prescribes that “the novel is a full and authentic report of human experience, and is therefore under an obligation to satisfy its reader with such details of the story as the individuality of the actors concerned, the particulars of the times and places of their actions [...]” (Watt 378). These “details which are presented through a more largely referential use of language than is common in other literary forms” constitute the very backbone of the form (Watt 378). According to Watt, the novel, with its formal features including language use and narrative depth, presents a literary rendition of reality in detail. György Lukács also points to a related criterion: according to him, the novel, as an epic of the modern age, reflects what he calls “the totality of life” (*Theory* 16). Although modernity—with the rise of capitalism and the resulting alienation—shatters this totality, Lukács sees it as the primary locus of novel’s narrative power: “The novel is the epic of an age in which the extensive

totality of life is no longer directly given, in which the immanence of meaning in life has become a problem, yet which still thinks in terms of totality” (*Theory* 56). The novel’s purpose as a narrative form, according to Lukács, is therefore “by giving form, to uncover and construct the concealed totality of life” (*Theory* 60).

The novel is characterised by several other features, but in accordance with Joyce’s novels, only its linguistic heterogeneity and its focus on the socially informed subjective experience will be explored thoroughly. E. M. Forster in his *Aspects of the Novel* (1927) analyses the novel in terms of story, people, plot, fantasy, prophecy, pattern, and rhythm. This structuralist approach to the novel is useful in understanding the basic elements that make up the form. The fictional narrative that ascertains the reality effect via fictionality, the literary language employed to delve into the minds of the characters, character development that is crucial to the form’s content-wise depth, and the length required to convey the complexities of modern life are all some of the universal elements that distinguish the novel from other literary forms. Both Forster’s unifying approach and all the other prevalent definitions of the novel, however, fall short in conveying the elasticity of the form. The novel is a literary form that undercuts all strict definitions since it is a form which inherently expands itself each time it is written. Its transformative power is what make the novel a novel attempt. The form of the novel is dubbed as a “spongy tract” by Forster because it is like a sponge that soaks up everything it comes into contact with (19). Its inherent tendency for heterogeneity reveals the novel’s hybrid, changing, and adaptive nature which is bound up with its continuity as a narrative form. Lukács explains that “the novel, in contrast to other genres whose existence resides within the finished form, appears as something in process of becoming (*Theory* 72-3). Because of its breadth in reflecting the complexities of modern life, the novel’s “victories were mainly due to its encroachments on the neighboring territories it surreptitiously infiltrated, gradually colonizing almost all of literature” (Robert 57-58). The novel is a vampiric form that lives off of other literary forms to nourish itself because it needs those other forms to reflect the complicated nature of modern life.

Marthe Robert argues that “[u]nlike traditional forms whose excessive regularity is not only subjected to prescriptions and proscriptions but is actually created by them, the novel knows neither rule nor restraint. Open to every possibility, its

boundaries fluctuate in all directions (58). The novel's indeterminacy stems from this fluctuation, but it is not an aimless wandering of sorts. Robert explains this by stating that "the novel is no better nor worse than reality. But neither is it a pointless imitation of reality. For if reality is permanently beyond its reach, nevertheless it has access to it at one crucial point and that is in its endeavor to transform it (66-67). The novel is indeed rooted in reality not as vis-à-vis representation per se, but as a tool to transform that reality and show how different its receptions can be by different subjectivities. Thus, the novel asserts its own legitimacy in itself as "an indeterminacy, a certain semantic openendedness, a living contact with unfinished, still-evolving contemporary reality (the openended present)" (Bakhtin, "Epic" 7). Bakhtin further explains that "[i]n the process of becoming the dominant genre, the novel sparks the rejuvenation of all other genres, it infects them with its spirit of process and inconclusiveness" ("Epic" 7). The novel is thus characterized by its open-endedness: it is always in the process of becoming and it is never in its finished form. This makes the novel a heterogeneous and a hungry form, desiring more all the time in terms of language and content in accordance with changing realities.

The novel's linguistic and formal heterogeneity cannot be tackled without Mikhail Bakhtin's theories of dialogism, heteroglossia, and polyphony. All these related phenomena distinguish the novel from other genres and give it dominance that encompasses other literary forms. Dialogism is an umbrella term in that encapsulates other important terms in Bakhtin's analysis of the novel and literature in general. It refers to the principle that every utterance is registered and conveyed through interaction, in dialogue with everything else. Michael Holquist explains dialogism as follows:

Everything means, is understood, as a part of a greater whole—there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others. Which will affect the other, how it will do so and in what degree is what is actually settled at the moment of utterance. This dialogic imperative, mandated by the pre-existence of the language world relative to any of its current inhabitants, ensures that there can be no actual monologue. (426)

This relativist understanding between language and the world emphasizes the social aspect of language and every utterance becomes meaningful only in relation with other utterances. Thus, dialogism signals an inter-relational web of ties that unites utterances with their social roots since “the very presence of utterance is historically and socially significant” (Bakhtin and Medvedev 120). Bakhtin discusses dialogism mostly in the context of Fyodor Dostoevsky’s novels in his *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics* (1963) and *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (1981). Dialogic works continue the conversation between all the other works before it, creating a continuous line of intertextuality. In this respect, Bakhtin’s ideas share a resemblance with the ones in T.S. Eliot’s influential article “Tradition and the Individual Talent” (1919). Eliot argues that a literary work is indebted to the other works before it, but distinguishes itself in certain aspects, continuing the long line of tradition and changing it at the same time. In itself, a dialogic work includes multiple voices to reflect the multi-layered nature of its social conditioning. For Bakhtin, a literary work is “a site for the dialogic interaction of multiple voices, or modes of discourse, each of which is not merely a verbal but a social phenomenon, and as such is the product of manifold determinants that are specific to a class, social group, and speech community” (Abrams 86). Dialogic works, as opposed to monologic works which convey the authorial voice of the writer, subordinating all the other voices in the text, proceed in the form a dialogue that takes into account the various viewpoints stemming from different social and ideological positions.

The terms heteroglossia and polyphony complement dialogism in this respect. Heteroglossia—“translated from the Russian *raznorechie*, meaning ‘different speechness’” (Murfin and Ray 76)—is defined as the “base condition governing the operation of meaning in an utterance” (Holquist 428). According to Bakhtin, languages are themselves viewpoints because they reflect, with variations in themselves, different social and ideological stances. Heteroglossia ensures the “primacy of context over text. At any given time, in any given place, there will be a set of conditions—social, historical, meteorological, physiological that will insure that a word uttered in that place and at that time will have a meaning different than it would have under any other conditions” (Holquist 428). In this respect, heteroglossia guarantees that a literary work’s semantics is bound up with its extra-textual conditions, namely, its social and

ideological conditioning. With heteroglossia, Bakhtin emphasizes “the larger ideological heterogeneity within which dialogic relations are established” (Hale 449). Language’s ability to contain various voices and discourses in it is also what makes it polyphonic. A polyphonic work is a work that includes many voices and viewpoints as opposed to a one which is composed of a single, authorial and monologic voice trying to harmonize different voices according to itself. Bakhtin sees Dostoevsky’s novels as comprised of “plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousnesses, a genuine polyphony of fully valid voices” (*Problems* 22). In short, a dialogic work is dialogic because it is polyphonic, and these different voices correspond to various social and ideological positions, making up the heteroglossia in a literary work.

For Bakhtin, the novel is the genre *par excellence* because it is inherently dialogic and polyphonic. Bakhtin defines the novel as “a diversity of social speech types (sometimes even diversity of languages) and a diversity of individual voices, artistically organized” (“Discourse” 262). His dialogic understanding of language, its ties to social positions, and the “many-voiced” nature of social relationships enabled by language constitute Bakhtin’s theory of the novel. As can be seen, Bakhtin’s theory of the novel operates on two lines: language and sociality. For Bakhtin, “the novel is nothing other than a complex sociolinguistic performance that displays heteroglossia as the constitutive quality of human sociality, in the past as well as the present” (Hale 453). Language, by being spoken, reflects social positions, changes temporalities, and in turn is affected by the changes in the social world.

Language and its social roots are two building blocks of the novel according to Bakhtin and support the idea that the novel is inherently a social-literary genre both in terms of its birth and its development. His primary criterion for the novel genre is its linguistics, specifically sociolinguistics:

For Bakhtin, the novel’s generic distinctiveness lies exactly in its generic promiscuity, its ability to fashion itself out of and in relation to extra-literary discourses such as letters, newspaper articles, historical documents, autobiographies, religious confessions, as well as other artistic discourses—lyric poetry, the epic, even visual arts such as illustration, painting, and photography. In this discursive hybridity lies the novel’s authentic social

realism. According to Bakhtin, the novel does not artfully mimic or simulate reality through language. Like Watt, Bakhtin believes that the novel's generic form actually reproduces the structure of perception—but for Bakhtin the structure of perception is not based in empirical individualism but in linguistic sociality. The novel's heteroglossia is for Bakhtin no more and no less than a social act of language that communicates the linguistic sociality of human life itself. (Hale 449-450)

The novel's hybridity, for Bakhtin, is both a formal one that reflects the genre's elasticity and a linguistic one that stems from the social diversity of human life. Ian Watt proposes the term "formal realism" as the distinguishing feature of the novel, and it is largely based on the idea that the novel is a realistic account of an individual's life. This realist effect is maintained, according to Watt, through the novel's narrative technique and its form. On the other hand, Bakhtin sees the linguistic, and therefore, social diversity of the genre as its primary distinctive feature. The novel enacts this diversity through heteroglossia, dialogism, and polyphony which are all rooted in social phenomena. Bakhtin writes that "[f]orm and content in discourse are one, once we understand that verbal discourse is a social phenomenon [...]" ("Discourse" 259). Bakhtin's emphasis on the social aspect of the novel's linguistics is crucial because it highlights the importance of the social and historical aspect of its conception. He states that

[a]ny stylistics capable of dealing with the distinctiveness of the novel as a genre must be a sociological stylistics. The internal social dialogism of novelistic discourse requires the concrete social context of discourse to be exposed, to be revealed as the force that determines its entire stylistic structure, its "form" and its "content," determining it not from without, but from within; for indeed, social dialogue reverberates in all aspects of discourse, in those relating to "content" as well as the "formal" aspects themselves. ("Discourse" 300)

The social context of the novel, therefore, is not the background of the novel, or merely "the content", but it is what gives the novel its unique form in the first place by revealing the linguistics of its distinct time and place.

As Bakhtin's theories of dialogism, heteroglossia, and polyphony show, the novel is not solely characterized by linguistic heterogeneity and formal elasticity. Different from other literary genres and forms, the novel situates its characters in a larger-than-itself world and focuses on its sociality. The emphasis on the character is, thus, neither cut off from the social and historical roots nor turned into a purely subjective ontology. The novel's ability to articulate the complexity of social change in various discourses enables us to take "novelistic narrative as historical explanation" or narrative as social discourse (McKeon 212). The narrative structure of the romance genre consisting of implausible set of events that is detached from the historical and everyday reality of the 18th century was "first and most fully challenged by the novel, whose primary criterion was truth to individual experience—individual experience which is always unique and therefore new" (Watt 366). Therefore, the novel as a form conveys that social shift from feudalism to capitalism and becomes the embodiment of that shift through "novelistic narrative as historical explanation" or narrative as social discourse (McKeon 212).

Bakhtin also stressed that the novel "is determined by experience, knowledge and practice (the future) ("Epic" 15). Characters in a novel epistemologically grow and learn through experience that are conveyed by subjective points of view and through gaining knowledge as a result of those experiences. What is more, the knowledge gained is put into practice and thus determines the future of the character. This "force and persuasiveness given by the novel as a genre to individual points of view" adds a relativising effect to the novel under which all the different points of view are gathered (Hale 449). The character development in the novel is the result of this process in which the individual and the social intersect and shape each other.

The novel as a form and a literary genre, distinguishes itself with its individualistic *and* social nature, which grants it the freedom to reflect, play with, criticize, approve, or reject any given forms of reality in detail. Thus, the novel's insistence on individuality is, therefore, not a sign of detachment from history, ideology or politics; on the contrary, characters in the novel are *deliberately* situated in specific historical and ideological backgrounds so as to explain their subjectivities. This social dependency is not manifested only through the novel's content. Just as Watt's theory of formal realism explains, the form of the novel is a testament to its

sociality. Jesse Matz writes that “[t]he form of the novel itself compels social engagement (as other forms of art perhaps do not) and it is important to stress the difference this built-in sociality has made in the history of modern fiction (224). This is in line with what contemporary Marxist critics mean by the co-dependency of form and content in a literary work, especially in the novel genre. The novel is a part of a larger ideological structure, but its ability to transform reality and finding imaginary solutions to non-fictional social problems by its very form distance it from that ideology and help rewrite the historical and ideological pathways of its time.

1.3.1. The Modernist Novel

The novel has remained the most central genre in the whole tradition of literary modernism for a number of reasons. Because of its expandability, the philosophical background of modernism can be seen enacted on the pages in the modernist novel. The prominent writers of the modernist novel—Virginia Woolf (*The Voyage Out*, *Mrs. Dalloway*, *To the Lighthouse*, *Orlando: A Biography*, *The Waves*), Dorothy Richardson (*Pilgrimage*), Gertrude Stein (*Three Lives*, *The Making of Americans*), Wyndham Lewis (*Tarr*), Ford Madox Ford (*The Good Soldier*), Franz Kafka (*The Trial*, *The Castle*), James Joyce (*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Ulysses*, *Finnegans Wake*), D. H. Lawrence (*Sons and Lovers*, *The Rainbow*, *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*), and Marcel Proust (*In Search of Lost Time*)—sought to transform the novel genre into a more complex indicator of the changing world and its sensibilities. In terms of periodization, the modernist novel’s roots can be found in the works of Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880) and Henry James (1843-1916) who tried to improve the conventional realist style of writing by inscribing psychological depth into the narrative (Childs 75). Jesse Matz states that “[t]he modern novel then reaches its apotheosis just after the First World War, with a set of revolutionary modernist texts, most notably James Joyce’s *Ulysses* (1922)” and it “begins to die out in the 1930s, breathes its last gasp in the first moments of the Second World War (perhaps with the last works of Joyce and Woolf, *Finnegans Wake* [1939] and *Between the Acts* [1941]) and lies dead and buried by the time of the postmodern developments of the 1960s and beyond” (216, 218).

Bradbury and McFarlane pinpoint “four great preoccupations” of the modernist novel: complexities of its form, its inward turn to the workings of the mind, the messy nature of lived experience and the fragmentation of the narrative (393). Many features of literary modernism—narrative fragmentation, multiple point of views, exploration of the mind with stream of consciousness, unreliable and open-ended narration, and linguistic experimentation—were materialized in the modernist novel. Gasiorek writes that literary modernists were

preoccupied with questions of perception, knowledge, subjectivity, and language, investigating these issues in ways that altered the forms and structures of their texts. Seeing realism as an unwarrantedly stable and epistemologically confident narrative mode, they developed novelistic forms that were fragmented, deployed multiple viewpoints, emphasised the subjective nature of experience, disrupted narrative chronology, drew attention to the fictive nature of their narrative procedures, experimented with language, and, by refusing the comforts of closure, remained steadfastly open-ended. (6)

Modernist novelists, thus, departed from their dissatisfaction with realist modes of narration that proved inadequate to convey the changing reality. In the same vein, Stephen Kern in *The Modernist Novel: A Critical Introduction* (2012) identifies changes in the following components in the modernist novel: character, event, space, time, framework, text, and narrator. He argues that the modernist novel distinguishes itself with its “absent protagonists, fragmented characters, ‘trivial’ events, probabilistic causality, weak plots, literary impressionism, stream of consciousness, repetition of traumas and epiphanies, in medias res beginnings, unresolved endings, abstract and surreal styles, singular focalization, embedded focalization, and unreliable narrators” (2). All these features of the modernist novel can be read as reactions to the unstable modern world and the modernist novel has helped to communicate the transformative experiences that humanity went through in detail.

The epistemology of the modernist novel stems from its reaction to modernity and along with it the rendering of reality in new ways. The realist novels of the previous century held onto direct representation of life which mirrors reality as it is in a compound and orderly way. The experience of reality that changed with modernity was at the core of the modernist novel as Jesse Matz explains:

[...] the novel inherited by the moderns [...] seemed essentially traditional—slow, staid, set, and so unable to match the flux, the bewilderment, the excitement that now defined modern life. Therefore the moderns tried to “make it new” by trading the novel’s regular forms for experimental forms of flux, perplexity, openness, skepticism, freedom, and horror. They replaced omniscience with fixed or fallible perspectives, broke their chapters into fragments, made sex explicit, and dissolved their sentences into the streams and flows of interior psychic life. Time and space dissolved as well, as did any faith that the world’s appearances could reflect its realities, or that “objective” truths existed. (215)

The changes in the perception of reality, therefore, not only changed its transmission on the pages of the modernist novel but also affected how the novel is structured. Matz further argues that “[f]aster, fragmentary writing could not only make fiction feel more like life itself, but perhaps also encourage the sort of nimble thoughts and feelings readers might need to thrive amid modernity’s tumultuous effects” (218). The modernist novel’s relationship with reality was as complex as its other features and modernists themselves questioned this relationship at various points. Henry James in his influential essay “The Art of Fiction” (1884), for example, suggests that the novel is characterized by its tracing of human life in its complexity. Jeff Wallace writes that according to James, “a novel’s ‘air of reality’ is a function of its ability to recognize that human life is immense and various, and to catch ‘the very note and trick, the strange irregular rhythm of life’” (16). Woolf, another modernist novelist who wrote on the art of fiction, asks in her essay “Modern Fiction” (1919): “Is life like this? Must novels be like this?” (85). Woolf was clearly prompting readers to think about the modernist novel and its occupation with conveying the changing reality. In her other influential essay “Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown” (1924), Woolf was criticizing the realist writers of her times such as Arnold Bennett and John Galsworthy: “Mr. Bennett says that it is only if the characters are real that the novel has any chance of surviving. Otherwise, die it must. But, I ask myself, what is reality? And who are the judges of reality?” (8). With these philosophical explorations into the nature of the modernist novel, Woolf “established a powerful story of how the modern novel transcended the

empirical niceties of early twentieth-century realism” by exploring the complexities and subjectivities of the modern life (Castle, “Introduction” 2).

There are several points that the realism of the modernist novel distinguishes itself from its predecessor of the 19th century realism. Deborah Parsons in *Theorists of the Modernist Novel: James Joyce, Dorothy Richardson and Virginia Woolf* (2007) suggests that the modernist novel

diverges from the classical realist novel in two main ways. First, although it still aims at the direct representation of human experience, it differs in its understanding of what constitutes that experience. Second, it is sceptical about the possibility of communicating this experience objectively, and therefore denies any obligation to provide the reader with descriptive or ‘external’ detail about character, time and place. (53)

The content of the human experience was the first thing that changed with the modernist understanding of reality. In line with this, the way that this experience is firstly acquired and then conveyed was also a substantial point for the modernists as the novel’s form altered to accommodate this change. It is critical to note that the modernist novel transforms from a form that has to convince readers of its realistic totality as in Watt’s formal realism into a form that has no obligation to provide external details to prove its authenticity. This shift marks the difference of the modernist novel from its predecessors.

Gregory Castle explains the difference between the 19th century realism and the modernist treatment of reality in the following fashion: “What sets the modernist apart from the nineteenth-century realist novelist, for whom the world of the novel maps nearly seamlessly with the world of representation, is that realism becomes a tactic or a technique, a style among others [...] in which mimesis both mirrors a specific social order and legitimizes the ideology behind it” (“Introduction” 5). While the 19th century realism sought to achieve totality in its rendition of reality, the modernist novel chose the opposite path and broke down this totality by perceiving reality as fragments. It uses realism as a technique, not as a closed, final way of communicating reality. Castle further argues that “[i]f nineteenth-century realism dialectically integrates art and life, narrative and social experience, then modernist realism seeks to scuttle this integration through tactics of defamiliarization and

misrecognition that accentuate the struggle against totality and open the novel to a more inclusive view of everyday life” (“Introduction” 6). Fragmented narrative structure, unreliable narration, and open-ended narrative are the results of this resistance to totality reinforced by the realist tradition of the 19th century. Thus, it can be said that the modernist novel was not against realism itself; what it rejected was the way it is narrated in fiction. The experimental strain of the whole movement testifies to its conspicuous relationship with realism and its struggle to narrate it differently. Castle claims that “the modernist novel was always in an experimental mode and it was always engaged with realism, and in this double-barreled way it sought narrative access to the Real (i.e., to the irreducible materiality of lived experience) and to the temporal and geographic coordinates of our experience of it (“Introduction” 3). Therefore, the point of the modernist novel “is not to achieve resemblance” to reality “but rather to register in language and literary form the lived experience of the present [...]” (Castle, “Introduction” 7).

The modernist novel changed how reality is experienced in modern times through its experimental language use and narrative structure. Modernists pushed the limits of language through word plays, extensive use of rhetorical devices such as irony, parody, and pastiche because the language of traditional realism was too orderly to communicate new experiences. Modernism’s tendency to play with the conventions of language, grammar and prose reflects its emphasis on language’s inability to show the complicated reality of life and its inherent ambivalence where words mean what they mean arbitrarily with no prior arrangement. Joyce, for example, bends the rules of grammar and proper use of English in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* by coining new portmanteau words (*winedark*, *scrotumtightening*, *bullockbefriending*, *shamewounded*)²² and conveying sounds and thoughts through lexical deviations (*roaring* wayawayawayawayaway, *Bababadalgharaghtakamminarronkonnbronntonnerronntuonnthunntrovarrhounaw nskawntooohooordenenthurnuk*)²³.

Narrative structure of the modernist novel was also a reaction to the past forms of closed and tidy narratives where all the loose ends of the story are brought together

²² All from *Ulysses*; 3.394, 1.78, 2.431, and 3.422 respectively.

²³ *U* 3.403-4 and *FW* 4 respectively.

at the end in a logical way. David Lodge discusses the narrative structure of the modernist novels as follows:

Frequently, [...], a modern novel has no real “beginning”, since it plunges us into a flowing stream of experience with which we gradually familiarize ourselves by a process of inference and association; its ending is usually “open” or ambiguous, leaving the reader in doubt as to the characters’ final destiny. Lastly, modern fiction eschews the straight chronological ordering of its material, and the use of a reliable, omniscient and intrusive narrator. It employs, instead, either a single, limited point of view, or multiple viewpoints, all more or less limited and fallible; and it tends toward a complex or fluid handling of time, involving much cross-reference back and forward across the temporal span of the action. (481)

The modernist novel does not always pinpoint a beginning in the narrative to hold onto since the stream of experiences is what it wants to highlight rather than the strictly ordered and sensible chronology of events. Endings are also open-ended in order to leave upon the reader the impression that sometimes nothing reaches to a conclusion and the only thing we are left with is the loose ends of experiences without closure. In line with this, the narrators of modernist novels are also not the conventional communicators. They are unreliable, contradictory and sometimes do not know how to proceed or narrate events. John Dowell, the protagonist of *The Good Soldier: A Tale of Passion* by Ford Madox Ford, frequently shares his ignorance/amnesia with the reader by uttering “I don’t know”: “I don’t know; I don’t know; was that last remark of hers the remark of a harlot, or is it what every decent woman, county family or not county family, thinks at the bottom of her heart? Or thinks all the time for the matter of that? Who knows?” (39) and “I don’t know how it is best to put this thing down—whether it would be better to try and tell the story from the beginning, as if it were a story; or whether to tell it from this distance of time, as it reached me from the lips of Leonora or from those of Edward himself” (41-2). This inability to convey meaning is a modernist trait that typifies distrust in language, establishing the fact that it is not enough to show the reality of experiences.

Some modernist novels, such as William Faulkner’s *The Sound and The Fury* (1929), have multiple narrators, which complicates the narrative even further.

“Character lost coherence as a result,” writes Matz, “unified selves fragmented into such a welter of perceptions, motives, memories, and desires that fictional people ceased to have the fixed, standard ‘qualities’ that had made them engaging and memorable in the novels of the past” (220-221). With modernism, characters that have stable, rigid, and compact identities left their place to characters with unstable and conflicting identities whose formations are the results of the experience of modernity. Moreover, modernist novels, together with experimental language use and narrative techniques such as stream of consciousness, focuses on subjective time, that is, how characters experience time, rather than tracing what happened chronologically. There are flashbacks and pauses, which contribute to the complex temporalities of the genre. Woolf’s *Mrs. Dalloway* makes extensive use of flashbacks where the characters Clarissa Dalloway and Septimus Smith go back in their minds to cherished or traumatic memories to deal with present reality. Both unreliable and complex narrators and the non-linear temporality of the novel relate to how reality is perceived and conveyed in modernist novels.

The changing experience of reality could only be conveyed through the mind of the characters in the modernist novel. With Freud’s ground-breaking ideas of the human mind and the unconscious, modernist fiction was inevitably drawn to the complex portrayal of consciousness. Jesse Matz explains that “[c]onsciousness is the modern novel’s signature field of play, not only because of the modern writer’s interest in personal and subjective experience, but in response to what new discoveries in psychology had revealed about the workings of the human mind” (220). The changes in the human character that Woolf wrote about required new techniques of writing that would delve into the very depths of the human mind. Stream of consciousness emerged as a prominent technique to translate the flow of the mind on the pages and became one of the distinguishing features of the modernist novel. Stream of consciousness is a “phrase used by William James in his *Principles of Psychology* (1890) to describe the unbroken flow of perceptions, memories, thoughts, and feelings in the waking mind; it has since been adopted to describe a narrative method in modern fiction” (Abrams and Harpham 380). Stream of consciousness allows the reader to delve into the mind of the characters and trace how they see and experience the world. The use of memories with flashbacks and the emphasis on unmediated feelings and experiences

make stream of consciousness a powerful technique for introspection. Reading a character's mental processes, "in which sense perceptions mingle with conscious and half-conscious thoughts, memories, expectations, feelings, and random associations" foregrounds the type of experiential, dynamic and ambiguous subjectivity that the modernist novel relied on (Abrams and Harpham 380). Early on in *Ulysses*, in the "Proteus" chapter, we follow Stephen Dedalus as he takes a walk on Sandymount Strand:

Ineluctable modality of the visible: at least that if no more, thought through my eyes. Signatures of all things I am here to read, seaspawn and seawrack, the nearing tide, that rusty boot. Snotgreen, bluesilver, rust: coloured signs. Limits of the diaphane. But he adds: in bodies. Then he was aware of them bodies before of them coloured. How? By knocking his scone against them, sure. Go easy. Bald he was and a millionaire, *maestro di color che sanno*. Limit of the diaphane in. Why in? Diaphane, adiaphane. If you can put your five fingers through it it is a gate, if not a door. Shut your eyes and see. (31)

Here, Stephen's thoughts jump from philosophical musings on the nature of things to the objects and the environment in sight and from there to Aristotle ("bald he was and a millionaire, *maestro di color che sanno*") (Gifford and Seidman 45). The stream of his consciousness is cut by himself asking questions and then providing answers. Such dynamic processes of thinking filled with half thoughts and associations are abundant in *Ulysses* and indeed a hallmark of the novel.

Interior monologue is a subtype of stream of consciousness technique the modernist novelists frequently employed. It "presents thoughts, emotions, and sensations as experienced by the character, revealing the operation of the psyche at a pre- or sublinguistic level, where images and the connotations they evoke may supplant the literal denotative meanings of words" (Murfin and Ray 134). Interior monologue can be direct or indirect. Direct interior monologue is the uninterrupted and unmediated presentation of consciousness whereas in indirect interior monologue "the author combines direct interior monologue with third-person narration, providing some context for the character's mental flow through commentary and description" (Murfin and Ray 135). The consciousness, thus, still comes directly but in some sort of, however minimal, a frame by the narrator. Transitions from "he/she said" to "I

said” in the same passage frequently occur. This is also called free indirect speech or free indirect discourse in which “the reports of what a character says and thinks shift in pronouns, adverbs, tense, and grammatical mode, as we move—or sometimes hover—between the direct narrated representation of these events as they occur to the character and the indirect representation of such events by the narrator of the story” (Abrams and Harpham 233). The representations of consciousness in the modernist novel, therefore, are as varied and precarious as the dynamics of the mind. In Virginia Woolf’s *To The Lighthouse*, free indirect discourse dominates the narrative: “About here, she thought, dabbling her fingers in the water, a ship had sunk, and she murmured, dreamily half asleep, how we perished, each alone” (112). The narration begins as a third person narration with a third person omniscient narrator conveying what “she thought,” but then while communicating what she murmured “dreamily half asleep” the consciousness of the character infects the narration with “how we perished” (emphasis mine) (112). The transition from the personal pronoun “she” to “we” is an indication of the free indirect discourse operating in the passage.

Stephen Kern explains that “[w]hile realists located stability in the outer world of public institutions—marriage, family, respectability, justice, wealth, nation, and religion—modernists located stability where those institutions were constructed in the mind. As those institutions lost the authority of abiding, if not timeless, frameworks, they were replaced by the subjective frameworks of individual consciousness” (72). The modernist emphasis on the workings of the mind is again the combined result of modernists’ reaction to modernity, their search for new forms of communicating experiences, and their desire to convey the changing sensibilities of the new modern human. For modernists, all these innovations could not be performed in old forms of literature in which certain conventions limit the desired effects. These new sensibilities required new literary forms where modernist writers have inevitably conveyed their ideologies and politics.

1.4. The Politics of Literary Form

As outlined above, the modernist novel brought form and content together by treating the subject matter—modern alienation, subjectivity, changing sentiments and experiences—with specific formal experiments in which all the technical aspects of

the narrative, such as the narrator, form, and point of view, are subverted against traditionally realist narratives. Form has diverse meanings and applications, but with the concept of form here, I mean the structure of a literary work that gives away how its various parts are organized in parallel with its content. Content encompasses the work's subject matter, ideas, and themes represented with which the meaning of a work is generated. My understanding of form, and the one that will be analysed in this study based on Joyce's novels, is organic form that grows out of the relationship between various parts of the narrative, as opposed to mechanic form: organic form "privileges the whole, emphasizing the assimilation and interdependence of component parts and the unity of form and content" whereas "mechanic form depends more heavily on tradition. Organic form is often analogized to the growth or development of a living organism; mechanic form to the use of a preconceived or preexisting mold" (Murfin and Ray 82). Most literary critics agree that form is not external to the content, not "a fixed container, like a bottle, into which the 'content' or 'subject matter' of a work is poured" and they emphasise the dialectical interrelatedness of form, style, content, and language of a literary work (Abrams and Harpham 135).

Moreover, form does not only refer to the narrative genre of a text, for example, whether it is a novel, prose, poetry, drama etc. Along with the genre, the genre's linguistic conventions and subversions of these conventions also contribute to our understanding of form. That is why the term form encapsulates both the genre of a text and its linguistic components or variations of these components in this study. Joyce's *Ulysses*, for example, is a fragmentary, heterogeneous, and polyphonic novel in which certain linguistic devices, such as parody, complement its form and transform the text into a socially symbolic act that reflects and criticizes the political and historical atmosphere of the time it was written in. Epiphany in *A Portrait* and the cyclical narrative form in *Finnegans Wake* do the same and inform the political semantics of the novels.

Form vs content debate is not a modern literary issue, but for the sake of brevity, I will try to trace it with modern literary approaches only: New Critical (formalist), structuralist, Russian formalist, and Marxist. New Critics adopted a formalist approach to literary works and argued that the form of a text cannot be

separated from its content or meanings. While emphasising the organic nature of a literary work, New Critics were much more interested in the formal side of a text and executed close readings to reveal the formal elements of a work by looking at rhythm, irony, tone, and ambiguity. Structuralists treated the text as a structure which consists of different formal units coming together to make up the text. Content, in a structuralist point of view, is generated by how these units are governed by certain different and more general structures in language and literature. It can be argued that while New Critics were concerned with the text alone, structuralists went beyond the text to look for governing and overarching phenomena to find commonalities and differences within structures. Russian formalists, “for whom content is merely a function of form” founded their core arguments on the distinction between literary language and ordinary language (Eagleton, *Marxism* 22). They believed that “literary devices, which they viewed as ‘deviations’ from everyday speech, make the foregrounding of language possible and thus studied the special rhythmic patterns, syntax, structure, imagery, and so forth that distinguish a literary work from other written or spoken discourse” (Murfin and Ray 90). Thus, they privileged form and language as a way of achieving literariness, which is the only feature that distinguishes a literary work from any other written text.

Marxist literary criticism holds a dialectical point of view on the debate of form vs content. Raymond Williams, in his influential book *Marxism and Literature* (1977), writes that according to social theories of literature like Marxist literary criticism, “form is inevitably a relationship. Form depends [...] on its perception as well as its creation. Like every other communicative element [...] it is always in this sense a social process which [...] becomes a social product” (187). Williams’s ideas highlight the social perspective of form not only as a finished literary product but also as a process which necessarily passes from certain receptions in society. Contemporary Marxist literary critics Terry Eagleton and Fredric Jameson see literary form as more than a combination of some technical elements. In *Marxism and Form* (1971), Jameson argues that “[t]he adequation of content to form [...] is in the long run one of the most precious indices to its realization in the historical moment itself, and indeed form is itself but the working out of content in the realm of the superstructure” (329). Thus, form becomes, in Jamesonian criticism, the place where the content is handled and

expanded upon in aesthetic terms that inherently have social and political meanings. Jameson further extrapolates that “critics need to concentrate on the form of literature as much as the content, that form is not a mere ‘trapping’ of the work of art but embodies powerful ideological messages” (Roberts 3). This is also the key point in *The Political Unconscious* which discusses that *how* a narrative is constructed is often more revealing about the text’s hidden historical and political meanings than *what* the content means on the surface. According to Jameson, in narratives, “formal patterns” are “a symbolic enactment of the social within the formal and the aesthetic” (PU 63). Rather than seeing form as an empty container of political or social content, Jameson approaches the form vs content issue dialectically and asserts that “genre is essentially a socio-symbolic message, or in other terms, that form is immanently and intrinsically an ideology in its own right” (PU 127).

The same sentiments have been voiced by Terry Eagleton, another important Marxist critic, especially in his *Marxism and Literary Criticism* (1976) and *Criticism and Ideology* (1976). Both works focus on “how history—in the form of ‘general,’ ‘authorial,’ and ‘aesthetic’ ideology—enters texts, which in turn may revivify, open up, or critique those same ideologies, setting in motion a process that may alter history” (Murfin and Ray 77). The transformative power the narrative form as aesthetic ideology holds can have an altering effect on history and ideology from which it springs. Eagleton follows Leon Trotsky here who argues that “[t]he relation between form and content (the latter is to be understood not simply as a ‘theme’ but as a living complex of moods and ideas which seek artistic expression) is determined by the fact that a new form is discovered, proclaimed and developed under the pressure of an inner need, of a collective psychological demand, which [...] has its roots in society” (91). According to Eagleton, forms “crystallize out of certain dominant ideological structures” but do not passively reflect those historical frameworks:

In selecting a form, then, the writer finds his choice already ideologically circumscribed. He may combine and transmute forms available to him from a literary tradition, but these forms themselves, as well as his permutation of them, are ideologically significant. The languages and devices a writer finds to hand are already saturated with certain ideological modes of perception, certain codified ways of interpreting reality; and the extent to which he can

modify or remake those languages depends on more than his personal genius. It depends on whether at that point in history, 'ideology' is such that they must and can be changed. (*Marxism* 25)

As the historical survey of the novel shows, it is always-already an ideological narrative form, and modernist novel, of which Joyce produced the best examples, punctuates the importance of creating new forms within the novel genre through experiments in style and language that could reflect and transform ideological necessities of its time. Consequently, for Marxist literary critics, while the content carries ideological and historical instances and meanings, the form is also historical and ideological in that it is a response to the social formations of its time, which has transformative potential to change those historical and ideological imperatives in the aesthetic realm.

The politics of modernist form, and of modernism as a movement, however, did not always receive such favourable critiques from Marxists. The movement and the modernist novel have been criticized for being elitist, bourgeois, and detached from historical and political consciousness. It was said to be built upon "form" only for the sake of "making it new," without any depth in content. One of these critics was the Hungarian Marxist György Lukács for whom modernism failed in its aim to represent the realities of its time and focused too much on the individual and its psyche, ignoring the historical and the political. In "Ideology of Modernism," he claims that modernism is anti-realist (142) and it negates history (154). He "condemned Modernism not only as an evasion of the moral-political imperative of engagement with the life of society, but also as the ultimate representation of, or capitulation to, the alienation and dehumanization ('reification') resulting from capitalism's cultural distortions" (DeKoven 175). He championed realist fiction which reflects reality as is because it is the only way fiction can position itself as a political and ideological work of art. The use of realist techniques grants a writer the opportunity to present "totality," an important narratological element for Lukács. He stated that

[i]f literature is a particular form by means of which objective reality is reflected, then it becomes of crucial importance for it to grasp that reality as it truly is, and not to confine itself to reproducing whatever manifests itself immediately and on the surface. If a writer strives to represent reality as it truly

is, i.e. if he is an authentic realist, then the question of totality plays a decisive role, no matter how the writer actually conceives the problem intellectually. (“Realism” 33)

His insistence on taking exact verisimilitude to life as the basis for realist fiction that is absolute and total is essentialist in the sense that he recognizes only one form of conveying reality. The precondition of realist fiction for him is the narratological dissemination of the totality of life which focuses on the whole reality objectively without delving much into the trivial and the subjective. Modernist fiction’s open-endedness and its emphasis on subjective experiences of reality is, for Lukács, the indicator of its interest in the surface appearances. Jameson criticizes him on this account and states that “he oversimplifies and deproblematizes a complicated and interesting situation by ignoring the Utopian vocation of the newly reified sense,” meaning that the newly emerged modernist form has had a transformative effect on the understanding of reality it is based on (*PU* 48). The individualizing effect of modernist fiction is, therefore, not an anti-realism per se, but the example of a concrete, living and breathing reality reflected from a perspective that can have imaginary solutions, however symbolically, to problems that arise from that reality itself. Jameson “sees in modernist techniques a defensive ‘repression’ of an increasingly unbearable history. Critical decoding of modernist texts brings their repressed contents to the surface, revealing the hidden ‘political unconscious’ of the age and giving testimony to a history of suffering increasingly inaccessible to direct representation” (Miller 31). Modernist forms, therefore, bear the mark of this impossibility of direct representation as they increasingly became more experimental with the transformative changes of modernity. Reality in modernist fiction is still the reality it purported to reflect, but in new ways that were appropriate to the changing social and historical sensibilities. It was not that literary modernism has derailed social reality; it created different forms to see that reality from.

As Jameson’s analysis shows, Joyce’s and many other modernists’ works took their roots from the social, historical and political crises in modernity and the forms of their works are what make them political and ideological in the sense that form itself is political in its own literariness. This is voiced by Jacques Rancière in his essay “The Politics of Literature” (2004): “Literature ‘does’ politics as literature—that there is a

specific link between politics as a definite way of doing and literature as a definite practice of writing” (10). He highlights literature’s potential to reflect the *Zeitgeist* of its time: “Literature did not act so much by expressing ideas and wills as it did by displaying the character of a time or a society [...] Literature had become a powerful machine of self-interpretation and self-poeticization of life, converting any scrap of everyday life into a sign of history and any sign of history into a poetical element” (Rancière 18, 23). This demonstration of the *Zeitgeist*, however, is not a passive one in which some cultural and historical references are randomly embedded in the text. The form can also take up on the work of displaying elements of a specific historical atmosphere and show why that particular form, style, and literary language have been selected in the first place. The novel genre, therefore, was an essential form for modernists not just because of its formalistic advantages such as its expandability and heterogeneity, but also of its political and historical extensions stemming from its social roots.

Using narrative form and employing (and subverting) its linguistic conventions as political and ideological criticism are not exclusive to either Joyce or the modernists. Ancient Greeks used both the comedy form and parody as a device in satyr plays to mock tragedies; Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1340s-1400) employed social criticism in *Canterbury Tales* (1392) to introduce the vernacular in the English literary tradition; François Rabelais (born between 1483 and 1494, died in 1553) used satire in his series of books *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1532-1564) to criticize the scholasticism of the Middle Ages; Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) extensively used parody and satire in his *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726) and “A Modest Proposal” (1729); and Henry Fielding (1707-1754) in *Shamela* (1742), which was a parody of *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded* (1740) by Samuel Richardson (1689-1761), used the epistolary narrative form to satirize the whole literary genre and its social and political extensions. What distinguishes Joyce is firstly his way of expanding the genre of the novel by testing its limits through heterogeneity and polyphony—the use of various styles in *Ulysses*, for example—and secondly, his modernist way of subverting certain common linguistic devices such as parody and irony to political ends in order to reflect the ambivalences of his country’s history and politics. Joyce does this in a subtle way without undermining neither the literary aesthetics nor the political criticism embedded in this aesthetics, which is why

it is crucial to uncover the political unconscious of his novels to find out how they, through their forms, are both political criticism and modernist masterpieces.

1.5. Joyce's Modernism

Joyce probably sits at the heart of literary modernism in many forms: as a novelist, a short story writer, an Irish, and an exile. As modernism's history clearly shows, it was a vacillating movement, and this also applies to Joyce as a modernist. His works are counted as the epitome of literary modernism because they embody, and have indeed pioneered, many of literary modernism's hallmarks such as fragmented narrative, experimentation with language and form, and the use of stream of consciousness. *A Portrait* and *Ulysses* use free indirect speech and stream of consciousness extensively to reveal the inner workings of the human mind and Joyce incorporates them in the narrative as the central narrative drive. Declan Kiberd writes that

[b]efore Joyce, no writer of fiction had so foregrounded the process of thinking. The soliloquists of Shakespeare and the nineteenth-century novel were aristocrats considering ultimate questions of death or suicide. Joyce offers the stream-of-consciousness of an ordinary citizen as prelude to nothing more portentous than the drinking of a cup of tea. ("*Ulysses*")

These two novels have rewritten what modernist fiction means by employing the said techniques pervasively and relating them to the daily lives of ordinary people in a specific setting. Moreover, *Ulysses* employs fragmented narrative where different chapters have their own internal formal logic. For example, the "Circe" episode, written as a play script with stage directions, is a dramatic re-enactment of the events in the novel; "Ithaca" is a chapter written in the form of catechism²⁴; and the last chapter "Penelope" is the most extreme written form of stream of consciousness in which Molly Bloom's thoughts flow on the page with no punctuation: the whole chapter consists of eight sentences separated only by paragraph breaks. Lastly, Joyce's experimentation with language and form peaks in *Finnegans Wake* in which the standard English syntax and grammar are abandoned and portmanteau words and puns

²⁴ Catechism is "a manual of religious instruction usually arranged in the form of questions and answers used to instruct the young, to win converts, and to testify to the faith" ("catechism").

freely roam about in a dream narrative. The novel also rejects traditional beginnings and endings since the form of the whole work constitutes a cycle in which the last words recirculate back to the opening lines. Joyce's fiction wants no warrant as to its revolutionary status, "not only in style [...] but in its overall means of structuring fiction," as Joyce "rewrote for modern literature the definition not of a man, or a woman, but of the novel itself" (Stevenson 42).

Joyce's modernist aesthetics cannot be tackled without an inquiry into his use of parody. Parody becomes a powerful literary weapon for Joyce, especially in *Ulysses*, to criticize certain political, ideological, and historical issues without abandoning his modernist and aesthetic concerns. The word parody comes from the ancient Greek word *parōidia*, consisting of the prefix "para-" and the word "ōidē." Therefore, in ancient Greece, *parōidia* meant "counter-song," meaning an imitative song that mocks another by using the latter's defining features (Hutcheon, *Theory* 32). Simon Dentith expands this definition in the following way: "A *parodia* is a narrative poem, of moderate length, in the metre and vocabulary of epic poems, but treating a light, satirical, or mock-heroic subject [...]" (10). Aristophanes's works, for example, which mock Euripides's tragedies, make use of parody by upturning the heroic features of the gods (Dentith 10).

Over the years, parody has come to bear the meaning of "[a] composition in prose or verse in which the characteristic turns of thought and phrase in an author [...] are imitated in such a way as to make them appear ridiculous, especially by applying them to ludicrously inappropriate subjects; an imitation of a work more or less closely modelled on the original, but so turned as to produce a ridiculous effect" (qtd. in Hutcheon, *Theory* 32). A parodical work "deflates the original by applying the imitation to a lowly or comically inappropriate subject" (Abrams and Harpham 38). Simon Dentith provides a more general definition by regarding "any cultural practice which provides a relatively polemical allusive imitation of another cultural production or practice" as parody (9). Regardless of its more specific and literary or general and cultural definitions, two features of parody are foregrounded: the trans-textual relationship between the two texts and the existence of the "ridiculous" or the "comic" effect. Parody is "repetition with critical distance, which marks difference rather than similarity" and it is this appropriation of the difference as criticism that differentiates

parody from pastiche and makes it a valuable cultural tool (Hutcheon, *Theory* 6). The comic effect, on the other hand, stems from “the difference between parodic foreground and parodied background” and intensifies the critical stance that the parody aims (Hutcheon, *Theory* 31). In Bakhtinian terms, parody is a “form of textual dialogism” in which two texts are in dialogue with each other, parody operating “as a method of inscribing continuity while permitting critical distance” (Hutcheon, *Theory* 22, 20)

About parody’s definition(s), Hutcheon argues that “there are probably no transhistorical definitions of parody possible” (*Theory* 10). From the ancient times to the present, parody’s definitions and its range have expanded in accordance with historical and ideological changes. In medieval times, “there was a remarkable range of parodic forms [...], which included direct liturgical parodies [...], allegorical parody, mock saints’ lives, liturgical parodies, and humorous centos” reflecting the critical tendencies of an era overwhelmed by religion (Dentith 49-50). As the medieval age left its place to the humanistic traditions of the Renaissance, the pervading beliefs of the period shifted from religious to anthropocentric. François Rabelais’s parodic works, for example, produced in a transitional climate that encompasses both the Medieval and the Renaissance values, “indicate the presence of carnival in medieval culture; [and] their source is ultimately to be traced therefore to popular cultural energies, which permeate official literate culture from the bottom up” (Dentith 52). With *Don Quixote*, which uses parody extensively to mock chivalric romances, and the development of the novel genre in general, parody became one of the indispensable tools that is employed by novelists as a heterogeneous form.

The novel genre and its climactic appearance in the modernist tradition provided parody with a fertile ground for flourishing. Russian Formalists, for example, prefigured the transformative and regenerative role of parody in modernity. Boris Eikhenbaum argued that “[i]n the evolution of each genre, there are times when its use for entirely serious or elevated objectives degenerates and produces a comic or parodic form. [...] And thus is produced the regeneration of the genre: it finds new possibilities and new forms” (qtd. in Scholes 144). Margaret Rose in her book *Parody//Metafiction* (1979) discusses parody as a “genre that has been described as both a symptom and a critical tool of the modernist episteme” (Hutcheon, *Theory* 2). Thus, the use of parody

in literary modernism can be described as stemming from the reaction against the situation of modernity in the form of criticism. In modernism and beyond, the function of parody has transformed from simple ridicule to extended criticism that does not necessarily focus solely on the parodied text. This entails a shift from using “the parodied text as a target” and using it “as a weapon” to criticize something else, which endows parody with a recontextualising effect (Hutcheon, *Theory* 52). This is what Gérard Genette mentions as parody’s function of “taking up a familiar text literally and giving it a new meaning while playing, if possible and as needed, on the words [...]” (16). Parody, therefore, from modernism onwards, signals a “creative process by which new forms appear to revitalize the traditional” by “open[ing] up new possibilities to the artist” (Hutcheon, *Theory* 50). Margaret Rose explains this situation with the term “refunctioning” which refers to “the new set of functions given to parodied material in the parody and may also entail some criticism of the parodied work” (52). This feature of parody from modernism onwards grants it a critical stance that does not solely operate on the comic element but also on the transformative effect of the parody itself.

Joyce’s employment of the parody functions in line with this modernist understanding of parody that focuses on reworking the parodied text both linguistically, by imitating the parodied text’s style, and contextually, by appropriating the content with the intended criticism. Joycean parody, which can be best seen in *Ulysses*, revolves around the axes of criticism and refashioning of concepts such as nationalism, religion, anti-Semitism, and colonialism, without losing both its aesthetic and political ground. Since Joyce’s parody is not only an imitation but a renegotiation of the parodied topic in terms of a newly transformed understanding, it is often encoded in a transformative criticism that makes use of recontextualization, turning the parodied text into a different set of meanings. Dentith argues that “[m]ore fully parodic is Joyce’s inclusion, in many diverse ways, of more extended scraps of the many discourses circulating in Dublin at the beginning of the century—of nationalism, religion, homely piety, British imperialism, the slangs of journalism, literary criticism and so forth” (86). As Dominick LaCapra states, parody is “not unequivocal signs of disengagement on the part of an apolitical, transcendental ego that floats above historical reality or founders in the abysmal pull of aporia. Rather a certain use of [...]

parody may play a role [...] in the critique of ideology” (128). Therefore, Joyce’s use of parody always entails “social engagement implicit within his aesthetic choices” and underlines the ideological refunctioning effect of his parodies made possible by the appropriation of formal choices and contextual criticism (Burns 4).

Whether it is his experimental use of language or his use of parody, James Joyce has always been at the heart of modernism and indeed his works have defined what literary modernism is. Katherine Mullin writes that “[h]is impact and his influence are such that the term ‘Joycean’ has now become critical shorthand for the exciting, the experimental and the new” (111). However, although the term Joycean immediately brings to mind positive literary connotations, it has, in time, come to imply “impenetrability, bewildering experimentalism, obscurity and inaccessibility,” which are all readily adopted to be the hallmarks of literary modernism (Mullin 99). Thus, the literary tag that has been attached to Joyce’s works has long operated in the traditional view which considers these works high modernist precisely because they were written in an “impenetrable” and “obscure” style. Their “inaccessibility” has long granted them the status of being high modernist writings; yet, in a way, this has become a self-fulfilling prophecy in which the more Joyce’s works are deemed “unreadable” the more they are elevated to the status of high modernist narratives. The centralization of Joyce’s works in modernism resulted firstly in the elitist encapsulation of his writing in form and style, and secondly, in the dismissal of the political and historical content his works contain. Gibson contends that “[t]he possibility that Joyce was in fact a fundamentally Irish writer, that [...] his work was always and everywhere concerned with Irish history, politics and culture, that what was taken to be its modernism originally expressed a specifically Irish-centred agenda, was seldom if ever entertained” (*James Joyce* 13). For Gibson, and other critics who foreground the politics of Joyce’s works, the impetus that carries the modernist strand of his writings is his preoccupation with Ireland and its politics.

Despite his canonization in modernism, as Mullin argues, “Joyce’s centrality should not distract us from the many ways in which he spoke from the periphery of the literary culture he would come to dominate” (99). The unduly “unreadable” tag that has been attached to his works has long prevented the historical and political readings of them that would, in fact, lay bare how Joyce, “the eldest child in a rapidly

increasing and increasingly impoverished Catholic family [...] self-consciously wrestled with questions of poverty, class, faith and nation” (Mullin 99). What Joyce revolutionized through his writings was the modernist work struggling to show its inevitable historical and political form and content. As Mullin argues “Joyce’s aesthetic is [...] ideologically laden, as his art acknowledges its roots in historical and political realities” by the very forms and linguistic styles they employ (102). Joyce himself wrote that his intention in writing *Dubliners* was to “write a chapter in the moral history” of his country (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 83). This is actually germane to his oeuvre as his works, which are modernist masterpieces, cannot be read without an appropriation of literary form and Irish history and politics. Like Stephen Dedalus who writes in his diary in *A Portrait* that he goes to “encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of [his] soul the uncreated conscience of [his] race” (275-6), Joyce’s Ireland has become the smithy “in which Joyce forged some of the key innovations of modernism” (Gibbons, *Joyce’s Ghosts* 84).

The inseparability of Joyce’s modernism and the Ireland he wrote has become the foundation of political Joyce criticism that foregrounds the historical analyses of his works in parallel with formal readings. This strain of criticism argues that Joyce’s Irishness and his Ireland-infused texts are intrinsic to his modernism that has long been deemed merely as cosmopolitan. Even his stylistic innovations, rampant experimentalism, and ever-expanding textuality are testament to his insistence on writing Ireland. Andrew Gibson writes that “Joycean heterodoxy [...] became a cornerstone of modernism; which means that modernism itself owes a debt to Parnellism and Fenianism, and their will to resist British rule” (*James Joyce* 26)²⁵. Here, Gibson relates Joyce’s political sources that nourish his writing, which are themselves radical and heterodox, to his stylistic innovations which have become the hallmarks of the modernist movement. In the same vein, W. J. McCormack explains that “[i]n seeking to historicise Joyce’s contribution to European modernism we cannot afford to neglect the colonial condition of the society upon which he chose to concentrate, and its potential transformation in the years between 1882 and 1922” (88).

²⁵ Fenianism was the ideology of the Fenians, an Irish nationalist secret society active in Ireland, Britain, and the US in the 1860s. Its name comes from “the famous ‘Fianna’ of Irish legend with their commander Finn MacCool” (Curtis 320). Towards the Irish Independence in the 20th century, only the Irish wing of Fenianism, namely the Irish Republican Brotherhood, politically survived long enough to form Sinn Féin.

The historical and political background of Joyce's Ireland provides not only a contextual canvas to his works but also constitute the very tapestry of his linguistic and formal experimentations. Luke Gibbons points out that "Joyce's Irishness [...] is intrinsic to his modernism" and "[t]he pressures of late colonial Ireland, a country at once inside and outside the world system, acted as a cultural laboratory for many of his most distinctive stylistic experiments" (*Joyce's Ghosts* xiv). It is through Ireland, a colonized European country situated both at the periphery and the center, that Joyce was able to formulate his formal and stylistic innovations, reflecting the political and historical turmoil of his country. Gibbons further articulates that "Ireland thus achieves articulation not only as subject matter or content but also as form, allowing Joyce to pioneer a mode of vernacular modernism" (*Joyce's Ghosts* xiv).

Joyce's vernacular modernism stems from the embeddedness of his texts into the Irish daily life which is infused with politics. Especially *Ulysses*, an account of a day in Dublin with various Irish characters involved, reveals this vernacular modernism by foregrounding "[a] shout in the street" that Stephen deems as the manifestation of God (*U* 2.386). Apart from the protagonists Stephen Dedalus, Leopold Bloom, and Molly Bloom, the text of *Ulysses* delves into the minds of various Irish characters who are literally shouts in the street. The chapter "The Wandering Rocks," for example, follows both the steps and the minds of eighteen Dubliners across the city as they go on their daily businesses. The modernist technique of free indirect discourse, which is used expansively not just in this chapter but in the whole novel, is the primary tool whereby this vernacular modernism is achieved. Gibbons writes that

[f]ree indirect discourse allows an articulation of a character's voice—an inner point of view—from an external vantage point and vice versa, a series of narrative positions combining both inside and outside perspectives at once. This gave a specific Irish inflection to Joyce's negotiation of a cosmopolitan style, incorporating a national (internal) and international (external) "parallax" in his work. (*Joyce's Ghosts* 27)

The shifting positions in language and narrative voice reflect this shift in characters, which is itself one of the distinguishing features of the novel. By providing access to Dubliners' minds while retaining the third person narration, the free indirect discourse in *Ulysses* allows the Joycean combination of national and international, and the

modernist and the Irish. As Gibbons explains, Joyce's modernist innovations in language, style, and form spring not only from the international modernism of which he is a part but also from the Irish culture which has shaped his works from scratch:

Joyce's stylistic innovations drew much of their impetus from the modernism of the metropolitan center, but it is also clear that his modernist idiom—its complex allusiveness, its intimacies and exclusions—was inextricably bound up with the Dublin of his upbringing. This was after all a deeply divided city, a center of paralysis, in which alienation, abasement, and resentment were integral to the rule of both empire and a compliant Catholic church. (*Joyce's Ghosts* 59)

In Joyce's works, Dublin acts both as a metropolitan center at the turn of the 20th century on a global scale (reflecting modernist sensibilities) and also a colonized land in which political and religious paralyses have set in (reflecting national sentiments). By making his works textually multifarious and allusive, Joyce pays homage to his culture as his "stylistic innovations arise out of a deep, protracted engagement with the culture that produced him" (Gibbons, *Joyce's Ghosts* 83).

Joyce's works obviously did not come into being in an isolated, aesthetic vacuum of his high-modernist world. He was always affected by his country's historical and political situation and his modernist aesthetics were always already connected to his politics. More complex than the already intricate, nationalism-bound Irish modernism²⁶, Joyce's modernism lies in an ambiguous place. Joyce was both profoundly Irish and international at the same time and his works bear the mark of this ambivalence. Many accounts of Joyce's literary oeuvre tend to focus on his status as a cosmopolitan and a high modernist writer who frequented the most famous European cities of his time such as Zurich and Paris. The mark of his self-exile, however, is all over his works as he always wrote about his country. He once said "[f]or myself, I always write about Dublin, because if I can get to the heart of Dublin I can get to the heart of all the cities of the world. In the particular is contained the universal" (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 505). Clearly, Joyce championed a cosmopolitan view of the world while basing his entire oeuvre on Ireland and its colonial status. This is in line with both the

²⁶ Because it has more to do with Irish politics rather than international modernism, the term Irish modernism will be explored in Chapter 2 of this study.

modernist movement he belongs to and his political identity as an Irish. Joyce argued that through Dublin, he can write about the world. Indeed, literary modernism has been produced in and by cities, with cities being the natural habitat for the modern human. Dublin is, for Joyce, both a locus of modernist urban sensibilities and a politico-historical arena that merges with his cosmopolitan tendencies. According to Gibbons, Dublin being the main setting, and indeed a main character, of the novel is exactly what has prompted Joyce to rewrite modernism on his own terms:

There was no shortage of “subjection to English society” in Joyce’s Dublin, but it is precisely because *Ulysses* was not circumscribed by London, and drew on energies coalescing in Ireland to challenge the rule of empire, that Joyce was in a position to imagine new possibilities of form beyond the dominant versions of British modernism. Dublin and Irish culture did not just provide local color or background to innovations in form that Joyce acquired elsewhere (from European modernism, or the international avant-garde): they were constitutive of his most advanced stylistic achievements. (*Joyce’s Ghosts* 27-8)

Joyce was able to create modernist stylistics unique to him precisely because Dublin and Irish culture, challenging the British subjugation, enabled him to rewrite British modernism in an Irish way.

Joyce’s modernism, thus, is a phenomenon that cannot be separated from his Irishness. Joyce’s works, in this sense, function around the axes of location/dislocation and belonging/unbelonging. Joyce the modernist relied on cosmopolitan Europeanism not only because modernism was primarily a Western movement but also because he was a self-exile who found refuge from Ireland’s haunting history, which Stephen Dedalus deems as “a nightmare from which [he is] trying to awake,” in European cities (*U* 2.377). Joyce’s novels are, in this case, a testament to this ambivalence between location/dislocation and belonging/unbelonging. The locus of his novels is Dublin, Ireland as he could not help but write about it as a self-exile, feeling compelled to work out his native country’s political issues on aesthetic level. Since he also felt repressed by Ireland’s binary politics, he went on a self-exile to escape, and this voluntary dislocation brought a new dimension to his texts. Joyce’s sense of belonging was weaved through fragmented narrative and non-conformist language which, ironically,

account for his sense of unbelonging as well. Joyce rewrote Ireland both from the inside (culturally) and outside (geographically). The Ireland Joyce wrote was European, but a colonized one, and the Irish he wrote about were “the niggers of Europe” (Doyle 13). Ireland was already ontologically split as a nation and Joyce’s writings reflect the two ends of the spectrum simultaneously, universal vs local, as “[i]n the particular is contained the universal” (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 505). As Gibbons notes, “[i]t is through Dublin that Joyce’s texts open onto ‘the cosmos,’ and it is in this sense that the unresolved national elements in his work, the pressures placed on his style by the contradictions of Irish experience, lie at the heart of his modernism” (*Joyce’s Ghosts* 27). The stylistic choices he has employed, which have solely been attributed to modernism, arose out of complex historical and political relations in Ireland through which Joyce has planted his style. Through Ireland, Joyce has made his modernism by refusing “to dissociate intimacy from harsh realities and, through the ‘strandentwining cable’ of modernist form, extends this inner history to the world at large” (Gibbons, *Joyce’s Ghosts* 225).

As is obvious, Joyce’s modernism cannot be fully grasped without analysing his intricate relationship with Ireland and its historical paradigms. Therefore, a thorough survey of the colonial history of Ireland is a must to be able to do justice to the political and ideological analyses of his works and to comprehend how his oeuvre has cumulatively grown as critiques to this body of historical and political realities.

CHAPTER 2: THE IRISH QUESTION AND JAMES JOYCE

MACMORRIS. *Of my nation! What ish my nation? Ish a villain,
and a bastard, and a knave, and a rascal. What ish
my nation? Who talks of my nation?*

—William Shakespeare, *Henry V* (1599)
(III.ii.119-121)

2.1. A Look-back to the Irish Question

The history of Ireland permeates Joyce's works so densely that its traces are all over his words, scattered through the lines of his works, sometimes even between and behind them. The previous chapter has laid bare that Joyce's modernism is closely connected to his Irish identity. This chapter of the study will outline the term "Irish Question" and how it has come into existence by sketching the background of Irish history including major historical and political events that led to its colonial status. It is crucial, firstly, to define the Irish Question in colonial terms. Thus, although the problematic relationship between Ireland and the British Empire is going to be analysed in this study from as early as the 12th century, the primary focus will be on the colonial relationship between the two after the 18th century in which the colonial ties took a much darker turn, leading to a civil war in 1922.

The Irish Question initially referred to a group of debates carried out in the British Parliament in the 19th century about "what to do with Ireland," that is, how to tackle the problem of Irish nationalism and the calls for Irish independence. The phrase first began to be heard in the aftermath of the Acts of Union in 1800 that combined the kingdom of Ireland with the kingdom of Great Britain, all part of the United Kingdom. The Parliament of Ireland was also consolidated into the Parliament of Great Britain, making up the Parliament of the United Kingdom based in Westminster. In 1844, Benjamin Disraeli defined the Irish Question as follows:

A dense population, in extreme distress, inhabit an island where there is an Established Church, which is not their Church, and a territorial aristocracy the richest of whom live in foreign capitals. Thus you have a starving population,

an absentee aristocracy, and an alien Church; and in addition the weakest executive in the world. That is the Irish Question. (*State of Ireland*)

As can be seen from Disraeli's definition, the problem regarding the Irish was multi-layered. Religious disputes, poverty, and the lack of political power were the main issues, all of which were increasingly leading to rebellions against the British Empire. It should not be forgotten that the Irish Question was a term propagated by the British, as a result of the political clash stemming from seeing Ireland as a problem to be solved in order to occupy the land and gain more political power to expand the Empire. D. G. Boyce writes that "Britain's approach to her newly defined Irish Question would be determined by the exigencies of her own politics; for the very definition of an 'Irish Question' placed Irish affairs in a category of their own, and politicians' inclination to 'do something for Ireland' depended very much on the state of public opinion in Britain, and at Westminster" (*Irish Question 2*). Therefore, the idea of Ireland's existence as a problem to be tackled, not just solely through violence but also culturally and politically, has steered much of the Empire's policies and decisions taken against Ireland.

The Irish Question is an intricate term that has many layers and has conveyed various political and historical sentiments in different time periods. D. G. Boyce in his book *The Irish Question and British Politics: 1868-1986* (1988) analyses the term in four phases. The Irish Question, according to him, was firstly a question of definition in which the idea of Home Rule for Ireland and Unionist responses to it were tried to be comprehended in terms of British politics. This period lasted until WW1 after which the term transformed into a question of partisanship in British party politics with different political formations interpreting the Irish Question differently. After the Irish War of Independence (1919-1921), the "problem" with Ireland became a question of containment in which "the two Irelands" (the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland as part of the Commonwealth) had to be politically "contained" and held stable. Boyce argues that the last period of the Irish Question was about Northern Ireland and the growing violence from the paramilitary guerrilla force, the IRA (Irish Republican Army). This last phase was, Boyce claims, bipartisan and represented "a neutral zone" since both parties were committed to find a common ground. This convoluted problem, thus, has proved to be more tangled than ever each time it bothered the British who

considered Ireland “a troublesome and alien irruption into the British body politic” (Boyce, *Irish Question* 14).

Ireland’s colonial relationship with the Empire has not entirely ended with the truce in Irish War of Independence in 1921. After the war that ended in the partition of the Irish land as independent Ireland and Northern Ireland as part of the Commonwealth, the calls for a united Ireland began to grow and the period after the 1960s has often been referred to as “The Troubles.” This period, known as a period of “irregular” or “unofficial” war, lasted until 1998 when the Good Friday Agreement was signed, putting an end to the conflict stemming from the issues of governance, discrimination, and sovereignty. In short, the Irish Question was a big question mark, casting its dark shadow onto both the British and the Irish with different consequences. It came into being as a result of crucial historical events that put the colonial relationship between the two nations into motion.

The history of Ireland (Irish: *Éire*) begins with its Celtic roots. The Celtic Ireland existed between the late prehistoric era and the end of 17th century. Celts arrived in Ireland around 300 BC and the gradual Celtic migration from the mainland Europe to Ireland made them the dominant ethnic group (Curtis 1). According to historians, Celtic Ireland refers to the “patchwork-quilt” system of social, cultural, and political order consisting of many kings and chieftains ruling over a certain body of land although they were united under one high king of Ireland (Kiberd, “Irish Literature” 266). The main kingdoms included Ulaid (Ulster), Mide (Meath), Laigin (Leinster), Muma (Munster), Connacht, Bréifne (Breffny), In Tuaiscert (The North), and Airgíalla (Oriel). Historian Edmund Curtis writes that “Ireland was [...] divided into the five ‘Fifths’ or kingdoms, and this division has lasted until today, though Meath no longer is a province. Ulster, Connacht, Munster, north and south Leinster formed this pentarchy, and the province-kingdoms were divided again into petty states called *Tuatha*, of which by A.D. 1000 there were about one hundred” (2). This lack of central governance caused wars to break out occasionally. Chieftains were usually looking for more bodies of land to invade and the lack of unity in ruling and the increasing number of small kingdoms within Ireland accelerated this process of constant rivalry and civil war.

Celtic Ireland was pagan in religion and relied on oral traditions which were

revered by Gaelic²⁷ storytellers and historians, the *seanchaidhthe*, and bards named *filí*. A *seanchaí* was both a storyteller and a historian who kept record of important events in a kingdom such as laws, genealogies, and wars. Irish bards, the *filí*, were elite members of the society who passed on the songs and poems of their era (Curtis 2). The mythology of Ireland was based on pantheons—different sets of gods and supernatural beings. The most famous of these are *Tuatha Dé Danann* and Fomorians which frequently appear throughout Irish mythology. Druids were the religious leaders of the society who were also lorekeepers and medical practitioners. The mythology and indeed the whole culture of the land changed when Christianity came to its shores.

The Christianization of Ireland is said to have begun with the arrival of St. Patrick in the 5th century, but it is “[v]ery likely [that] Christian missionaries arrived in Ireland first in the late fourth and early fifth centuries” before St. Patrick (Ó Corráin 9). The patron saint of Ireland, St. Patrick, is rather the de facto name who was responsible for converting the large portion of the society into Christianity. Pagan and Celtic practices which were deemed sacrilegious were Christianized and Celtic Christianity was born as a result of the fusion between the newly introduced Christian practices and the ongoing Celtic traditions. Brendan Lehane writes that “[b]ecause the old Celtic religion was not such a formidable enemy as the paganism on the Continent, the monks had no fear or horror of old heathen sagas. They garnished them with Christian extras, sometimes substituted a Christian theme, but never tried to eradicate completely what they had inherited” (29). This fusion of Celtic religion with Christianity has become one of the abiding cultural markers of the land.

1166 was a turning point for Ireland in terms of its relationship with the British Empire. Diarmait Mac Murchada (anglicised as Dermot MacMurrough) became the King of Leinster when his brother, the then king, suddenly died. The High King of Ireland feared that Mac Murchada would be a potential enemy and sent one of his lesser kings Tigernán Ua Ruairc (Tiernan O’Rourke) to invade Leinster. Mac Murchada fled to Wales and sought help from King Henry II of England to recover his lands and thus initiated the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. Moreover, the enmity

²⁷ The adjectives Celtic and Gaelic are sometimes used interchangeably, but they denote two different concepts. *Cambridge English Dictionary* defines Celtic as “of an ancient European people who are related to the Irish, Scots, Welsh, and Bretons, or of their language or culture” (“Celtic”). Gaelic is “a Celtic language spoken by some people in Ireland and an official language of the Republic of Ireland, where it is taught in all schools” (“Gaelic”).

between Ua Ruairc and Mac Murchada is said to have stemmed from Mac Murchada's alleged abduction of Ua Ruairc's wife Derbforgaill (Dervorgilla). This event later became the starting point of a long tradition concerning the idea that women have brought about the demise of the country, including Parnell's downfall from the political arena because of his illicit relationship with Katherine O'Shea. This connection between women, betrayal, and the nation can be seen in *Ulysses* in the "Cyclops" chapter, with the character aptly named "the Citizen" uttering these words: "The strangers, says the citizen. Our own fault. We let them come in. We brought them. The adulteress and her paramour brought the Saxon robbers here" (12.1156-8). Here, the Citizen cites the abovementioned event with Mac Murchada and Derbforgaill and as Smyth argues "[k]nowingly or not, citizen emphasizes the symbiotic connection between political treason and personal betrayal which is one of the central themes" of the book and indeed the whole Irish history (264).

As one of the most crucial events in the course of Irish history, the Anglo-Norman invasion of the land marked the beginning of the land's plunder by the British. This invasion began in the late 12th century and lasted nearly until the beginning of the 17th century. Mac Murchada's request for help from King Henry II, which he, in return, promised his land to the Normans, opened the land for British invasion that would continue for eight hundred years. Gradually, the Anglo-Norman settlement infused the whole country, mostly through marriages and land acquisition and after some time, as Simms suggests, "the purpose of English involvement in Ireland was beginning to change from acquiring lordship over men to colonizing land" (52). This prompted the beginning of a period of cultural merging that would last for hundreds of years: the term "Anglo-Irish" was born to denote the descendants of the individuals who were bonded through marriage between Anglo-Norman settlers and the native Irish.

In 1536, Henry VIII became the head of the church in Ireland, and this prompted several serious rebellions throughout the land. The Tudor House, whose legacy was cemented with the victory in the Wars of Roses (1455-1487), reconquered the Irish land with harsher assimilative purposes as a response for the rebellions. The British, from the 17th century onwards, executed certain policies that would extend their colonial reach in the country. The first of these was the plantation policy. Following the English Reformation in the second half of the 16th century, which made

the Empire Protestant after Henry VIII separated the Church of England from the Catholic Church, Protestant English colonists were sent to confiscate the lands of the Catholic Irish. The native landowners were exiled and replaced by the colonists whose task was “not merely to cement England’s control of Ireland but also to civilize the wild and dangerous native Irish” (Hughes 2). Therefore, the plantation policy was not just a plunder of the land physically, but also entailed a cultural and religious colonisation process which aimed at “civilizing” the “barbaric” Catholic population for whom “the test of loyalty was no longer obedience to the Crown but acceptance of the Protestant faith” (Canny 111). The anglicization of the land continued with the Penal Laws introduced later in the 17th century. Richard Bourke explains the Penal Laws and their function as follows:

These regulations have come to be known as the “popery” or “penal” laws. Their passage was completed in 1728, when Catholics were denied the right to vote in elections to parliament. Over the preceding decades, a series of measures of varying character and significance sought to diminish the threat that popery was felt to pose to the reigning establishment. Most conspicuous among them were attempts to restrict the intellectual commerce between the Catholic clergy and the continent, provisions for further reductions in the Catholic share of the land, and measures to address the suspected evasion of legislation. (7)

The penal laws, which barred the Catholic Irish from holding land, certain offices, and political positions, accelerated the supremacy of the Protestant Ascendancy that well lasted into the beginning of 19th century. Protestant Ascendancy, which meant “the domination of a class or caste defined by religion and social status,” grew stronger in power with their victory in the Battle of Boyne which was fought in 1690 (Foster, “Ascendancy” 136). Protestant Ascendancy accomplished its dominion mainly through legislative means, by making the native Catholic Irish second-class citizens without rights in their own land.

The opposition to the landed Anglican presence in the country led to dire consequences, the most important of which was the Irish Rebellion of 1798, one of the biggest insurrections to date then. It was crushed by the British eventually, and Irish forces, backed by the French, suffered heavy losses. In 1801, the Act of Union was

passed, prompted by the growing insurgency. This act officially designated a single parliament for Ireland and Britain to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Extensive legislative changes were implemented but it was not all in favour of Ireland:

In 1800, [...] both the Irish and British parliaments passed legislation to abolish the 300-member Irish parliament. In its place, 100 Irish MPs took up seats at Westminster. As a result, under the 1801 Act of Union, Ireland became a part of the United Kingdom. It did not, however, become an equal partner. Economic and administrative integration was never complete. Questions regarding trade, currency, and taxation remained, and the island was administered by a chief secretary and lord lieutenant based in Dublin, an executive arrangement that would later inform British rule in India. Britain's conquest of Ireland, therefore, never appeared entirely straightforward or complete. (Bender 344)

After the union, two new political sides emerged: Unionists who supported the union with the Empire and Irish nationalists who argued for a free Ireland. This enmity between the (mostly) Protestant Unionists and the Catholic Irish nationalists became the heart of the local political struggle in the country.

The union brought more British to Ireland. These lords and upper-class members of the society bought land in the country and forced the Catholic Irish population work on the land while they were away in their homeland. They were called "absentee lords" who reaped the capital off of the products the Catholic working class produced. This impoverished Ireland beyond recognition both in terms of soil and labour force. Between 1845 and 1852, Ireland experienced one of the most devastating events in its history: the Great Famine or the Irish Potato Famine, sometimes dubbed as the "Irish Auschwitz," was a period of extreme starvation and disease caused by the blight in potato crops (Eagleton, *Heathcliff* 13). Ciara Boylan explains that the famine as "[a]n ecological shock on an exceptional scale [...] resulted in the deaths of one million people and the loss of a further one and a quarter million through emigration, generating extensive economic and social changes" (403). Although the main cause of the famine was the blight, the devastating effects of the colonial practices on the land cannot be ignored. Christine Kinealy argues that "[w]hilst the blight had triggered the

food shortages, the main causes of distress were historical—that is, rooted in the penal restrictions of earlier centuries which had prevented the great bulk of the people from possessing property” (172). The British not only incited the blight with economic, legal, and cultural penal laws; they also fell short in providing relief, most of which came from other countries all around the world. Kinealy adds that “[t]he various relief policies—with the partial exception of the soup kitchens—were inappropriate and inadequate” (202). Terry Eagleton, in his extensive study on the famine titled *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger* (1995), lays bare the fault lines in empire’s colonial policies leading to this calamity: “The Famine was the most lethal consequence of Britain’s tendency to ignore, when it suited it, the union which it had oiled so many palms to achieve. As far as this particular catastrophe goes, it was not the union which contributed to Ireland’s ills, but Britain’s self-interested decision to set it aside” (26). The famine has had a lasting effect in the cultural memory of the country and many Irish authors such as poets James Clarence Mangan and William Butler Yeats, and novelists Liam O’Flaherty and Flann O’Brien incorporated the effects of the famine in their works.

All the political and historical oppression and the resulting turmoil in Ireland paved the way for numerous rebellions. The rebellions before the union such as the ones enacted by the United Irishmen in the 1790s were brutally quenched by the Empire. Especially after the famine, however, more and more groups of volunteers started to gather around the cause for Irish independence. A group of Irish intellectuals, named Young Irelanders, was active during the 1840s, and in 1858, Irish Republican Brotherhood, also called the Fenians, was founded and became the leading voice for Irish nationalism. With the rising nationalism, the talks of home rule began to be heard more clearly. Although they differed in scope and details, what all these organizations had in common was home rule for Ireland, “a demand for devolution of control over Irish affairs to a ‘Home Rule’ parliament in Dublin” rather than a small number of representatives in the parliament at Westminster (Fitzpatrick 180). The political party Home Rule League was founded in 1873 to champion home rule for Ireland and it was replaced by Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) a year later.

IPP holds a special place in Irish history for various political and legislative reasons. In 1874, the party won fifty-six seats in the parliament at Westminster and

helped push the agenda of self-governance for Ireland. Charles Stewart Parnell, who served as the leader of IPP between 1882 and 1891, became the dominant figure of Irish nationalism during the home rule debates in 1885 and 1886. Parnell, who propagated that “no man has the right to fix the boundary to the march of a nation”, shouldered the idea of Irish independence in legal and constitutional terms and tried to hold the balance in the parliament to execute practical solutions to the Irish Question (qtd. in Bew 93). After the Phoenix Park Murders in which two civil servants of the Empire were assassinated by the Irish National Invincibles—a radical branch of the nationalist group Irish Republican Brotherhood—Parnell gathered the full sympathy of the public due to his condemnation of the event and his moderate reformism, and “[t]o the mass of Irish people, still accustomed to aristocratic leadership, he became ‘The Chief’, a name which recalled the Gaelic past” (Curtis 324-5). However, his steady rise in politics was cut short with a blow from his own country. After his illicit affair with Katherine O’Shea—then a married woman—was revealed, Parnell’s party was divided with majority going against him on the grounds of immorality, the same reason with which the Catholic Church also renounced him as the leader of the Irish cause. As a result, Parnell lost his public political sympathy, and the Irish nationalists became a mix of Parnellites and anti-Parnellites from then onwards. He had to step down from his role in politics, which overshadowed the whole home rule movement. Even some Unionists wrote that “Parnell was the cornerstone of the Irish arch. When he fell, it fell” (qtd. in Bew 97). Parnell, “the Uncrowned King of Ireland” died in 1891, and his exit both from the political arena and the world “left the national cause for thirty years to wander in the wilderness” (Curtis 326, 331).

By 1910s, the third Home Rule Bill given by the IPP was rejected by Unionists in the parliament, and World War I broke out in 1914. Taking advantage of “the old adage that ‘England’s difficulty is Ireland’s opportunity,’” Irish nationalists, consisting mostly of the Irish Citizen Army and Irish Volunteers, launched an armed insurrection in Dublin against the British government during Easter in 1916 (Kelly, “Radical Nationalisms” 11). This event, called the Easter Rising, marked the beginning of an armed Irish revolutionary period that would later extend to the Irish War of Independence. Irish Volunteers issued a document declaring the provisional government of the Irish Republic and its independence from the United Kingdom. This

self-proclaimed Irish Republic was never recognized; Easter Rising was suppressed and resulted in the surrender of the rebel forces. Most leaders of the rebellion, including Patrick Pearse, James Connolly, and Tom Clarke, were executed. The violent quelling of the rising by the British ignited the rebellious spirit in Irish society even further and the general election of 1918 resulted in *Sinn Féin*'s victory. The IRA gathered more supporters and when the demands for complete independence from the United Kingdom were met with even more violence, the Anglo-Irish War, also known as the Irish War of Independence, was fought between 1919 and 1921. The most violent public spectacle of the war happened in 1920 with the event called Bloody Sunday. The members of the British army opened fire during a football match in Dublin, killing twelve people in retaliation for the murder of ten British soldiers by the IRA. Because of the increasing violence and the death of the innocent, "[b]etween 1920 and 1921 Ulster Unionists and Irish Nationalists were coerced or manoeuvred into a position where compromise was more acceptable than complete victory" (Boyce, *Irish Question* 71).

The war ended with the Irish delegates Arthur Griffith (the founder of *Sinn Féin*) and Michael Collins (Irish revolutionary soldier and politician) signing the Anglo-Irish Treaty that officially founded the Irish Free State. This truce meant that Ireland was independent in domestic affairs while remaining in the Commonwealth on paper: "While the Free State was now a Dominion, she was not a Dominion like Canada or Australia, except in constitutional form" (Boyce, *Irish Question* 77). Northern Ireland, which was founded by the Government of Ireland Act in 1920, chose to withdraw from the Irish Free State and remained in the United Kingdom in jurisdiction and legislation. Thus, the treaty meant not a complete independence from the shackles of the Empire for Irish nationalists, but an opportunity for further partition and division in the country. The goal of Irish nationalists was to unite Ireland—both the mainland and Northern Ireland—under the Irish Republic, but the treaty yielded none of those. This produced a further split in Irish politics: pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty forces. The rift caused the Irish Civil War to break out between the Free State government (pro-Treaty) and the IRA (anti-Treaty) in 1922. The war ended with the victory of pro-Treaty forces and consolidated the existence of the Free State while the IRA experienced a heavy blow to its existence. The Free State remained in operation

until 1937 in which a new constitution declared the country's legal name as Ireland. In 1949, Ireland left the Commonwealth and officially became the Irish Republic.

In relation with all the rebellions and anti-colonial activities and organizations in Ireland including Home Rule League, Land League, Young Irelanders, Irish Republican Brotherhood, and the Irish Republican Army, Irish nationalism rose to prominence as the stronghold of all political resistance to the British subjugation. Nation-building, resulting from “the view of the British as a fundamentally malign presence in Ireland”, was the first and the strongest choice for the Irish to put up a fight against the British (Kelly, “Radical Nationalisms” 15). Political nationalism in Ireland took shape by the events that happened between the British and the Irish and, of course, the changing face and degree of the colonial oppression. Irish nationalism was the natural reaction to this colonial oppression, and it sought sovereignty on the land which would only be possible by full separation from the Empire. Pre-Union Irish nationalism sought to establish the Irish Republic in which Ireland governs itself with equal Catholic political representation in local parliament. With the Protestant Ascendancy coming to power and the Penal Laws which crippled the Catholic population, religious discrimination was rampant in the 18th century. Many Irish nationalists such as Theobald Wolfe Tone, who founded the Society of United Irishmen, Robert Emmett, and Charles Stewart Parnell—who were all descendants of Protestant or Anglican Anglo-Irish landowners—advocated for the end of humiliation inflicted upon the Irish Catholic on social, political, and legislative grounds. When the Irish Rebellion of 1789 ended with a heavy loss and much bloodshed, the Act of Union were put into motion in 1800 to avoid further turmoil.

After the Union, the republican strain of Irish nationalism gathered more force than the more moderate strain of nationalism advocated by Daniel O’Connell. O’Connell was the founder of Catholic Association that called for attention to wrongdoings done to the Catholic community in Ireland, and Repeal Association which advocated for the repeal of the Act of Union of 1800. The republican strain was more fervent and violent, and included paramilitary groups such as the IRA and Irish Voluntary Army. Mathew Kelly explains that

the complaint that the representative politics of Home Rule reduced the agency of “the people”, so central to the articulation of mid-Victorian Fenianism, to

paying party dues, affirming resolutions and casting a vote on election day had some political traction, while the idea that armed insurrection was the only way the Irish people could exercise the political autonomy befitting a sovereign nation retained adherents and attracted young recruits. (“Radical Nationalisms” 16)

When the famine hit and left the country barely surviving in the 1850s, a large portion of the population emigrated mainly to the USA and other European countries. This extended the reach of Irish nationalism, making it an international phenomenon. Fenianism spread to the Irish diaspora around the world and strengthened the fight for freedom at home. The radical strain of Irish nationalism was instrumental in Easter Rising, Irish War of Independence, and Irish Civil War, as well as executing acts of violence against the British forces and Unionists in the country in the form of bombings and assassinations.

Irish nationalism was, as with all nationalisms, fostered by patriotism and insularity, evident by the name of the biggest nationalist political party in Ireland, *Sinn Féin*, meaning “We ourselves” (Bartlett 2). The geographic insularity of the island was translated back into a cultural and political conservatism, making Irish nationalism a peculiar type of patriotism. As a fellow white, European race with the British, the Irish never experienced the same cultural and political privileges that the Empire enjoyed freely through colonial expansion. Nationalism that the Irish enacted as a way of anti-colonialism, however, was not without its own fault lines. Irish nationalism was filled with contradictions and discontinuities as historical realities have continuously tested the boundaries of an authentic Irish identity. Matthew Kelly argues about Irish nationalism that “rather than seeking to define radical nationalism, identifying its stipulative or canonical features, it is best treated as relational and contingent” (28).

The existence and indeed the very survival of Irish nationalism depended on several lines of cultural, social, and economic factors apart from the obvious democratic nationalism and radical nationalism. Firstly, most Irish nationalists, including Parnell, W. B. Yeats, and Wolfe Tone were Anglo-Irish. Radical Irish nationalism as anti-Anglo culture was, thus, challenged by the existence of the amalgamated culture of the Anglo-Irish community. Secondly, religious plurality posed another difficulty to the claims of Irish nationalism. Anglo-Irish nationalists

were mostly Protestant whereas the native “Irish-Irelanders” were Catholic. Religion ceased to become a marker of Irish nationalism, especially after the rise of the United Irishmen whose “propagation of the idea that political sovereignty resided in the people of Ireland, be they Anglican, Catholic, or Dissenter” began to get a foothold (Kelly, “Nationalisms” 448). Finally, there was the issue of social class. Major Irish nationalists including Parnell were coming from the upper class and this produced a dire symptom, that is, radical nationalism. The Invincibles, for example, who were responsible for the Phoenix Park Murders, “were an extreme symptom of the little attention mainstream nationalism paid to the needs of the urban class and its failure to integrate it into the party’s associational culture” (Kelly, “Radical Nationalisms” 22). The nationalist discourse in provincial parts of the country was different than the one in the city as “the conciliatory language that tended to characterise parliamentary Home Rule was often at odds with the language of Home Rule in provincial Ireland, where the tone and content was persistently aggressive and Anglophobic” (Kelly, “Radical Nationalisms” 45). All these contradictions made Irish nationalism “multi-layered” and “fluid” “rather than any homogenous nationalism (static and monochrome)” (English 15). Indeed, it would do more justice to the intricate political canvas of the country to talk about Irish *nationalisms* since it includes political, social, and cultural rhetorics of national feeling, some of which evolved to be monolithic, essentialist, and purist.

2.2. Literary Voices in the Irish Question

The political reaction to the colonialism the Empire enacted in Ireland culminated in the idea of home rule backed by Irish nationalism. The endeavours to make Ireland free from the British Empire in the political arena strengthened the social and cultural bond the Irish had to their land and culture. It was indeed the social and cultural war the Irish waged that was the most instrumental in the growth of Irish nationalism during the late 19th century: “Culture, rather than politics, became ground zero where questions about the ‘Irish nation’ were vigorously debated” (Ó Conchubhair 73). Several Irish revivalist projects were launched during that period of rising Irish nationalism, all of which shared the same goal: to revive the forgotten Irish culture with specific traditions which would eventually be paramount to overthrow the

foreigner in the land. What these revivalist projects—ranging from literary, artistic, sporting, and musical programs—have in common was the desire to bring back the native Irish culture with its Celtic roots which was deliberately repressed by the British as a way of cultural colonization. The revivalist projects contributed a lot to the Irish nationalist cause by bringing the socially and culturally binding Celtic elements to the front of the fight with British colonialism. Gregory Castle explains the origins of Revivalism as follows:

The origins of Revivalism lie in the late-eighteenth-century United Irishmen movement. Another line of development, originating in the Young Irelanders of the 1840s, produced a form of Revivalism associated with the Gaelic League and Irish-Ireland nationalism. This development reaches a culmination in the 1890s with men like Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, Dr. George Sigerson, and Douglas Hyde, whose essays and speeches disseminated an ideology of “racial” self-improvement and national education and whose vision of Revivalism had a strong reformist orientation and sought principally to restore a belief in the essential piety and nobility of the Irish people. (*Modernism and Celtic Revival* 4)

Revivalist projects initially sought to influence the Irish with traditional elements woven into the very cultural fabric of the land. Numerous organizations were founded in the late 19th century including Gaelic Athletics Association (GAA) in 1884 whose goal was to promote indigenous Gaelic sports and the Gaelic League in 1893 which took upon the responsibility of advancing the use of Irish language that was gradually banned by the British. It is crucial to note that this revivalist cultural movement predated many political organizations such as *Sinn Féin* which was founded in 1905. Therefore, it is clear that the cultural revival rerouted the pathways of Irish nationalism by expanding the boundaries of political engagement.

The key movement among all Irish revivalist projects was the Irish Literary Revival. Irish Literary Revival refers to the reawakening of Irish literature by Irish writers during the late 19th and early 20th century, with “much of the groundwork [...] undertaken in the 1870s and 1880s” (Foster, “Irish Literary Revival” 32). Among the most notable figures in the movement were Irish writers William Butler Yeats, Lady Gregory, George Russell, Edward Martyn, J. M. Synge, Douglas Hyde, Standish

O'Grady, and Seán O'Casey. The publications such as *Revue Celtique*, *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, and *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* provided these writers with materials to expand their cultural nationalism. Aiming to revive the forgotten Irish spirituality and culture, Irish Literary Revival—also called the Irish Renaissance or The Celtic Twilight—sought to rewrite a national literature for the land by taking inspiration from Irish history, folklore, and mythology. Its roots dated back to Irish Literary Society founded in 1891 by William Butler Yeats, T. W. Rolleston, and Charles Gavan Duffy. In 1904, The National Theatre of Ireland, later known as The Abbey Theatre, was established by Yeats, Lady Gregory, Russell, Martyn, and Synge. It became the primary place for Irish playwrights to stage their plays, which were loaded with imageries of pre-colonial Ireland and critique of British colonialism, to the Irish audience. During the literary revival period, “the politics of language, literature and identity lay close to the surface of an intensely articulated literary culture” (Foster, “Irish Literary Revival” 34). The efforts of making Ireland “a nation once again”²⁸ materialized in the works of the Irish Literary Revival as Irish writers “wrote” the nation again and “consciously chose their material, looked for sources, that would differentiate their themes and style from the metropolitan culture of Britain” (Foster, “Irish Literary Revival” 35). Literature, in a way, became the means in which the nation can be written anew, this time according to its own wishes.

The central figure in Irish Literary Revival was the Anglo-Irish writer and Nobel Prize winner William Butler Yeats who also served as a senator of the Irish Free State between 1922 and 1923. Yeats occupied a significant place in the revival and was the driving force of the whole literary revival movement. Yeats published *The Celtic Twilight*, a volume of essays and folkloric tales from the west of Ireland in 1893. The title of this book later become the namesake of the whole Irish Literary Revival. Yeats' earlier poetry, too, drew much of its content from Irish folklore such as his epic poem “The Wanderings of Oisín” (1889). This poem recounts the dialogue between the Irish epic hero Oisín and St. Patrick, much of which consists of the former talking

²⁸ “A Nation Once Again” is an Irish rebel song written by Thomas Davis in the 1840s. Davis was the founder of the movement named Young Ireland which championed Irish independence. It was used as a patriotic anthem by many nationalist organizations, and it has been covered by many Irish bands since then including The Dubliners and The Wolfe Tones. The song ends with the following lines: “For, thus I hoped some day to aid, / Oh, can such hope be vain? / When my dear country shall be made / A Nation once again!” (“A Nation”).

about his sojourn in foreign lands. The poem includes “obscure Gaelic names,” thus was designed to invoke, both in content and form, a sense of archaic Irishness (Foster, *W. B. Yeats* 83). Much of Yeats’s later poetry was written in the symbolist tradition, aligned with European literary modernism. One of his most enduring imageries is the gyre. Loaded with mystic, mythic, and spiritual undertones, the gyre represents an overarching understanding of the chaotic modern world in his poem “The Second Coming” (1920):

Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity. (Yeats, “The Second Coming” 187)

Yeats’s understanding of the modern world is indeed a dishevelled one as the poem “presents a vision of cultural destruction, or disintegration, that has made a nearly authoritative claim on the imagination of twentieth century readers shaken again and again by a history of anxiety and violence” (Wheeler 234). Yeats’s yearning for the distant primeval Irish culture stems from the destructive culture of modernity that seemed to spoil the mythic dream world Yeats was so fond of, and he used symbolist poetic devices as a way of critiquing the chaos that modernity brought upon the world, which was quite in line with literary modernism’s engagement with reality.

It was Yeats’s plays that yielded most of his Irish nationalist and revivalist tendencies. His famous plays *Cathleen ni Houlihan* (1902) (co-authored by Lady Gregory) and *The Countess Cathleen* (1911) were key literary pieces that foregrounded Irish nationalism in the revival movement. *Cathleen ni Houlihan* centres around the 1798 Rebellion with nationalist young radicals sacrificing themselves for Cathleen ni Houlihan, who is the personification of independent Ireland. This female personification of Ireland endured throughout the whole literary revival period, sometimes with the transformation of this female into *Sean Bhean Bhocht*, the Poor Old Woman. The play is deftly political and makes use of “strangers in the house”

trope to decode the British colonial rule:

BRIDGET. What was it put you wandering?

OLD WOMAN. Too many strangers in the house. (Yeats, *Cathleen* 1.164-165)

Cathleen ni Houlihan as the old woman, “who disturbs the characters’ domestic quiet [as] Ireland herself, a spiritual force calling on the courage of her sons to fight for her freedom,” wanders outside and tries to win supporters to get her house back from the strangers (the British) (Ingelbien 187). The play acts as a perfect analogy of Ireland’s political status since, in the literary revival period, “Ireland exist[ed] as interpretable matter for Irish playwrights partly for political, social and demographic reasons” (Greene 49). *The Countess Cathleen* recounts a similar story of sacrifice, this time a landlady selling her soul to the devil so that she can save her tenants from the famine. The famine memory and Cathleen as the personification of the benevolent Ireland characterize the play and lay bare the nationalist undertones of Yeats’s drama.

As can be seen, Irish Literary Revival movement as a whole was inevitably political from the beginning of its conception since it was born out of the resistance to the British colonial culture. Irish writers in the revival period, symbolically or in the realist tradition, wrote about Ireland both to combat the colonial rule that has erased the Irish traditions and to recreate that long lost culture of the land. Yeats’s poem “Easter, 1916” (1916) commemorates the fallen heroes of the rebellion who were executed:

We know their dream; enough
To know they dreamed and are dead;
And what if excess of love
Bewildered them till they died?
I write it out in a verse—
MacDonagh and MacBride
And Connolly and Pearse
Now and in time to be,
Wherever green is worn,
Are changed, changed utterly:
A terrible beauty is born. (Yeats, “Easter, 1916” 182)

The rebellion holds a special place in Irish cultural and political memory as it paved

the way for the long-awaited independence. The poem talks about independence as a dream dreamt by the fallen martyrs and employs the colour green imagery representing the Irish flag. The rebellion is “a terrible beauty” for Yeats that has changed everything in the land, a necessary evil for a free Ireland. “Easter, 1916” is not a symbolist poem as “The Second Coming” is, but makes extensive use of nationalist symbolism and in the case of Yeats, “[i]f symbolist poetics forged alliances with cultural nationalism, the complexities of that cultural nationalism, and of its relation to nationalist politics, serve to remind us that the nation is always a contested and unstable site where social, economic, linguistic, or indeed aesthetic forces vie for influence” (Ingelbien 201). Yeats acknowledged poetics as an aesthetic ground on which the cultural battle for independence was fought, making cultural nationalism an “aesthetic approach to political questions” (Dwan 218).

Yeats gave a speech about nationality and literature in one of the meetings of the Irish Literary Society in 1893 insisting that “the epic period of Irish pre-history held the secret of a distinct Irish identity” (Foster, “Irish Literary Revival” 38):

A young nation with unexhausted material lying within us in our still unexpressed national character, about us in our scenery, and in the clearly marked outlines of our life, and behind us in our multitude of legends. Look at our literature and you will see that we are still in our epic or ballad period. All that is greatest in our literature is based upon legend—upon those tales which are made by no one man, but by the nation itself through a slow process of modification and adaptation, to express its loves and its hates, its likes and its dislikes. (“Nationality and Literature” 273)

Here, Yeats ponders the idea of a national literature which has the capability to express the nation as a whole, a task that remained unfinished at the time. Yeats’s idea of a national literature depended on its ability to convey the heroic tales of the land’s pre-colonial times. His emphasis on the collections of these legends and ballads highlights the nostalgic and spiritual nature of the literary revival movement. Yeats’s tendency towards, or sometimes his obsession of, fairy legends and mystic and occult writings account for his retrospective stance in which he chose to deal with “historical memories of dispossession, invocations of long-ago battles, and memories of invasion” (Foster, “Irish Literary Revival” 45). This rediscovery of Irish traditions and

history became the *modus operandi* of the whole revival movement.

In 1923, a year after Ireland gained its independence from the British Empire, Yeats won the Nobel Prize in Literature “for his always inspired poetry, which in a highly artistic form gives expression to the spirit of a whole nation” and became the first Irish Nobel laureate in literature (“Nobel Prize”). His poetry, in years, has become the embodiment of Irish culture which was traditionalized as a part of Yeats’s spiritual nationalism. Yeats explains this aesthetic nationalism in his Nobel acceptance speech: “The modern literature of Ireland, and indeed all that stir of thought which prepared for the Anglo-Irish War, began when Parnell fell from power in 1891. A disillusioned and embittered Ireland turned away from parliamentary politics; an event was conceived and the race began, as I think, to be troubled by that event’s long gestation” (Yeats, “The Irish Dramatic Movement” 174). Yeats’s idea was that the literary renaissance in Ireland was brought about by the country’s disappointment with hollow political promises which failed in delivering what the Irish wanted. Parnell’s fall from politics marked the beginning of an awakening period in which Irish intellectuals guarded themselves against the ineffective political agenda with revivalist projects that would prove to be quite compelling in rekindling the Irish people’s spirit for freedom.

In order for Ireland to be free, it first had to shed its “Englishness” off of itself, or so Douglas Hyde thought. An influential figure in the Gaelic Revival movement, Hyde was an Irish academic, linguist, and politician who served as the first president of Ireland between 1938 and 1945. He was the founder of the Gaelic League which was responsible for the revival and spread of Irish language during the late 19th and early 20th century. In 1892, Hyde gave a speech in one of the meetings of the National Literary Society in Dublin titled “The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland.” He began his lecture by defining what he meant by “de-Anglicising”: “When we speak of ‘The Necessity for De-Anglicising the Irish Nation’, we mean it, not as a protest against imitating what is best in the English people, for that would be absurd, but rather to show the folly of neglecting what is Irish, and hastening to adopt, pell-mell, and indiscriminately, everything that is English, simply because it is English” (42). The idea that the English culture was superior to Irish culture, for Hyde, was the exact reason why there was a tendency to ignore the beauties of the Irish culture. He was in the opinion that Irish culture was deliberately made English, “Anglicized,” to make

the Irish forget their own cultural roots. Hyde thought that restoring the glory of the Irish language, “arrest[ing]the decay of the language,” was the best path to reverse this cultural assimilation process (44). He finished his speech by urging intellectuals to produce more in Irish: “I appeal to everyone [...] to do his best to help the Irish race to develop in future upon Irish lines [...] because upon Irish lines alone can the Irish race once more become what it was of yore one of the most original, artistic, literary, and charming peoples of Europe” (46).

Indeed, the issue of language was perhaps the most nationalist part of the revivalist movement. Language, in time, became the most debated topic in Irish revivalism with its emphasis on abandoning the colonizer’s language. The proponents of the Irish language suggested that it is only possible to revive the Gaelic culture by incorporating the use of Gaelic not only into daily life but also into the world of literature which was one of the primary means of nation building. The end of the Gaelic order in Ireland was pinpointed to the event called the Flight of the Earls that took place in 1607 when the last remaining earls left Ireland. Their exile was interpreted as the end of the oral tradition and Celtic poetic forms. Vincent Morley writes that

[t]he sixteenth century had seen the spread of English in south Leinster with the plantation of Laois and Offaly. The “flight of the earls” in 1607 [...] facilitated a more extensive plantation in Ulster and this, together with spontaneous migration from Lowland Scotland to Antrim and Down, established English as the dominant language in eastern and northern Ulster by the second quarter of the seventeenth century. (327)

The Ascendancy, therefore, not only colonized the land physically but also culturally by erasing Gaelic and “planting” English as the dominant language. As a way to “deanglicise” their land, Gaelic revivalism, championed mostly by the Gaelic League in the 19th and early 20th century, sought to revive the Gaelic tongue deliberately snuffed by the British. Language became the prerequisite of nation building and if Ireland was to be decolonized, the first issue to resolve had to be language according to the Irish-Ireland wing of the revivalist movement. As a way of cultural anti- and decolonization, this wing of the nationalist movement placed language at the heart of the Irish Question to “re-make” the Irish identity at the intersection of national politics and literature during the heyday of modernism.

Irish Literary Revival historically coincides with the modernist movement in Europe and its relationship to international modernism brings into question two modernisms emerged in Ireland at the turn of the century: firstly, the revivalist modernism enabled by cultural nationalism and secondly, the counter-revivalist projects as a reaction to the romantic ideals of the Celtic Twilight. Many writers producing in the 1930s and 40s including James Joyce, Flann O'Brien, Samuel Beckett, Elizabeth Bowen, and Sean O'Casey wrote, implicitly or explicitly, against the false ideals of the revivalist movement, employing naturalist, realist, and satirical points of view. The answers to the questions of whether Irish modernism was "modernism" at all, or the two concepts were compatible in terms of inclusivity and cultural politics remain nuanced. Where was Ireland in modernism and where was modernism in Ireland?

Edwina Keown and Carol Taaffe in their article "Introduction: Ireland and Modernism," aptly discuss the inherent contradiction between global modernism with its "enlightened internationalism" and Irish modernism with its "insular and conservative nationalist culture" (1). Similarly, Maud Ellmann points out that "[m]odernism has been associated with the metropole and the avant-garde, 'Irish' with provincialism and cultural conservatism" (2). International modernism was born as a reaction to modernity and cultural nationalism in general and was also enabled as a response to modernization practices in which the idea of progress was deferred with a yearning for the mythic past in a retrospective fashion. Despite these seeming contradictions, Irish writers occupy a central position in global modernism, as explained by Joe Cleary:

The names of William Butler Yeats, James Joyce, and Samuel Beckett are now so familiar that it is difficult for us to recapture any sense of how unlikely it would have seemed in 1900 that a small island more famed for its economic backwardness and calamitous history than for anything that might be considered 'modern' should have produced three figures as significant to the development of modernism as any of the major writers to emerge in England, France, Germany, Russia, or the United States in the same era. (1)

The year 1922 saw the establishment of the Irish Free State and the publication of Joyce's magnum opus *Ulysses*, which would become the ultimate modernist novel.

How did the penultimate experimental modernist novel come out of Ireland, a culture that seemed out of touch with the international sentiments of modernism? Vicky Mahaffey explains this with reference to Ireland's patchwork culture and politics:

What made Ireland particularly hospitable to experimentation was a long history of political resistance curiously reinforced by an equally strong adherence to Christianity, and a linguistically oriented, six-thousand-year-old culture that was never really unified; for reasons that were partly geographical and partly historical, Ireland was always a country with many "centers." (10)

The Irish, then, became "the arch-riddlers of modernism" exactly because their unique culture, a testament to their geographical insularity and political heterogeneity, prepared them to dismantle global modernism and write it in their own ways (Ellmann, "Introduction" 12).

Irish modernist writers, writing from the periphery, "sought to reconcile the intellectual worlds of international modernism, Catholicism and Irish nationalism" in their works and it was their attempt to create this heterogeneous understanding of modernism that places them in a unique position in literary history (Keown and Taaffe 2). Joyce incorporated Irish elements in his works, much of which are questioning and satirical in tone; however, the existence of multiple "Joyces" across the globe such as the "Irish Joyce," "French Joyce," or "Italian Joyce" testifies both for Joyce's global modernist allure with his exilic status and for the Irish artist's possibly unconscious attempt to bring together the worlds that seemed apart: the Irish vs the rest. Nels Pearson in his influential study *Irish Cosmopolitanism: Location and Dislocation in James Joyce, Elizabeth Bowen, and Samuel Beckett* (2015) notes that "these authors' modernisms—in content, intellect, and form—arise from a rigorous, non-hierarchical, and mutually transformative interplay of national and global consciousness" (2). Thus, Irish writers produced an Irish modernism that was sitting at the crossroads, welcoming and questioning globalism simultaneously, absorbing it into the Irish national culture.

Revivalist modernism's nationalistic and traditionalist strain, therefore, seems to be at odds with the globalizing tendencies of modernism. Taking into account the fragmented nature of the modernist movement itself in the first place, it is no surprise that revivalism contributed more to this fissured formation. Terry Eagleton writes that

“[m]odernism springs from the estranging impact of modernizing forces on a still deeply traditionalist order, in a politically unstable context [...]. Traditional culture provides modernism with an adversary, but also lends it some of the terms with which to inflect itself” (*Heathcliff* 297). This explains why, with modernism, there was a turn to mythic modes of narrative to question the modern world: Joyce’s *Ulysses* is structurally based on the *Odyssey* and T. S. Eliot’s “The Waste Land” was written in a mythic tone, deriving from sources such as the Holy Grail. Jean-Michel Rabaté argues that at the turn of the 20th century, “masses appeared more conservative, more entranced by tradition, more easily swayed by nationalistic frenzy” which clarifies the tendency for nationalism and traditionalism as a response to globalisation (209). Revivalist modernism employed an anti-colonial agenda in aesthetic terms, yet it also transformed this stance into nationalism which was itself a product of modernity that revivalism was against. In revivalist modernism, the co-existence of anti-colonialism, modernization practices, and nationalist rhetorics indicates its convoluted place in the history of modernism which was itself fragmentary. As Ellmann posits, “[w]hile Irish modernism is generally associated with the Counter-Revival as a reaction against the romantic nostalgia of the Celtic Twilight, recent scholarship has drawn attention to conflicts within the Revival itself, which was not a unified movement but a ‘mosaic’ of rival groups and ideologies” (“Introduction” 16).

The revivalist movement in Ireland was not without its formal, philosophical, and historical contradictions. It naturally inherited some of the pitfalls of nationalism ranging from its paralysing nostalgia to its inherent imaginary quality proposed by Benedict Anderson who defines the nation as an “imagined community.” Anderson writes that the nation is “imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (6). In addition, the nation is limited, sovereign, and necessarily a community because it has boundaries in its freedom, and it is based on the fraternity among its members (Anderson 6). Anderson argues that nationalism stems from those contradictory features of the nation. In the case of Irish nationalism and the revivalist movement, the nationalists constructed or rather “imagined” an Ireland that is limited, sovereign, and communal as “its rediscovery was indistinguishable from its invention” (Dwan 221). The institutions of

revivalism—societies founded, meeting held, translations made, and books published—cultivated the nationalist agenda by extending the reach of nationalism. However, these revivalist projects, “the energy and enthusiasm thereby generated produced very few tangible results” as “the dominant ‘communal’ values of Free State Ireland would be Catholic rather than Gaelic for the simple reason that the most powerful and widely shared ‘sense of peoplehood’ in early twentieth century Ireland was religious rather than linguistic” (Ó Conchubhair 86).

As Irish nationalism’s stronghold, the revivalist movement exemplifies what Frantz Fanon calls “the return to the roots” stage of decolonization. Fanon attests that the “belief in the existence of a national culture is in fact a burning, desperate return to anything. In order to secure his salvation, in order to escape the supremacy of white culture the colonized intellectual feels the need to return to his unknown roots and lose himself, come what may, among his barbaric people” (231). Although Fanon juxtaposes the colonizing white culture with the colonized black culture here, this retrospective appropriation of culture holds true for Irish revivalism as a decolonization method as well. Nonetheless, Irish revivalism eventually gave in to the modern nation-state as it succumbed to the idea of nationalism bound with the state. David Lloyd writes that as “[o]ne of the earliest post-colonial nations, Ireland has largely conformed to the model of bourgeois nationalism that Frantz Fanon analyzed” and “[t]he adoption, virtually wholesale of the state institutions of the colonizing power, and conformity to its models of representative democracy” made Irish nationalism an ambivalent and conflicting set of ideologies as far as its decolonization practices are concerned (*Anomalous States* 7). By handing over what power it held with the support of the Irish folk to the nation-state form of the colonizer, nationalism and revivalism in Ireland basically went against their founding principles of national freedom based on decolonization.

Another paradox of revivalism concerned the language issue. Most revivalist writers including Yeats, Lady Gregory, and George Russell wrote in English and spoke no Irish (Quinn 4). They basically promoted traditional values and called for a return to pre-colonial culture in the colonizer’s language that was forced upon the Irish. Especially after the extensive famine related migration to the United States, the number of the Irish speaking folk declined rapidly:

Famine related mortality was highest among the poor in remoter parts of Connacht and Munster—precisely the demographic group that was least likely to know English. About one million died, and an even larger number emigrated to Britain or North America. With the disappearance of a large pool of monoglot Irish speakers, those who were bilingual no longer needed to transmit the language to the next generation. Instead, a command of English was seen as essential by parents who realized that many of their children would emigrate. (Morley 335)

Although “following the establishment of the Irish Free State, the language became a core part of the school curriculum,” only a small percentage of the Irish folk in the midlands continued speaking Irish in their daily life, with the majority continuing with English as their primary language (Morley 336).

In the literary arena, some heated arguments were conducted in the revivalist movement regarding whether literature in English can be considered as Irish literature. Patrick Pearse was clear in his position about the issue: “Literature which is in Irish is Irish literature; literature which is not in Irish is not Irish literature” (qtd. in Markey 52); and so was D. P. Moran, an important proponent of the Irish-Ireland strain of revivalism, who said “[t]he foundation of Ireland is the Gael, and the Gael must be the element that absorbs” (qtd. in Alvey 40). The plethora of Irish literature, however, was written in English with Anglo-Irish writers leading the revivalist movement. Roy Foster writes that

[I]f service was paid to the desirability of writing in the Irish language as well as speaking it, but the Literary Revival (like much of the long-gestated Irish revolution) happened in English. The flexibility, originality and vigour of much Revivalist writing, none the less, came out of a complex world of language shift, characterising Irish writing in English since the late eighteenth century: “an unsettlingly creative place”, in Matthew Campbell’s phrase. (“Irish Literary Revival” 44)

English, in contrast to its image of an “enemy” of the Irish language, enabled the philosophical debate on the Gael culture in a parodic turn of events, exposing the inherent gaps in the revivalist politics. As Boyce writes, “English was the medium through which nationalist Ireland became a political reality” since “Anglicization, far

from destroying nationalist Ireland, made possible its creation” (*Nationalism* 254).

Another issue with the revivalism was the Irish stereotype created by the British on purpose as a cultural colonial mechanism and fostered by the Irish as a way of revivalism albeit unwillingly. Revivalism highlighted the primitive culture of pre-colonial Ireland as a way of reversing the hold of British colonialism, but this in turn went hand-in-hand with “the stage Irishman” trope that was used by the British as a racist stereotype. This stage Irishman “wore trousers, drank endlessly, swore wildly, and spoke a broken but colourful brand of English, salted with Gaelic exclamations. In the eighteenth century, new features were added: now the character invariably carried a shillelagh under his arm, ate potatoes as a staple diet and frequently appeared with a pig in close attendance” (Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* 21). This primitive and “backward” image of the Irish was later reinforced by other adjectives such as branding the Irish as “lazy,” “evil,” “mischievous,” and “knave” and “rascal” as stated by the Irish captain Macmorris in Shakespeare’s *Henry V*. The British magazine of humour and satire, *Punch*, consistently published comic images of this Irish stereotype in the 19th century including the monstrous image of the “Irish Frankenstein” and the depiction of the Irish as “a monkey” alongside the “British lion.” While Irish revivalism did not consciously promote this type of a racially coded image, it nevertheless bolstered the opposite version of this cultural binary, using the same mechanism of “us vs them,” which resulted in the trope of a peasant Irish. With high morals and strict adherence to Irish ways, this stereotype was of course out of touch with reality as it was only “imagined” in opposition to the British.

This folklorist and ethnographic vision of revivalism was firstly questioned by another revivalist who opted for a more realistic depiction of rural Ireland. John Millington Synge in his *Playboy of the Western World* (1907) sought to reverse this stereotype of Irish peasantry by portraying a protagonist who kills his father and is deemed a hero afterwards by the public. The play was performed for the first time in 1907 and caused riots initiated by the Irish nationalists who were not content with this representation of an Irish peasant hero with questionable morals. Another cause for concern was the mention of the word “shift”—meaning female undergarment—which was directly against the assumption of nationalists that the rural Ireland represented virtue above all else. Irish nationalists thought that the play was an insult to the virtues

of rural Ireland and rioted with “[t]he rage of Caliban seeing his own face in a glass”²⁹ (Wilde 3). The play, in a way, “called to account those nationalist discourses that celebrated an idealized, pre-modern, pre-colonial peasantry, the fantasy projection of an oppressed people driven to embrace uncritically an image of themselves prepared for them by anthropologists and antiquarians” (Castle, *Modernism* 152).

In the end, the revivalist movement presented Ireland another dichotomy to be settled with, just as stifling as the British cultural colonialism. Inflecting sports, cultural life, language, and literature with national politics, revivalism in Ireland sought to save the land from the devastating effects of modernity and British colonialism, albeit through a romanticized and utopic version of the land which were always out of reach. In this respect, Irish revivalist projects were nostalgic and atavistic, deriving their energies from an Irish culture that existed no longer after so much political and cultural turmoil. Moreover, various clashing positions in the movement such as the Irish-Irelanders who supported the use of Gaelic instead of English and the coexistence of Protestant, Catholic, Anglo-Irish, Unionist, and Separatist writers account for the amalgamated nature of the movement. It was for Joyce and the authors writing after him, including Samuel Beckett and Flann O’Brien, to critique and lay bare the shortcomings of revivalism in writing “a nation once again.”

2.3. James Joyce and the Irish Question

Joyce’s interrogation with the Irish Question and the political and cultural reactions to it was just as ambivalent and complex as both literary modernism itself of which he was a part and Irish colonial history that he could not avoid writing about, either implicitly or explicitly. Joyce dabbled in politics through encounters with

²⁹ The quote is from the preface to *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890) by the Irish writer Oscar Wilde. The full quotation is as follows: “The nineteenth century dislike of Realism is the rage of Caliban seeing his own face in a glass. The nineteenth century dislike of Romanticism is the rage of Caliban not seeing his own face in a glass” (3). It is repeated in Joyce’s *Ulysses* in a different context: “The rage of Caliban at not seeing his face in a mirror, he said. If Wilde were only alive to see you!”, uttered by Buck Mulligan to Stephen Dedalus (1.143-4). One of Stephen’s most important artistic symbols is the “cracked lookingglass of a servant” as the manifestation of Irish art, symbolizing its fragmentary nature (*U* 1.146). Stephen, according to Mulligan, cannot see his face—cannot find himself as an artist—in this mirror as it is broken and symbolizes servitude to the British.

socialism, anarchism and Irredentism³⁰, but as his brother Stanislaus Joyce claimed, “he attach[ed] himself to no school” (*Dublin Diary* 54). Those relationships were more philosophical and inquiry-based rather than participatory since Joyce was no fan of parliamentary political methods (Manganiello 21). It is through Joyce’s texts that his difficult and messy politics can be unravelled rather than tracing which political movements he seemed to have supported throughout his life. Until the 1980s, Joyce was portrayed as an apolitical writer whose loyalties lay within the aesthetic realm only. It was the Joyce critical studies after the 1980s with critics such as Dominic Manganiello, Len Platt, Colin MacCabe, David Lloyd, Derek Attridge, Patrick McGee, Marjorie Howes, and Emer Nolan who explored Joyce’s intricate relationship with Irish politics through his texts. By examining Joyce’s texts from various standpoints such as nationalism, colonialism, and historiography, these critics have divulged varied methods through which Joyce engaged with Irish politics in his works. From critiquing both the bigotry of the Irish revivalist projects and the brutal colonialism of the British to supporting Irish independence, Joyce’s politics was characterized by a fierce opposition to binaries, parochialism and essentialist modes of thinking, and by a penchant for dismantling them through the act of writing, creating “material effects of language” and “possibilities of [political] transformation” through language (MacCabe 2).

Joyce’s employment of language as political phenomenon is very much evident in his texts. In *Finnegans Wake*, the character Shaun takes on the appearance of a professor lecturing on space and time and to attract the attention of the audience, he utters these words as the introduction: “Gentes and laitymen, fullstoppers and semicolonials, hybreds and lubberds!” (FW 152). “Gentes and laitymen” clearly reads as “gentlemen and ladies,” but also bears the connotations of “gentiles” and “laity”, markers of religious exclusion³¹. The phrase “fullstoppers and semicolonials” mixes the materiality of writing through punctuation with yet again other markers of political exclusion and inclusion, invoking “the opposition between permanent and temporary

³⁰ Irredentism is the “territorial claim based on a national, ethnic, or historical basis” (Ambrosio). It advocates for the reterritorialization of a place based on nationalistic claims, with the hope of uniting peoples under ethnic, national, or religious bonds. Manganiello writes that Joyce was aware of “the similarity between irredentism and the Irish independence movement, since Ireland too awaited its ‘redemption’ from British rule” (44).

³¹ Gentile means not Jewish and laity denotes people outside the clergy.

inhabitants of a colonized country, or, ‘stoppers’ and ‘colonials’” (Howes and Attridge 1). “Hybreds” can be read as “hybrids” or “high-breds,” and “lubberds” is clearly denoting “low-breds”. With three pairs of words, juxtaposing various political positions, Joyce is embedding his complicated politics into his texts. Marjorie Howes and Derek Attridge in their edited book *Semicolonial Joyce* argue that Joyce’s texts can be read as “both strongly supportive of Irish nationalism and highly critical of it” (2). The difficulty in pinpointing Joyce’s politics, therefore, stems from the fact that he was himself “semicolonial.” Howes and Attridge write about Joyce’s works that “in their dealings with questions of nationalism and imperialism they evince a complex and ambivalent set of attitudes not reducible to a simple anticolonialism but very far from expressing approval of the colonial organizations and methods under which Ireland had suffered during a long history of oppression” (3). Joyce’s complex political dealings in his works do not solely form an anti-colonial resistance in the general sense since he was writing from an already colonized culture as an expatriate caught in the nets of “nationality, language, [and] religion” (Joyce, *P* 220). Thus, the anti-colonial stance in his works always operates in parallel with his critique of Irish nationalism as both colonialism and nationalism put setbacks to his artistic growth.

Joyce’s relationship with Irish nationalism, and religion as an important part of it, was one of the foremost topics that the critics have found difficult to pinpoint. While Joyce was supportive of Irish independence his whole life, he was also critical of the parochialism and stasis that Irish nationalism caused. On one hand, we have Joyce the Irishman who wanted to see his country free from the British colonialism and on the other hand, we have Joyce the internationalist who was critical of Irish traditions because of their sterility. Once, he asked an aspiring Irish writer what he would have liked to write about and upon hearing the answer “[s]omething on the model of the French satirists,” Joyce responded: “You will never do it; you are an Irishman and you must write in your own tradition” (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 505). When the artist said, “he was tired of nationality and wanted to be international, like all the great writers,” Joyce responded that “[t]hey were national first, and it was the intensity of their own nationalism which made them international in the end” (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 505). The same thing can be said about Joyce, who went on a voluntary exile to continue writing about his country as an international writer, proving that “the shortest way to Tara was

via Holyhead”³² (Joyce, *P* 273). Joyce’s internationalist outlook, therefore, was not at odds with his Irishness at all; on the contrary, it was his Irishness and the Irishness he created in his texts that Joyce has come to be the symbol of global modernism.

In his non-fictional writings, Joyce never shied away from praising Ireland and highlighting the need to free it from the British rule. In a lecture he gave at Università Popolare in Trieste, titled “Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages” (1907), Joyce argues that “[t]he Irish, with a pride that is perhaps less easy to explain, love to refer to their country as the island of saints and sages” (*OCPW* 108)³³. He then outlines the part religion and intellectualism have played in making Ireland a great civilization while exposing the British colonial rule as the culprit for the loss of this potency. England, according to him, “was as cruel as she was cunning: her weapons were, and are, the battering-ram, the club, and the noose” meaning that it forcefully colonized Ireland through wars, violence, and execution of the Irish (*OCPW* 119). He extends his critique to other areas that were destroyed by the colonial rule: “The English now laugh at the Irish for being Catholic, poor and ignorant [...]. Ireland is poor because English laws destroyed the industries of the country, notably the woollen one; because, in the years in which the potato crop failed, the negligence of the English government left the flower of the people to die of hunger [...].” (*OCPW* 119-20). Joyce’s extensive rebuke in this lecture is “clearly an anti-colonial project,” and marks Joyce’s heavy criticism of the colonial rule, almost like an epideictic oratory (Gibson, *Strong Spirit* 116-17).

Similarly in his essay “Ireland at the Bar” (1907), Joyce was critical, even downright accusatory, of the colonial rule. Citing the Maamtrasna Murders in Ireland in 1882 in which Maolra Seoighe (English: Myles Joyce, no relation to James Joyce) was wrongfully convicted and hanged of murder. Myles Joyce was an Irish-speaking man with no knowledge of English, yet despite this, the trial went on in English with inadequate translation service that interpreted Myles Joyce’s elaborations simply as “[h]e says no, your worship,” which basically rendered Myles Joyce “speechless” and unable to defend himself (*OCPW* 145). Margaret Kelleher writes that “Myles Joyce’s

³² Tara is the name of an ancient hill in Ireland where high kings used to be crowned. Holyhead is the westernmost city of Wales, located directly across Dublin. The quote “the shortest way to Tara was via Holyhead” means that the Irish needs to leave their country in order to understand it better (Joyce, *P* 273).

³³ *OCPW* will be used hereafter in in-text citation as the abbreviation of Joyce’s *Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing* (2000).

answering in the affirmative (that he did understand the interpreter's speech in Irish) was taken to mean that he understood evidence given in English, as a result, the service of the interpreter was not extended to him in the course of the trial and was restored only at the delivery of the verdict of guilty" (119). Joyce was clearly affected by this atrocity and thought that it was not only Myles Joyce at the bar that day but the whole Ireland:

The figure of this bewildered old man, left over from a culture which is not ours, a deaf-mute before his judge, is a symbol of the Irish nation at the bar of public opinion. Like him, Ireland cannot appeal to the modern conscience of England or abroad. [...] But the Irish do know that it is the cause of all their suffering, and this is why they employ extremely violent methods to resolve it. (OCPW 146-7)

The link between colonial subjugation and language becomes apparent here as the English language is made into a tool for persecuting the Irish both literally in front of law and metaphorically in the cultural arena. Joyce's earlier non-fiction bears this accusatory tone towards the colonial rule, which sometimes takes a turn into justifying the violent strain of Irish nationalism as his last sentence above shows.

If "Joyce the Irishman" has proved to be lingering in his texts, so does "Joyce the critic" who was fervently opposed to the essentialist views of Irish nationalism and its accompanying movements such as the Irish Literary Revival and Gaelic Revivalism as well as the stagnant parliamentary politics. Gordon Bowker in his biography of Joyce writes that "[a]s for Irish politics, he favoured *Sinn Féin*'s programme over that of the other Irish parties, mainly because they were uninvolved with the Church. He supported the independence of Ireland but not its cultural isolation. Even so, he saw himself outside of, and above, all parties" (159). Joyce's distance towards Irish nationalism stems from various factors such as his profound critique of Catholicism—an inherent inflection of majority of Irish nationalist organizations—, his cosmopolitan worldview that parallels his belief in cultural heterogeneity, and his pacifist nature that sustained him with a hopeful outlook towards the future. In "Ireland: Island of Saint and Sages," Joyce speaks about the folly of thinking that the Irish is one homogeneous race: "In Ireland we can see how the Danes, the Firbolgs, the Milesians from Spain, the Norman invaders, the Anglo-Saxon colonists and the

Huguenots came together to form a new entity, under the influence of a local god, one might say” (OCPW 118-9). According to Joyce, the amalgamated nature of the Irish at the turn of the century complicates some of the elements of Irish nationalism, especially its Gaelic strain. “What race,” he asks, “or what language [...] can nowadays claim to be pure?” (OCPW 118). It would serve no purpose, then, to advocate for racial and cultural purity as a way of cultural/national preservation because “just as ancient Egypt is dead, so is ancient Ireland” (OCPW 125). Joyce thought that “[t]he ancient national spirit that spoke throughout the centuries through the mouths of fabulous seers, wandering minstrels, and Jacobite poets has vanished from the world with the death of James Clarence Mangan³⁴” and thus trying to revive that ancient culture was useless and detrimental to the struggle for Irish freedom since it did not contribute to it in practice amongst the laments for the dead and gone (OCPW 125). In writing “[n]ations, like individuals, have their egos,” Joyce put a distance between his politics and the popular and insular manifestations of the revivalist strain of Irish nationalism (OCPW 108).

Joyce’s communication with the Irish Literary Revival was also a defining feature of his critique of the Irish nationalist movements. “Although Joyce admired Yeats as a poet,” writes Bowker, “he was by no means enamoured of the Irish Literary Theatre or the cultural revival” (81). According to Joyce, Yeats and the cultural nationalism of which he was a representative were chasing romantic ideals about ancient Ireland that were out of touch with the reality the country was experiencing at the beginning of the 20th century. The “redemptive mode of ethnography” of the revivalist movement with its emphasis on the mystic, folkloric, and the primitive alienated Joyce from the movement (Castle, *Modernism* 184). Although Yeats and Joyce both sought “to invent or ‘write’ Ireland,” they differed in their means to do so (Castle, *Modernism* 173). While Yeats found Irish authenticity in folklore and primitivity, “Joyce challenged the cultural assumptions of the Revival” by dismantling its “mystification of oppressive social conditions” which he explored extensively in *Dubliners* (Castle, *Modernism* 173-4). Gregory Castle compares Joyce and Yeats’s

³⁴ James Clarence Mangan (1803-1849) was an Irish poet known for his translations from various languages including Turkish, German, Arabic, and Persian. Although he mostly wrote in the Romantic tradition, he was later heralded as one of the first national poets of Ireland due to his patriotic works. Both Yeats and Joyce held him in high esteem.

differing methods of writing Ireland as follows:

Joyce and Yeats, each in different ways, epitomize the dilemma of the Irish writer faced with the necessity of constructing an imaginary nation from within a colonial context. While Yeats chose to revive an autochthonous folk tradition by evoking it using methods borrowed from anthropology and ethnography, Joyce chose to create a national literature by engaging in an immanent critique of Revivalism in which colonial and anthropological discourses are appropriated and criticized in a more sustained and consistent fashion than either Yeats or Synge were able to accomplish. (*Modernism* 175)

Yeats's ethnographic method that employed folklorisation—the re-stylisation and reification of rural Ireland as the essence—was at odds with Joyce's more direct look at the daily lives of the modern Irish population. Joyce's turn to the daily lives of ordinary Dubliners in his works was his way to “rewrite” Ireland at the beginning of the 20th century, a method of critical exposition of the atavistic revivalist rhetorics.

Joyce directly criticized the revivalist literary movement for its sterility in his essay “The Day of the Rabblement” (1901). “A nation,” he writes, “which never advanced so far as a miracle-play affords no literary model to the artist, and he must look abroad. Earnest dramatists of the second rank, Sudermaun [*sic*], for Bypruson [*sic*], and Giocosa [*sic*], can write very much better plays than the Irish Literary Theatre has staged” (*OCPW* 50-51). This harsh opinion was prompted by what Joyce thought about the movement's insularity and its lack of cosmopolitanism. Joyce's admiration for European playwrights, especially for Ibsen, explains his observations about the Irish theatre, but it was more than his Europeanness that prompted his critique. John McCourt relates his critical point of view regarding the revivalist movement by mentioning his “Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages”:

In everything Joyce did there was the desire to link his country to “Europe's concert,” but he also had to come to terms with “the glories of a past civilization,” which, he felt, offered Ireland her passport into modern Europe. He chose to dwell on Ireland's intellectual glories, which he defined in his own terms in this lecture and in openly polemical contrast with the convenient revivalist constructions of the past and present. (131)

“Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages,” which was written six years after “The Day of

the Rabblement,” blends Joyce’s critique of the revivalist movement with his unending fascination with Ireland’s former intellectual glories and offers Joyce’s more mature understanding of cosmopolitanism and critique of Irish revivalism.

David Lloyd argues that “historical judgement of nationalism is [...] always also an aesthetic one” (*Ireland* 24). This cannot be any truer in Joyce’s case as his entire aesthetics was based on politics and vice versa. Politics and aesthetics are inseparable in Joyce’s writings as he employs aesthetics as a political critical tool to “write” Ireland anew. In the same strain, Emer Nolan states in *James Joyce and Nationalism* (1994) that “his writings about Ireland may not provide a coherent critique of either colonised or colonialist; but their very ambiguities and hesitations testify to the uncertain, divided consciousness of the colonial subject, which he is unable to articulate in its full complexity outside his fiction” (130). Joyce’s fiction is a testament to his strained relationship with Ireland, Irish nationalism, and the Irish Question.

Joyce’s complex interrogation with the Irish Question is found in abundance in his works, beginning with his earlier prose writing. *Dubliners*, Joyce’s collection of fifteen short stories, was written in 1914 and according to its writer, he has “taken the first step towards the spiritual liberation” of his country by writing the collection (Ellmann, *JJ* 221). Joyce explained why he wrote *Dubliners* in a letter: “My intention was to write a chapter in the moral history of my country and I chose Dublin for the scene because that city seemed to me the centre of paralysis” (Ellmann, *Letters II* 134). *Dubliners* is an account of the Irish middle class at the turn of the century, paralysed both by the British colonial rule from the outside and Irish nationalism and Catholicism from the inside. The stories are punctuated by shattered ideals and the characters’ inability to direct their lives including making decisions such as the protagonist’s hesitation to leave Ireland in “Eveline” and the despair of young people controlled by their parents as in “The Boarding House” and “A Mother”; by the economic and social division in colonial Ireland exemplified in “Araby” and “After the Race,” both of which include characters questioning their places in society in relation to money and social status; by Irish “follies” such as gossip, conning, and heavy drinking depicted in “Two Gallants” and “Counterparts”; and by the hold Catholicism had on Irish people as portrayed in “A Little Cloud.” The core of the stories is conveyed through epiphanies, sudden and momentous realizations that culminate in deep understanding

of situations, which is the lineament of Joycean textuality that persists in his later works.

Dubliners is structured like a *Bildungsroman*, in line with the stories' narrative progression from "childhood, adolescence, maturity, and public life" (Ellmann, *Letters II* 134). Joyce said about *Dubliners* that it was written "for the most part in a style of scrupulous meanness" and mentioned "the special odour of corruption which, [he] hope[s], floats over [his] stories" (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 210). That "scrupulous meanness" he mentioned was Joyce's choice of using heavily allusive language that would make the reader extract "the special odour of corruption" which characterizes his Dublin. Jeri Johnson argues that the phrase "scrupulous meanness" is "itself rich in Joycean ambiguity" since "scrupulous" means "exact," and "meanness" denotes "frugality," making the two opposites (xxiv). "We take Joyce to mean," Johnson continues, "'a style of minutely exact frugality', but perplexity and lowliness are never very far away, and 'insignificance' there is none" (xxiv). By showing *Dubliners*' frugal lives minute by minute, Joyce's aim was clear from the beginning: "It is not my fault that the odour of ashpits and old weeds and offal hangs round my stories. I seriously believe that you will retard the course of civilization in Ireland by preventing the Irish people from having one good look at themselves in my nicely polished looking-glass" (Ellmann, *Letters II* 63-64). *Dubliners* was Joyce's "nicely polished looking-glass" showing *Dubliners* themselves, a sight that they dreaded to look upon since "Joyce's political critique in *Dubliners* targets the Irish as well as the British to the extent that they remain, as the narrator of 'After the Race' puts it, 'gracefully oppressed'" (Johnson xix).

All the stories in *Dubliners* contain traces of Joyce's relationship with the Irish Question and Irish nationalism, yet two stories, "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" and "The Dead," become prominent in conveying Joyce's densest critiques about the issue. "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" is set on an Ivy Day—October 6, the day Charles Stewart Parnell died—commemorating his memory. A group of Irish canvassers meet in a committee room and discuss the upcoming local elections, home rule, and Irish nationalism. As the story progresses, possible betrayals of nationalist candidates in the election are revealed such as the nationalist Tierney planning to give a welcoming speech for the arrival of King Edward VII and a talk of possible spies

among themselves begins to circulate. Parnell is remembered amidst the political talk and the men fall silent, overwhelmed by grief. The sound of corks flying out of alcohol bottles—“Pok!”—punctuates the narrative and serves as a reminder of the Irish paralysis at work in the committee room, evident in the empty talks of the canvassers (*D* 146)³⁵. Towards the end of the narrative, one of the characters reads a poem dedicated to Parnell:

He is dead. Our Uncrowned King is dead.
O, Erin, mourn with grief and woe
For he lies dead whom the fell gang
Of modern hypocrites laid low.
[...]
The day that brings us Freedom's reign.
And on that day may Erin well
Pledge in the cup she lifts to Joy
One grief—the memory of Parnell. (*D* 150, 152)

The emotionless and dry tone of the poem is at odds with the content through which Parnell is elevated to the status of a hero betrayed by his country. Joyce's perfect irony highlights the fact that the canvassers are doing nothing to advance Parnell's legacy except for talking. Frank Callanan argues that the story is “Joyce's first mature deployment of the Parnell myth, and it marks the point of the integration of his Parnellism and his art” and “[t]he Parnell motif is not extraneous, but a major and insistently recurring theme that threads through Joyce's development as an artist” (87, 93). Four years before the publication of *Dubliners*, Joyce wrote about Parnell that “[i]n his last proud appeal to his people, he implored his fellow-countrymen not to throw him to the English wolves howling around them. It redounds to their honour of his fellow-countrymen that they did not fail that desperate appeal. They did not throw him to the English wolves; they tore him apart themselves” (*OCPW* 196). Joyce's admiration for Parnell, the political stasis looming over Ireland after his death, and Joyce's opinion that the Irish themselves betrayed him resonate along the lines of the story as the striking final sentence reveals the futility of commemorating Parnell without any action: “Mr Crofton said that it was a very fine piece of writing” (*D* 152).

³⁵ The letter *D* will be used for *Dubliners* in in-text citation.

The hollow poem is nothing but a “very fine of piece of writing” which will only remain in writing.

“The Dead” is perhaps the most famous story of *Dubliners* with which the book dramatically finishes with its final lines: “His soul swooned slowly as he heard the snow falling faintly through the universe and faintly falling, like the descent of their last end, upon all the living and the dead” (D 256). “The Dead” is the story of Gabriel Conroy and his wife Gretta attending the Christmas dinner hosted by his aunts where several incidents force Gabriel to contemplate, including a political clash he has with the Irish nationalist Miss Ivors and an emotional downfall he experiences after learning a secret of his wife. Gabriel is an Irish intellectual who writes book reviews for magazines to earn a living. When Miss Ivors confronts Gabriel about his “un-Irish” ways and accuses him of being a British supporter, the story takes a political turn:

“[...] I have found out that you write for *The Daily Express*. Now, aren’t you ashamed of yourself?”

“Why should I be ashamed of myself?” asked Gabriel, blinking his eyes and trying to smile.

“Well, I’m ashamed of you,” said Miss Ivors frankly. “To say you’d write for a paper like that. I didn’t think you were a West Briton.” (D 214)

Gabriel is surprised by this confrontation, and Miss Ivors expresses that she is only joking only for the talk to be carried into more dangerous waters with the mention of holiday destinations. She mentions that she is going to the Aran Isles in Ireland for holiday to which Gabriel replies with his own choice of places, France and Belgium:

“And why do you go to France and Belgium,” said Miss Ivors, “instead of visiting your own land?”

“Well,” said Gabriel, “it’s partly to keep in touch with the languages and partly for a change.”

“And haven’t you your own language to keep in touch with—Irish?” asked Miss Ivors.

“Well,” said Gabriel, “if it comes to that, you know, Irish is not my language.”

[...]

“And haven’t you your own land to visit,” continued Miss Ivors, “that you know nothing of, your own people, and your own country?”

“O, to tell you the truth,” retorted Gabriel suddenly, “I’m sick of my own country, sick of it!” (D 215-216)

Gabriel’s retort is similar to Joyce’s own sentiments about Ireland which stifled him enough with its pointless and nostalgic nationalism to make him flee the country. “Irish is not my language” summarizes Joyce’s take on the Irish language as someone who could not speak it³⁶. He once wrote: “If the Irish programme did not insist on the Irish language I suppose I could call myself a nationalist” (Ellmann, *JJ* 237). Gordon Bowker draws parallels with Gabriel’s case and Joyce’s in terms of politics:

His mastery of foreign languages only enhanced his command of English, but the rise of Irish cultural nationalism, committed to revive the Irish language, posed a dilemma for Joyce. He relished old languages and felt a deep affinity for Irish, but English was a bridge to the wider world in which he felt his destiny lay. His attachment to English would bring him into conflict with nationalists scornful of so-called “West Britons” who refused to renounce the imposed alien culture, a charge levelled at Gabriel Conroy in “The Dead.” (69)

Joyce’s own explanation of the story is illuminating here as the title and the final lines take on a political meaning: “The last story, which serves as the final chorus of the book presents holiday life, the celebration of Christmas. In England and Ireland ghost stories are still told about the fire at Christmas time [...]. The story ‘The Dead’ is also, in its way, a story of ghosts, of the dead who return in envy of the living” (qtd. in Joyce, *Recollections* 20). Towards the end of the story, Gabriel learns a secret from Greta’s youth, a lover who she thinks died from an illness he caught while waiting for her in the rain. The ghost of this lover hangs over Gabriel as he has an epiphany about how little he knows about his wife, yet it is also possible to find, in the story, another ghost, the ghost of Irish nationalism that restrains Gabriel.

Joyce’s novels provide more in-depth appropriations of his politics by expanding both the textual and historico-political dimensions of his literary oeuvre. While *A Portrait* presents a more artistically rebellious view against both the colonial and the national hold Britain and Ireland had on Irish people, *Ulysses* portrays the Irish issue with a keen look on daily life infused with politics. Joyce’s last novel *Finnegans*

³⁶ Joyce attended a few Irish classes of the Gaelic League, but quickly got bored of the authoritative teaching style of his teacher Patrick Pearse, an Irish revolutionary who would later be executed in the Easter Rising (Bowker 76).

Wake departs from the textual comfort zone of these two novels and dismantles both the standard literary textuality and the English language itself to express a more overarching view of history and politics. All three novels critically engage with Irish history and politics not just in content but primarily in form: *A Portrait* through *Künstlerroman*, with epiphany as its complementing narrative element; *Ulysses* with its diverse forms with an emphasis on parody; and *Finnegans Wake* with its circular form and circular understanding of history. In his novels, Joyce tried to enact his own Janus-faced politics by calling the contemporary nation building practices into question and to “forge in the smithy of [his] soul the uncreated conscience of [his] race” (P 288).



CHAPTER 3: ARTISTIC DESIRES AND HISTORICAL NECESSITIES IN A *PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS A YOUNG MAN* (1916)

3.1. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* as *Künstlerroman*

Joyce's first novel *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* was published in 1916, but its precursor was *Stephen Hero*, an autobiographical novel Joyce began writing in 1904 and abandoned in 1907³⁷. *Stephen Hero* describes "in intimate detail [Joyce's] different relationships with his fellow students [...] as well as his changing vision of the Catholic Church, [and] his controversial views on the Irish literary scene and on Irish nationalism" (Kelly, *Joyce* 143). The novel, published posthumously as an incomplete manuscript in 1944, is realist in style just like *A Portrait*, but lacks the dense stream of consciousness and interior monologue the latter has been expanded into, remaining "a thinly disguised autobiography, stylistically undistinguished and immensely long" (Attridge, "Joyce" 581). *Stephen Hero* is Joyce's first attempt at writing a novel and can be accepted as a transitional work for *A Portrait*. Nevertheless, the two novels differ from each other in terms of their narrative and literary impact, with *Stephen Hero* "tak[ing] a much more literal, realistic approach to the subject, with none of the stylistic innovations that make *A Portrait* the prototypical modernist novel" (Fagnoli and Gillespie 154-5). After Joyce abandoned writing *Stephen Hero*, he began reworking it with more specificity in content and textual experimentation in style and that work became *A Portrait of the Artist as A Young Man*.

A Portrait is Joyce's debut novel that was serialized, with the help of Ezra Pound, in the English literary magazine *The Egoist* between 1914 and 1915. It was published in 1916 as a novel and cemented Joyce's place on the front lines of literary modernism. *A Portrait* differs from *Stephen Hero* both in content and form: *A Portrait* delves more into the mind of its protagonist Stephen Dedalus³⁸ through free indirect style; epiphanies punctuate the narrative more deeply; and Stephen's personal and artistic development go in parallel with the historical and political realities of Joyce's time. In form, *A Portrait* is a *Künstlerroman* (the artist's novel) which is a subgenre of *Bildungsroman*, novel of formation or commonly known as coming-of-age novel,

³⁷ Joyce had also previously written an essay titled "A Portrait of the Artist" in 1904. The title of *A Portrait* comes from this essay.

³⁸ Stephen's surname is Daedalus in *Stephen Hero*. Joyce obviously changed it to Dedalus in *A Portrait*.

and it tells the story of Stephen Dedalus's life in Ireland from his childhood to adulthood. Stephen's life is imbued with Irish culture and politics as he tries to build his own life via his artistic theories. On a superficial level, the first reading of the novel yields a mythological analysis that emphasizes the mythic parallels evident in the book. The story of *A Portrait* is like a modernist rendition of the Daedalus myth: Stephen's surname is Dedalus, reminiscing the ancient Greek figure Daedalus who is a skilled craftsman. When Daedalus and his son Icarus get stuck in the labyrinth the former has made for King Minos of Crete to capture the Minotaur, he designs a pair of wings for his son to escape and warns him not to go near to the sun. When Icarus disregards his father's warnings and flies too close to the sun, his wings made from beeswax melt, and he drowns. Stephen's story resembles Icarus's in that his artistic aspirations do not translate into a success story and his hubris of "getting too close to the sun" (leaving Ireland for France at the end of the novel) brings about his downfall as we see him back in Dublin in *Ulysses*, with none of his artistic ambitions realized. In the final lines of *A Portrait*, Stephen leaves Dublin for Paris, and, in a way, prays to Daedalus to give him strength in his journey: "Old father, old artificer, stand me now and ever in good stead" (P 276). Seamus Deane writes that "Stephen exchanges his biological [father] for his spiritual father, Daedalus" at the end of the novel ("Introduction" xxi). Nevertheless, Stephen does not simply take upon the character of Icarus in the narrative. He is also the "cunning artificer" Daedalus for he also designs "wings" (his artistic theories) to get out of the labyrinth he has got lost in (Ireland) (Johnson xxv). The mythic parallels, for this reason, do not present a viable critical hold for the reader as they are not enough to unpack the historical and political context of the novel. They indeed provide a character-based structure for the plot, but *A Portrait*'s historical and political readings actually lie in its form.

To analyse *A Portrait*'s historical and political underpinnings, it is first imperative to understand its form and accompanying social meanings behind that form. *A Portrait* is an example of a *Bildungsroman*, from German, meaning "novel of formation" (Abrams and Harpham 255). *Bildungsroman* takes its subject as "the development of the protagonist's mind and character, in the passage from childhood through varied experiences—and often through a spiritual crisis—into maturity; this process usually involves recognition of one's identity and role in the world" (Abrams

and Harpham 255). *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (*Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*) (1795) by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe is frequently cited as the first *Bildungsroman* and other notable novels of the genre include *Jane Eyre* (1847) by Charlotte Brontë, *Wuthering Heights* (1847) by Emily Brontë, and *David Copperfield* (1850) and *Great Expectations* (1861) by Charles Dickens. The genre's name derives from the German word *Bildung*, "a notoriously untranslatable word that connotes both form and the process of formation" (Slaughter 95). This self-cultivation of the hero in *Bildungsroman* highlights both the person the hero becomes at the end of the novel and the process of transforming into that desired self. Bakhtin explains that at the heart of the *Bildungsroman* lies "the image of man in the process of becoming" ("*Bildungsroman*" 19): "The hero himself, his character, becomes a variable in the formula of this type of novel. Changes in the hero himself acquire plot significance, and thus the entire plot of the novel is reinterpreted and reconstructed" ("*Bildungsroman*" 21). Franco Moretti in *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture* (2000) identifies some crucial elements of a *Bildungsroman* such as "personality," "trial and opportunity," "conversation," and "inevitable evils" (38, 42, 48, 52). The hero's personality grows through trial, opportunity, conversation, and inevitable evils that must be faced. Bakhtin similarly observes about the genre that "[t]his kind of novel of emergence typically depicts the world and life as experience, as a school, through which every person must pass and derive one and the same result: one becomes more sober, experiencing some degree of resignation" ("*Bildungsroman*" 22).

Bildungsroman's "crucial theme is precisely change—physical, psychological, moral. The hero is no longer 'ready-made' and, through all his shifts in fortune or social position, stable" (Jeffers 2). The emphasis on personal change in all its aspects inevitably brings into account social and historical change, both as cause and effect. The hero's personal transformation in *Bildungsroman* clearly reflects historical change in the outer world and this causes the hero to personally change, react, and adapt in response. Fredric Jameson writes that *Bildungsroman* as a genre is based on "conceptions of life, career, pedagogy and spiritual or material development which are all essentially ideological and thereby historical" ("No Magic"). In *Bildungsroman*, this dichotomy of the outer world represented by the overarching historical and social

events and the inner world of the hero ideologically affected by those events ultimately lies at the heart of the genre. Moretti writes that the “conflict between the ideal of self-determination and the equally imperious demands of socialization” is what makes *Bildungsroman* a genre of transformation (Way 15). Similarly, Lukács talks about “the reconciliation of the problematic individual [...] with concrete social reality” as the focus of the *Bildungsroman* form (Theory 132). The incongruity between individual desires and historical necessities, “individual autonomy and social integration,” facilitates the narrative power of the *Bildungsroman* (Moretti, Way 80). At the end of a typical *Bildungsroman*, reconciliation between those two ends is usually achieved. If the “ultimate goal of *Bildung* [is] to incorporate the fully realized person into the mundane world of politics and polities, in particular, into the realm of the modern nation-state” then the incorporation is successful when the hero submits to the demands of the “mundane world of politics and polities” (Slaughter 95).

When the gap between the desired world and the given world grows, the incorporation of the hero into the society is imperilled. Franco Moretti argues that the *Bildungsroman* written after the second half of the 19th century carry this incompatibility as their driving narrative power (Way 80). The reason for this, according to Moretti, is that modernity and its destructive power over Europe has made the *Bildungsroman* “the ‘symbolic form’ of modernity” (Way 5). Moretti insists that *Bildungsroman* presents “a specific image of modernity”: “the image conveyed precisely by the youthful attributes of mobility and inner restlessness” and “[m]odernity as a bewitching and risky process full of ‘great expectations’ and ‘lost illusions’” (Way 5). The disappointment resulting from the incongruity between the hero’s “great expectations” and the realization that they cannot be fulfilled because of chaotic modernity is the defining feature of the hero’s personality in the later examples of the form. The hero can turn to the “comfort of civilization” as refuge, which Moretti identifies as the *Bildungsroman*’s ultimate historical meaning, but perhaps it is that very modern civilization that brings about that disappointment in the first place (Way 16). In the complex world of causes and effects in the hero’s environment, modernity and all its irreconcilable features play a crucial role in defining the *Bildung* of the heroes in the novels of this form, especially towards the end of the 19th century.

A Portrait is a *Bildungsroman*, but it is specifically a *Künstlerroman*, the

artist's novel, an even crucial marker for its historical and political rootedness since Stephen's considerations on art become a kind of a catalyser in the narrative to help him experience and attain his *Bildung*. *Künstlerroman* is a sub-genre of *Bildungsroman* in which the artist's identity formation takes precedence. Jack London's *Martin Eden* (1909), Wyndham Lewis's *Tarr* (1918), William Somerset Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* (1915), and F. Scott Fitzgerald's *This Side of Paradise* (1920) are prominent examples of this subgenre. It is generally agreed that "[u]nlike many *Bildungsroman*, where the hero often dreams of becoming a great artist but settles for being a mere useful citizen, the *Künstlerroman* usually ends on a note of arrogant rejection of the commonplace life" ("*Künstlerroman*"). Thus, the integration of the artist into the commonplace society frequently fails in the *Künstlerroman* as the artistic realm (desires) and the realm of reality (necessities) do not correlate. The artist's hubris, in a way, rejects ready-made societal roles and the artist takes upon themselves the responsibility to draw their own path, usually against all odds.

A Portrait is an excellent example of a *Bildungsroman* and a *Künstlerroman* with emphasis on self-development, but it is also subversive of the typical features of both forms due to its modernist categorization. Because *A Portrait* is a modernist *Bildungsroman/Künstlerroman*, all its historical, political, and ideological underpinnings are identifiable through those narrative forms with a heightened sense of the world under modernity. Gregory Castle claims that "[t]he idea of education through self-cultivation (*Bildung*) belongs to the era of self-assured modernity" ("Coming of Age" 359). *A Portrait* as a modernist *Künstlerroman* deals with those effects of modernity that cut across the past modes of socialization and integration. This modernist effect, however, symbolized in Stephen's identity formation as an artist, is never separate from the questions of colonialization and nationalism as "the modernist *Bildungsroman*, especially in colonial societies, thrives on the kinds of social conflicts" that arise from those questions of national identity and struggle for freedom (Castle, "Coming of Age" 363). Stephen's fight for freedom from the suffocating national and religious ties mirrors, however paradoxical it may seem, Ireland's struggle to get free from colonization. Castle argues that *Bildungsroman* is a "powerful and relevant form for the negotiation of complex problems concerning

identity, nationality, education, the role of the artist, and social as well as personal relationships” and “[t]his is especially true in the works of Irish modernists like Joyce, who was able to translate disempowerment into narratives of survival, even if survival meant dissent and, ultimately, exile” (“Coming of Age” 364). Thus, *A Portrait* as *Bildungsroman/Künstlerroman* “stresses the links between narrative form and social power: a dissent from social order, from the conventions of self-cultivation, a dissent as well from the ideas of pedagogy and parenting that sanction restrictive and punitive models of development” (Castle, “Coming of Age” 364). As Stephen rejects the social codes of the colonized society which produces equally deleterious nationalism and blind religiosity as defensive mechanisms, social integration needed to complete his education is reversed into a rebellion which is itself translated into a kind of counter-education for a non-normative artist like Stephen.

In parallel with its form as *Bildungsroman/Künstlerroman*, *A Portrait* is an episodic narrative consisting of five chapters, each of them corresponding to a period in Stephen’s life punctuated by different themes and symbols:

Chapters³⁹	Time Period	Theme	Symbol
Chapter 1: Childhood Sensibility	Childhood	Innocence	School
Chapter 2: The Fall	Early youth	Disillusionment / alienation	Sexual desire
Chapter 3: The Sermon	Youth	Sin	Religion
Chapter 4: The New Vocation	Young adulthood	Absolution	Epiphany
Chapter 5: The New Doctrine	Adulthood	Freedom	Art

Table 1. The narrative schema of *A Portrait*

Time progression in the text concurs with Stephen’s development both as a young person and an aspiring artist, and symbols in each chapter such as school, religion, and art substantiate the *Bildung* of the hero. Through his dealings with and reaction to each

³⁹ Although there are no chapter titles in the novel, Kenneth Burke in his article “Fact, Inference, and Proof in the Analysis of Literary Symbolism” suggests the abovementioned chapter names, relevant with the themes of each chapter (319).

of these paradigms, Stephen grows as an artist and educates himself. The text opens with an epigraph from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: "*Et ignotas animus dimittit in artes,*" in Latin, meaning "[a]nd he sets his mind to work upon unknown arts" (Gifford 136). Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is a collection of mythical transformation stories and this section of Ovid's work, where the epigram is from, tells the story of Daedalus and Icarus. It is also a symbolic reference to Stephen's identity formation as an artist who also "sets his mind to work upon unknown arts" (Gifford 136). The theme of metamorphosis or transformation is intrinsic to the *Bildungsroman* genre as the hero evolves to achieve a desired self. The epigraph, therefore, plays a crucial initiative role in setting up the theme of change in the novel.

The first chapter of the novel recounts Stephen's childhood, family, school life, and his consciousness overwhelmed by senses and associations. The narrative begins with the lines below:

Once upon a time and a very good time it was there was a moocow coming down along the road and this moocow that was coming down along the road met a nicens little boy named baby tuckoo....

His father told him that story: his father looked at him through a glass: he had a hairy face. (P 3)

This chapter's narrative voice presents the perspective of a child, speaking in a childlike language, and this is evident from the beginning of the chapter with the mention of a children's story, written in a typical fairy tale language. This is in parallel with the *Bildungsroman* form which highlights the story-like nature of the hero's personal development. As Stephen matures, the language of the chapters also evolves to match the consciousness of a growing hero. Everything in this chapter is filtered through young Stephen's consciousness and delivered in a childish language: The lines of a song "O, the wild rose blossoms / On the little green place" that his father sings become in Stephen's mouth, "O, the green wothe botheth" (P 3). This chapter also gives the reader a glimpse of Stephen's family life, ridden with poverty and political and religious division. It is important to note in this chapter that the ideological partition begins on the first pages of the novel, imprinting its effects on young Stephen. Religion also plays a crucial part in this episode with Stephen living under a constant fear of religious punishment. In a scene where Stephen's religious governess Aunt

Dante (Mrs. Riordan) urges Stephen to apologize for something he does, the haunting lines below follow:

—O, Stephen will apologise.

Dante said:

—O, if not, the eagles will come and pull out his eyes.

Pull out his eyes,

Apologise,

Apologise,

Pull out his eyes.

Apologise,

Pull out his eyes,

Pull out his eyes,

Apologise. (P 4)

From early on his childhood, Stephen associates religion with godly punishment and lives in the constant shadow of this fear, frequently invoked through repetitions. He carries all these familial, political, and religious impressions in his mind to his school life that begins in Clongowes Wood College where he is a boarding student, occasionally picked on by his classmates for his sensitive nature. As a Jesuit-run school, Clongowes furthers Stephen's engagement with religion as well as his non-conformist nature and his resilient spirit. When he is wrongly beaten for not paying attention to his lessons—in fact, his glasses are broken and that is why he cannot read—he goes to the rector's office and demands justice. His up-front manners impress the rector, and he leaves the room with a sense of triumph.

The first chapter of *A Portrait* is crucial in establishing how Stephen sees himself as an individual and how he situates himself in the world. When a fellow student asks his name, the conversation takes a dark turn:

—What is your name?

Stephen had answered: Stephen Dedalus.

Then Nasty Roche had said:

—What kind of a name is that? (P 5)

Stephen's Greek-sounding family name is queer enough in a place like the late 19th century Dublin where Irishness was the social criteria to be judged against and

Stephen's name is just the starting point for his fellow classmates to ridicule him. When Nasty Roche further asks what his father's job is, Stephen replies that he is a gentleman, an answer which does not satisfy Nasty Roche: "Is he a magistrate?" (P 5). Stephen does not respond to this question: His silence is telling since his father is not a magistrate and he begins to get a glimpse of how his family's social status extends its reach to his school life. This realization concurs with Stephen's attempt to situate himself in the world and is instrumental in his identity formation. One day, Stephen finds the following lines on his geography notebook, written by himself before:

Stephen Dedalus
Class of Elements
Clongowes Wood College
Sallins
County Kildare
Ireland
Europe
The World
The Universe (P 12)

Bakhtin, who analyses *Bildungsroman* as a novel of emergence, argues that "[i]n it man's individual emergence is inseparably linked to historical emergence. Man's emergence is accomplished in real historical time, with all of its necessity, its fullness, its future, and its profoundly chronotopic nature" ("*Bildungsroman*" 23). The circles of places that Stephen positions himself in his writing reveal that his identity formation is tightly aligned with Ireland's historical position in the world as "[h]e emerges along with the world and he reflects the historical emergence of the world itself" (Bakhtin, "*Bildungsroman*" 23). Next to this list of spatial integration with the world, Stephen finds another piece written by his friend Fleming as a joke:

Stephen Dedalus is my name,
Ireland is my nation.
Clongowes is my dwellingplace
And heaven my expectation. (P 13)

These lines encapsulate all the indispensable markers of Stephen's identity formation: family (his family name Dedalus), nationality, place of residence, and religion. The

intertwined nature of historicity and locality is evident in these lines and these identity markers substantiate Stephen's understanding of himself as a historically situated subject. Bakhtin argues that locality is a crucial element in the *Bildungsroman* tradition that helps the hero gain an understanding of the world: "The locality became an irreplaceable part of the geographically and historically determined world, of that completely real and essentially visible world of human history, and the event became an essential and nontransferable moment in the time of this particular human history that occurred in this, and only in this, geographically determined human world" ("*Bildungsroman*" 50). The event of Stephen's maturation as an individual and as an artist is set in a historically specific time and place, late 19th century Dublin, and, thus, his development is strictly tied to this specific chronotope of the narrative, highlighting the interdependency of the local and the global.

All the chapters of *A Portrait* end with a sense of euphoria resulting from a newly gained consciousness but the next chapter tears down that positivity with an aura of depression (Fargnoli and Gillespie 139), providing "an orienting sequence of rises and falls for Stephen's development" (Riquelme 116). Chapter 2 describes Stephen's character development amongst economic problems at home, his growing distance from his family, his time at Belvedere College, his intellectual prowess, and towards the end of the chapter, his first sexual encounter with a sex worker. This chapter specifically focuses on Stephen's growing existential restlessness now that society expects him to fit into a certain category: "While his mind had been pursuing its intangible phantoms and turning in irresolution from such pursuit he had heard about him the constant voices of his father and of his masters, urging him to be a gentleman above all things and urging him to be a good catholic above all things. These voices had now come to be hollowsounding in his ears" (*P* 88). In Chapter 2, Stephen is now more aware of society's expectations of him as a man, a good Catholic, and a patriot, all of which present barriers to his growth as a free thinker. Stephen describes his situation as "the riot of his own mind," which explains his constant restlessness and isolation in this chapter (*P* 96). When he is rewarded with some money for an essay he has written at school, all his anxiety finds an outlet to release itself: He spends this money on a sex worker and has his first sexual encounter at the end of this chapter. This event creates another threshold for his identity formation.

Stephen's sensual awakening that ends the second chapter gives way to the grimly religious narrative of Chapter 3. This chapter focuses entirely on the sermon given by Father Arnall at Belvedere and Stephen's rendition of this religious treatise coupled with his guilt resulting from his former sexual encounter. Father Arnall's sermon focuses on "death, the Last Judgment, Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven" and gives the reader a glimpse of the religious background Stephen is brought up in (Fagnoli and Gillespie 141). During the sermon, Stephen is especially drawn to the explicit descriptions of sin, hell, and punishment. His fear of retribution from God's wrath as a punishment for his sins clouds his mind as he finally seeks forgiveness in a random church through confession. This act of confession liberates Stephen's mind from the horrors of hell and the chapter ends with a note of renewed belief in God's grace: "Another life! A life of grace and virtue and happiness! It was true. It was not a dream from which he would wake. The past was past" (P 158). This chapter is crucial for the whole narrative of *A Portrait* in that it becomes the climax in which religion shapes Stephen's consciousness and future.

Chapter 4 continues the religious narrative of the previous chapter but this time in a more positive way compared to the hellish images of the former. Stephen seeks atonement for his sins with "[h]is daily life [...] laid out in devotional areas" (P 159). He tries to subdue his earthly senses in order to strengthen his bond with religion. This renewed practice of his faith, however, "has become a habitual adherence to a mechanistic routine" later on, which starts to evolve into a situation "rapidly degenerat[ing] into a series of perfunctory, emotionless practices" (Fagnoli and Gillespie 141). A turning point in Stephen's life at this time happens when the director of studies at Belvedere asks him to consider taking up priesthood as his vocation. Stephen rejects it after a scrutiny in his mind:

The pride of that dim image brought back to his mind the dignity of the office he had refused. All through his boyhood he had mused upon that which he had so often thought to be his destiny and when the moment had come for him to obey the call he had turned aside, obeying a wayward instinct. Now time lay between: the oils of ordination would never anoint his body. He had refused. Why? (P 179)

This rejection completely runs against his former obsession with remorse and

atonement, highlighting his tendency to go for extreme opposites in his identity formation. Fargnoli and Gillespie argue that “the confining life and rigorous discipline of the priesthood runs contrary to his perceived need for experiences to feed his creative impulses. This brings him to a decision to break with the church [...] and choose art over religion as his life’s vocation” (141-2). His rejection of priesthood is later cemented by the sudden realization he has on the beach upon seeing a beautiful girl. This realization—epiphany—is the turning point of his development as an artist since seeing this girl becomes “the embodiment of the creative possibilities offered by his choice” of rejecting the religious garment (Fargnoli and Gillespie 142). This crucial epiphany at the end of this chapter, which will be analysed in depth later in the last subchapter, substantiates Stephen’s earlier decision to leave the church and take up art instead as his call, symbolizing a clean break from heavenly occupations towards material affairs and earthly aesthetics.

The last chapter opens with a scene showing the Dedalus family’s economic difficulties, which poses a stark contrast to Stephen’s euphoric embracement of life and art at the end of the previous chapter. Most of this chapter is dedicated to Stephen’s time at University College Dublin and the discussions he has with his fellow classmates on colonialism, nationalism, religion, and art. Stephen’s rebellion against all kinds of authority figures, whether it is national, religious, or familial, is articulated in these long discussions that ultimately culminate in Stephen’s decision to leave Dublin for Paris. This self-exile is the result of an artistic maturation process whereby Stephen comes to the conclusion that the only choice left for him to be the artist he aspires to is to leave Ireland and all its confining elements such as the colonial pressure, nationalism, and religion. It is important to note that “[o]n the point of leaving the claustrophobic atmosphere of Ireland to go to Paris, he nonetheless affirms his inextricable connection to his cultural, spiritual, and imaginative heritage” (Fargnoli and Gillespie 143). The last lines of the novel read as follows: “I go 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” (*P* 275-6). This is a testament to Stephen’s unbreakable relationship with his country, a presence that intellectually and spiritually fulfils him even he tries to break its hold on him. Seamus Deane writes that “it is in relation to the collective, the race, that he formulates his individual aspiration”

("Introduction" vii). Another defining feature of this chapter is the radical shift in narrative form when it turns into a diary in the closing section of the chapter. Stephen's diary enables a direct link to his mind and indicates that he has finally found his voice as he prepares to go on a self-exile. Thus, the diary form strengthens the process of *Bildung* via narrative form as it consists of "words written by the self to the self in order not to forget the self—as a speech act of linguistic self-maintenance in the face of the threatened dissolution of subjectivity" under the ideological chains of his country (Boheemen-Saaf 67).

A Portrait's form as *Bildungsroman/Künstlerroman* is important in revealing its political unconscious because its ideological and political implications are conveyed through its form, highlighting the development of the artist at a specific time and in a specific place. As a modernist *Bildungsroman*, *A Portrait* subverts elements of classical *Bildungsroman* form which "narrates a harmonious social dialectic" (Castle, "Coming of Age" 369). Gregory Castle argues that the *Bildungsroman* of the 18th century cannot "convey the traumatic social development of colonial subjects" ("Coming of Age" 369). *A Portrait* still adheres to the narrative framework of the genre by presenting an episodic form that is concurrent with the hero's development; however, the social content is deliberately changed in the modernist *Bildungsroman* to accommodate the colonial context. Castle explains that

[t]he modernist *Bildungsroman* represents the failure of classical *Bildung* in this institutional climate; but it also maps new points of resistance in the processes of formation and encourages the emergence of new conceptions of self-formation that are more often concerned with evading and resisting socialization, with disharmonious social spheres or with hybrid, ambivalent, sometimes traumatic processes of identity formation. By challenging the pedagogical assumptions of the genre—that is, by narrating a failed or problematic educational odyssey followed by the beginning of an artistic apprenticeship in exile—Joyce effectively challenges the historical and ideological values the classical *Bildungsroman* more or less overtly legitimizes and celebrates. ("Coming of Age" 369)

By narrating personal, artistic, and ideological development of the rebellious hero in colonial context, *A Portrait* politicizes its own narrative form and establishes a strong

connection between form and ideological content that is essential to decode the political unconscious of the novel.

3.2. “I will not serve”: Stephen Dedalus and the Irish Question

Stephen’s maturation process both as an individual and as an artist revolves around three interconnected axes; his critical engagement with colonialism and nationalism, his ambivalent relationship with Catholicism, and his conception of art that he produces as an antidote to the former two. As Manganiello states “[i]n *A Portrait of the Artist*, political consciousness matures simultaneously with artistic consciousness” and as a young aspiring artist brought up in colonial Ireland, Stephen’s life is moulded by politics from an early age (14). The first page of the novel gives details about Aunt Dante who is as religious as she is political: “Dante had two brushes in her press. The brush with the maroon velvet back was for Michael Davitt and the brush with the green velvet back was for Parnell” (*P* 3-4). Michael Davitt and Charles Stewart Parnell were two of the most important political figures in Irish nationalism, but they had their differences. Gifford writes that “Davitt switched from advocating peasant-ownership to advocating a Henry George policy of land nationalization, a policy too radical for Parnell. Parnell did not, however, directly repudiate Davitt and his policy but ignored the policy and undermined Davitt’s position (133). Land League, founded in 1879 by Parnell and Davitt, aimed to give back the land the Irish folk had previously owned but usurped by Protestant Ascendancy. As one of the most prominent organizations of Irish nationalism, Land League “reinforced the politicization of rural Catholic nationalist Ireland, partly by defining that identity against urbanization, landlordism, Englishness and—implicitly—Protestantism” (Foster, *Modern Ireland* 415). Dante’s allegiance to both politicians symbolized by her choice of items highlights the conflicting and divided nature of Irish nationalism, which would later repel Stephen.

Stephen’s childhood is imbued with exposure to Irish politics, primarily experienced in familial context. This exposure forces young Stephen to critically evaluate Irish politics:

He wondered which was right, to be for the green or for the maroon, because Dante had ripped the green velvet back off the brush that was for Parnell one

day with her scissors and had told him that Parnell was a bad man. He wondered if they were arguing at home about that. That was called politics. There were two sides in it: Dante was on one side and his father and Mr Casey were on the other side but his mother and uncle Charles were on no side. Every day there was something in the paper about it. It pained him that he did not know well what politics meant. (*P* 13-4)

Dante's choice to stop supporting Parnell because of his illicit affair with a married woman complicates Stephen's already vague understanding of politics as he tries to make sense of what it actually means. Since he only sees two sides in it, symbolized by his father on one side and Dante on the other, Stephen equalizes politics with divisiveness in his young mind. Parnell, with his untimely downfall from the Irish political scene, occupies a crucial role in this construction. Stephen receives the news of Parnell's death while at Clongowes and the effect of this event is widely felt across all Ireland:

—He is dead. We saw him lying upon the catafalque. A wail of sorrow went up from the people.

—Parnell! Parnell! He is dead!

They fell upon their knees, moaning in sorrow. (*P* 25)

Stephen's construction of Parnell, and what happens to him, as the backbone of Irish politics persists even after he grows up: "The memory of his childhood suddenly grew dim. He tried to call forth some of its vivid moments but could not. He recalled only names. Dante, Parnell, Clane, Clongowes" (*P* 98). Parnell is one of the few things he remembers from his childhood, and he later acknowledges that "[t]he Ireland of Tone and of Parnell seemed to have receded in space" (*P* 199). What Stephen means by that is "the Ireland that might have achieved independence under these leaders has receded in the face of aliens—the British imperium represented by the anti-Catholic Anglo-Irish, [...] and the Roman imperium, represented by the Jesuits" (*P* 199n56). The interconnectedness of Irish politics, colonialism, and religion is evident here as Stephen is aware that Irish politics has taken a wrong turn after Parnell's death, with Irish nationalism at risk at the hands of the British Empire and Catholicism. Stephen is sure, like Joyce who thought that the Irish "did not throw [Parnell] to the English wolves; they tore him apart themselves," that the Irish is to be blamed for Parnell's fall

from politics (*OCPW* 196): “No honourable and sincere man, said Stephen, has given up to you his life and his youth and his affections from the days of Tone to those of Parnell, but you sold him to the enemy or failed him in need or reviled him and left him for another” (*P* 220). Like Joyce’s rebuke at the Irish for failing Parnell’s political vision, Stephen directs his criticism to his country and the failed aspirations of Irish nationalism at the hands of parasitic colonialism and blind religiosity.

Stephen’s political maturation is realized with constant attention to Irish nationalism and its ideological apparatuses. One of his student friends, Davin, is an Irish patriot with whom Stephen often argues about the sterility of the revivalist movements. In one of their heated arguments, Stephen criticizes revivalist sports:

—That’s a different question, said Davin. I’m an Irish nationalist, first and foremost. But that’s you all out. You’re a born sneerer, Stevie.

—When you make the next rebellion with hurleysticks, said Stephen, and want the indispensable informer, tell me. I can find you a few in this college. (*P* 218-9)

Stephen’s rebuke here is directly at Gaelic Athletic Association whose mission was to revive Irish sports as a defence mechanism against colonialism. Stephen thinks that freedom cannot be achieved with “hurleysticks,” meaning that more than cultural revival techniques are needed to overthrow British colonialism. According to him, the struggle for national independence requires active political strategies aimed at the future of the country rather than a retrospective and a passive outlook embodied in revival projects. After Stephen reveals his sceptical look at Irish revivalism, Davin questions his Irishness:

—I can’t understand you, said Davin. One time I hear you talk against English literature. Now you talk against the Irish informers. What with your name and your ideas . . . Are you Irish at all?

—Come with me now to the office of arms and I will show you the tree of my family, said Stephen.

—Then be one of us, said Davin. Why don’t you learn Irish? Why did you drop out of the league class after the first lesson? (*P* 219)

Davin thinks that being Irish means one has to learn the Irish language without questioning the reason why they are made to learn it at school like a foreign language

in the first place. Stephen, like Joyce, quits learning Irish after just one lesson probably because he thinks it is going to be of no use to him. Stephen also seems offended that Davin thinks he is not a “genuine” Irish while admitting that his whole identity is based on his country:

—This race and this country and this life produced me, he said. I shall express myself as I am.

—Try to be one of us, repeated Davin. In heart you are an Irishman but your pride is too powerful.

—My ancestors threw off their language and took another, Stephen said. They allowed a handful of foreigners to subject them. Do you fancy I am going to pay in my own life and person debts they made? What for?

—For our freedom, said Davin. (*P* 220)

Stephen is against this type of bombastic talk in which martyrdom is exalted for empty patriotism. It is important to note here that Stephen is still inclined to direct most of the blame to the Irish for abandoning their language, land, and culture in the first place by giving in to the foreigner. He is of the opinion that nobody should be made to feel indebted to the land with their life since it is the ancestors themselves who have presented the land to the foreigner on a silver plate. When Davin ignores that Irish nationalism and its institutional apparatuses try internally to subjugate the Irish on the road to freedom despite their servility, Stephen delivers one his most important ideological treatises:

—[...] When the soul of a man is born in this country there are nets flung at it to hold it back from flight. You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets. [...]

—Too deep for me, Stevie, he said. But a man’s country comes first. Ireland first, Stevie. You can be a poet or a mystic after.

—Do you know what Ireland is? asked Stephen with cold violence. Ireland is the old sow that eats her farrow. (*P* 220)

Stephen thinks that the traps of nationality, language, and religion impede individual freedom and by employing the flight imagery reminiscent of Icarus’s story he reveals his intention of escaping Ireland and all its limiting features. However, his choice of the words “fly *by*” is ambivalent: “‘Fly by’ suggests avoiding the nets, but it can also

mean flying *by* means of them, that is, turning them to advantage selectively and strategically” (Riquelme 107). As Johnson further states, “‘by’ can mean either ‘past, beyond’ (I shall fly beyond, fly past and so escape those nets) or [...] ‘through the agency, means or instrumentality of’ (Those nets will be the very means whereby I shall fly). Far from escaping nationality, language, religion, Stephen will carry them everywhere with him” (xxxv). Even when Stephen tries to get away from the nets of Ireland, his choice of words reveal he unconsciously knows that those nets are his benchmark against which he produces his own standards. When patriotic Davin declares that Ireland comes first above all else, which goes against Stephen’s intention of becoming an artist first and foremost, his disapproval comes with a daring critique. Stephen accuses Ireland of devouring its own people by means of martyrdom and subjugation through nationalism and Catholicism, which are no different than the techniques the colonizer has used to enslave the Irish. This self-reflective critique is at the heart of Stephen’s bitter rhetoric about Irish politics.

While most of Stephen’s criticism is directed at Irish nationalism, he nevertheless recognizes the colonial practices and alienness of the British presence in Ireland. His critique of British colonialism reveals language as the most crucial element of cultural colonialism. While attempting to rhyme in his poem, he uses the word *ivory* and it brings his mind some colonial associations: “The word now shone in his brain, clearer and brighter than any ivory sawn from the mottled tusks of elephants. *Ivory, ivoire, avorio, ebur*. One of the first examples that he had learnt in Latin had run: *India mittit ebur* [...] (P 193). “*India mittit ebur*,” meaning “India sends ivory,” exposes the extractive colonialism that the British has enacted for centuries in its colonies (P 193n20). The fact that this sentence is one of the first examples Stephen learns in his Latin lessons highlights the fact that colonial practices expand through language, coupled with their materialistic intentions along with cultural assimilation practices.

The most revealing scene in the novel about the relationship between language and colonialism occurs when the dean of studies at university explains Stephen how to operate a kerosene lamp:

—To return to the lamp, he said, the feeding of it is also a nice problem. You must choose the pure oil and you must be careful when you pour it in not to

overflow it, not to pour in more than the funnel can hold.

—What funnel? asked Stephen.

—The funnel through which you pour the oil into your lamp.

—That? said Stephen. Is that called a funnel? Is it not a tundish?

—What is a tundish?

—That. The... the funnel.

—Is that called a tundish in Ireland? asked the dean. I never heard the word in my life.

—It is called a tundish in Lower Drumcondra, said Stephen, laughing, where they speak the best English.

—A tundish, said the dean reflectively. That is a most interesting word. I must look that word up. Upon my word I must. (*P* 203-4)

This quarrel, seemingly about linguistic choices, reveals the bitter cultural divide between the English and the Irish although they basically speak the same language: “Because the priest is an English convert to Roman Catholicism, he represents two foreign presences within Irish culture” (Riquelme 105). Stephen tries to deflect the dean’s comment that he has never heard the word in his life—which can metaphorically mean that he also ignores the Irish by way of ignoring their language use—by reversing the situation through a joke about how in Lower Drumcondra—a suburb in Dublin—they speak the best English. The dean’s final comment conveys an anthropological exoticness attached to a simple word used in Ireland, revealing the cultural dominion of the colonizer. Here, Joyce “makes language itself both the instrument and the object of his analysis,” relating it with colonialism (Deane, “Introduction” xi). After this conversation, Stephen ponders upon language as a colonial tool:

—The language in which we are speaking is his before it is mine. How different are the words *home*, *Christ*, *ale*, *master*, on his lips and on mine! I cannot speak or write these words without unrest of spirit. His language, so familiar and so foreign, will always be for me an acquired speech. I have not made or accepted its words. My voice holds them at bay. My soul frets in the shadow of his language. (*P* 205)

Although Stephen and the dean speak the same language, Stephen is aware that it

belongs to the colonizer before it is passed on to the colonized as “an acquired speech” (P 205). That is why simple but culturally and politically loaded words such as home, Christ, ale, and master sound different in his mind. John Paul Riquelme suggests that “[e]specially because Parnell’s Home Rule initiative for Ireland had not succeeded, the Irish as a nation did not think of home with the same sense of autonomy and security as could the English” (105). Stephen’s anxiety about using the colonizer’s acquired language reveals the divided consciousness of the colonized about using the English language which is foreign and familiar simultaneously. Stephen still speaks and writes English, even when expressing his dissatisfaction with using it, yet he knows that he cannot fully express himself either in English or Irish, the latter of which he is not knowledgeable about. In the diary section of the last chapter, Stephen is still haunted by his encounter with the dean: “That tundish has been on my mind for a long time. I looked it up and find it English and good old blunt English too. Damn the dean of studies and his funnel! What did he come here for to teach us his own language or to learn it from us. Damn him one way or the other!” (P 274). The irony of the situation here is that the word *tundish* exists in English, but the dean apparently does not know it. Language as a socially and politically coded entity plays a crucial role in this conversation and is reminiscent of the place language occupied in the Irish revivalist movements. Although Stephen does not know Irish and has no intention of learning it, he is well aware of the fact that the English language the English speak and the English language the Irish speak are not, and will not be, the same, and he will do his best to employ English in his art to reverse that cultural dominion.

Towards the end of the novel, Stephen decides to leave Ireland for good as he learns that he cannot fulfil his artistic aspirations in its limiting cultural environment. In one of his last discussions with his friends at University College Dublin, Stephen summarizes his rebellious views about Ireland as follows:

—Look here, Cranly, he said. You have asked me what I would do and what I would not do. I will tell you what I will do and what I will not do. I will not serve that in which I no longer believe, whether it call itself my home, my fatherland, or my church: and I will try to express myself in some mode of life or art as freely as I can and as wholly as I can, using for my defence the only arms I allow myself to use—silence, exile and cunning. (P 268-9)

Stephen's rejection of servitude to the masters of his life, his country and his church, is expressed at its sharpest here and is supported by the shift to art as his life's call. Stephen thinks that in art he can find freedom, which is lacking in Ireland, and "silence, exile and cunning" as his defences indicate his will to observe as an artist, to leave Ireland as a free-thinker, and to use cunning like Daedalus to find his way out of the maze (*P* 268-9). In another entry in his diary, Stephen explains the reason why he exiles himself: "Met Davin at the cigar shop opposite Findlater's church. He was in a black sweater and had a hurley stick. Asked me was it true I was going away and why. Told him the shortest way to Tara was *via* Holyhead" (*P* 273). In this encounter with his patriotic friend Davin with a hurley stick in his hand, a symbol of Gaelic sports revival, Stephen makes clear that the shortest way to reach the heart of Ireland is to leave it. His toxic relationship with Ireland is made more evident in the final lines of the novel:

April 26. Mother is putting my new secondhand clothes in order. She prays now, she says, that I may learn in my own life and away from home and friends what the heart is and what it feels. Amen. So be it. Welcome, O life! I go 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. (*P* 275-6)

Stephen leaves Ireland exactly because he desires to create the Ireland of his dreams from scratch as it has not been created yet, although attempts like the Irish revival has been made. Ultimately, "Stephen perceives his role as that of a martyr for his art as Parnell was a martyr for the national cause, and he considers his choice to be no less patriotic than Parnell's" (Manganiello 39). Moreover, his choice of the word "forge" is a peculiar one here as it has two meanings. As Dettmar points out, to forge is to form something, and in Stephen's case, to create an Irish consciousness "by heating and hammering the red-hot metal of the English language, bending it to his will," but it also means to counterfeit (xxvii). Stephen unconsciously reveals here that he is ready to do both, maybe to commit forgery (using the English language to subvert it like Joyce) at some point until he creates something genuine. In the end, it is not so much as an attempt to escape Ireland as it is a call to create an Irishness—albeit by leaving the land—that would cater for free spirits like Stephen.

If colonialist and nationalist politics constitute much of Stephen's rebellion, his

criticism of religion, specifically Catholicism, is the building block of his intellectual dissent just like Joyce's. Joyce was strictly brought up as a Catholic, but he declared his rejection of the religion later in his life:

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. (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 169)

This outward rejection seems clear enough in pinpointing Joyce's "unbelief," but does not explain his immense interest in religion in his works despite his disgust. Joyce remained, all his life, a Catholic maybe not in belief but in intellect. Geert Lernout writes that "Joyce had to conquer his Catholicism in order to become a writer; if he did retain something of his religious background, it was only in the form of an essentially non-religious respect for the Jesuits who had given him an excellent education" (4). Thus, it is possible state that "Joyce did not simply deny his faith but instead transformed its structures into the basis of his artistic creed" by incorporating religion as one of the foundational blocks of his writing (Lernout 5). Joyce's reaction against religion was "more of the anti-church variety than denial of God's existence," revealing his hatred towards institutionalized religion (the Catholic Church) rather than its intellectual capacity from which Joyce drew on in his works (Gallagher 555).

Just like it did for Joyce, religion plays a crucial part in Stephen's life. Early on his childhood, Stephen's family life and school life are absorbed by religion as he is brought up as a Jesuit—a member of the Roman Catholic order of Society of Jesus founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola—and he goes to Catholic schools of Clongowes and Belvedere. His family is also devout Catholics, especially his mother who wants Stephen to become a priest. Young Stephen's mind is filled with religious imagery from early on in his life and the Christmas dinner scene perfectly encapsulates how effective religion is in Ireland at the time. Devout Catholic Dante and Mr. Casey, a friend of Stephen's father, pick a fight over whether religion should meddle with politics:

—*I'll pay your dues, father, when you cease turning the house of God into a*

polling-booth.

—A nice answer, said Dante, for any man calling himself a catholic to give to his priest.

—They have only themselves to blame, said Mr Dedalus suavely. If they took a fool's advice they would confine their attention to religion.

—It is religion, Dante said. They are doing their duty in warning the people.

—We go to the house of God, Mr Casey said, in all humility to pray to our Maker and not to hear election addresses.

—It is religion, Dante said again. They are right. They must direct their flocks.

—And preach politics from the altar, is it? asked Mr Dedalus.

—Certainly, said Dante. It is a question of public morality. A priest would not be a priest if he did not tell his flock what is right and what is wrong.

Mrs Dedalus laid down her knife and fork, saying:

—For pity's sake and for pity sake let us have no political discussion on this day of all days in the year. (*P* 30)

Catholicism and nationalism's inherent ties in the Irish political arena, as explained in the previous chapter of this study, are apparent here as devout Dante and nationalist Mr. Casey and Mr. Dedalus fight over whether politics should be free from religion. Despite Mrs. Dedalus's plea to end the discussion, Dante is stubborn:

—And am I to sit here and listen to the pastors of my church being flouted?

—Nobody is saying a word against them, said Mr Dedalus, so long as they don't meddle in politics.

—The bishops and priests of Ireland have spoken, said Dante, and they must be obeyed.

—Let them leave politics alone, said Mr Casey, or the people may leave their church alone. (*P* 30-1)

While Mr. Casey and Mr. Dedalus think that the Church of Ireland was wrong in meddling with politics by denouncing Parnell after his illicit affair, Dante argues otherwise and fights for the supremacy of religion in overriding politics. When Mr. Dedalus asks, "Were we to desert him at the bidding of the English people?" Dante answers: "He was no longer worthy to lead, said Dante. He was a public sinner" (*P* 31). Mr. Dedalus is of the opinion that denouncing Parnell serves only the interest of

the colonial presence in Ireland as they want to get rid of him themselves:

—And can we not love our country then? asked Mr Casey. Are we not to follow the man that was born to lead us?

—A traitor to his country! replied Dante. A traitor, an adulterer! The priests were right to abandon him. The priests were always the true friends of Ireland.

—Didn't the bishops of Ireland betray us in the time of the union when Bishop Lanigan presented an address of loyalty to the Marquess Cornwallis? Didn't the bishops and priests sell the aspirations of their country in 1829 in return for catholic emancipation? Didn't they denounce the fenian movement from the pulpit and in the confession box? And didn't they dishonour the ashes of Terence Bellew MacManus? (P 32)

Mr. Casey's long treatise about how the Catholic Church of Ireland has a long history of betraying the emancipatory politics of the country poses a stark contrast to Dante's moral politics which puts religion first even if it means the continuation of the servitude to the colonizer.

Stephen, witnessing this dinner quarrel, is baffled because it does not make sense to him to argue about religion and politics since both Dante and Mr. Casey and his father support the Irish independence: "He was for Ireland and Parnell and so was his father: and so was Dante too for one night at the band on the esplanade she had hit a gentleman on the head with her umbrella because he had taken off his hat when the band played *God save the Queen* at the end" (P 32). Mr. Dedalus starts to get angry in the meantime by saying that the Irish is a "priestridden Godforsaken race" and when Dante insists that she "will defend [her] church and [her] religion when it is insulted and spit on by renegade catholics," Mr. Casey makes an act of spitting towards Dante, which leads the whole event to a climax (P 33):

—God and religion before everything! Dante cried. God and religion before the world.

Mr Casey raised his clenched fist and brought it down on the table with a crash.

—Very well then, he shouted hoarsely, if it comes to that, no God for Ireland! [...]

—No God for Ireland! he cried. We have had too much God in Ireland. Away with God!

—Devil out of hell! We won! We crushed him to death! Fiend!

The door slammed behind her.

Mr Casey, freeing his arms from his holders, suddenly bowed his head on his hands with a sob of pain.

—Poor Parnell! he cried loudly. My dead king!

Stephen, raising his terrorstricken face, saw that his father's eyes were full of tears. (P 39)

Mr. Casey's blasphemy angers Dante even more who shows direct enmity to Parnell by saying that the church was right in denouncing him. The horrors of this event haunt Stephen as he grows up and provides a threshold for his complicated relationship with religion and its equally complex ties with Irish politics.

As Stephen matures, he realizes that religion tries to put a hold on his intellectual endeavours. In Chapter 2, Stephen writes an essay for his English class and his teacher accuses him of heresy:

—This fellow has heresy in his essay. [...]

—Where? asked Stephen. [...]

—Here. It's about the Creator and the soul. Rrm... rrm... rrm... Ah! *without a possibility of ever approaching nearer*. That's heresy.

Stephen murmured:

—I meant *without a possibility of ever reaching*. (83)

His teacher thinks that Stephen's words are heresy because "he has denied that the soul could ever come closer to divine perfection. It is orthodox, of course, to say that it can never attain it" (P 83n35). Stephen's essay argues that the soul yearns for a communion with God and "[t]he orthodox position is that each soul is granted 'sufficient grace' to approach that communion. Stephen's heresy resides in his implication that the soul has not been granted sufficient grace, or that the soul (romantically) yearns for more than its Creator has deemed sufficient" (Gifford 167). Stephen later corrects himself in order to evade the accusation "by implying that the soul can approach 'nearer' to its Creator, but that the soul will never reach oneness with its Creator (because that would mean loss of its identity)" (Gifford 167). This event is crucial in Stephen's conception of religion as a young person since it is one of the first instances in which he can feel that religion impedes the process of his artistic creation.

In Chapter 3, Stephen attends the frightening sermon of Father Arnall who advises the boys to “[b]anish from [their] minds all worldly thoughts and think only of the last things, death, judgement, hell and heaven” (*P* 119). The grotesque description of hell’s levels and its scorching fire fills Stephen’s mind with monstrous images as he is remorseful about his sexual encounter at the end of the previous chapter. When Father Arnall begins to describe the deepest level of hell reserved for a specific type of a sinner, Stephen realizes that he is that sinner being described:

This is the last and deepest and most cruel sting of the worm of conscience. The conscience will say: You had time and opportunity to repent and would not. You were brought up religiously by your parents. You had the sacraments and grace and indulgences of the church to aid you. You had the minister of God to preach to you, to call you back when you had strayed, to forgive you your sins, no matter how many, how abominable, if only you had confessed and repented. No. You would not. You flouted the ministers of holy religion, you turned your back on the confessional, you wallowed deeper and deeper in the mire of sin. God appealed to you, threatened you, entreated you to return to Him. O, what shame, what misery! (*P* 139-40)

These lines haunt Stephen in the days to come to the point that he has constant nightmares of hell, and he wakes up vomiting one night. This physical manifestation of his fear of punishment is so dense for Stephen that he visits a random church to confess.

His reactionary devotional lifestyle in the next chapter is cut short by the dean’s offer to Stephen to take up priesthood. The dean tries to persuade Stephen by mentioning how powerful the position is:

To receive that call, Stephen, said the priest, is the greatest honour that the Almighty God can bestow upon a man. No king or emperor on this earth has the power of the priest of God. No angel or archangel in heaven, no saint, not even the Blessed Virgin herself, has the power of a priest of God: the power of the keys, the power to bind and to loose from sin, the power of exorcism, the power to cast out from the creatures of God the evil spirits that have power over them; the power, the authority, to make the great God of Heaven come down upon the altar and take the form of bread and wine. What an awful power,

Stephen! (P 171)

For Stephen who has a problematic relationship with all authority figures including his father, his country, and the colonizer in his country, the Church represents another master to serve. When he rejects the dean's offer of priesthood, he enters the last stage of his maturation as an artist.

The last chapter lays bare Stephen's definite rejection of religion as an artist. He confides in his friend Cranly about a quarrel he has had at home:

—Cranly, I had an unpleasant quarrel this evening.

—With your people? Cranly asked.

—With my mother.

—About religion?

—Yes, Stephen answered.

After a pause Cranly asked:

—What age is your mother?

—Not old, Stephen said. She wishes me to make my easter duty.

—And will you?

—I will not, Stephen said.

—Why not? Cranly said.

—I will not serve, answered Stephen. (P 259-60)

Stephen's refusal to participate in even a small religious event becomes ingrained in his identity formation as he sets out to build his artistry. Religion means duty for Stephen, and he knows that he cannot be free unless he frees himself from its clutches. "I will not serve," reminiscing Satan's "*non serviam*," becomes Stephen's motto as an artist and encapsulates the rebellious strain in his *Bildung*. Although Cranly says religion "is a form: nothing else," Stephen rejects putting himself in confined and predetermined forms (P 263). When Cranly further confronts him about his religious past, Stephen says that he has changed:

—It is a curious thing, do you know, Cranly said dispassionately, how your mind is supersaturated with the religion in which you say you disbelieve. Did you believe in it when you were at school? I bet you did.

—I did, Stephen answered.

—And were you happier then? Cranly asked softly, happier than you are now,

for instance?

—Often happy, Stephen said, and often unhappy. I was someone else then.

—How someone else? What do you mean by that statement?

—I mean, said Stephen, that I was not myself as I am now, as I had to become.

(P 261)

Stephen's identity is almost fully constructed by his religious upbringing, and he emphasises here how he has changed and how he is now exactly what he has to become in order to survive as an artist.

Stephen's *Bildung* is fostered by his ideas on politics and religion, but his artistic views complete this process of maturation as he constructs his aesthetic ideas as latent reactions to the stale politics and oppressive religious climate in Ireland. Stephen becomes aware that there are nets waiting to be thrown on him when his essay is met with religious censorship, a situation that persists later in his life as an artist. In a literary discussion with his fellow students, one of them asks Stephen his favourite poet, to which he replies with Lord Byron. This is not taken well by his friends:

—In any case Byron was a heretic and immoral too.

—I don't care what he was, cried Stephen hotly.

—You don't care whether he was a heretic or not? said Nash.

—What do you know about it? shouted Stephen. You never read a line of anything in your life except a trans or Boland either.

—I know that Byron was a bad man, said Boland.

—Here, catch hold of this heretic, Heron called out.

In a moment Stephen was a prisoner. (P 85-6)

Once more, Stephen's artistic judgements are met with hostility and religious oppression, and he, at the end of this discussion, becomes a prisoner in a literal and metaphorical sense as he engages in a brawl with his friends:

—Admit that Byron was no good.

—No.

—Admit.

—No.

—Admit.

—No. No.

At last after a fury of plunges he wrenched himself free. His tormentors set off towards Jones's Road, laughing and jeering at him, while he, half blinded with tears, stumbled on, clenching his fists madly and sobbing. (P 86)

As he engages in a physical fight with his friends, regardless of its playful nature, he realizes that he is a prisoner of religious subjugation which invades his aesthetic territory. Stephen's anger at the end of this event evinces the fact that he intends to wrench himself free from religion whatever the cost might be, highlighting his unwavering attitude.

Stephen's first initiations at constructing his aesthetic theories take their source, ironically, from religion. As Stephen's mind is "supersaturated with the religion" he says he disbelieves, it is inevitable that religion provides a background for his first artistic approaches (P 261). Stephen declares in one of the discussions with his friends that Cardinal Newman is the greatest prose writer. John Henry Newman (1801-1890) was an English priest, writer, and an academic who also served as the first rector of University College Dublin between 1854 and 1859. Newman's treatises which combine religion and other topics such as education—the most famous of which is *The Idea of a University* (1852) in which he discusses his philosophy of education in a religious context—are considered to be among the best written prose works in English. Newman is clearly a model writer for Stephen, for whom religious works provide a profound sense of aesthetics. In Chapter 3 where Stephen is exposed to a hellish sermon, even this preaching has an aesthetic effect on him through the monstrous descriptions of hell which invoke a sense of terror and guilt in him. When, in Chapter 4, he is tempted with the idea of priesthood, the dean tries to bribe Stephen with promises of "secret knowledge and secret power" that he can hold as a priest, but Stephen is well aware that the "secret knowledge and secret power" he yearns for cannot be found in religion but in art (P 172).

Most of Stephen's later aesthetic theories take their source from ancient and medieval philosophy, especially from Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas's theories about God and the beauty were inspired by Aristotle, which accounts for the seamless nature of Stephen's aesthetic ideas. Beauty is one of the first concepts that Stephen tries to expand in aesthetic terms. Before Stephen has a discussion with the dean about the word tundish, they talk about beauty:

The dean rested back on his hunkers and watched the sticks catch. Stephen, to fill the silence, said:

—I am sure I could not light a fire.

—You are an artist, are you not, Mr Dedalus? said the dean, glancing up and blinking his pale eyes. The object of the artist is the creation of the beautiful. What the beautiful is is another question. [...]

—Aquinas, answered Stephen, says *pulcra sunt quæ visa placent*.

—This fire before us, said the dean, will be pleasing to the eye. Will it therefore be beautiful?

—In so far as it is apprehended by the sight, which I suppose means here esthetic intellection, it will be beautiful. But Aquinas also says *Bonum est in quod tendit appetitus*. In so far as it satisfies the animal craving for warmth fire is a good. In hell, however, it is an evil. (P 201)

The quotations from Aquinas, *pulcra sunt quæ visa placent* (“We call that beautiful which pleases the sight”) and *bonum est in quod tendit appetitus* (“The good is that which all things desire”), show that Stephen struggles to formulate a coherent aesthetic theory while balancing the questions of beauty and necessity (P 201n58-59). Later on, Stephen continues to derive ideas from Aquinas: “Aquinas says: *Ad pulcritudinem tria requiruntur integritas, consonantia, claritas*. I translate it so: *Three things are needed for beauty, wholeness, harmony and radiance*” (P 229). He goes on to deliberate more on each element, but overall, this indicates that Stephen begins to formulate his own artistic theories by relying on the ideas of famous philosophers.

Towards the end of the novel, Stephen artistic deliberations also develop, and he begins to formulate on art in general terms and most importantly in his own words: “Art, said Stephen, is the human disposition of sensible or intelligible matter for an esthetic end” (P 224). This simple definition is the culmination of Stephen’s former considerations of art and emphasises the process of his own construction now that he gives general definitions. He is aware that he needs a personal touch when it comes to artistic formulation: “When we come to the phenomena of artistic conception, artistic gestation, and artistic reproduction I require a new terminology and a new personal experience” (P 227). His artistic growth depends on his experiences as they pave the way for a more stable as well as a more personal construction of his aesthetic theories.

It is also later in the novel that Stephen begins to divert more of his attention to literary aesthetics. He once deliberates on literary forms and their definitions:

If you bear this in memory you will see that art necessarily divides itself into three forms progressing from one to the next. These forms are: the lyrical form, the form wherein the artist presents his image in immediate relation to himself; the epical form, the form wherein he presents his image in mediate relation to himself and to others; the dramatic form, the form wherein he presents his image in immediate relation to others. (*P* 232)

This definition of artistic forms highlights the fact that Stephen is now inclined to think in broader social and inter-relational terms while constructing his aesthetic theories.

Stephen's artistic identity is almost wholly constructed by his position as a critic/philosopher of art, and not as an "actual" literary artist that produces works. In *A Portrait*, Stephen manages to write only one poem towards the end of the novel:

Are you not weary of ardent ways,
Lure of the fallen seraphim?
Tell no more of enchanted days.

Your eyes have set man's heart ablaze
And you have had your will of him.
Are you not weary of ardent ways?
Above the flame the smoke of praise
Goes up from ocean rim to rim.
Tell no more of enchanted days.

Our broken cries and mournful lays
Rise in one eucharistic hymn.
Are you not weary of ardent ways?

While sacrificing hands upraise
The chalice flowing to the brim.
Tell no more of enchanted days.

And still you hold our longing gaze
With languorous look and lavish limb!
Are you not weary of ardent ways?
Tell no more of enchanted days. (P 242-3)

This poem is a villanelle, a French verse form, consisting of “five *tercets* and a *quatrain*, all on two rhymes, and with systematic later repetitions of lines 1 and 3 of the first tercet” (Abrams and Harpham 378)⁴⁰. It is obvious that this is not a very good piece of writing as Stephen uses a “schoolboyish, outdated form of poetry” and overly romantic images repetitively (Wight 215). This evaluation of Stephen as an artist is too definitive to be at the centre of a *Künstlerroman* since “by the time Stephen finishes, and precisely through the very process of its construction, Stephen has changed profoundly. The young man has, in fact, undergone a needed passage from passive to active creation and has become a conscious creator able to play the vigorous part needed if he is to live successfully the life of a mature artist” (Wight 216). The poem, therefore, should not be subjected to an evaluation that focuses on artistic *product*; the emphasis should instead be on *process* that is instrumental in the context of *Bildungsroman/Künstlerroman*. As Stephen says, “[t]he artist, like the God of creation, remains within or behind or beyond or above his handiwork, invisible, refined out of existence, indifferent, paring his fingernails” (P 233). The artist’s ability or the quality of the produced work, eventually, cannot surpass the autonomy of the artistic piece and runs short in evaluating the artist’s growth in the process-focused nature of *Künstlerroman*.

Stephen’s artistic maturation, in the end, establishes a crucial ideological position in his *Bildung*: Art becomes a shield for him, a tool for freedom with which Stephen can stand a chance against the corrupting influences of religion, colonialism, and nationalism. Riquelme, while discussing the ideological shift in Stephen’s *Bildung*, argues that “[t]he shift is from aestheticism, which appears apolitical in its emphasis on beauty, toward an aesthetic politics, an art that recognizes its embodiment and its responsibilities within history” (106). As he is well aware, this does not mean ignoring the influences of religion and nationalism on his identity formation; on the contrary, Stephen constantly pays homage to Ireland’s “nets” as the building blocks of

⁴⁰ Tercet means a stanza of three lines, and quatrain is a four-line one.

his identity when he declares that “[t]his race and this country and this life produced me, he said. I shall express myself as I am” (P 220). Freedom of the artist and the emancipatory effect of art itself become the key features of Stephen’s *Bildung* as an artist as he claims his aim to be to “discover the mode of life or of art whereby [his] spirit could express itself in unfettered freedom” (P 267). *A Portrait* ends with the lines in which Stephen prays to his namesake Daedalus as he goes on an exile: “Old father, old artificer, stand me now and ever in good stead” (P 276). Stephen recognizes that only a craftsman like Daedalus can be his patron saint as he leaves “to forge in the smithy of [his] soul the uncreated conscience of [his] race” (P 276). This national conscience is non-existent and yet to be created only by a crafty soul like Stephen Dedalus.

3.3. Catalytic Epiphanies of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*

Rather than considering Stephen’s poem as a blueprint of his artistic maturation, it is more appropriate to analyse the process of his transformation into an artist through various experiences. Epiphanies are the epitome of this process as they have a revelatory purpose in Stephen’s *Bildung*. Since epiphanies are both formal elements of the modernist *Bildungsroman/Künstlerroman* and ideologically related to Stephen’s conception of art, they act as catalysers between the form and the content of *A Portrait*. Epiphany means “manifestation,” or “showing forth,” and its original context is religious: in Christianity epiphany is used to describe the “manifestation of God’s presence within the created world” (Abrams and Harpham 111). Morris Beja explains literary epiphany as “sudden spiritual manifestation, whether from some object, scene, event, or memorable phase of the mind—the manifestation being out of proportion to the significance or strictly logical relevance of whatever produces it” (18). For an experience to become a literary epiphany, there are three criteria: suddenness, spirituality, and triviality. The experience must be immediate, and not gradual so as to pave the way for a revelation; it must be connected to the observer’s spiritual enlightenment; and the object/situation that triggers the revelation must be a commonplace one as opposed to a divine one. In this sense, literary epiphany differs from *anagnorisis* (recognition) since the latter is “simply [the] result of a direct statement” whereas epiphany is revealed through the aesthetic perception of the

observer (Beja 15). Joyce once wrote that he wanted his readers “to understand always through suggestion rather than direct statement,” and the epiphanies in his works accomplish his wish, providing indirect suggestions that need decoding (qtd. in Budgen 21). Moreover, in epiphany “the emphasis is frequently on the personality of the subject, not on the object revealed” (Beja 25). The revealed matter in this case is not the object/event seen by the observer but the observer’s own state of mind itself, exposed by the experience.

Before Joyce, epiphany was employed outside of its religious context under different names by different Romantic writers: “Shelley, in his *Defense of Poetry* (1821), described the ‘best and happiest moments . . . arising unforeseen and departing unbidden,’ ‘visitations of the divinity,’ which poetry ‘redeems from decay.’ William Wordsworth was a pre-eminent poet of what he called ‘moments,’ or in more elaborate instances, ‘spots of time’” (Abrams and Harpham 112). With the onset of modernism, this sense of divinity was translated into a more daily experience. Morris Beja writes that with modernism, “men have found themselves putting less and less trust in the truths and absolutes of the past, they have more and more come to stress the trivia of existence. They have sought meaning in what they could see, all around them, in the apparently inconsequential objects and events of everyday life” (17). This is what Erich Auerbach argues about the twentieth century literature: for him “minor, unimpressive, random events” constitute the backbone of literary modernism (546). In Joyce’s context, epiphanies are exclusively modernist literary devices that convey a “secular experience, [...] the sense of a sudden radiance and revelation that occurs during the perception of a commonplace object” (Abrams and Harpham 111). In a dialogue with his brother, Joyce once stated that, in his works, he wanted to “give people some kind of intellectual pleasure or spiritual enjoyment by converting the bread of everyday life into something that has a permanent artistic life of its own . . . for their mental, moral, and spiritual uplift” (qtd. in Joyce, *My Brother’s Keeper* 103-4). In the Joycean text, the epiphany also becomes an artistic creation that is made from “the bread of everyday life.” Joyce subverts the religious practice of transubstantiation, the symbolic transformation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, into a secular event by turning everyday experience into an artistic one.

In *Stephen Hero*⁴¹, Stephen gives a lengthy definition of epiphany and highlights the importance of everyday objects/occurrences in creating epiphanies:

This triviality made him think of collecting many such moments together in a book of epiphanies. By an epiphany he meant a sudden spiritual manifestation, whether in the vulgarity of speech or of gesture or in a memorable phase of the mind itself. He believed that it was for the man of letters to record these epiphanies with extreme care, seeing that they themselves are the most delicate and evanescent of moments. He told Cranly that the clock of the Ballast Office was capable of an epiphany. Cranly questioned the inscrutable dial of the Ballast Office with his no less inscrutable countenance:

—Yes, said Stephen. I will pass it time after time, allude to it, refer to it, catch a glimpse of it. It is only an item in the catalogue of Dublin's street furniture. Then all at once I see it and I know at once what it is: epiphany.

—What?

—Imagine my glimpses at that clock as the gropings of a spiritual eye which seeks to adjust its vision to an exact focus. The moment the focus is reached the object is epiphanised. It is just in this epiphany that I find the third, the supreme quality of beauty. (*SH* 188-9)

In Stephen's artistic conception, epiphanies are born out of triviality, daily life instances that convey the "scrupulous meanness" of life (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 210). Stephen thinks that the clock of Ballast Office, a large clock that acts as a time-keeper for whole Dublin, is capable of sustaining "sudden spiritual manifestation" that can create an epiphany (*SH* 188). Stephen's conception of epiphany is, as can be seen here, inherently related to Dublin and its symbolic sights as he deems epiphany as the essence of his aesthetic theory. In the Joycean text, therefore, epiphany is a modernist technique that communicates a revelation in which daily experiences are coupled with artistic recognition. Thus, as Sharon Kim states, "Joycean epiphany is expressly nonsupernatural and post-Christian" (3). Epiphany is a key element in *A Portrait* as it transmits moments of recognition for Stephen that are constitutive of his artistic *Bildung*. In *A Portrait*, "[t]he poet is thus the one who, in a moment of grace, discovers the profound soul of things, and he is the one who makes them exist solely through the

⁴¹ The abbreviation *SH* will be used for *Stephen Hero* in in-text citation.

poetic word. Epiphany is thus a way of discovering reality and, at the same time, a way of defining reality through discourse” (Eco 344). Epiphany in the novel “is no longer an emotional moment that the artistic word helps to recall but an operative moment of art” (Eco 345). Joyce, again, subverts primarily the religious definition of the term and also its romantic connotations, turning it into a literary device to counterpart his modernist aesthetics.

A Portrait includes several epiphanies that are crucial to Stephen’s *Bildung* as an artist, but only three of them will be examined in this part of the study since they symbolize particular stages in Stephen’s maturation process. These epiphanies, while not strictly political in themselves in content, are inherently tied to Stephen’s complex relationship with his country and ideologically imbued with Stephen’s artistic awakening. Consecutively, these epiphanies act as catalysers with which Stephen’s *Bildung* is maintained throughout the narrative. The first epiphany is a rather bleak one that symbolizes the stage of Stephen’s life where he experiences an anguishing guilt resulting from his first sexual encounter. After Father Arnall’s sermon full of terrifying descriptions of hell, Stephen experiences a nightmare epiphany in which he feels like he is being suffocated:

A field of stiff weeds and thistles and tufted nettle-bunches. Thick among the tufts of rank stiff growth lay battered canisters and clots and coils of solid excrement. [...] An evil smell, faint and foul as the light, curled upwards sluggishly out of the canisters and from the stale crusted dung. Creatures were in the field; one, three, six: creatures were moving in the field, hither and thither. Goatish creatures with human faces, hornybrowed, lightly bearded and grey as indiarubber. The malice of evil glittered in their hard eyes, as they moved hither and thither, trailing their long tails behind them. [...] Soft language issued from their spittleless lips as they swished in slow circles round and round the field, winding hither and thither through the weeds, dragging their long tails amid the rattling canisters. They moved in slow circles, circling closer and closer to enclose, to enclose, soft language issuing from their lips, their long swishing tails besmeared with stale shite, thrusting upwards their terrific faces... Help! (P 148-9)

The grotesque imageries of excrement, filth, and satyr-like creatures trying to corner

him symbolize here the nets of nationality, colonialism, and specifically religion. Stephen has this nightmare epiphany after Father Arnall's sermon which aggravates his crisis of faith. Stephen is unconsciously aware that "the vision stands for [his] personal vision of hell, 'the hell reserved for his sins'" since among all these ghastly images, there is "soft language issuing from their spittleless lips" reminding him of his sin of adultery (MacDuff et. al 198). Stephen's cry for help at the end of this epiphany can be read both as a literal cry of awakening from the nightmare and as a metaphorical cry for help to be rescued from the heavy burden of guilt and the oppression of religion. While not related to any positive aesthetic experience, this epiphany has a defining place in Stephen's experience of negative aesthetics ridden with guilt and ghastly images of hell. Only after this bleak epiphany, whose monstrous imageries symbolize the repressive religious climate in Ireland, can Stephen experience aesthetics of freedom. This epiphany, thus, is the embodiment of the first rather excruciating step in Stephen's journey towards artistic emancipation as it strengthens his will to break free from the restraints Ireland puts on him.

The second epiphany, which occurs in Chapter 4, is the defining epiphany of the novel as it cements Stephen's artistic approach that is both free of Ireland's nets and concurrent with his own aesthetic approach. While walking along the sea on Dollymount Strand, Stephen sees a girl:

She was alone and still, gazing out to sea; and when she felt his presence and the worship of his eyes her eyes turned to him in quiet sufferance of his gaze, without shame or wantonness. Long, long she suffered his gaze and then quietly withdrew her eyes from his and bent them towards the stream, gently stirring the water with her foot hither and thither. [...]

—Heavenly God! cried Stephen's soul, in an outburst of profane joy.

He turned away from her suddenly and set off across the strand. His cheeks were aflame; his body was aglow; his limbs were trembling. On and on and on and on he strode, far out over the sands, singing wildly to the sea, crying to greet the advent of the life that had cried to him. Her image had passed into his soul for ever and no word had broken the holy silence of his ecstasy. [...] To live, to err, to fall, to triumph, to recreate life out of life! A wild angel had appeared to him, the angel of mortal youth and beauty, an envoy from the fair

courts of life, to throw open before him in an instant of ecstasy the gates of all the ways of error and glory. On and on and on and on! (*P* 186)

Stephen experiences this decisive epiphany after rejecting the position of priesthood, having broken the religious chains in his life. In this epiphany, Stephen carefully watches a girl wading and feels an overwhelming sense of joy from this activity. The girl is aware of Stephen's presence, and it is important to note here that this encounter is not a sensual one. Stephen is not affected by the girl erotically since what he sees is not the sexually charged female figure but an aesthetic image of the female as the guiding angel, almost a Virgin Mary figure. "Stephen's reaction to her," writes Morris Beja, "is conveyed in such terms as *worship, Heavenly God!, soul, holy silence of his ecstasy, a wild angel*. But despite all these phrases his emotion is far from religious [...]. She is not a vision from another world, but 'the angel of mortal youth and beauty, an envoy from the fair courts of life'" (101). This worldly and secular image before him pushes him to feel the joy of life as it calls to him. In this epiphany, the image of the wading girl "remains a sign of promise and of freedom, not of punishment," as opposed to the first epiphany in which guilt and fear pervade (Beja 100). This association of joy of life with aesthetic contentment is the backbone of the epiphany since Stephen relates the image with life itself. Life means "[t]o live, to err, to fall, to triumph, to recreate life out of life" for Stephen, which becomes the driving force of his artistic conceptions (*P* 186). It is clear that this epiphany fuels his will to survive against all odds through art as he vows to go "[o]n and on and on and on" (*P* 186). Morris Beja argues that this epiphany "is the most important epiphany as well as the structural climax of the novel, the moment when he becomes a conscious artist, when the rebel finds his cause" (100).

The last epiphany happens in one of the last lines of the novel as Stephen prepares for his self-exile and punctuates Stephen's understanding of freedom:

April 16. Away! Away!

The spell of arms and voices: the white arms of roads, their promise of close embraces and the black arms of tall ships that stand against the moon, their tale of distant nations. They are held out to say: We are alone—come. And the voices say with them: We are your kinsmen. And the air is thick with their company as they call to me, their kinsman, making ready to go, shaking the

wings of their exultant and terrible youth. (P 275)

In a letter to his brother, Joyce wrote that this epiphany was written “to mark the precise point between boyhood (*pueritia*) and adolescence (*adulescentia*)—17 years” (Ellmann, *Letters II* 79). The epiphany, with “its themes and images, such as travel, voices, beckoning, wings, and transgression” is journey oriented as Stephen is now close to leaving Ireland (MacDuff et. al 157). The ship imagery reinforces the emphasis on going away from the country that suffocates Stephen as “distant nations” call to him. He extends the borders of kinship here by going beyond the defined frameworks of nationality, ensuring a universalizing relationship between himself and the world.

These three epiphanies consecutively constitute the arch of Stephen’s *Bildung* as they move from religious containment (the nightmare epiphany) and artistic realization (the wading girl epiphany) to freedom (the journey epiphany). However, the epiphanies of *A Portrait*, while being artistic in themselves, are not solely related to Stephen’s artistic *Bildung*. Since his artistic maturation cannot be evaluated without his approach to the questions of Irish independence, colonialism, nationalism, and religion, these elements are already sustained in the epiphanies and in his identity formation. Stephen’s identity, in a way, develops in parallel with his reaction to the questions above as he knows that his artistic identity is “not [...] autonomous but [...] largely [...] determined in all his actions by the circumstances of his birth and by membership in a given national community” (Lewis 469). Epiphanies, as the crux of the novel, become the intersection points of the modernist form and the ideological content of the narrative since they are both historically and aesthetically loaded. They also “serve as a unifying or integrating device, instantaneously bringing together many of the main threads of a novel,” in this case, the threads of Stephen’s own personal and ideological growth (Beja 22-23). In this way, epiphanies are also commensurate with the clash between artistic desires (oriented towards the future) and historical necessities (characterized by the past) evident in the novel. As Riquelme states, “Stephen’s portrait turns out to be the name of a question about the future and its relations to the past, about our duty not to escape from history but to rewrite it and reinvent ourselves” (120). That is why *A Portrait* “ends with a beginning,” with its eyes toward the future (Deane, “Introduction” vii).

CHAPTER 4: PARODICAL AND POLITICAL FORMS OF *ULYSSES* (1922)

4.1. The Multifarious Styles of *Ulysses*

Joyce's first novel *A Portrait of the Artist as A Young Man* ends with a new beginning, with Stephen Dedalus leaving Ireland in order to realize himself as an artist. In *Ulysses*, Joyce's second novel and *magnum opus*, the reader sees the dire consequences of that beginning with Stephen back in Ireland. *Ulysses* recounts one day in Dublin on 16 June 1904 with its protagonists Stephen Dedalus, who is back in Dublin after a failed attempt at self-exile; Leopold Bloom, a Jewish advertisement canvasser wandering through the streets of Dublin during the day; and Bloom's wife Molly Bloom, an opera singer who has an affair with a man named Blazes Boylan. *Ulysses* is pivotal not only in Joyce's oeuvre but also in the history of literary modernism: the novel is often said to be the epitome of the whole movement with its form as well as its content. It is replete with stream of consciousness technique taking over the whole narrative as opposed to *A Portrait*'s mainly dialogue-based form, and its structure of eighteen chapters with various forms in themselves and the use of non-conventional, experimental language such as puns, portmanteau words, parodies, allusions, and pastiches distinguish the novel as one of the, if not the most, prominent works of literary modernism. The decentralizing effects of modernism in the cultural arena is well known, and it can be said that the effect of *Ulysses* in the literary scene was of the same accord: "After *Ulysses*, modernist experimentation was no longer marginal. It was essential. [...] For what modernism rebelled against was entrenched empiricism, a century of all-too-confident belief in perpetual technocratic progress, [...] and in the order of things as tidy, sanitized and always available for public examination" (Birmingham 3). Modernism's chaotic and subjective responses to the rigid boundaries of empiricism and blind belief in progress are reflected in *Ulysses*'s multifarious forms as well as its daring content.

What makes *Ulysses* the single most important book of the whole movement is the fact that the content of the novel is paralleled by Joyce's revolutionary use of literary form, style, and language:

He [...] uses modernist techniques, [...], to adopt a "series of rhetorical masks" which make us "doubt the authority of any particular style". The various

methods of narrative in *Ulysses* are thus “different but not definitive ways of filtering and ordering experience”. For although Joyce obeys the underlying causal necessities of narrative, [...] he also makes us see his history of a day within a number of stylistic frameworks, which are all relative to one another, and which often disrupt the conventions of word formation and syntax. This is the beginning of Joyce’s “revolution of the word”, which is completed in *Finnegans Wake*. (Butler, “Joyce” 69)

Joyce’s highly stylistic language and associative content counterpart each other in *Ulysses* and this means of appropriating form and content is the distinguishing feature of the novel, as “Joyce indeed wanted to be interpreted; in this he follows one of the central aims of early modernism, which was to attract an audience which was willing to attempt to decode the relationships between stylistic medium and message” (Butler, “Joyce” 83). This work of negotiating between form and content offers the most viable critical and political analysis of the novel.

The narrative of *Ulysses* focuses on the lives of its protagonists in Dublin, surrounded by historical, ideological, and political realities of their country at the beginning of the 20th century. As it is the case with *A Portrait*, Joyce situates Dubliners at the center of his narrative, this time with more depth both in form and content. Dublin acts as an overarching character in the novel with each chapter set in a different corner of the city. Joyce constructs such an intricate miniature Dublin in the novel that he declared his intention while writing *Ulysses* to be “to give a picture of Dublin so complete that if the city suddenly disappeared from the earth it could be reconstructed out of [his] book” (qtd. in Budgen 69). Apart from the city’s character-like appearance, Irish culture in Dublin plays a central role in decoding *Ulysses*. As Seamus Deane asserts, at the beginning of the 20th century Dublin was a mix of “the oral and the literate cultures. It prided itself on its reputation for wit, good conversation, malicious gossip, oratory, drama, and journalism. Joyce’s work reflects this aspect of the city’s culture. It is a mosaic of set pieces—sermons, speeches, stories, witticisms, rhetorical extravaganzas, and mimics” (“Joyce the Irishman” 38). All these Dubliner values are found in *Ulysses*’s form as the novel was written in a variety of styles including pieces of writings such as sermons, drama, catechisms, stories, speeches, and journalistic pieces. The cultural values of Dublin, therefore, are manifest in the novel

not only as content but also as form, reflected in the heterogeneous form of the chapters.

Ulysses is considered to be the epitome of literary modernism, and its legacy is still appreciated around the world: 16 June is universally celebrated as Bloomsday every year on which Joyceans come together, read *Ulysses*, and enact scenes from the novel. Its legacy is not solely related to its modernist form and experimental aesthetics: its groundbreaking content also accounts for its somewhat notorious status. *Ulysses* was serialized in the journal *The Little Magazine* in the US between 1918 and 1920 and published in its entirety in 1922 in Paris by Sylvia Beach in her bookstore Shakespeare and Company. Its publication history is not without controversy: *Ulysses* was banned in the UK until 1936 and wreaked a bigger havoc in the US with the publication of the “Nausicaa” chapter in which Bloom is depicted as masturbating (Birmingham 11). The serialized version of the novel was charged with an obscenity trial in the US in 1921 with John S. Sumner, the Secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, launching a legal action for the ban of the book on moral grounds (Birmingham 8). Associative yet bold content of the novel—“the epic of the human body” as its author once called it—includes scenes of masturbation, defecation, urination, and menstruation, and is groundbreaking in the history of modernism, situating bodily functions of common people as the subject of a novel about daily life (Budgen 21). Kevin Birmingham in *The Most Dangerous Book: The Battle for James Joyce’s Ulysses* (2014) states that “nothing in *Ulysses*, is unspeakable” and “[b]eing forbidden is a part of what made Joyce’s novel so transformative” (2). In 1933, in a landmark decision called *United States v. One Book Called Ulysses*, *Ulysses* was acquitted from the obscenity accusation with Judge John M. Woolsey calling the book “a true picture of the lower middle class in a European city” and its author “a great writer” who devised “a new literary method for the observation and description of mankind” (United States, District Court). Woolsey further elaborated that “*Ulysses* is not an easy book to read or to understand. But there has been much written about it, and in order properly to approach the consideration of it it is advisable to read a number of other books which have now become its satellites” (United States, District Court). Stuart Gilbert’s influential study *James Joyce’s Ulysses* (1955) has become one of those guiding books, including a schema of the novel Joyce created, now known as the

Gilbert's Schema in Joycean studies. This schema perfectly encapsulates the book's intricate structure:

	Title	Scene	Hour	Organ	Art	Colour	Symbol	Technic
1.	Telemachus	The Tower	8 a.m.		Theology	White, gold	Heir	Narrative (young)
2.	Nestor	The School	10 a.m.		History	Brown	Horse	Catechism (personal)
3.	Proteus	The Strand	11 a.m.		Philology	Green	Tide	Monologue (male)
4.	Calypso	The House	8 a.m.	Kidney	Economics	Orange	Nymph	Narrative (mature)
5.	Lotus-eaters	The Bath	10 a.m.	Genitals	Botany, Chemistry		Eucharist	Narcissism
6.	Hades	The Graveyard	11 a.m.	Heart	Religion	White, black	Caretaker	Incubism
7.	Aeolus	The Newspaper	12 noon	Lungs	Rhetoric	Red	Editor	Enthymemic
8.	Lestrygonians	The Lunch	1 p.m.	Esophagus	Architecture		Constables	Peristaltic
9.	Scylla and Charybdis	The Library	2 p.m.	Brain	Literature		Stratford, London	Dialectic
10.	Wandering Rocks	The Streets	3 p.m.	Blood	Mechanics		Citizens	Labyrinth
11.	Sirens	The Concert Room	4 p.m.	Ear	Music		Barmaids	Fuga per canonem
12.	Cyclops	The Tavern	5 p.m.	Muscle	Politics		Fenian	Gigantism
13.	Nausicaa	The Rocks	8 p.m.	Eye, Nose	Painting	Grey, blue	Virgin	Tumescence, detumescence
14.	Oxen of the Sun	The Hospital	10 p.m.	Womb	Medicine	White	Mothers	Embryonic development
15.	Circe	The Brothel	12 midnight	Locomotor apparatus	Magic		Whore	Hallucination
16.	Eumaeus	The Shelter	1 a.m.	Nerves	Navigation		Sailors	Narrative (old)
17.	Ithaca	The House	2 a.m.	Skeleton	Science		Comets	Catechism (impersonal)
18.	Penelope	The Bed		Flesh			Earth	Monologue (female)

Table 2. Gilbert's Schema of *Ulysses* (Gilbert, *James Joyce's Ulysses* 30)

The scene column in the schema details various places in Dublin that the chapters take place and the hour section depicts the non-linear timeline of the novel in which the reader follows different characters at the same hour of the day in different chapters. The organ section is appropriate for a book which was deemed as the “epic of the human body” and the colour and symbol parts offer symbolic analyses for the chapters (Budgen 21). While the art section provides the philosophical themes explored in the chapters by way of either form or content, the technic column reveals the narrative technique used. Although there are no chapter titles in the published versions of the book, the chapters are titled with references to characters and places

from Homer's *Odyssey* both in the Gilbert Schema and the Linati Schema that Joyce sent to his friend Carlo Linati in 1920. The title of the novel itself, *Ulysses*, is the Latinized version of Odysseus, the hero of the *Odyssey*. The chapters of the book roughly correspond to the books of Homer's *Odyssey* with Bloom as the modern Odysseus, Stephen as Telemachus, Odysseus's son, and Molly as Penelope, Odysseus's wife. Chapters are gathered into three parts for ease of structuring, also concurrent with the books of the *Odyssey*: "Telemachia," recounting the Irish Telemachus Stephen's explorations in Dublin; "Odyssey," narrating the Irish Odysseus Bloom's adventures in the city; and "Nostos," detailing Bloom's return home. Each chapter in these parts has its own distinctive style by foregrounding a specific form matched with specific content.

The mythic parallels evident in *Ulysses* have long been subjected to critical analysis as one of the most used lenses of interpretation. For Joyce, the *Odyssey* represented the universal condition of humankind on a journey towards home. Joyce once wrote that "[t]he most beautiful, all-embracing theme is that of the *Odyssey*. It is greater, more human, than that of *Hamlet*, *Don Quixote*, Dante, *Faust*. [...] The most beautiful, most human traits are contained in the *Odyssey*. [...] I find the subject of *Ulysses* the most human in world literature" (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 416-7). Joyce considered Odysseus an all-round character and based Bloom on the character of Odysseus. When Frank Budgen asked him, "Your complete man in literature is, I suppose, Ulysses?", Joyce replied with a simple "Yes" (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 435). This concurs with the description of Odysseus in the first lines of the *Odyssey*: "Sing to me of the man, Muse, the man of twists and turn / driven time and again off course, once he had plundered / the hollowed heights of Troy" (1.1-3). Bloom as the modern "man of twists and turns" reflects Joyce's attempt to reveal the human aspect of modern times with all its features, however "ugly," "obscene," or "immoral" they might be. Joyce's use of Homeric parallels, therefore, entails a universalizing and modernizing effect through which the epic features stand for all humanity, revealing Joyce's "defense of contemporary materials, [...] and his insistence that the laws of life are the same always and everywhere" (Ellmann, *JJ* 73).

In terms of narrative, the mythic parallels provide a kind of a superstructure in which the epic form is modernized. For Ezra Pound, the Homeric parallels in *Ulysses*

are “a scaffold, a means of construction, justified by the result, and justifiable by it only. The result is a triumph in form, in balance, a main schema with continuous weaving and arabesque” (Pound, “*Ulysses*” 406). In his essay “*Ulysses, Order, and Myth*” (1923), T. S. Eliot argues that Joyce’s use of myths is an attempt to bring order to the chaotic appropriations of the modern world: “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 significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history” (478). While Pound sees the Homeric parallels as structural and narrative footholds, T. S. Eliot’s mythical method entails a point of view in which the chaos resulting from modernity is made apprehensible through the historical authority of myths. Eliot’s mythical method is parallel to Roland Barthes’s analysis of myths as close units of meaning in which “[t]he meaning is *already* complete, [and] it postulates a kind of knowledge, a past, a memory, a comparative order of facts, ideas, decisions” (116). This kind of totality provides an explanation for modernism’s penchant for using myths as structural narrative devices. The turn to mythical writing in modernism was the consequence of the disappointment resulting from the disorienting effects of modernity which rendered the world as a meaningless void and “in the absence of Enlightenment certitudes as to the perfectibility of man, the search for a myth appropriate to modernity became paramount” (Harvey 30).

Joyce’s use of the *Odyssey* myth in *Ulysses*, however, is not a conventional mythical use in modernism. Joyce indeed employs the narrative of the *Odyssey* as a structural pattern to give form to the novel, but he does not do it for the sake of ordering the chaos and the mess of historical reality under modernity. Joyce subverts Eliot’s mythical method by relating the universality of myths to the specificity of locality: Joyce’s universal characters—Bloom, Stephen, and Molly—are universal *because* they are specifically Irish. The mythic parallels in the novel, therefore, apart from their organizational feature, operate on hermeneutic grounds, connecting the local to the universal by rejecting absolute narratives of myths in favour of specificity. As Moretti indicates, “*Ulysses*’s particularity—its historical and, as we shall see, geographical ‘limitedness’—is, therefore, the most stable pedestal on which to rest its ‘universality’” (*Signs* 185). This specificity, of course, entails historical, political, and

ideological realities which are all identifiable through the specific forms the novel employs. Fredric Jameson in "Ulysses in History" contends that

[t]he Odyssey parallel can then be seen as one of the organisational frameworks of the narrative text: but it is not itself the interpretation of that narrative, as the ideologues of myth have thought [...] Genuine interpretation is something other than this, and involves the radical historicisation of the form itself: what is to be interpreted is then the historical necessity for this very peculiar and complex textual structure or reading operation in the first place. (128)

In short, Homeric parallels act in line with this relationship between modernism and the mythical turn, however, they fall short in explaining firstly the subversive nature of Joyce's use of myths and secondly the political and ideological meanings behind the lines of the novel, most of which are explorable only through narrative form.

Specific chapters in the novel, namely "Proteus," "Aeolus," "Oxen of the Sun," "Circe" and "Penelope" offer examples of idiosyncrasies that make *Ulysses* a multifarious book in terms of form and style. In "Telemachia," the "Proteus" chapter distinguishes itself as the first chapter with a non-conventional narrative style. "Proteus" is the second chapter of the novel and takes its name from the Greek sea god Proteus, who also features in the *Odyssey*. In the *Odyssey*, Telemachus travels to Sparta where he finds Menelaus, the king of Sparta, and his wife Helen. Menelaus informs Telemachus that they reached Sparta through the island of Pharos where he tried to get hold of Proteus, who told them that the nymph Calypso holds Odysseus captive on the island of Ogygia. The sea god Proteus is associated with elusiveness and change, and the adjective "protean" comes from the sea god, connoting mutability and versatility. This Homeric parallel is crucial in the interpretation of the chapter in which the narrative form shifts its focus to dense stream of consciousness. After the dialogue-driven chapters "Telemachus" and "Nestor," "Proteus" has no substantial dialogue and focuses solely on Stephen's stream of consciousness, detailing his thoughts on philosophy and life while walking on Sandymount Strand. The stream of consciousness in the narrative is sometimes interrupted by third person narration, making free indirect style the main narrative style in "Proteus." This shift occurs frequently in the chapter; thus, narrative imbalance is bewildering compared to the first two chapters where there is a more stable and traditional narration technique. "Proteus"

is considered to be one of the most challenging chapters of the novel due to this narrative impenetrability.

As concurrent with the technic of the chapter, indicated as “monologue (male)” in the Gilbert Schema, “Proteus” begins with a long passage of stream of consciousness where Stephen ponders on philosophical terms:

Ineluctable modality of the visible: at least that if no more, thought through my eyes. Signatures of all things I am here to read, seaspawn and seawrack, the nearing tide, that rusty boot. Snotgreen, bluesilver, rust: coloured signs. Limits of the diaphane. But he adds: in bodies. Then he was aware of them bodies before of them coloured. How? By knocking his scone against them, sure. Go easy. Bald he was and a millionaire, *maestro di color che sanno*. Limit of the diaphane in. Why in? Diaphane, adiaphane. If you can put your five fingers through it it is a gate, if not a door. Shut your eyes and see. (U 3.1-9)

The reader is following Stephen’s flow of thoughts exactly as it happens in his mind and without direct intervention. After this passage, the third person narration cuts Stephen’s stream of consciousness only to be overcome by stream of consciousness again: “Stephen closed his eyes to hear his boots crush crackling wrack and shells. You are walking through it howsomever. I am, a stride at a time” (U 3.10-11). As this juxtaposition of third person narration and stream of consciousness makes it difficult to differentiate between which narration takes precedence, “Proteus” marks the beginning of a stream of consciousness tradition in the whole novel and prepares the reader for the following chapters which employ the same technique. The art of this chapter is indicated as “philology” in the Gilbert Schema due to “a conscious virtuosity in the handling of language as an end in itself and an exploitation of the affective resonance of words” (Gilbert, *James Joyce’s Ulysses* 116). Words take on different forms in the narrative as they are adapted to Stephen’s stream of consciousness: One example of this is the word “almosting”: “After he woke me last night same dream or was it? Wait. Open hallway. Street of harlots. Remember. Haroun al Raschid. I am almosting it. That man led me, spoke. I was not afraid” (U 3.365-7). The adverb “almost” becomes a verb here, shedding its conventional use. When asked about this new word “almosting,” Joyce replied as follows: “That’s all in the Protean character of the thing. Everything changes: land, water, dog, time of day. Parts of speech change

too. Adverb becomes verb” (qtd. in Budgen 55). The flow of language in this stream of consciousness narrative is a homage to the namesake of the chapter; “Proteus” is a protean chapter with its focus on transformation—as the chapter is full of material and immaterial changes being described—and elusive, always changing, versatile narrative voice. The language and the narrative of this chapter are “always in a flux of becoming, ebb or flow, and any attempt to arrest [their] trend” becomes futile like Menelaus’s attempt at capturing Proteus (Gilbert, *James Joyce’s Ulysses* 129).

The next part, “Odyssey,” consists of twelve chapters and includes most of the crucial themes explored in the novel. Its title, “Odyssey,” meaning “journey,” is concurrent with the chapters in this part that follow the characters as they go on their journeys in different parts of the city during the day. “Aeolus,” “Oxen of the Sun,” and “Circe” are the most striking chapters of this part in terms of their forms, narrative styles, and linguistic variety. “Aeolus” takes place in the newsrooms of the *Freeman’s Journal* where Bloom works and follows his attempts to place an ad in the newspaper. The namesake of this chapter is the Greek god of the wind who also features in the *Odyssey*. The Homeric parallels in this chapter run as follows: “Aeolus helps Ulysses on his way by giving him the winds unfavourable to his voyage tied up in a bag. As they are nearing home, Ulysses’s followers open the bag out of curiosity; the winds are released; and they are blown back off their course. When Ulysses makes a second application to Aeolus for help, he is rebuked and dismissed” (Blamires 35). The editor of the newspaper, Mr. Crawford, becomes Aeolus in this chapter whom Bloom tries to convince about publishing an ad. In line with the Homeric parallels, this chapter is full of air, materialized in words: speeches of all types fly freely as the “lungs” of the chapter push air in and out of the newspaper. The art of this chapter is conveniently rhetoric, and the narrative technic is given as “enthymemic.” Enthymeme is “a syllogism based on probabilities, signs, and examples, whose function is rhetorical persuasion” (qtd. in Tompkins 200-1). Various types of rhetorical persuasion occur in the chapter: Bloom tries to convince his editor about an ad, the famous speeches of important Irish figures are debated, and Stephen tries to signal an important political message through an allegorical story at the end of the chapter. “Aeolus” is, thus, a chapter about talking and most importantly, talking *about* talking.

What makes this chapter formally and stylistically unique is the fact that it is

divided into short passages with newspaper headlines above them. Thus, this chapter acts as a newspaper, with headlines and accompanying content below. What is more, these passages are written in various rhetorical devices such as anagrams, palindromes, allegories, and alliterations. This focus on rhetorical devices is concurrent with the theme of the chapter, that is, advertising: In order to advertise, one must use highly ornate language that can be found in abundance in newspapers. “Aeolus” is also full of ornate language itself through rhetorical devices and examples of ornate language used in various legal cases and speeches in history. The first two headlines and passages in the chapter are as follows:

IN THE HEART OF THE HIBERNIAN METROPOLIS

Before Nelson’s pillar trams slowed, shunted, changed trolley, started for Blackrock, Kingstown and Dalkey, Clonskea, Rathgar and Terenure, Palmerston Park and upper Rathmines, Sandymount Green, Rathmines, Ringsend and Sandymount Tower, Harold’s Cross. The hoarse Dublin United Tramway Company’s timekeeper bawled them off:

—Rathgar and Terenure!

—Come on, Sandymount Green! [...]

THE WEARER OF THE CROWN

Under the porch of the general post office shoeblacks called and polished. Parked in North Prince’s street His Majesty’s vermilion mailcars, bearing on their sides the royal initials, E. R., received loudly flung sacks of letters, postcards, lettercards, parcels, insured and paid, for local, provincial, British and overseas delivery. (*U* 7.1-19)

“The heart of the Hibernian metropolis” is a metaphor for Dublin and the phrase “the wearer of the crown” is a metonymy, connoting the king. Even in the first few lines of the chapter, “Aeolus” delivers its rhetorical bravado, concurrent with its content. Moreover, the headlines signal a formal shift in the course of the novel. Karen Lawrence argues that the chapter “offers a departure from the ‘novel’ of the first six episodes and an adumbration of the experimentation in the subsequent episodes” (57). The headlines are “gradually modified in the course of the episode; the first are comparatively dignified, or classically allusive, in the Victorian tradition; later captions reproduce, in all its vulgarity, the slickness of the modern press” (Gilbert,

James Joyce's Ulysses 179). They evolve from the first headline, "IN THE HEART OF THE HIBERNIAN METROPOLIS" (*U* 7.1-2), to the last one: "DIMINISHED DIGITS PROVE TOO TITILLATING FOR FRISKY FRUMPS. ANNE WIMBLES, FLO WANGLES—YET CAN YOU BLAME THEM?" (*U* 7.1069-1071). The gradual dissolution of the meaning of the headlines accounts for the relevancy between the form and the content of the chapter: the distinguished headlines begin to disintegrate in terms of language as "the slickness of the modern press" signals the place language holds in modernity as a tool for persuasion (Gilbert, *James Joyce's Ulysses* 179).

The fourteenth chapter of the novel "Oxen of the Sun" is not stylistically distinguishing as the newspaper-like form of "Aeolus," but what it lacks in visible form on the page it compensates with its language. The technic of the chapter is "embryonic development," appropriate for a chapter where Bloom visits an acquaintance who has recently given birth at the maternity hospital. The Homeric parallels are looser in this chapter: Ulysses and his men visit the Isle of the Sun where he "warns his men against killing the sacred oxen of the Sun for food, but they disobey him when he is asleep. Retribution for this impious sacrilege follows. Ulysses's ship is struck by a thunderbolt and all lives are lost but Ulysses's own" (Blamires 118). In the chapter, the students at the maternity hospital commit a kind of sacrilege against motherhood by talking about inappropriate subjects and Bloom does not approve of this. The distinguishing feature of this chapter is that gestation is reflected in the historical development of the English language from the Anglo-Saxon period to modern times by employing pastiches from various periods and writers. Joyce uses a series of imitations ranging from Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, "the Elizabethan chronicle style," John Milton, John Bunyan, Samuel Pepys, Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Swift, to "pidgin English, nigger English, Cockney, Irish, Bowery slang and broken doggerel" (Gilbert, *Letters I* 139-140). One of the earliest and one of the latest pastiches in the chapter reflect this tour-de-force of language:

Before born bliss babe had. Within womb won he worship. Whatever in that one case done commodiously done was. A couch by midwives attended with wholesome food reposeful, cleanest swaddles as though forthbringing were now done and by wise foresight set: but to this no less of what drugs there is need and surgical implements which are pertaining to her case not omitting

aspect of all very distracting spectacles in various latitudes by our terrestrial orb offered together with images, divine and human, the cogitation of which by sejunct females is to tumescence conducive or eases issue in the high sunbright wellbuilt fair home of mothers when, ostensibly far gone and reproductitive, it is come by her thereto to lie in, her term up. (*U* 14.60-70)

Golly, whatten tunket's yon guy in the mackintosh? Dusty Rhodes. Peep at his wearables. By mighty! What's he got? Jubilee mutton. Bovril, by James. Wants it real bad. D'ye ken bare socks? Seedy cuss in the Richmond? (*U* 14.1546-9)

The first pastiche is the imitation of an Anglo-Saxon alliterative prose whereas the latter is a typical every-day talk with slang use (Gilbert, *James Joyce's Ulysses* 289). As Anthony Burgess states, the chapter "is an author's chapter, a dazzling and authoritative display of what English can do. Moreover, it is a fulfilment of every author's egotistical desire not merely to add to English literature but to enclose what is already there" (156). The thematic parallels between embryonic development and the development of the English language reflect Joyce's handling of language both as a complete and finished means of conveying meaning that can be imitated and as an organic entity whose development can be shown in the process of evolving. Thus, Joyce uses the stylistic medium as his message by employing language as form and content without leaving aside both the theme of the chapter (gestation) and the plot details (a visit to a maternity hospital). "Oxen of the Sun," according to its writer, is "the most difficult episode [...] both to interpret and to execute" and represents Joyce's bravado of and reliance on linguistic, formal, and stylistic heterogeneity throughout the novel (Gilbert, *Letters I* 137).

The last chapter of the "Odyssey" part in the novel is the "Circe" chapter which recounts Bloom and Stephen's adventures in the brothel district of Dublin. This chapter's narrative employs a dramatic form with stage directions in which the text follows Bloom and Stephen's real and imaginary adventures in the form of a play. In Homer's *Odyssey*, the witch Circe holds a feast for Odysseus's crew in her palace, drugs them and turns them into swine. Odysseus is helped by Hermes who provides him with a magic herb that makes him immune to Circe's magic. With the help of the magic herb, Odysseus is able to master Circe and free his men. The novel's "Circe"

chapter also deals with this theme of transformation with different characters from the earlier chapters appearing and transforming into grotesque characters. With this transformation theme, “Joyce seems to have taken the whole book, jumbled it together in a giant mixer and then rearranged its elements in a monster pantomime” (Hayman 102). The dreamy/hallucinatory atmosphere of the chapter stems from Joyce’s coupling of the psychological depth of the characters and their manifest form in language. This creates an aura of confusion in the narrative of the chapter as the reader is bombarded and puzzled with events whose factual accountability is lost. Karen Lawrence explains that “this confusion is compounded [...] by the fact that most of the dramas in which the characters participate are composite dramas that recombine elements from the book’s past, transgressing the boundaries of the psyches of the characters” (161). “Circe” reveals the dark psyches of the characters by narrating their fantasies in the dramatic form. Like in Homer’s *Odyssey*, the characters in “Circe” are enchanted by their fears and desires, represented performatively in the chapter. One of the most striking hallucinations in this chapter is Bloom’s fantasy of becoming a woman, which is fulfilled in a dream at the brothel:

BELLO: (*With a hard basilisk stare, in a baritone voice.*) Hound of dishonour!

BLOOM: (*Infatuated.*) Empress!

BELLO: (*His heavy cheekchops sagging.*) Adorer of the adulterous rump!

BLOOM: (*Plaintively.*) Hugeness! [...]

BELLO: Down! (*He taps her on the shoulder with his fan.*) Incline feet forward! Slide left foot one pace back! You will fall. You are falling. On the hands down!

BLOOM: (*Her eyes upturned in the sign of admiration, closing, yaps.*) Truffles!

(*With a piercing epileptic cry she sinks on all fours, grunting, snuffling, rooting at his feet: then lies, shamming dead, with eyes shut tight, trembling eyelids, bowed upon the ground in the attitude of most excellent master.*)

BELLO: (*With bobbed hair, purple gills, fat moustache rings round his shaven mouth, in mountaineer’s puttees, green silverbuttoned coat, sport skirt and alpine hat with moorcock’s feather, his hands stuck deep in his breeches pockets, places his heel on her neck and grinds it in.*) Footstool! Feel my entire

weight. Bow, bondslave, before the throne of your despot's glorious heels so glistening in their proud erectness.

BLOOM: (*Enthralled, bleats.*) I promise never to disobey. (U 15.2834-2864)

Here in this hallucination, the sex worker Bella transforms into a man named Bello and Bloom becomes a "she" who is verbally insulted and dominated by Bello as part of Bloom's sexual fantasies. The dramatic form grants direct entry to the psyches of the characters and the performative nature of the dramatic form paves the way for unrestrained expression of the fantasies of the characters, providing "a stage for a libidinous release of tendencies in the language and in the characters" (Lawrence 150-51). Thus, "Circe" expands the narrative boundaries of the novel by introducing the dramatic within the novel form, contributing to the heterogeneity of forms in the novel.

The distinguishing chapter of the last part of the novel "Nostos" is the "Penelope" chapter which follows Molly Bloom's female monologue. "Penelope" is the last chapter of *Ulysses* and Molly Bloom has the final word in the whole narrative. The last book of Homer's *Odyssey* describes Odysseus's return home to Ithaca where his wife Penelope waits for him for years. Penelope is bothered by suitors trying to win her hand in marriage, against which she devised a plan to secretly weave and unweave a shroud to delay them. In *Ulysses*'s "Penelope," Irish Penelope Molly Bloom lies beside her husband and thinks about their relationship, her affair with Blazes Boylan, her previous lovers, and her childhood in a stream of consciousness never encountered in the book: The chapter is written in a style that consists of eight pages-long sentences with no punctuation and separated only by paragraph breaks. The last lines of the chapter and the whole novel read as follows:

O and the sea the sea crimson sometimes like fire and the glorious sunsets and the figtrees in the Alameda gardens yes and all the queer little streets and the pink and blue and yellow houses and the rosegardens and the jessamine and geraniums and cactuses and Gibraltar as a girl where I was a Flower of the mountain yes when I put the rose in my hair like the Andalusian girls used or shall I wear a red yes and how he kissed me under the Moorish wall and I thought well as well him as another and then I asked him with my eyes to ask again yes and then he asked me would I yes to say yes my mountain flower and first I put my arms around him yes and drew him down to me so he could feel

my breasts all perfume yes and his heart was going like mad and yes I said yes
I will Yes. (U 18.1598-1609)

Here, Molly remembers Bloom's marriage proposal and the reader follows her thoughts, unfiltered, highly associative, and without interruption except for the final full stop at the end of the novel. Molly has her period during the course of the chapter, which associates her flowing narrative with the fluidity of the female body. With these features, "Penelope"—although written by a man—comes closer to *écriture féminine*, women's writing, proposed by the French theorist Hélène Cixous in her essay "The Laugh of the Medusa" (1975)⁴². *Écriture féminine* places importance on subverting male modes of writing by highlighting "the inscription of the feminine body and female difference in language and text" (Showalter 249). Molly's uninterrupted stream of consciousness, the lack of punctuation in the narrative, and the parallels between the flow of the narrative and the flow of her period distinguish Molly's monologue from the monologues of other chapters. This type of a female narrative subverts the male monologue technique employed in the previous chapters of the novel by rejecting the conventions of proper narrative organization. Lois Tyson argues *écriture féminine* is "fluidly organized and freely associative. It resists patriarchal modes of thinking and writing, which generally require prescribed, 'correct' methods of organization, rationalist rules of logic [...] and linear reasoning" (101). As Molly's "spontaneity represents an alternative to the contrivance and artificiality of style" in the previous chapters of the novel, "Penelope" marks itself as both stylistically and gender-wise idiosyncratic, contributing to the formal and contextual diversity of the novel (Schwarz 259).

The multifarious styles of *Ulysses*, as can be seen in the example chapters mentioned, operate on two levels; first on formal grounds where Joyce's modernist experimentation is at play, and secondly on contextual grounds in which the content explored in the chapter goes in parallel to the form or style employed. Stephen's male monologue in "Proteus" where stream of consciousness technique is fully explored for

⁴² Although "Penelope" comes closer to feminist writing, the characterization of Molly Bloom in the novel is deemed by feminist scholars as stereotypical and patriarchal because of her portrayal as a voluptuous and sexually deviant woman. Heather Cook-Callow, for example, writes that "Joyce has structured the narrative in such a way that the voices of male Dublin (including Bloom's) weigh heavily in our initial assessment of Molly, and their testimony comes down forcefully, in the first seven-eighths of the novel, in favour of her beauty, sensuality, and immorality" (465).

the first time in the novel; the newspaper form and the rhetorical narrative of “Aeolus”; the gestation motif and the development of the English language in “Oxen of the Sun”; the dramatic form and the psychical explorations of “Circe”; and the feminine writing of “Penelope” all testify to the “odyssey of styles” in *Ulysses*. Karen Lawrence in her book *Odyssey of Style in Ulysses* (1981) argues that in addition to the journey theme explored in the novel with regard to Homeric parallels, the journey of changing narrative styles is what makes *Ulysses* a modernist masterpiece, “a work that deliberately changes, develops, transforms itself” (Lawrence 5). Lawrence further argues that a “series of rhetorical masks leads us to doubt the authority of any particular style. As the narrative norm is abandoned during the course of the book and is replaced by a series of styles, we see the arbitrariness of all styles. We see the styles as different but not definitive ways of filtering and ordering experience” (9). As no style gains prominence over one another in the narrative, the co-existence of various forms and styles becomes the guiding principle of the novel.

This deliberate transformation of styles and the heterogeneity of narrative forms confirm *Ulysses*’s conception as a polyphonic, dialogic, and heteroglot novel in Bakhtinian sense. As evident from the Gilbert schema, *Ulysses* is a novel of various intersecting forms, styles, languages, symbols, and themes, put together in an ever-expanding narrative. The characters in the novel have their own voices, narrating their experiences in a variety of styles, eliminating a single, authorial voice that can control the narrative. *Ulysses* is also a dialogic novel in which “[e]verything means, is understood, as a part of a greater whole,” with each chapter bound by another for interpretation even though they are separate units of narrative (Holquist 426). The narrative value of *Ulysses* lies “in the heterogeneity, in the very distance between these diverse elements that the writing will cross in a ceaseless play of relations and correspondences in which every element becomes the fiction of another” (Heath 40). Because every narrative form and style in the novel is inherently bound by the Irish context, *Ulysses* is also a heteroglot novel that conveys the “social act of language that communicates the linguistic sociality of human life itself” (Hale 450). Ultimately, *Ulysses*, in specific forms and styles, tells specific tales of Dublin that inherently bear political, ideological and historical meanings.

4.2. “It seems history is to blame”: Irish History and Politics in *Ulysses*

Such a diverse book about life with all its aspects and its interconnectedness inherently bear political, ideological, and historical meanings. There are many references to Irish historical facts, events, and names in *Ulysses* as the book’s narrative is moulded by the Irish culture itself. Maria Tymoczko, for example, in *Irish Ulysses* (1994) demonstrates that Joyce extensively used Irish imageries, symbols, myths, and literary traditions in *Ulysses* such as the ones from the famous *Book of Invasions*⁴³ and reads *Ulysses* as an Irish epic. Robert Spoo in *James Joyce and the Language of History: Dedalus’s Nightmare* (1994) asserts that “[h]istory is more than just a theme in *Ulysses*, it is to an exceptional degree a condition of the novel’s aesthetic production” (4). A similar sentiment is shared by James Fairhall in his *James Joyce and the Question of History* (1993) which argues about Joyce that “however we try to define his ambivalent, elusive politics—nationalist, left-wing, liberal, socialist, anarchist, Vichian, and so on—he was in any event not a passive esthete, but a literary revolutionist for whom writing represented the supreme political act” (63). Thus, it becomes clear that Joyce’s understanding of concepts such as ideology, history, and politics is always mediated by his interest in linguistic and formal experimentation and his interpretation of those concepts in textual terms reveal the political underpinnings of his works. The following subchapter will analyse how concepts of politics, ideology, and history are reinterpreted in formal and stylistic terms in the “Cyclops” chapter, but it is first imperative to outline how *Ulysses* deals with those concepts in context by analysing Joyce’s double-edged criticism of British colonialism, Irish nationalism, and antisemitism in the novel. The two most striking chapters where this critique can be sharply seen are “Telemachus” and “Nestor” which follow Stephen during the early hours of June 16, 1904.

“Telemachus” is the first chapter of the novel and reintroduces Stephen back in Dublin after his failed self-exile. He stays with his friend Buck Mulligan, a medical student, at Martello Tower and they have a visitor staying with them temporarily, Haines, an Englishman studying Irish culture. Harry Blamires explains the Homeric parallels in the chapter as follows: “At the beginning of Homer’s *Odyssey* Telemachus

⁴³ *The Book of Invasions* is an 11th century collection of writings in the Irish language, recounting the history and myths of Ireland from the creation of the world to the Middle Ages.

finds himself virtually dispossessed by his mother's suitors in his own father's house, and he sets out in search of the lost Ulysses. In Joyce's first episode Stephen Dedalus feels that he is pushed out by his supposed friends from his temporary residence, and leaves it intending not to return" (5). Indeed, the theme of homelessness and its personal and colonial associations are in abundance in the chapter as Stephen ponders both on his own situation after his failed self-exile and on Ireland's status as an invaded home through the character Haines. In "Telemachus," the first thing that occupies Stephen's mind from the start is the existence of Haines in the tower. Stephen is obviously not happy with the situation:

—How long is Haines going to stay in this tower?

Buck Mulligan showed a shaven cheek over his right shoulder.

—God, isn't he dreadful? he said frankly. A ponderous Saxon. He thinks you're not a gentleman. God, these bloody English! Bursting with money and indigestion. Because he comes from Oxford. You know, Dedalus, you have the real Oxford manner. He can't make you out. [...]

—He was raving all night about a black panther, Stephen said. Where is his guncase?

—A woful lunatic! Mulligan said. Were you in a funk?

—I was, Stephen said with energy and growing fear. Out here in the dark with a man I don't know raving and moaning to himself about shooting a black panther. You saved men from drowning. I'm not a hero, however. If he stays on here I am off. (*U* 1.49-63)

Haines's existence as *persona non grata* in the tower is reminiscent of the British colonial presence in Ireland and this is reinforced by Haines's nightmare of a black panther, representing the enemies of the British, and the fact that he carries a gun, ever ready for violence. Buck Mulligan thinks that Haines does not see Stephen as a gentleman even though his characteristics do resemble an Oxfordian with certain detachment and inherent aloofness. Haines is a student of Irish culture, and it becomes evident in the chapter that he actually sees Stephen as a sociological specimen to be studied:

Haines from the corner where he was knotting easily a scarf about the loose collar of his tennis shirt spoke:

—I intend to make a collection of your sayings if you will let me. [...]

—That one about the cracked lookingglass of a servant being the symbol of Irish art is deuced good. (*U* 1.478-784)

Stephen's artistic conceptions are, for Haines, bits and pieces of knowledge to be preserved in a collection like a cultural artefact rather than political instances to be analysed thereupon. Haines as "a comic symbol of ethnographic authority" and his feelings of inherent cultural superiority reveal a critique of both British cultural colonial rule with a penchant for the Irish as the exotic, and of the revivalist frameworks of primitivism, cultivated by Yeats and others (Castle, *Modernism* 210). Gregory Castle argues that "Telemachus" does not simply include an "ethnographic encounter but a performative critique of such an encounter, for Stephen is well aware of how far Haines's clumsy attempts to collect sayings falls short of Revivalist practice" (*Modernism* 215). Ethnographic interest here in this chapter does not only reveal itself as a colonial practice, but also exposes Irish nationalism's "structural complicity with colonialism" as both render Irish culture as a specimen to be studied for authenticity rather than an organic and heterogeneous entity (Castle, *Modernism* 217).

Later in their discussion where they talk about individual freedom and various external limitations, Haines gives away his privileged position as an Englishman against which Stephen rebukes by explaining which factors hold him back from freedom:

—After all, I should think you are able to free yourself. You are your own master, it seems to me.

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

—Italian? Haines said. [...]

—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. [...]

—I can quite understand that, he said calmly. An Irishman must think like that, I daresay. We feel in England that we have treated you rather unfairly. It seems history is to blame. (*U* 1.636-649)

Stephen feels that his freedom is threatened by three masters, the British colonial rule, the Catholic church, and a third one which is not revealed explicitly but implied as his own country, Ireland. Haines's feigned understanding of the Irish hate towards the British and his implicit dictation of how the Irish must think entail his colonial superiority, his "historical guilt as Ireland's conqueror," that makes him "apologize" for the unfair treatment the Irish has faced for centuries (Spoo 153). He also tries to put a distance between himself as a "genuine" admirer of the Irish ways and the colonial subjectivity his nationality discloses by washing the guilt off with a blame on history as an abstract concept. Moreover, history as a teleological concept is questioned here as the relationship between cause and result dissolves in Haines's conception. Robert Spoo writes that Haines's "formulation, like all claims about history and causality, is metaphorical, reductive, and provisional" since it separates history from its contextual factors that lead to enmity between nations (81). As there is no overarching concept of history sterilized from its neighbouring relations of ideology and subjectivity that would explain what the British did to the Irish, Haines's faltering declaration of sympathy on historical grounds is negated from the start. Haines later negates it himself by revealing his nationalistic intentions coupled with antisemitism: "Of course I'm a Britisher, Haines's voice said, and I feel as one. I don't want to see my country fall into the hands of German jews either. That's our national problem, I'm afraid, just now" (*U* 1.666-8). Haines's proud national identification here exposes two important things: firstly, his antisemitism and secondly, his implication that the Irish is no longer a national problem for the British, now that both the country and the culture are thoroughly colonized either by force or by ethnographic purposes. Antisemitism continues to be a major issue that is referred to in the later chapters of *Ulysses*, especially in "Cyclops" which will be analysed in the next subchapter, through which Bloom's identity as an Irish Jew is explored.

Perhaps the most revealing scene in "Telemachus" in terms of Irish nationality and cultural politics occurs when an old milkwoman visits the tower. Haines tries to talk to her in Irish supposing that she can speak the language. When they see that she cannot, Stephen asks:

—Do you understand what he says? Stephen asked her.

—Is it French you are talking, sir? the old woman said to Haines.

Haines spoke to her again a longer speech, confidently.

—Irish, Buck Mulligan said. Is there Gaelic on you?

—I thought it was Irish, she said, by the sound of it. Are you from the west, sir?

—I am an Englishman, Haines answered.

—He's English, Buck Mulligan said, and he thinks we ought to speak Irish in Ireland.

—Sure we ought to, the old woman said, and I'm ashamed I don't speak the language myself. I'm told it's a grand language by them that knows.

—Grand is no name for it, said Buck Mulligan. Wonderful entirely. (*U* 1.424-435)

There is double irony at play in this conversation: firstly, the fact that Haines, an Englishman, can speak Irish whereas Stephen and Buck Mulligan, two Irish intellectuals cannot; and secondly the senile milkwoman, who is supposed to know the language because of her old age, cannot even recognize let alone speak it. The revivalist work of reanimating the Irish language is revealed here as a failed project since both the old and the young cannot speak it while the colonizer appears to have mastered it. Gregory Castle writes about the milkwoman that “her ignorance of Irish,” however, “does not detract from her status as a symbol of Ireland, a version of the *bean bhean bhocht*, the poor old woman whose avatars include Kathleen ni Houlihan” (*Modernism* 213). In the eyes of both Haines as a British and Stephen and Buck Mulligan as Irish, she is still the personification of Ireland, whose language is snatched away from her hands. For Vincent Cheng, both the milkwoman scene and Haines's exotic treatment of Stephen as a source for Irish sayings “depict an ethnographic encounter with a ‘native’ population, in which the British anthropologist ventures out in the wilderness to study the primitive ‘wild Irish’ and their folkways, in the presence of a willing native informant (Mulligan) and the latter's semi-willing specimen of study (Stephen)” (*Joyce* 152). Thus, in Haines, “the ethnographer whose sample turns out not to be as exotic as he would have hoped” (Duffy 51), “we recognize the disappointment of an ethnographer collecting material that fails to satisfy his desire for information that would explain the ‘mental attitudes’ [...] of a primitive race” (Castle, *Modernism* 213).

Towards the end of “Telemachus,” the trio leaves the tower to go swimming with Stephen locking the door to their room and taking the key with him. Stephen, however, does not swim and heads to the school he works at to teach a history class. He has to leave the key to Mulligan and Haines, and this symbolic keylessness reverberates throughout the entire novel with Stephen pondering on how he has nowhere to go: “The priest’s grey nimbus in a niche where he dressed discreetly. I will not sleep here tonight. Home also I cannot go. A voice, sweettoned and sustained, called to him from the sea. Turning the curve he waved his hand. It called again. A sleek brown head, a seal’s, far out on the water, round. Usurper” (*U* 1.739-744). Here, Stephen calls Mulligan a usurper because he takes away the key to the tower, but it is also implicitly directed at Haines as well, who represents colonial usurpation which leaves Ireland without a key to its home. Many of the political and ideological meanings in “Telemachus” are paired with Stephen’s individual struggles for freedom and continue to be explored in “Nestor” as well, which is the next chapter in the novel.

In Homer’s *Odyssey*, Nestor is the wise king of Pylos who tells Telemachus of the war in Troy in detail. The art of this chapter in *Ulysses* is appropriately given as history in the Gilbert Schema as the Nestor character, Mr. Garret Deasy—the headmaster of the school where Stephen works—also lectures Stephen on the subject. The chapter opens with Stephen teaching a history class and after the lesson ends, he goes to Mr. Deasy’s office to collect his wage. Mr. Deasy is a typical unionist who supports the union of governments between the British and the Irish, thus, the political differences between Stephen and the schoolmaster are evident from the start. Another crucial characteristic of him is his obsession with money; Mr. Deasy considers every action he takes as a business transaction in which a material exchange has to be made. When Stephen goes to his office to collect his wage, he asks Stephen to help him print his letter on foot and mouth disease in the newspaper, which makes Stephen visit the newspaper office in “Aeolus.” While giving his wage to Stephen, he reminds him of Iago’s famous lines in Shakespeare’s *Othello*, “*Put but money in thy purse*” (2.239), and praises Shakespeare for knowing the importance of money in life:

—He knew what money was, Mr Deasy said. He made money. A poet, yes, but an Englishman too. Do you know what is the pride of the English? Do you know what is the proudest word you will ever hear from an Englishman’s

mouth? [...]

—*I paid my way. I never borrowed a shilling in my life. Can you feel that? I owe nothing. Can you?* (U 2.242-254)

Deasy's mental preoccupation with money is strongly connected to his political views and his loyalties as a unionist. Deasy believes that "[m]oney is power" and uses this to subdue Stephen ideologically, cloaking his ruminations as advice and wisdom (U 2.237). Mark Osteen explains this politico-economical relationship as follows: "Material assets merely usurp spiritual assets and signify the tyranny of history over Ireland and over [Stephen's] own identity. Of course, all money has both a symbolic and a material component; metal disks are not coins unless engraved with the emblem of the 'authority of the state which mints them' [...]" (51). Deasy as a man of the British state relies on the power of money and knows that he can use it to dominate Stephen both in material and ideological terms since he "ventriloquizes the master's voice" with his materialistic philosophy (Osteen 56).

Moreover, his association of Englishness with economical prowess lays the groundwork for his later remarks about the presence of Jews in England:

—Mark my words, Mr Dedalus, he said. England is in the hands of the jews. In all the highest places: her finance, her press. And they are the signs of a nation's decay. Wherever they gather they eat up the nation's vital strength. I have seen it coming these years. As sure as we are standing here the jew merchants are already at their work of destruction. Old England is dying. (U 2.346-351)

His antisemitism here is coupled with xenophobia and nationalism, as the economic decline is associated with the minorities in the country. The racial stereotyping of Jews here—greediness and miserliness—is directly supported by a nationalistic nostalgia in which they are blamed for England's downfall. "In such passages," Neil Levi writes, "the Jew clearly serves to tie together [...] the anxieties about economic and territorial integrity that finance capital arouses; Deasy's diatribe shows especially clearly the slide from economic to organic-biological thinking that is representative of antisemitic personification" (128). His remark about Jews being present in the country's press is a clever foreshadowing of Bloom's occupation as a Jewish ad canvasser.

At the end of the chapter, Mr. Deasy's mind is still occupied with Jews, with

his attention directed to Ireland now:

—I just wanted to say, he said. Ireland, they say, has the honour of being the only country which never persecuted the jews. Do you know that? No. And do you know why? [...]

—Why, sir? Stephen asked, beginning to smile.

—Because she never let them in, Mr Deasy said solemnly. [...]

—She never let them in, he cried again through his laughter as he stamped on gaitered feet over the gravel of the path. That's why. (*U* 2.437-447)

His all-too-clever remark about Jews not being present in Ireland is a subtle ironic turn in the narrative in which the reader follows Bloom, an Irish-Jewish character, throughout the novel. Moreover, his mistaken comment about Jews not being allowed in Ireland reveals his monological view as to Ireland's national purity as "[n]otwithstanding Mr Deasy's explanation at the end of 'Nestor', anti-Semitism was not endemic to Ireland. Jews, consistently small in number, long resided in the country with varying freedoms and rights" (Nadel 59).

Throughout their conversation, Mr. Deasy and Stephen touch upon various historical and political subjects, but in one specific conversation they talk about history as an overarching concept where differences of opinion reach its highest:

—History, Stephen said, is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake.

From the playfield the boys raised a shout. A whirring whistle: goal. What if that nightmare gave you a back kick?

—The ways of the Creator are not our ways, Mr Deasy said. All human history moves towards one great goal, the manifestation of God.

Stephen jerked his thumb towards the window, saying:

—That is God.

Hooray! Ay! Whrrwhee!

—What? Mr Deasy asked.

—A shout in the street, Stephen answered, shrugging his shoulders. (*U* 2.377-386)

Stephen's iconic sentence about history being a nightmare from which he is trying to awake is at direct opposition to Mr. Deasy's religious and teleological understanding of history, religion being another nightmare for the former. It is also a textual

reminiscence of Haines's previous remark about how "history is to blame" for what happened to the Irish (*U* 1.649). Stephen's understanding of God, far from entailing an obscure entity whose ways cannot be known by the human mind, is just a simple children's shout in the street, a daily occurrence, "a sudden spiritual manifestation" like an epiphany (*SH* 188). Stephen is aware that that nightmare can give him "a back kick" by overwhelming him, which is exactly what it does so far by keeping him in Ireland after his voluntary but failed exile through the chains of nationality, religion, and colonialism. Robert Spoo comments that "Deasy embodies what Nietzsche called the 'malady of history,' the burdensome dependence on the past which he feared was sapping intellectual and moral vitality in the nineteenth century" (91). Stephen on the other hand is "the modern artist newly arrived on this scene of intellectual belatedness, struggling to establish a healthy relationship to history and to forge a usable past that will inform but not deform his aesthetic sense and art" (Spoo 91). In this sense, history in "Nestor" becomes, for Stephen, "what hurts, it is what refuses desire and sets inexorable limits to individual as well as collective praxis" (Jameson, *PU* 87-88).

In "Telemachus" and "Nestor," various political and ideological concepts such as Irish nationalism, British colonialism, history, and antisemitism are conveyed via a critical viewpoint in which teleological and monologic understandings of the concepts are rejected. Although "Telemachus" and "Nestor" are stylistically conventional chapters with their dialogue-based forms, they help in shaping the political and ideological background of the novel where the following chapters expound them in textual and formal terms. "Cyclops" is one of those chapters where Joyce's textual deviances account not only for the text's modernist nature but also its ideological, political, and historical background.

4.3. The Parodical Rhetorics of History and Politics in "Cyclops"

Franco Moretti states about *Ulysses* that "[t]here is nothing but ideology in this novel: it is the universe of false consciousness" (*Signs* 206). This false consciousness, entailed mainly by British colonialism, Irish nationalism, and antisemitism, pervades the whole narrative and forms Joyce's main critical axis. However, these intersecting contextual lines do not make *Ulysses* an ideological narrative; "*Ulysses* is an ideological universe [...] mainly because of its treatment of style. In general, every

stylistic choice ‘translates’ or preannounces an ideological choice within the literary sphere, thereby ramifying its social influence” (Moretti, *Signs* 207). The twelfth chapter of the novel, “Cyclops,” is the perfect example of this formal and stylistic interpretation of ideology through which several political and historical issues are conveyed. “Cyclops” weaves and unweaves political and ideological concepts by “tracing them to their origins in language and textuality, a process not thematically expounded but formally enacted by Joyce’s text” (Spoo 68). As Joyce’s critical ideological stance is mediated through his chapter’s textual deviances, his “narrative interventions in history” begins with “the word’s attempt to change the world” and ends with “the collapsing of the world into the word,” meaning that stylistic and formal deviances of the text go beyond carrying textual and experimental significance and start entailing political and ideological meanings (Fairhall 10).

“Cyclops” takes place in Barney Kiernan’s pub where Bloom, while waiting for a friend, visits to have a drink. The bar is filled with Dubliners including a mysterious character named the Citizen, an Irish nationalist. He is a character modelled on Michael Cusack (1847-1907) who was the founder of the Gaelic Athletic Association, “which was dedicated to the revival of Irish sports such as hurling, Gaelic football, and handball” (Gifford and Seidman 316). According to James Fairhall, “[t]he citizen represents the blustery, public face of physical force nationalism” (178), and Enda Duffy calls him “the Irish terrorist in *Ulysses*” (114). The chapter represents a climax for the whole novel both in terms of plot and textuality. In the Gilbert Schema, the organ for the chapter is given as muscle as physical violence occurs for the first time in the novel because of politics, which is the art of the chapter. The symbol of “Cyclops” is appropriately “Fenian,” connoting the Citizen’s nationalist tendencies. The Homeric parallels are striking in this chapter as “Cyclops” takes its name from the part in the *Odyssey* that recounts Odysseus’s encounter with the one-eyed giant Polyphemus on the island of Cyclopes. When Polyphemus starts eating Odysseus’s men in his cave, Odysseus, identifying himself as “nobody,” tricks the giant and blinds him with a wooden stake⁴⁴. Polyphemus attempts to throw a rock at Odysseus but

⁴⁴ Odysseus’s trick lies in the fact that he says his name is “nobody;” when Polyphemus cries out that “nobody” is trying to kill him, his friends, of course, remain unmoved because of the linguistic ambiguity: “If you are alone,” his friends boomed back at once, / “and nobody’s trying to overpower you now—look, / it must be a plague sent here by might Zeus / and there’s no escape from *that*. / You’d better pray to your father, Lord Poseidon” (9.456-60).

misses him at the end of their encounter. The Homeric parallels, as the rest of this subchapter will show, will be reflected both in the form and the content of “Cyclops.”

The first distinguishing textual feature of “Cyclops” is evident from the beginning of the chapter: The narrative begins with the following sentence: “I was just passing the time of day with old Troy of the D. M. P. at the corner of Arbour hill there and be damned but a bloody sweep came along and he near drove his gear into my eye” (*U* 12.1-3). In the textual body of the novel, this is the first time an unknown narrator, known as the Nameless One in Joycean studies, narrates the chapter. This nameless narrator recounts the events in the pub through sentences such as “O, as true as I’m telling you” (*U* 12.207-8), “true as I’m drinking this porter” (*U* 12.1362), or “Do you know what I’m telling you?” (*U* 12.1660-1). This unnamed narrator creates a sense of anonymity that will be supported by the Citizen’s lack of identity later in the chapter. In this way, the chapter reenacts the “remarkable confidence of community in anonymity which is the hallmark of modern nations” (Anderson 36). Fritz Senn asserts that “Cyclops” “is [...] a treatise on names and naming,” in this case, not-naming is also a way of naming, in which nominalism reflects ideology (“Arguing about Law” 431). Colin MacCabe states that “[i]t is no accident that the story is told by the Nameless One and that all of the characters appear pre-dominantly as initials or as nicknames, rather than as proper names” (96). Neil Levi discusses the narrative of the Nameless One in terms of Louis Althusser’s interpellation⁴⁵ process and states that “[t]he interpellative call in the Nameless One’s narration is [...] a call for his addressees to recognize themselves in his exemplary, normative voice and the way of seeing it purveys, and to reject and condemn the deviations of another (namely, Leopold Bloom) from that linguistic normativity” (127). Both the Nameless One and later the Citizen present a one-eyed, monologic viewpoint that takes its strength from anonymity. From the start, “Cyclops” narratologically establishes an ideologically dense community at Barney Kiernan’s that will pave the way for heated political discussions later in the chapter.

The chapter’s narrative deviances are not limited to its anonymous narrator. The Nameless One explains at the beginning of the chapter that he works as a debt

⁴⁵ Louis Althusser’s notion of interpellation suggests that “*all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects*, through the functioning of the category of the subject” (Althusser 190). This act of interpellation, or calling, is usually verbal and recruits individuals to certain ideologies.

collector on behalf of a Jewish merchant named Herzog who is owed money by a man called Geraghty. This traditionally narrated passage is followed by another passage that is linguistically distinct; this passage details business proceedings between Herzog and Geraghty in legalese: “For nonperishable goods bought of Moses Herzog, of 13 Saint Kevin’s parade in the city of Dublin, Wood quay ward, merchant, hereinafter called the vendor, and sold and delivered to Michael E. Geraghty, esquire, of 29 Arbour hill in the city of Dublin, Arran quay ward, gentleman, hereinafter called the purchaser [...]” (*U* 12.33-37). This passage is the first of more than thirty inserted passages, called interpolations, that interrupt the traditionally narrated passages of the chapter to parody certain topics such as Celtic sagas, heroic narratives, spiritual and theosophical writings, scientific, academic, and journalistic jargons, and Biblical language. These ranging topics are treated by the text as individual subjects to be talked upon, and by means of excess, in the form of lists, catalogues, and encyclopaedic information, to be parodied. Gifford and Seidman write that “[t]he narrative line of this episode is interrupted by thirty-three passages that comment on the narrative by parodying various pompous, sensational, or sentimental literary styles” (314) and Fritz Senn argues that the interpolations “are translations [of the Nameless One’s narrative] into some other, often hypothetical, mode that is often parodic” (“Arguing about Law” 434). These interpolations are “‘general’—parodies not of specific works but of generalized stylistic conventions” (Gifford and Seidman 314). In this, the chapter differs from “Oxen of the Sun” whose pastiches target specific works of English literary history. The narrative technique of the chapter is appropriately given as “gigantism” in the Gilbert Schema which accounts both for the gigantism of Polyphemus (the Citizen’s gigantic nationalist ego) and the hyperbolic nature of the mock-parodic interpolations.

The interpolations are distinct passages that disrupt the narrative integrity of the chapter by interrupting the Nameless One’s first-person narration. David Hayman suggests the term “arranger” for the narrator of the interpolations “to designate a figure or a presence that can be identified neither with the author nor with his narrators, but that exercises an increasing degree of overt control over increasingly challenging materials” (84). Thus, the interpolations are distinct from the narrator of the chapter and Joyce as author, implying an anonymous narrative voice like the collective textual

consciousness of the novel that also arranges the headlines of “Aeolus.” Michael Groden writes about the interpolations that “Joyce created the parodies first, and the barroom scene came soon after, and the narrative voice developed last” (124). This foregrounds the primacy of the interpolations as they are not supplements but constitute the very heart of the narrative in the chapter. Karen Lawrence discusses the interpolations in terms of their contribution to the plot of the chapter: “The story appears to be told twice, once in the single voice of the narrator, once in the parodic forms of various literary and subliterate styles” (102). She sees the interpolations as the enhanced versions of the headings in “Aeolus,” whereas Colin MacCabe studies the interpolations as “counter-text[s]” (90). The interpolations are indeed deviations from the traditional, dialogue-based narrative of the chapter, disrupting the normative course of narration. According to David Nunes, the interpolations challenge the authorial eye in the episode: “In the place of a centered, authoritative narrative, the ‘Cyclops’ section presents a complex interaction between multiple, limited voices [...]. ‘Cyclops’ presents an assemblage in place of a total/totalizing narrative, an open system of narrative resonances in which experimentation and proliferation replace the authority of the singular eye” (183). This makes the chapter one of the most dialogic and polyphonic chapters of the novel as its narrative includes various discourses, creating a canvas of different voices without any textual authority.

The last interpolation that ends “Cyclops” exemplifies this polyphonic and heterogeneous nature of the chapter. When Bloom is physically assaulted by the Citizen at the end of the chapter, the interpolation starts to recount their fight in Biblical language:

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 12.1910-8)

This last interpolation directly parodies the Biblical prose and turns Bloom into Elijah, the prophet whose return prophesizes the coming of the Messiah. All the interpolations before this final one are limited to specific rhetorics and use only those rhetorics within themselves, whereas the passage where Bloom turns into Elijah has three separate discourses: Biblical until the word “brightness” (*U* 12.1917), technical (mathematical) with “at an angle of fortyfive degrees” (*U* 12.1917), and colloquial with “like a shot of a shovel” (*U* 12.1918). Colin MacCabe explains this abundance of discourses in the final interpolation in terms of the interplay between different forms of narration: “No discourse within the text is even allowed the privilege of physically ending it. This juxtaposition offers us no definition of the discourses within the text but throws us back to the ceaseless interplay of relations [...]” (101). Thus, the only way to interpret the interpolations is to recognise that no discourse is fixed and unquestionable in the narrative. Indeed, it is the most important function of the interpolations to evade narratological fixedness with their very indeterminate nature both in the chapter and in the whole text of *Ulysses*, “for the text works as a montage of discourses, without at any time offering us a final meta-language (an author’s impersonal voice) which could control the riot of language which composes the text” (MacCabe 90).

The function of the interpolations in “Cyclops” is to present linguistic parodies of certain themes, but they mostly operate in terms of revivalist critique as most of them complement the talk about nationalism at the bar. Len Platt writes that out of more than thirty interpolations “thirteen are obviously parodic of the Literary Revival, reproducing and often outdoing the key characteristics of revivalist literary and historiographical practice” (*Joyce and the Anglo-Irish* 144). Andrew Gibson in “‘History, All That’: Revival Historiography and Literary Strategy in the Cyclops Episode in *Ulysses*” argues that the whole chapter is “a sustained assault on revivalist historiographies and constructions of Irish history, and the aesthetics and politics implicit in them” (54). Karen Lawrence furthers this argument by indicating that the interpolations “parody a language that is a ready-made deception, a kind of sloganeering” as they “are a kind of propaganda or encoded language that propels itself forward without the necessity of an individual speaker” (104, 108). This is consistent with the anonymity surrounding the narrative including the Nameless One, the “arranger” figure, and the Citizen. The revivalist talk at the bar is parodied from the

beginning of the chapter. One of the earliest interpolations re-narrates the Nameless One and his friends heading to the bar with the description of the course they take:

So we went around by the Linenhall barracks and the back of the courthouse talking of one thing or another. Decent fellow Joe when he has it but sure like that he never has it. Jesus, I couldn't get over that bloody foxy Geraghty, the daylight robber. For trading without a licence, says he.

In Inisfail the fair there lies a land, the land of holy Michan. There rises a watchtower beheld of men afar. There sleep the mighty dead as in life they slept, warriors and princes of high renown. A pleasant land it is in sooth of murmuring waters, fishful streams where sport the gurnard, the plaice, the roach, the halibut, the gibbed haddock, the grilse, the dab, the brill, the flounder, the pollock, the mixed coarse fish generally and other denizens of the aqueous kingdom too numerous to be enumerated. (U 12.64-74)

Gifford and Seidman write that “[t]his passage makes specific use of phrases from James Clarence Mangan’s translation of ‘Aldfrid’s Itinerary’⁴⁶ and in general lampoons the style of works such as Lady Gregory’s *Gods and Fighting Men* (1904)” (316). The parodied revivalist discourse here juxtaposes the pompous description of a distant Ireland and the non-existent description of the course the men take to arrive at Barney Kiernan’s. This passage “directly exploit[s] Anglo-Irish versions of the bardic tales” by parodying the spatial discourse the revivalist politics employs that pervades the nationalist literature (Platt, *Joyce and the Anglo-Irish* 144).

Another interpolation in “Cyclops” parodies the Citizen, the Irish nationalist of the chapter, in a mock-heroic description: “The figure seated on a large boulder at the foot of a round tower was that of a broadshouldered deepchested stronglimbed frankeyed redhaired freelyfreckled shaggybearded widemouthed largenosed longheaded deepvoiced barekneed brawnyhanded hairylegged ruddyfaced sinewyarmed hero” (U 12.151-155). The description consists of numerous adjectives one after the other, all exaggerating the hero’s physical prowess. The masculinist discourse of revivalism that attain overly masculine features to Irish heroes is at the center of Joyce’s critique here and is juxtaposed with the treatment of Bloom in the

⁴⁶ “A poem in Irish by Aldfrid, a seventh-century king of Northumbria” (Gifford and Seidman 316). The first stanza reads as follows: “I found in Innisfail the fair, / In Ireland, while in exile there, / Women of worth, both grave and gay men, / Many clerics and many laymen” (qtd. in Gifford and Seidman 316).

chapter: Bloom's masculinity is constantly questioned by the men at Barney Kiernan's as he is called "a half and half" (*U* 12.1052-3), "[a] fellow that's neither fish nor flesh" (*U* 12.1055-6) and a "pishogue" (*U* 12.1058)⁴⁷. The Citizen, while others refer to Bloom as "a man" asks "[d]o you call that a man?" (12.1654). When Bloom disagrees with them on politics, they ask him to "[s]tand up to it then with force like men" (*U* 12.1475). This association of manhood with brute force is grounded in the revivalist discourse with its focus on the hypermasculine hero as "the ideas of manhood and nationhood converge" and "the construction of national identity became depended upon masculine ethos" (Schwarze 113). Thus, Bloom, with his temperate behaviour, signalling effeminate features, is cast out as "not a man" by the nationalists at the bar and doubly othered both as a Jew and a feminine man according to the pervading nationalist discourse.

Gaelic sports revival is also among the topics that are targeted by the interpolations. When the talk at the bar turns to Gaelic sports as a way of revival, a parodic interpolation follows afterwards:

A most interesting discussion took place in the ancient hall of Brian O'Ciarnain's in Sraid na Bretaine Bheag, under the auspices of Sluagh na h-Eireann, on the revival of ancient Gaelic sports and the importance of physical culture, as understood in ancient Greece and ancient Rome and ancient Ireland, for the development of the race. (*U* 12.897-901)

This interpolation is written in a style that resembles minutes taken for a meeting about Gaelic sports revival in which "a most interesting and instructive discussion of the usual high standard of excellence ensued as to the desirability of the revivability of the ancient games and sports of our ancient Panceltic forefathers" (*U* 12.904-7). The interpolation is triggered by the talk at the bar about how the Citizen used to be a great sportsman. In the parodic interpolation, the bar Barney Kiernan's becomes the "ancient hall of Brian O'Ciarnain's," ironically situated on "Sraid na Bretaine Bheag," Little Britain Street⁴⁸, all in their Irish language form. The meeting's aim is "to revive the

⁴⁷ "A half and half" means "[n]either man nor woman" and a pishogue is "Anglicized Irish: 'charm or spell'; hence, one who is bewitched" (Gifford and Seidman 345). The men at the bar think that Bloom is neither a man nor a woman, but something in between, a bewitched person.

⁴⁸ Declan Kiberd argues that this scene "set in Little Britain Street indicts an Ireland which is hardly its own authentic self so much as a not-England" (*Ulysses and Us* 186). This undermines the Irish nationalist discourse pervading the bar since even the chronotope of the chapter is ironically non-Irish.

best traditions of manly strength and prowess handed down to us from ancient ages,” revealing, again, the close relationship between revivalist nationalism and traditional masculine traits (U 12.910-2). The parody in this interpolation revolves around the fact that the sports is talked about, hence the meeting minute form, but not played, which belies the purpose of reviving it. In short, as Platt suggests, “revivalism is presented as a hugely prolific culture which has influenced fashion writing, travel writing, sports reportage and so on, but the comic distance between the two narratives of ‘Cyclops’ insists on the irrelevancy of epic Celticism to modern Ireland” (*Joyce and the Anglo-Irish* 148). The men at the bar rework “cultural nationalism of revivalism as a surrogate for political independence and social change,” but this is backfired by the interpolations as “the dignity of the Revival is shattered by being forced into a wickedly funny conjunction with Joyce’s version of social and cultural reality” (Platt, *Joyce and the Anglo-Irish* 155).

In the scenes where the political talk intensifies at the bar, the narrative moves away from the revivalist parodies and focuses more on the dialogue between Bloom and the Citizen, who directly succumbs to xenophobia disguised as nationalism:

—The memory of the dead, says the citizen taking up his pintglass and glaring at Bloom. [...]

—You don’t grasp my point, says Bloom. What I mean is...

—*Sinn Féin!* says the citizen. *Sinn Féin amhain!* The friends we love are by our side and the foes we hate before us. (U 12.519-24)

The mention of *Sinn Féin* relates the cultural nationalism enacted in the chapter to political nationalism and as Bloom tries to explain his point of view, he is interrupted by this binary rhetoric of “us vs them,” presenting the Citizen’s “one-eyed,” monologic view. The Citizen continuously makes references to strangers in the country: “Swindling the peasants, says the citizen, and the poor of Ireland. We want no more strangers in our house” (U 12.1150-1). At first, this rhetoric is directed against the British: “Their syphilisation, you mean, says the citizen. To hell with them! The curse of a goodfornothing God light sideways on the bloody thicklugged sons of whores’ gets! No music and no art and no literature worthy of the name. Any civilisation they have they stole from us. Tonguetied sons of bastards’ ghosts” (U 12.1197-1201). Here, with a word play on the words “civilization” and “syphilisation,” the Citizen accuses

the British for being sexually promiscuous, syphilising his countrymen, and basing their entire culture on the Irish. Lloyd Meadhbh Houston argues that “Joyce’s wordplay [...] succeeds in neatly encapsulating *Sinn Féin*’s tendency to figure English culture as a pathological and parasitical threat” to Irish culture (108). The association of the British as the enemy and their questionable venereal habits reveals the pervading sexual politics used in Irish nationalism to create yet another dichotomy of “us vs them,” civilized vs uncivilized, and sexually pure vs promiscuous.

The Citizen, with his remarks in the later scenes of the chapter, continues to associate the sexual politics of nationalism with his xenophobic discourse: “The strangers, says the citizen. Our own fault. We let them come in. We brought them in. The adulteress and her paramour brought the Saxon robbers here. [...] A dishonoured wife, says the citizen, that’s what’s the cause of all our misfortunes” (*U* 12.1156-1164). Here, the Citizen refers to the story of how the English plunder of the Irish land began with Mac Murchada seeking help from King Henry II of England to recover his lost lands and his “unfaithful” wife. This event is firstly alluded by Mr. Deasy in “Nestor” who says that “[a] woman brought sin into the world. For [...] Helen, the runaway wife of Menelaus, ten years the Greeks made war on Troy. A faithless wife first brought the strangers to our shore here, MacMurrough’s wife and her leman, O’Rourke, prince of Breffni. A woman too brought Parnell low” (*U* 2.390-4). Here, Mr. Deasy counts various unfaithful women in history who symbolize “the original sin” and who have brought dishonour to their men, thus destroying their political careers. This misogynistic association is both a sneering remark for Bloom’s unfaithful wife Molly, highlighting Bloom’s status as a “lesser man” who has been cheated on, and is also closely related to the masculinist tendencies of nationalist and revivalist movements which take their strength from such misogynistic line of thinking. David Lloyd argues that

[f]or the nationalist citizen, the identity of the race is adulterated by ‘*la belle infidèle*’ and [...] the restoration of that identity [...] is haunted by the anxiety of a betrayal [...]. This chapter, that in *Ulysses* in which issues of nationalist politics and culture played out most intensely and in which the various elements of Irish culture are most thoroughly deployed, circulates not only thematically but also stylistically around adulteration as the constitutive anxiety of

nationalism. (*Anomalous States* 106)

Thus, the stylistic adulteration of the interpolations belittles and undermines the anxiety around sexual betrayal that is pertinent to the masculinist interpretations of nationalism. In the end, the parodic interpolations that target the Citizen's bigoted nationalism play a crucial role against idealized and monologic views of nationhood, including its masculine reinterpretations. "Cyclops," in this way, problematizes this "us vs them" rhetoric by rejecting both the Citizen's hate towards the British because it is pure xenophobia centered on the "strangers" rhetoric that the colonizer itself uses, and the nationalist, masculinist, and revivalist modes of politics that works in line with that binary thinking.

Bloom is the only person in "Cyclops" that disagrees with the pervading binary discourse fuelled by gossip, xenophobia, nationalism, and masculinity. He is against all kinds of violence, which is enough for the men at the bar to confine him in the category of both a foreigner, because he is Jewish, and a feminine man, because he is not masculine enough. Harry Blamires argues that "Bloom is always able to see two sides to a question. He is two-eyed throughout. [...] Each of the interpolations in this episode has a one-eyed quality: it represents a single style, a single fashion of utterance pushed to its extremist limits [...]. Joyce's peculiar quality as an artist is that he rejected all one-eyed outlooks" (96). Thus, Bloom's two-eyed nature that allows him to see things from multiple points of view is juxtaposed with the one-eyed characteristics of the Citizen. Declan Kiberd writes that "Bloom, as an internationalist, profoundly tests the Citizen's tolerance, enabling Joyce to do two things with their scenes—to distinguish Bloom's liberationism from the Citizen's nationalism, and to show how closely the latter's ideas were based on English models which he claimed to contest" (*Inventing Ireland* 350-1). The Citizen primarily targets the British in his criticism and he "denounces British violence but reenacts it in his own brutality towards Bloom. He was once a Fenian, until he violated those principles by grabbing the land of an evicted tenant" (Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* 351). His hypocritical patriotism is countered by Bloom's temperate and calm manners throughout the chapter, but when Bloom voices his moderate opinions he is met with resistance:

—But, says Bloom, isn't discipline the same everywhere. I mean wouldn't it be the same here if you put force against force? [...]

—We'll put force against force, says the citizen. We have our greater Ireland beyond the sea. They were driven out of house and home in the black 47. [...] Even the Grand Turk sent us his piastres. But the Sassenach tried to starve the nation at home while the land was full of crops that the British hyenas bought and sold in Rio de Janeiro. [...] But those that came to the land of the free remember the land of bondage. And they will come again and with a vengeance, no cravens, the sons of Granuaile, the champions of Kathleen ni Houlihan. (*U* 12.1360-1375)

The Citizen's "strangers" rhetoric continues here as he tries to deflect Bloom's remarks about violence with some historical instances in which the British used force against the Irish. As Marjorie Howes observes, "the Citizen is an acute and funny critic of colonialism, but he is also a bigoted nationalist, rather than an enlightened one, and a land-grabber" (259). Although his critique of British colonialism is on point, he supports the use of the same imperialistic technique of violence against them. This methodical resemblance between the colonizer and the colonized in Joyce's fiction is pointed out by various critics. Howes and Attridge note that Irish nationalistic structures are "derivative of imperialism and that its intellectual structures simply invert and mirror those of imperialism" (9). Vincent Cheng observes about British imperialism and Irish nationalism that "both projects [...], although emanating from very different political positions, engaged in defining Irishness as distinctively other and different" ("Authenticity" 242-43). Gibbons similarly notes that employing racism as a means of anti-colonialism is ironic since race as a concept is "an extension of colonialism, rather than a repudiation of it" (*Transformations* 156). Therefore, Bloom's point gets lost on the Citizen who refuses to see that "putting force against force" prolongs the suffering of the Irish and also offers no alternative solutions to the political problems by perpetuating the same bigoted discourses. Bloom is aware that all historical and political issues stem from pitting people against each other on the basis of nation:

—Persecution, says he, all the history of the world is full of it. Perpetuating national hatred among nations.

—But do you know what a nation means? says John Wyse.

—Yes, says Bloom.

—What is it? says John Wyse.

—A nation? says Bloom. A nation is the same people living in the same place.

—By God, then, says Ned, laughing, if that's so I'm a nation for I'm living in the same place for the past five years. (*U* 12.1417-25)

Representing a turning point in the chapter, this dialogue clearly reveals how twisted the nationalists' idea of a nation is when compared to Bloom's. According to the men at the bar, Bloom has no idea of what a nation means because he is not a nationalist (revivalist). His simple definition of a nation reflects his humanistic philosophy in which definitions are based on humans as individuals and not on imaginary values such as race and nationhood. The dialogue continues and everyone laughs at Ned's clever joke about Bloom's definition:

So of course everyone had the laugh at Bloom and says he, trying to muck out of it:

—Or also living in different places.

—That covers my case, says Joe.

—What is your nation if I may ask? says the citizen.

—Ireland, says Bloom. I was born here. Ireland.

The citizen said nothing only cleared the spit out of his gullet and, gob, he spat a Red bank oyster out of him right in the corner. (*U* 12.1426-33)

Bloom's nation is indeed Ireland as he was born there, but because he does not fit into the Citizen's category of a proper Irish, he is excluded from the imagined community at the bar. The Citizen's act of spitting marks the beginning of a verbal fight that later turns into a physical one at the very end of the chapter.

When the argument gets heated, it becomes clear that the reason why Bloom is not considered Irish is his Jewishness. From the beginning of the chapter, he is constantly referred to with slurs such as "whiteeyed kaffir" (*U* 12.1552) and "bloody freemason" (*U* 12.300) and his idiosyncratic character makes the men at the bar confused as they cannot put him into their well-defined categories of race, gender, and nationality:

—Is he a jew or a gentile or a holy Roman or a swaddler or what the hell is he? says Ned. Or who is he? No offence, Crofton. [...]

—We don't want him, says Crofter the Orangeman or presbyterian.

—He’s a perverted jew, says Martin, from a place in Hungary and it was he drew up all the plans according to the Hungarian system [...]. (U 12.1631-7)

Bloom’s father was a Hungarian Jew who emigrated to Ireland and converted from Judaism to Protestantism whereas his mother was an Irish Catholic (Blamires 25). Although he has never been a practicing Jew, is unconventionally uncircumcised, and a convert to Catholicism in order to marry Molly (Kiberd, *Ulysses* 198), Bloom is frequently referred to as “the wandering Jew” because of his blurry identity formation that consists of various intersecting and conflicting markers. He is aware that he is cast out because of his Jewishness, and makes a daring attempt to voice this injustice:

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

—Robbed, says he. Plundered. Insulted. Persecuted. Taking what belongs to us by right. At this very moment, says he, putting up his fist, sold by auction in Morocco like slaves or cattle.

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

—I’m talking about injustice, says Bloom.

—Right, says John Wyse. Stand up to it then with force like men. (U 12.1467-75)

Enda Duffy argues that here Bloom “parallels the Irish and Jewish questions as two instances of politically motivated racial injustice. He thereby broadens the question of Irish independence, looking to the moment when it might make common cause with movements of national liberation everywhere” (127). Bloom’s relational and internationalist politics is only belittled by the men at the bar and the only way for them to settle this injustice is through violence, through which Bloom has a chance to prove his masculinity, therefore, his race. Bloom’s pacifist nature, which in a way reflects Joyce’s own views, stands in the way of violence at the bar that the others crave:

—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 12.1481-5)

According to Bloom, hatred is the primary cause of the enmity between nations, races, and religions, of which he is also a victim. Richard Ellmann attests that

Bloom's upholding of love against "force, hatred, history, all that", dovetails with Stephen's earlier statement that "history is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake". To both of them history presents itself as monolithic and glowering, the encrustations of time ready to encompass the present and future. The Citizen meets the ferocity of history with an equal ferocity. Bloom meets it with a certain kindness, a certain humour [...] a certain refusal to be taken in. (*Ulysses on the Liffey* 116)

This association of love, as the opposite of hatred, with life itself, however, does not prevent the fight at the bar from reaching the climax when even Bloom finally resorts to provocation:

—Mendelssohn was a jew and Karl Marx and Mercadante and Spinoza. And the Saviour was a jew and his father was a jew. Your God.

—He had no father, says Martin. That'll do now. Drive ahead. [...]

—Well, his uncle was a jew, says he. Your God was a jew. Christ was a jew like me.

Gob, the citizen made a plunge back into the shop.

—By Jesus, says he, I'll brain that bloody jewman for using the holy name. By Jesus, I'll crucify him so I will. Give us that biscuitbox here.

—Stop! Stop! says Joe. (*U* 12.1804-13)

Not only Bloom mistakenly thinks that Mendelssohn, Marx, Mercadante and Spinoza were Jewish (Gifford and Seidman 378), he is also in the opinion that the fact that those famous names were Jews can prevent his stigmatization. Bloom practically commits blasphemy against Christianity by saying that Jesus's father was also a Jew, which is abominable for the Catholics present at the bar who accept that Jesus's father is God himself. The fight at the bar reaches its climax when the Citizen cannot accept this blasphemy because Bloom uses the holy name in vain. Ironically, the Citizen condemns Bloom to crucifixion, turning him into a Jesus figure. A simple object like a biscuit box becomes the punishment for a person like Bloom who is considered to be a "nobody" in the eye of the men at the bar, like Odysseus against Polyphemus.

"Cyclops", with its "I" narration, parodic interpolations, and contextual focus

on nationalism, racism, and anti-Semitism, is the sharpest example of the intersection between form and content in the novel. The stylistically split structure of the chapter accounts for the ideologically charged nature of the parodic digressions that is at odds with the supposed integrity of nationalism enacted at the bar. Joyce's criticism of the concepts of colonialism, nationalism, racism, and anti-Semitism lies in the fact that "Cyclops" evades the binary structures of those concepts firstly through the polyphonic form of the chapter and secondly the dialogic viewpoint of Bloom as politically distinct from the violent nationalism of the men at the bar. Marjorie Howes writes that "[i]n Joyce's works, colonialism and nationalism appear as historical and political realities, subjects for debate, underlying intellectual structures, materials for creativity and fantasy, and matters of language ("Joyce" 259). "Cyclops" perfectly exemplifies this bond between form and content and politics and language as its form itself entails ideological positions or criticisms of those positions. Sean Latham argues about the interpolations of "Cyclops" that "[s]uch interruptions are not simply formal or symbolic but instead raise questions about the nascent formation of postcolonial identity in a city just a decade away from the bloody uprising that will eventually lead to independence and civil war" (143). Beyond their formal and stylistic importance, the interpolations of "Cyclops" serve to critically expand crucial political and historical problems of 1904's Dublin as the incongruity between "the multivocal, playful and dialogic [discourse] which characterizes the interpolated parodies and the speech of Leopold Bloom" and "the monological stream" of the Citizen is reinterpreted as the incongruity between the hyperbolic nature of the interpolations and the empty nationalist talk at the bar (Nolan 118). This gives way to parody, which invites refunctioning of the concepts being parodied and justifies "the historical necessity for this very peculiar and complex textual structure or reading operation in the first place" (Jameson, "Ulysses" 128). Thus, "Cyclops" enacts a formal criticism and reinterpretation of monologic political views, mainly Irish cultural nationalist projects, and helps unravel the political unconscious of *Ulysses* whose formal, stylistic, and linguistic relations are always already ideological and political.

CHAPTER 5: THE CYCLICAL FORMS AND HISTORIES IN *FINNEGANS WAKE* (1939)

5.1. The Polysemantic Language and Cyclical Form of *Finnegans Wake*

In March 1923, Joyce informed his patroness, Harriet Shaw Weaver, in a letter that he began writing for his new work: “Yesterday I wrote two pages—the first I have since the final Yes of *Ulysses*” (Gilbert, *Letters I* 202). Those two pages would become the first pages that Joyce produced for *Finnegans Wake*, his third and final novel (Crispi and Slote 5). In September 1926, having completed most of the novel—then named as *Work in Progress*—Joyce wrote to Weaver again, expressing that he wanted the fragments of the novel “to appear slowly and regularly in a prominent place” (Gilbert, *Letters I* 245). That magazine was to be the literary journal called *transition* which was in operation between 1927 and 1938. The first instalment of Joyce’s *Work in Progress* was the first item listed in the table of contents page when “[t]he first issue came out in April 1927” and the last fragment of the work appeared in the final ever issue of the magazine in 1938 (Van Hulle 8, 42). *Work in Progress* was finally published in its book form under the name *Finnegans Wake* in 1939.

Finnegans Wake is perhaps the most notorious work in Joyce’s oeuvre because of difficulties in pinpointing a plot line and identifiable characters in the novel, its radical language, and its cyclical narrative form. *Ulysses*’s main plot line that follows the characters in Dublin on June 16, 1904 is ascertainable enough when compared to *Finnegans Wake*’s narrative which resembles a dream narrative that is fluid and filled with references and intertextual associations. The plot of the novel can be loosely summarized as centring on the Earwicker family that consists of the father HCE (Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker/Here Comes Everybody), the mother ALP (Anna Livia Plurabelle), and their children Shem (referred to as the Penman), Shaun (the Postman) and Issy. About HCE, John Bishop argues that “the sheer density of certain repeated details [...] allows us to know that he is a particular, real Dubliner, [...] an older Protestant male, of Scandinavian lineage, connected with the pubkeeping business somewhere in the neighborhood of Chapelizod” (135)⁴⁹. ALP is “the river-

⁴⁹ Chapelizod is a village located in Dublin. In Gaelic, Chapelizod is spelled as *Séipéal Iosóid*, which means “Iseult’s Chapel.” Iseult is an Irish princess who is the protagonist of Tristan and Iseult (Isolde) story.

woman whose presence is implied in the ‘riverrun’ with which *Finnegans Wake* opens and whose monologue closes the book” (McCarthy 163). What distinguishes ALP is this association of her character with water and fluidity that is in line with the fluid language of the novel. In Book I, Chapter 8 of the novel, two washerwomen gossip about ALP’s life as they wash their clothes in River Liffey⁵⁰ and this chapter perfectly encapsulates the fluidity of ALP’s character as Joyce integrates hundreds of river names into the narrative⁵¹. The brothers Shem and Shaun are opposite characters; while Shaun is described as a dull postman, Shem the Penman is a creative artist who is argued to be Joyce’s alter ego (Parrinder 205)⁵². Shem and Shaun constantly vie for authority in the family to win their sister Issy’s favour in the absence of HCE. Patrick Parrinder argues that “[a]s daughter and sister she is an object of secret and repressed desire both to her father [...] and to her two brothers” (210). These forbidden sexual tendencies in the family account for most of the psychoanalytic readings of *Finnegans Wake* and are complemented by the main plot line of the novel.

The main event in the novel is the non-disclosed rumour of sexual nature that spread about HCE⁵³ and the following plot lines focus on his wife’s attempt to acquit him through a letter and his sons’ struggle to replace him as the head of the family. This family drama provides contextual depth to the formal and linguistic idiosyncrasies of *Finnegans Wake* as the unfolding events reinforce the cyclical and pluralistic nature of the novel. The characters of *Finnegans Wake* also complicate the already intricate nature of the narrative. Margot Norris argues that the characters in the novel are “fluid and interchangeable, melting easily into their landscapes to become river and land, tree and stone, Howth Castle and Environs, or HCE. We find in the *Wake* not characters as such but ciphers, in formal relationship to one another” (*Decentered Universe* 4). Characters as well as places and concepts in the book are

⁵⁰ One of the most symbolic landmarks of the city, the River Liffey is a river that flows through Dublin’s center, providing most of its water supply.

⁵¹ According to Patrick O’Neill, 350 river names from different languages, including English, Turkish, Nigerian, Peruvian, Russian, Vietnamese, German, Irish, and Chinese, are woven into this chapter (*Trilingual* 6, 116).

⁵² Many critics point out the pun in Shem’s name: Shem is pronounced as “sham,” connoting Shem’s artistry that consists of “shams” and forgeries through writing (Parrinder 228).

⁵³ HCE’s crime of sexual nature is purportedly “spying on two girls” while they are urinating (Fordham, *Lots of Fun* 11).

paired with specific symbols, called the *sigla*⁵⁴. This is in line with what Joyce had in mind while writing the book: as McHugh explains about the *sigla*, “[t]hese marks appear in the author’s manuscripts and letters as abbreviations for certain characters or conceptual patterns underlying the book’s fabric” (*Sigla* 3). While the symbol **m** represents HCE, for example, the mark Δ is the symbol designated for ALP. Most of the characters also appear in initials rather than full names and these initials reappear through the text to refer to other related narrative items such as place names and other nicknames. HCE, for example, stands, at the same time, for Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker, Here Comes Everybody, Haveth Childers Everywhere, and Howth Castle and Environs⁵⁵. Furthermore, *Finnegans Wake*’s characters are also symbols for certain concepts: HCE is representative of humanity (Here Comes Everybody) while ALP (Anna Livia Plurabelle) symbolizes water (Livia = Liffey) and fluidity. The protean nature of ALP is also reinforced by “plurabelle” which comes to signify the book’s linguistic heterogeneity. The sons of the family, Shem and Shaun, are the Abel and Cain brothers⁵⁶, fighting over the position of the head of the family, and the daughter Issy is Isolde in the Tristan and Isolde story⁵⁷ (McHugh, *Sigla* 50). *Finnegans Wake*’s characters, therefore, are representational rather than flesh and blood like the ones in *Ulysses* and reveal the book’s overarching mythic and symbolic nature.

The title of the novel comes from a popular Irish ballad, “Finnegan’s Wake,” from the 1800s that tells the story of Tim Finnegan, a hod-carrier, “who falls from his ladder and is assumed dead, but resurrects at his wake” (McHugh, *Finnegans Wake* 8). The hod-carrier’s fall and resurrection are both initiated through whiskey, a cultural symbol and stereotype for the Irish, as he wakes from the dead with a splash of the beverage (McHugh, *Sigla* 13). This fall is reconstructed at the beginning of *Finnegans Wake*:

⁵⁴ The word *sigla* is the plural form of *siglum*, from Latin, meaning letters and symbols used instead of words.

⁵⁵ “Howth Castle and Environs” is given as the setting of *Finnegans Wake* at the beginning of the novel, with Howth being one of the suburbs in Dublin.

⁵⁶ Abel and Cain are the sons of Adam and Eve in the Book of Genesis, the first book of the Hebrew *Bible*. Both make sacrifices to God, but only Abel’s are accepted and Cain murders Abel out of jealousy. Shem and Shaun’s struggle for authority and Issy’s favour is reminiscent of Abel and Cain’s rivalry.

⁵⁷ “Tristan and Isolde” is a famous Celtic medieval romance recounting the illicit love affair between Tristan, a knight, and Irish Princess Isolde. Tristan is tasked with escorting Isolde from Ireland to Cornwall by his uncle King of Cornwall who is to marry her. On route, Tristan and Isolde drink a love potion and fall in love. This forbidden love is symbolic in the narrative of *Finnegans Wake* because of the implicit sexual tension between Issy and the male members of her family.

The fall (bababadalgharaghtakamminarronkonnbronntonner-
ronntuonnthunntrovarrhounawnskawntooohooordenenthurnuk!) of a once
wallstrait oldparr is retaled early in bed and later on life down through all
christian minstrelsy. The great fall of the offwall entailed at such short notice
the pftjschute of Finnegan, erse solid man, that the humptyhillhead of himself
promptly sends an unquiring one well to the west in quest of his
tumptytumtoes: and their upturnpikepointandplace is at the knock out in the
park where oranges have been laid to rust upon the green since devlinsfirst
loved livvy. (*FW* 3)

The fall represents both the “drunkenness” of the text itself in terms of language and the fall of humanity with HCE (Finnegan) as the Adam figure (McHugh, *Sigla* 12). *Finnegans Wake* consists of four books and seventeen chapters without titles. Book I recounts the fall of HCE (his wake) and his resurrection; his background story; the undisclosed event of sexual nature that happened in Phoenix Park which is the starting point for rumours about him; his escape into hiding after the rumours and his trial; the letter dictated by ALP to Shem the Penman to acquit her husband from his supposed crime; Shaun the Postman’s failure of delivering the letter to the trial; and ALP’s background story discussed by the two washerwomen at the mouth of River Liffey. Book II directs its attention to the children of the family and reveals scenes from the family’s life including HCE’s “long semi-confession of his more intimate relations” (Fordham, *Lots of Fun* 13). Book III traces Shaun the Postman’s journey of delivering her mother’s letter, which never reaches its destination, and in Book IV, ALP finishes the narrative, like Molly Bloom in *Ulysses*, as she reveals a part of her version of the letter and tries to wake up her husband.

These storylines, however, do not constitute a conventional summary of the novel as the threads of different plot lines are left loose in the narrative. Vignettes and contextually unrelated passages can be found in abundance in the text and complicate the traditional understanding of a linear story. Joyce justified the obscurity that hangs around the novel with these words: “I might easily have written this story in the traditional manner. Every novelist knows the recipe. It is not very difficult to follow a simple, chronological scheme which the critics will understand. But I, after all, am trying to tell the story of this Chapelized family in a new way. [...] Only I am trying

to build many planes of narrative with a single esthetic purpose. (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 554). The storyline, for Joyce, was not as crucial as the style and language he employed to write that story about a Dublin family. The single aesthetic purpose he talks about revolves around two related features that distinguish *Finnegans Wake*: its linguistic heterogeneity and its cyclical form.

Joyce's novels, from *A Portrait* to *Finnegans Wake*, increasingly deal with language and literary form and how the Irish political and historical realities can be conveyed through them. Finn Fordham surveys Joyce's progressive occupation with language and literary form as follows:

All his fictions had so far been written in different styles, each one a departure: the short stories of *Dubliners*, then the bildungsroman *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and then a vast comic novel that reinvented realism: *Ulysses*. So what was there left to do? What genre could be reinvented? By 1924, he had developed the radical innovation: this was not—or not simply—in terms of its genre, but rather in the fundamental field of language itself. For the next fourteen years, he would take the material of language and twist it into strange and comical shapes to achieve ends beyond those of everyday usage. (“Introduction” vii)

While *A Portrait* plays with the *Bildungsroman* form and modernizes it by interweaving Irish political and historical realities into it, *Ulysses* reworks the Irish everyday reality in different forms in a polyphonic framework. With *Finnegans Wake*, the most radical work of the author if not the whole English literature, Joyce deformed and reformed the English language beyond comparison without foregoing the Irish political and historical context.

Finnegans Wake's working title, *Work in Progress*, is the foremost testament to this linguistic heterogeneity that the novel is known for. For Joyce, the novel was a work that is always in progress, continuously inflecting itself with more and more meanings without coming to an end. *Finnegans Wake* is indeed imprinted by linguistic ambiguity and abundance with single words carrying double, sometimes triple, meanings. Puns, portmanteau words, and neologisms are the main linguistic drives in the text and contribute to this textual heterogeneity. The title of the novel itself bears this linguistic diversity and ambiguity as the word “wake” has two meanings: to wake

up from sleep and the event in which mourners mourn the funeral of the dead. This is a direct reference to the fall of Finnegan, his wake, and his subsequent waking up from the dead with a splash of whiskey. The lack of apostrophe in the word “Finnegans” also adds to this linguistic vagueness as the lack of punctuation that implies possession turns the word into a plural, with two Finnegans implied: Tim Finnegans and HCE. Beginning from the first lines of the novel, words, whether they are compounds or not, carry multiple meanings within themselves. The second paragraph of the first chapter illustrates this perfectly and reads as follows:

Sir Tristram, violer d’amores, fr’over the short sea, had passen-core rearrived from North Armorica on this side the scraggy isthmus of Europe Minor to wielderfight his penisolate war: norhad topsawyer’s rocks by the stream Oconee exaggerated themselfe to Laurens County’s gorgios while they went doublin their mumper all the time: nor avoice from afire bellowsed mishe mishe to tauftauf thuartpeatrick: not yet, though venissoon after, had a kidscad buttended a bland old isaac: not yet, though all’s fair in vanessy, were sosie sesthers wroth with twone nathandjoe. (*FW* 3)

This passage recounts Tristan’s journey to fetch Isolde for his uncle and contains plenty of words that carry double meanings. In the phrase “violer d’amores,” for example, the word “violer” means both “a player of viol” and a person who violates (Tristan, who violates Isolde by means of forbidden love) since the word “violer” also means to violate in French (McHugh, *Annotations* 3). “D’amore” means “of love” in Italian and Tristan becomes both a violator of love and a viol player of love in this passage. “North Armorica” represents both North America and the northern part of Brittany region whose ancient name was Armorica (McHugh, *Annotations* 3). The word “doublin” means both “doubling” and “Dublin,” and “venissoon” is both the animal “venison” and reads as “very soon.” This passage ends with a reference to *Vanity Fair* (1848) by William Thackeray through the phrase “all’s fair in vanessy” (McHugh, *Annotations* 3). The whole narrative of *Finnegans Wake* is filled with single words meaning multiple things at once and alluding to multiple things that come together to make up even more complex passages.

The novel’s linguistic heterogeneity is also conveyed by Joyce’s extreme cases of portmanteaux and neologisms. Numerous compound words such as “regrettitude”

(regret + gratitude), “astoneaged” (astonished + stone age), “tristian” (Tristan + Christian), “loamsome” (loansome + loam, meaning clay), and “ensectuous” (insect + incestuous) pervade the narrative of *Finnegans Wake* (FW 98, 18, 22, 26, 29). The novel is also known for its inclusion of hundred-letter words and contains ten of them in the whole narrative. The first hundred-letter word appears on the very first page and onomatopoeically represents the fall of Finnegan/HCE: “The fall thunder (bababadalgharaghtakamminarronkonnbronntonnerronntuonnthunntrovarrhounawnskawntoohohoordenenthurnuk!) of a once wallstrait oldparr is retaled early in bed and later on life down through all christian minstrelsy” (FW 3). McHugh explains that this hundred-letter word contains ten different words from different languages such as Italian (*tuono*), French (*tonnerre*), Ancient Greek (*brontao*), Japanese (*kaminare*), and Portuguese (*trovao*), all meaning “thunder” as the sound of thunder evokes the sound of falling down (*Annotations* 3). As Ruben Borg discusses, portmanteau, as “a device employed with exceptional frequency” in *Finnegans Wake*, is “a rhetorical strategy that comes to typify the *Wake*’s linguistic inventiveness at large” by means of proliferation of linguistic possibilities (143). Neologisms and portmanteaux in the text ultimately contribute to the “polyvocality” in the text as explained by Devlin and Smedley: “[...] each of the many voices in the *Wake* frequently sounds as if it is speaking in tongues, producing triple talk, quadruple talk, quintuple talk—and even more plural evocations of layered diction. The term polyvocal is usually defined in terms of music, but in *Finnegans Wake* it is certainly applicable to writing and speech” (3).

Finnegans Wake’s linguistic inventiveness is indeed a defining feature of the novel on which every other contextual and formal features are based. Fritz Senn argues that the novel is “polysemantic,” that is, consists of multi-layered meanings (Hamada 157). Clive Hart in *Structure and Motif in Finnegans Wake* (1962) states that this abundance of meanings is the stronghold of most of the themes and motifs explored in the novel: “[...] having created a polysemantic style which could sustain true counterpoint, Joyce was able to state motifs simultaneously in significant interwoven patterns which are probably as close an analogy to polyphonic music as any linguistic procedure may be” (177). Joyce’s extensive use of neologisms, puns, and portmanteaux not only by exploiting the English language but also by borrowing from

other languages testifies to his understanding of textual language as something dynamic and always in the process of evolving. Joyce himself considered this polyphonic linguistics of *Finnegans Wake* as the most significant feature of the novel. He wrote about the novel that “*Je suis au bout de l’anglais* [I have reached the end of English]” and “I have put the language to sleep” (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 546). *Finnegans Wake* is often considered as a dream narrative and Joyce appropriately chose a “dreamy” and “nocturnal” language to create the textual body of the novel:

In writing of the night, I really could not, [...], use words in their ordinary connections. Used that way they do not express how things are in the night, in the different stages—conscious, then semi-conscious, then unconscious. I found that it could not be done with words in their ordinary relations and connections. When morning comes of course everything will be clear again...I’ll give them back their English language. I’m not destroying it for good. (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 546)

Joyce wrote *Ulysses* about a day and *Finnegans Wake* became the nocturnal counterpart of the former both in content and language. His insistence on “destroying”, although not for good, the English language is Joyce’s “‘Celtic revenge’ on the colonial power” (Gibson, *Joyce’s Revenge* 1) as also articulated in *Finnegans Wake*: “You will say it is most unenglish and I shall hope to hear that you will not be wrong about it” (*FW* 160). Joyce once mentioned how writing in “proper” English limited him: “I’d like a language which is above all languages, a language to which all will do service. I cannot express myself in English without enclosing myself in a tradition” (Ellmann, *JJ* 397). *Finnegans Wake* becomes the embodiment of that language which is above all languages, and which purposefully subverts the English language to get rid of limiting linguistic traditions.

While writing *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce further stated that “[o]ne great part of every human existence is passed in a state which cannot be rendered sensible by the use of wideawake language, cutanddry grammar and goahead plot” (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 584-5). *Finnegans Wake* becomes the textualized form of Joyce’s literary understanding of that stage of human existence under modernity which cannot be articulated via conventional use of language. The novel’s language, as explained by the novel itself, “is nat language at any sinse of the world” (not language in any sense

of the word) and “anythongue athall” (any tongue/anything at all) (*FW* 83, 117). *Finnegans Wake*’s linguistic revolutions destabilize the signifier-signified relationship in conventional language use by conglomerating both deformed signifiers in the form of puns and neologisms, and distorted signifieds that are the result of emergent meanings. As Derek Attridge argues, *Finnegans Wake* is the “tower of anti-Babel”; a reversion of God’s deliberate act of mixing languages “by making out of the kaleidoscope of languages a new tongue” (*Joyce Effects* 158).

Moving from individual words and linguistics of the whole novel, *Finnegans Wake*’s textual form is also idiosyncratic and fosters the more extreme experimental route Joyce was taking in writing it. Its form can be described as cyclical, and this is evident in the very first and last lines of the novel which constitute a complete sentence:

riverrun, past Eve and Adam’s, from swerve of shore to bend of bay, brings us by a commodius vicus of recirculation back to Howth Castle and Environs.
(*FW* 3)

Yes, tid. There’s where. First. We pass through grass behush the bush to. Whish! A gull. Gulls. Far calls. Coming, far! End here. Us then. Finn, again! Take. Bussoftlhee, mememormee! Till thousandsthee. Lps. The keys to. Given!
A way a lone a last a loved a long the (*FW* 628)

The last lines recirculate back to the first lines to make a complete sentence, thus, creating a never-ending textual cycle: “A way a lone a last a loved a long the / riverrun past Eve and Adam’s, from swerve of shore to bend of bay, brings us by a commodius vicus of recirculation back to Howth Castle and Environs” (*FW* 628, 3). This combined sentence reveals to the reader the setting of the novel and the first sentence itself also reinforces the cyclical nature of the text with “a commodius vicus of recirculation” (*FW* 3). The spatial description, therefore, does not only provide details about the setting of the novel but also hints at the circular nature of the text itself.

The circular form of the text firstly reinforces the linguistic polyvocality of the whole novel as Joyce’s experimental process of semantic signification does not only create a heteroglot text but also a circular text that folds on and renews itself with every turn. Furthermore, the cyclical form of the novel also fosters a contextual cyclicity that

pervades the whole narrative of *Finnegans Wake*. Fagnoli and Gillespie, for example, argue that the book's cyclical structure also reverberates in the content in that "the typologies of human experience that Joyce identifies are [...] essentially cyclical. They are patterned and recurrent. In particular, the experiences of birth, guilt, judgment, sexuality, family, social ritual and death recur throughout the *Wake* as they do in human lives, in societies, and throughout history" (91). This is also voiced by Samuel Beckett who, in his article titled "Dante... Bruno. Vico... Joyce" (1929), wrote that "[in *Work in Progress*] form is content, content is form. You complain that this stuff is not written in English. It is not written at all. [...] His writing is *not about something*; it is *that something itself*" (10). The cyclical form of the novel is both carried into the smallest linguistic units—words—because they also circulate and regenerate meanings over and over amongst themselves through neologisms and portmanteaux, and also into the themes explored as well by highlighting the inherent cyclical natures of them. Alongside with the principal themes of death and resurrection which bear that cyclical mark in themselves, ALP's section in Book I, Chapter 8, for example, takes place at the riverbank of the Liffey and "[t]he river and the meteorological cyclical narrative of water contribute to the circular structure of the book" (Fordham, *Lots of Fun* 66). Through this cycle imagery, *Finnegans Wake*'s form becomes the content, and its content becomes the form. In the exploration of its political unconscious, history, and indirectly politics, is the main content in the novel that is suffused with this cyclical pattern. The last subchapter of this chapter will dwell on how this cyclical pattern is manifested through history, but it is firstly imperative to trace how *Finnegans Wake* deals with Irish history and politics before investigating its more overarching historical implications.

5.2. "Making mejical history all over the show!⁵⁸": Irish Politics, Mythology, and History in *Finnegans Wake*

Finnegans Wake's distinctive features that separate it from *A Portrait* and *Ulysses* are not limited to its peculiar linguistics and cyclical form. Its treatment of Irish history and politics, and history as an overarching concept also differs from its predecessors. In *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*, specific Irish historical events, themes, and

⁵⁸ From *FW*, page 514.

figures are explicitly alluded to and discussed in relation to the daily lives of the characters. *A Portrait*, for example, revolves around how Stephen Dedalus forges his artistic identity in line with and against Irish historical and political facts that are closely related to the themes of religion, nationality, and nationalism. *Ulysses* takes a more radical step towards configuring language and parody into the questions of nationalism and political inertia pervading the Irish political life at the turn of the 20th century. *Finnegans Wake*, while sharing some of the political specificity of the two novels, abandons the more direct implications of Joyce's former narratives and presents a more mythic and overarching view of Irish history.

David Pierce in his article "The Politics of *Finnegans Wake*" (1988) distinguishes between the political context, the political message, and the political reading of the novel and argues that "[t]he first belongs to a form of historical investigation [...]; the second to the author's implicit or explicit political message as contained in the text; [and] the third to our own contemporary political interpretation of *Finnegans Wake*" (368). This subchapter will focus on the first category and try to situate the novel in the Irish political and historical context with specific examples to argue that *Finnegans Wake* is inherently an Irish text whose interpretation cannot be completed without the context of Irish history and politics. *Finnegans Wake*'s political context can be analysed in three consecutive phases from Irish political references to the use of Irish myths and lastly to the overarching historical meanings in which history as a concept is questioned.

Some figures in Irish politics and history find themselves significant places in the narrative of *Finnegans Wake*. The most important reference is the Phoenix Park in which the alleged crime of HCE takes place. He is accused of a crime of sexual nature that happened in Phoenix Park, Dublin, involving two girls. Although the exact nature of the crime is never disclosed in the narrative, HCE's metaphorical downfall happens because of this crime which is grave enough to make him dispelled from society. What makes Phoenix Park an interesting choice for the crime scene is the fact that a crucial political event in Irish history also occurred at the same place. Known as the Phoenix Park Murders, this event refers to the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Henry Burke on 6 May 1882 in Phoenix Park. Cavendish and Burke were Chief Secretary and Permanent Under-Secretary of Ireland respectively; thus, they

carried immense national and political importance and respectability. The perpetrators were members of the Invincibles, a radical branch of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. This event created an uneasy atmosphere in the country which is “threatened equally by Irish suspicion of what was clearly a new direction, and by English inclination to use the Phoenix Park murders as an excuse to intensify coercion” (Lyons 146). Parnell, who was the leader of the home rule movement at that time, condemned the murders and directed Irish nationalism to a more moderate route on the road to emancipation. HCE’s crime which happens to take place in Phoenix Park is a direct reference to Phoenix Park Murders that threatened Parnell’s political career. Finn Fordham writes that

[w]ith the birth pangs of the Irish Republic making themselves felt at this time, Joyce’s world history is clearly being coloured by a sense of the beginning of the end of the British Empire and the uneasy beginnings of Irish independence. Earwicker’s fall is due to rumours that are spread about him, after he’d been spotted by three young men behaving in an ‘ungentlemanly’ way in Dublin’s Phoenix Park opposite two maidservants while they were responding to a call of nature. (“Introduction” x)

Here, there is a connection between HCE’s fall from society due to his alleged crime and Parnell’s fall from Irish politics: both are initiated by “crimes” of sexual nature. HCE was accused of spying on women urinating and Parnell was cast out from the Irish political arena due to an illicit affair with a married woman. As Fordham further indicates, “Joyce makes full play of the fact that modern falls from grace [...] revolve around suggestions of sexual impropriety” (“Introduction” x).

Another parallel between the Phoenix Park Murders and *Finnegans Wake* is that both involve a mysterious letter. After the murders, a forged letter claimed to be written by Parnell was published by *The Times* in which he was shown to be sympathetic with the murderers. It was later found that “the facsimile letter can only have appeared a grotesque parody” for those who knew Parnell and was intended to be a career assassination towards him (Lyons 163). The mysterious letter in *Finnegans Wake*, claimed to have been dictated by ALP to Shem to exonerate her husband, also carries around that suspicion of being forged because its exact contents are never revealed in the text. Different versions of the letter circulate in the narrative as the

reader never gets a glimpse at the genuine form of the letter. “Despite our expectations, the final draft of ALP’s letter reveals little about what happened that day long ago in Phoenix Park,” just as Parnell’s letter was forged and reveals nothing genuine about the murders in the park (Patell 62). Cyrus Patell argues that we should keep “in the back of our minds the memory of Richard Piggott forging the letter in an attempt to destroy Parnell” while thinking about ALP’s letter in *Finnegans Wake* (26). Ironically, the letter that was supposed to bring the downfall of Parnell made him rise to new heights in the political arena when he was cleared from the charges of forgery whereas ALP’s letter remains in the dark for the entirety of the narrative and proves to be ineffective in acquitting HCE. Thus, Joyce subverts the political event of “the forged letter” by making it familial and refusing to clear the air of obscurity that hangs around it.

The character of HCE is also disputed to be based on various Irish historical figures. Apart from obvious but loose connections to Parnell, HCE’s name is disputed to come from “H. C. E. Childers, a Liberal member of the British parliament in the 1880s, known, in satirical magazines, as ‘Here Comes Everybody Childers’” (Fordham, “Introduction” ix). The surname Childers also transforms into one of HCE’s many names, Haveth Children Everywhere, reminiscing HCE’s perverse sexuality. With this connection, “[f]rom an Irish focus and the fall of a medieval Irish king, Joyce has shifted to something more modern and Anglo-Saxon” (Fordham, “Introduction” ix-x). The medieval Irish king Fordham mentions is the High King of Ireland, King Roderick O’Connor, who was the last High King before the Anglo-Norman invasion. Here, Joyce associates the fall of Finnegans at the beginning of the narrative with several other falls as HCE assumes many characters in the course of the novel: “At the start of the book he is the bibulous builder of an Irish Babel, Tim Finnegans [...] while by the end he is the harassed innkeeper Mr Porter [...]. He is also associated with various British, Irish, or Anglo-Irish figures-like King Roderick O’Conor, the Duke of Wellington, Parnell, or Oscar Wilde [...]” (Fordham, “Introduction” xiii). The amalgamation of the historical/political characters HCE assumes account for the polyphonic nature of the novel as well as its dialogical narrative structure. All these parallels ranging from the Phoenix Park, Parnell, the mysterious/forged letter, and the

amalgamated nature of HCE's character confirm the novel's historical/political narrative base.

Because *Finnegans Wake* is more of a dream narrative which takes most of its narrative power not from the modern Irish political context but from the pre-historical figures and events, Irish mythological structure provides more depth into the novel. This structure was what Joyce had in mind while writing *Finnegans Wake*: Richard Ellmann writes that “[a]s Joyce informed a friend later, he conceived of his book as the dream of old Finn, lying in death beside the river Liffey and watching the history of Ireland and the world—past and future—flow through his mind like flotsam on the river of life” (*JJ* 544). The Finn Joyce mentioned was Finn McCool (Fionn mac Cumhaill in Gaelic), a warrior hero, seer, and a poet in Irish mythology. Finn McCool has an important place in Irish mythology as he is depicted as “the hero of the most popular of the three cycles of Old Irish literature, the Fenian” (MacKillop xi). Moreover, the namesake of the novel, the hod-carrier Tim Finnegan of the ballad, “evokes that of the traditional hero Fionn mac Cumhaill in both English and Irish spellings,” and this is evident from the very early mention of the association (MacKillop ix, 171): “Hohohoho, Mister Finn, you’re going to be Mister Finnagain!” (*FW* 5). “Finnagain” reads as “Finnegan,” evoking Tim Finnegan, but also as “Finn again,” alluding to Finn McCool. At another point in the narrative, there is also a mention of “the ear of Fionn Earwicker” which suggests another addition to HCE's character, this time as Fionn mac Cumhaill (*FW* 108). Len Platt considers the inclusion of Irish mythological characters as contributing to the Celticism Joyce wanted to include in the novel:

The reproduction of Celtic Ireland, in all its versions, is even more embedded and fundamental to the *Wake*. Indeed, the title of the *Wake* is at one level a clarion call, a renewal of the Celtic identity, an Irish version of the return of the king. Finnegan is a Celtic hero, albeit one conflated with the more modern identity of the Irishman as navvy. [...] Celticism figures [...] in the *Wake*'s representation of the human need for noble origins, the prototypes that shape our sense of identity. [...] [T]he Celtic identity operates as a kind of historical archetype, shaping the presentation of not just the Finnegan identity but also that of such figures as Finn MacCool, Brian Boru, Roderick O'Connor and St

Patrick, the latter in as much as he features as a modernising spirit engaging with Celtic primitivism. (*Joyce, Race and Finnegans Wake* 45)

Joyce's use of Irish mythical structures, therefore, reinforces the Celticism he wished to evoke through specific figures, which provides a base to the text's more overarching historical implications.

Joyce's use of Irish mythology in *Finnegans Wake* is not limited to the inclusion of specific characters and heroes as he implements more overarching frameworks as well. One of those is his use of the pagan event known as *Teamhur Feis*. George Cinclair Gibson investigates the "connections, the common structural patterns, and the striking parallels between *Finnegans Wake* and the arcane Irish event known as the *Teamhur Feis*, the 'Rites of Tara,'" in his influential study *Wake Rites: The Ancient Irish Rituals of Finnegans Wake* (2005) (*Wake Rites* xiii). The Hill of Tara holds a significant role in Irish mythology as it has served as the main ceremonial place for High Kings as well as functioning as a burial site. Gibson explains that "[t]he *Teamhur Feis* [...] was the most important religious, mythic, sociopolitical, historical (and pseudohistorical) event conducted in pre-Christian Ireland" (*Wake Rites* 5). He outlines numerous correspondences between the events of *Finnegans Wake* and the steps of the *Teamhur Feis* which "had its origin in the funeral and wake rites conducted for a great but fallen leader" (*Wake Rites* 6). The fall of Tim Finnegan/HCE (and indirectly Parnell) is conveyed through a wake ritual in *Finnegans Wake* that resembles *Teamhur Feis* and other events in the novel mimic the stages of the ritual. One of the steps in the ritual, for example, is "The Voice of Fal" in which "the Voice of the Thunder God must be heard throughout the Feis as a sign of divine validation" (Gibson, *Wake Rites* 180). In *Finnegans Wake*, the corresponding narrative item becomes the hundred-letter "thunderwords" that are "heard throughout the *Wake*" symbolizing the "Voice of the Thunder God" (Gibson, *Wake Rites* 180). The last step that ends the ritual consists of the "[r]elighting the *Torc Caille*⁵⁹" in which "[r]itual bonfire is relit at the vernal equinox and proclaims ascendancy of one who lights it" (Gibson, *Wake Rites* 180). In *Finnegans Wake*, this event is recreated as a reversed one in which "Saint Patrick lights the Paschal fire⁶⁰ at Tara at the very moment the pagans

⁵⁹ *Torc Caille* is Gaelic for "sacred bonfire" (Gibson, *Wake Rites* 7).

⁶⁰ The word "Paschal" is used to denote things related to Passover or Easter.

expect the relighting of the *Torc Caille*” (Gibson, *Wake Rites* 180). These parallels reflect Joyce’s attempts at structuring the narrative around specific Irish elements that help him mould the narrative into a mythological one.

Finnegans Wake does not only make use of *Teamhur Feis* structurally; it also draws on the ritual linguistically. The narrative gives reference to *Teamhur Feis* by alluding to “crazy elegies around Templetomblount,” meaning the Hill of Tara by temple/tomb/mount (*FW* 196). As elegies and chants were integral to the ritual, language occupied a central role in its execution. Gibson compares the language of the ritual to the language of *Finnegans Wake*:

At the *Teamhur Feis*, many of the rituals were conducted in a language specifically designed for use by the choreographers of the *Teamhur Feis*, the *Filidh*, Druids, and poets. Called *bélra na filed*, this language was nearly incomprehensible in its polyglot logorrhea; language sometimes blathering, at other times ranting, ribald, profound, or scatological, and everywhere laden with absurd catalogues of everything; language rife with riddles, and riddled with puns, neologisms, and a plethora of polysemes and portmanteaus; language literally loaded with thousands of words misspelled and malformed, bent, folded, twisted, mutilated or torn into pieces—all of this according to a bizarre set of “rules” that consistently apply, rules known to the Druids and *Filidh* themselves. This language was so obscure it was generally referred to as the “Dark Tongue.” Saint Patrick, soon after his victory at the *Teamhur Feis*, deliberately made the Dark Tongue illegal. James Joyce, in *Finnegans Wake*, re-creates the illegal Dark Tongue for his reenactment of the *Teamhur Feis*. (*Wake Rites* 9-10)

In configuring *Teamhur Feis*’s structure into the novel, Joyce contextually relates the narrative of *Finnegans Wake* to the ancient Irish ritual, but it is the linguistic incorporation of the ritual that is the distinguishing feature of the novel. By using the linguistic components of the ritual, which are obscure, arcane, and specifically designed for the event, Joyce creates a linguistic affinity between his modernist novel and the ancient Irish ritual through exploiting (the official English) language and using an “illegal” one (the one he creates by bending the language to his will) instead.

James MacKillop writes about Joyce's incorporation of Fionn mac Cumhaill that "[i]n *Finnegans Wake* Joyce makes Fionn mac Cumhaill an Irish incarnation of the monomyth" (193). Monomyth⁶¹ is a word Joyce coined in *Finnegans Wake*: "At the carryfour with awlus plawshus, their happyass cloudious! And then and too the trivials! And their bivouac! And his monomyth! Ah ho! Say no more about it! I'm sorry! I saw. I'm sorry! I'm sorry to say I saw!" (*FW* 581). The word is famously used by Joseph Campbell in his *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949) in which he argues that stories share some archetypal elements that can be summarized in the concept of "hero's journey" which consists of several stages. Campbell's aim was to create a monomythical structural pattern that can be applied to all stories. In *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce's idea was similar as he once stated: "I think I will write a history of the world" (Ellmann, *JJ* 537). Joyce, moving beyond the use of specific figures and events in Irish mythology, politics, and history, tries to recreate—through the use of those Irish items—a world history that encompasses all human activities. At one point in *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce offers us the concept of "probapossible prolegomena to ideoreal history" (*FW* 262). Here, Joyce plays with the idea of history as the summation of probable, possible ("probapossible"), ideal, and real ("ideoreal") events (*FW* 262). This can be interpreted as a direct intervention into traditional understanding of the concept of history consisting of causal events, and thus, creating linearity. "[P]robapossible prolegomena to ideoreal history" is what Joyce attempts to generate in *Finnegans Wake* by breaking that causal linearity and this historiographical recreation owes a lot to the cyclical pattern evident in the narrative (*FW* 262).

5.3. Cyclical Histories in *Finnegans Wake*

The cyclical pattern that *Finnegans Wake* is famous for is not only manifest in its narrative form; it is also established in the content of the novel that explicitly turns towards an exploration of the concept of history. With *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce moves towards a more overarching critical view of history as a concept without abandoning his intention to make Irish politics and history the basis of his narrative as he always believed that "[i]n the particular is contained the universal" (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 505). This view of universality is conveyed through the idea of history as a cycle that

⁶¹ The word "mono" means "one, only" in Greek.

constitutes the contextual center of *Finnegans Wake*. Thus, the formal cyclicity of the novel is paralleled by the contextual cyclicity that is created by an exploration into the concept of history.

This exploration in the narrative is enabled by two concepts that allow Joyce to expand his idea of history. These two concepts are Giambattista Vico's (1668-1744) idea of history as a cycle and Giordano Bruno's (1548-1600) theory of the coincidence of opposites/contraries (*coincidentia oppositorum*). As Fordham mentions, "Vico and Bruno [...] provided Joyce with certain structural forms, motifs and ideas onto which he could layer and fuse his narratives" and "where *Ulysses* had the episodes of Homer's *Odyssey* to guide it, *Finnegans Wake* had Vico's cycles of history and Giordano Bruno's 'coincidence of opposites'" ("Introduction" xxv, xxiii). Vico and Bruno were Italian philosophers that made their marks in history through various significant ideas and theories. Vico was a famous historian and a philosopher who rejected the Cartesian dichotomies of Enlightenment thinking, thus, becoming one of the most important figures in the counter-Enlightenment and humanist line of philosophy. Vico's most crucial work, *Scienza Nuova* (1725) (*The New Science*), explores human history and presents his idea of history as a cycle that repeats the same three eras: the age of gods, the age of heroes, and the age of man, each symbolized by ideas such as theocracy, aristocracy, and democracy. Vico also stated that after these ages the cycle begins again in an additional "chaotic" era (the idea of *ricorso*, meaning return)

as the pattern exhibited in the history of each nation will recur. This means that not only will almost all nations undergo an identical process of development, but that [...] they will relapse into a state of barbarism very similar to that from which they first arose, after which, as a result of the operation of the same causes as before, the same process will occur again. (Pompa xxxvi)

This idea of history as a cycle constitutes what Vico called "ideal eternal history" which is "in accordance with which the histories of all nations proceed through time with certain origins and certain continuity" (Vico 66). Vico's theory of cyclical history posits that all other cultural and social forms—language being the most significant one—also evolve through ages: the poetic forms of the theocratic age depend upon metaphors to compare the human and the natural phenomena coming from gods (Vico

182), and in the heroic age “the heroic peasants transformed what they had taken to be the natural meaning of the word through metonymy” (Vico 180). Vico’s exploration of the relationship between history and language is significant in that it highlights the importance of language in historiographic conceptions since history can only exist as a narrative, depending heavily on language and narrative structures.

Finnegans Wake’s cyclical narrative structure owes a great deal to Vico’s idea of *ricorso*. Joseph Campbell and Henry Morton Robinson write that the structure of the book corresponds to Vico’s historical eras:

But why a “four-part” cycle? This reference is to a conception of the eighteenth-century Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico, whose *La Scienza Nuova* provides the philosophic loom on which Joyce weaves his historical allegory. Essentially, Vico’s notion is that history passes through four phases: theocratic, aristocratic, democratic, and chaotic. The last phase is characterized (like our own) by individualism and sterility, and represents the nadir of man’s fall. It is terminated by a thunderclap, which terrifies and reawakens mankind to the claims of the supernatural, and thus starts the cycle rolling again with a return to primeval theocracy. (5)

Vico’s idea of cyclical history suggests that “history [is] characterized by moments of revolution, repression, and resurrection,” which can be followed in the structure of the book through Finnegan/HCE’s fall and resurrection, ALP/Shem’s revolutionary letter, and familial/sexual repression that involves Issy (Fordham, “Introduction” xxvi). Vico’s structural aid in *Finnegans Wake* is supported by Joyce’s own claim in which he said that he used “Vico’s cycles as a trellis” while writing the novel (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 554). There are also numerous references to Vico in the narrative: the narrative of the novel begins with “riverrun, past Eve and Adam’s, from swerve of shore to bend of bay, brings us by a commodius vicus of recirculation back to Howth Castle and Environs” (*FW* 3). There is a direct reference to Vico in “commodious vicus of recirculation” as the narrative highlights its own textual circulation as well as the setting of the novel through spatial circularity (*FW* 3). Later we read about a “vicious circle” (*FW* 98) and “[t]he Vico road goes round and round to meet where terms begin” (*FW* 452) as the text self-consciously references to its own circular nature.

Vico's ideas, however, do not remain at the structural level in the novel; they are also transferred into the contextual density of *Finnegans Wake* that explores history as a cyclical concept. With the lines "[t]eems of times and happy returns. The seim anew. Ordovico or viricordo. Anna was, Livia is, Plurabelle's to be," Joyce moves towards the integration of Vico and his ideas into the exploration of historical continuity in the text and explicates how things are "seim" (seen/same) "anew" in this conception of history as a cycle (*FW* 215). Moreover, Joyce mentions "all marryvoising moodmoulded cyclewheeling history" in the novel (*FW* 186); in Joyce's drafts these words used to read as "universal history" but then later were revised in their current form (Fordham, "Introduction" xxix). This demonstrates that Joyce's understanding of "universal history" is constructed upon Vico's theory of cyclical history, which becomes "cyclewheeling history" in the narrative consisting of "marryvoising" (manyvoicing) language (*FW* 186), "a polylogue blending different voices and accents and dialects as much as different languages" (Fordham, *Lots of Fun* 56).

The idea of cyclicity and its structural and contextual implementation in *Finnegans Wake* are also related to another Italian philosopher Giordano Bruno and his idea of coincidence of opposites. Bruno was a philosopher and a cosmologist who was accused of heresy and as a result burned at the stake by the Roman Inquisition. Joyce was interested in Bruno's ideas, which range from humanism to cosmic pluralism, from early on in his career. He explains Bruno's theory of coincidence of opposites in one of his letters: "Bruno Nolano (of Nola) another great southern Italian was quoted in my first pamphlet *The Day of the Rabblement*. His philosophy is a kind of dualism—every power in nature must evolve an opposite in order to realise itself and opposition brings reunion etc etc" (Gilbert, *Letters I* 226). The impact of Bruno's coincidence of opposites theory on *Finnegans Wake* is actually concomitant with Vico's idea of history as a cycle. Samuel Beckett explains that Vico's "exposition of the ineluctable circular progression of Society was completely new, although the germ of it was contained in Giordano Bruno's treatment of identified contraries" (6). According to Beckett, Vico's idea of cyclical history occurs exactly "because every moment contains its opposite. This helps explain the 'ricorso' in particular, a point at

which extremes meet and contraries coincide: chaos becomes order, anarchy turns into monarchy (or, indeed, vice versa)” (Fordham, “Introduction” xxviii).

In *Finnegans Wake*, there are explicit references to Bruno and his ideas: in “coincidence of their contraries,” contraries both coincide and “dance” (*FW* 49), “cocoincidences” informs us of coincidences that exist (co)ncomitantly (*FW* 597), “equal and opposite bruno” directly alludes to the philosopher himself (*FW* 488), and Bruno of Nola is later transformed into real-life Dublin booksellers “Browne and Nolan” in the narrative (*FW* 268). Perhaps the most striking implementation of Bruno’s coincidence of opposites in the narrative is the brothers Shem and Shaun who mirror each other with their opposite characteristics. Kristen L. Olson explains that *Finnegans Wake* “develops the dynamic of opposition not just in the contrast of characters with one another but also in the contrast of character and place. From depictions of ALP as the Liffey and HCE as Howth Castle and environs through the interrelationship of the family members, the dynamic of self-definition through opposition is fundamental” (263). In the narrative of the novel, the cyclical structure is maintained through these oppositions that consequently provides both structural and contextual dynamism. As Olson states, “[t]he Brunian pattern of cycle is, therefore, both subject and form of *Finnegans Wake*” as Joyce uses it both as a narrative scaffold and a contextual bridge through which the idea of cyclical history is conveyed (254). Vico and Bruno’s interrelated ideas of cyclicity and coincidence of opposites helped Joyce create a supra-historical narrative that includes all the complexities of Irish mythology, politics, and history. Moreover, the text of *Finnegans Wake* achieves this through an equally complex language that defies narrowly defined linguistic and formal traditions and complements this subversive and heterogeneous understanding of history. Joyce, by presenting an abundance of historical, mythological and political figures/events, and thus achieving a cyclical and pluralistic history, makes the form of the novel its content, and the content of it, its form.

This parallel between the cyclical form of the novel and the cyclical understanding of history can be best seen in the section titled “the Willingdone Museyroom” in Book I, Chapter I. This passage recounts a short visit to a museum and lists some items there with accompanying commentary of Kate, a guide/janitor:

This the way to the museyroom. Mind your hats goan in! Now yiz are in the Willingdone Museyroom. This is a Prooshious gunn. This is a ffrinch. Tip. This is the flag of the Prooshious, the Cap and Soracer. This is the bullet that byng the flag of the Prooshious. [...] This is the big Sraughter Willingdone, grand and magentic in his goldtin spurs and his ironed dux and his quarterbrass woodyshoes and his magnate's gharters and his bangkok's best and goliar's goloshes and his pulluponeasyan wartrews. This is his big wide harse. Tip. This is the three lipoleum boyne grouching down in the living detch. This is an inimyskilling inglis, this is a scotcher grey, this is a davy, stooping. [...] Stonewall Willingdone is an old maxy montrumeny. Lipoleums is nice hung bushellors. This is hiena hinnessy laughing alout at the Willingdone. [...] How Copenhagen ended. This way the museyroom. Mind your boots goan out.

Phew! (*FW* 8-10)

In this passage, Kate shows the reader/visitor the way to the museum with “[m]ind your hats goan in!” and escorts us out with “[m]ind your boots goan out” (*FW* 8, 10). This museum is an imaginary place, but it becomes clear through the items listed that the passage recounts the details of the Battle of Waterloo (1815). Moreover, most references in the passage indicate that Joyce took the circular building in which the panorama painting of the battle is exhibited as a model for the museum. This rotunda building is located on the battleground in Waterloo, Belgium (then belonged to the United Kingdom of Netherlands) and there are references to the panoramic picture in the novel with the mention of “the whole panoromacron picture” (*FW* 318) and “[a] lambskip for the marines! Paronama! The entire horizon cloth” (*FW* 502). Joyce is said to have visited the rotunda and the battlegrounds in 1926 according to Thomas Wolfe, a renowned American novelist, who told about that day in one of his letters:

I took the day off and went to Waterloo in a bus—the first trip I’ve made. There were seven or eight of us—two or three English, two or three French, and your old friend James Joyce. [...] I noticed him after we had descended at Waterloo [...]. We went into a little café where the bus stopped to look at the battle souvenirs and buy postcards: then we walked up what was once the Sunken Road to a huge circular building that had a panorama of the battle painted around the sides. (Knowell 114)

Joyce probably found the rotunda a perfect architectural sight to parallel the idea of cyclicity that he was exploring in *Finnegans Wake*. The circular architecture of the panorama building reinforces the cyclicity that the novel's structure is built upon as it allows Joyce to explore the idea of cyclical history through the spatial features of the museum. The museum, as one of the building blocks of this section, acts as the cyclical space in which history is enacted in a panoramic way. Andrew McFeaters argues that the trope of "the museum signifies a radical implication for history itself, one generated by an architectural dynamism rather than by any single historical subject, thus un-grounding rather than grounding historical narrativity" ("Museyrooms"). What this passage accomplishes is that it foregrounds the cyclical understanding of history through the museum's architecture by deliberately withholding specific crucial information about the historical event being depicted, thus, undermining the importance of the event itself.

The content of the passage consists of a list being dictated by Kate that involves some items in the museum. It is not clear what we are being shown as Kate drags us from site to site without any contextual guidance, only stating sentences that begin with "this is." McFeaters asserts that "[w]hat become visible in *Finnegans Wake* are floating narrative islands capable of continuous resequencing within fluid relational structures. There are times and places, but these overlap and shift. Histories are points in motion, momentarily placed side-by-side or in coterminous series through linking mechanisms ("Museyrooms"). This disorientation effect is one of the impacts of the passage that later extends to Joyce's subversive intervention into historiography. It becomes clear later in the passage that most of the items shown are related to the Battle of Waterloo. This battle was fought in 1815 between the French under the command of Napoleon I and the British army under Arthur Wellesley, the first Duke of Wellington, who has a monument planted in his name in Phoenix Park, Dublin. The British was supported by Prussia and Netherlands, and won a decisive victory against Napoleon I, ending the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815). The items being listed by Kate conveys some contextual information about the battle: "the Prooshious gunn" (the precious gun) is a pun on the word Prussian (*FW* 8); "ffrinch" is French (*FW* 8); "inimyskilling inglis" is both "enemy-skilling English" and a reference to Sir William Inglis, a British officer who served in the Peninsular Wars that was a part of Napoleonic

Wars (*FW* 8); and the mention of Copenhagen reminds the reader of both the city of Copenhagen in Denmark and Duke Wellington's horse of the same name. Moreover, there are references to other famous wars including Battle of Boyne ("This is the three lipoleum boyne grouching down in the living detch" [*FW* 8]) that was fought between King James II, who was deposed after the Glorious Revolution (1688), and King William III, known as William of Orange. This battle is significant in the history of Ireland as it strengthened the Protestant ascendancy in the country. Joyce, in this passage, wrought an intricate historical tapestry of English history by filling it with numerous references, without depending on only one contextual subject.

Moreover, as the concept of museum conveys an understanding of history enacted in a closed, ordered, and referential way, this passage depicts what Jean Baudrillard calls a simulation: history in this passage is simulated, as the corresponding objects are confined to a closed space to be displayed, torn out of context. This simulation is made possible by the process of museumification, the act of transplanting historical objects "to an order of history, science, and museums, our order, which no longer masters anything, which only knows how to condemn what preceded it to a decay and death" (Baudrillard 9). If we take museums as archives, the political implications of who archives what becomes more significant as "[t]here is no political power without control of the archive, if not of memory (Derrida 11). Joyce manages to subvert this process of museumification and the authority of the "official" archive by choosing to mix together and complicate historical objects and facts: the wars multiply and the objects clash as one cannot be sure of their referential values since Joyce continuously plays with the words through puns. As Parrinder notes about the passage, "[n]ot only historical and mythological characters but language itself is melted down, joined together and remoulded in the 'museyroom' of the *Wake*, an imaginary museum" (202). Joyce's subversion also functions at the contextual level as historical characters lose their importance by melting into ordinary people and as the result of the battle is reversed. HCE becomes both Wellington and Napoleon in the passage:

The principle of substitutability allows that the Wellington Monument in Phoenix Park is also the museum on the battlefield of Waterloo [...]. A second principle, that of the identity of opposites [...] entails that, if HCE by rights

ought to be the fallen Napoleon, he may also be the victorious Wellington. In the “museyroom” sequence he appears as “Sraughter Willingdone”, while his opponents (thanks to Napoleon’s famous hat) are the “three lipoleum boyne.” (Parrinder 224)

The concept of Brunonian opposites is also manifest in the result of the battle which is subverted: Wellington is defeated, and this is conveyed through his horse’s demise: “[h]ow Copenhagen ended” (*FW* 10). This subversion is made possible through Joyce’s linguistic indeterminacy and contextual heterogeneity that defy monologic and causal understanding of history. Charles Altieri argues that *Finnegans Wake* “rejects all foundational tales which purport to explain the mechanism imposing causal shape upon events” (248-9). *Finnegans Wake*’s historical subversion operates on a level that consists of two ends, linguistic and contextual, and these two ends work simultaneously to create a subversive historiography. The “Willingdone Museyroom” section, “to put it in more Brunonian terms, extends the binaries to the point where they become the same”: just as the museum is situated on a cyclical architecture, history is also based on a cyclical pattern in which opposites, such as Wellington and Napoleon, are made the same (McFeaters, *How the Irish* 26).

“The Willingdone Museyroom” section, in the end, is the microcosm of *Finnegans Wake*, a narrative that linguistically, contextually, and historically undermines novelistic traditions of grammar, syntax, plot, and historiography. The museum passage creates historical and linguistic meanings that are shifting and erratic and

[c]ollectively these meanings unsettle the actively nationalistic functions of historiographic discourses embodied by the structure of the museum, wherein one muses on the aesthetic presentation of a culture’s past in order to better understand the present whilst simultaneously grounding a future. The Museyroom, moving beyond naive historiography, establishes rather an aesthetics of historicity that sets the tone for the entire book, and this aesthetics acts as a critique rather than an affirmation of teleologically-driven constructions. (McFeaters, “Museyrooms”)

After the identifiable historical narratives of *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*, *Finnegans Wake*’s revolutionary historical aesthetics overrides conventional historical and political

critiques that work in parallel with traditional historiographies. Derek Attridge asserts that *Finnegans Wake* “undoes history” because it “does not contain within itself a clear determination of a time and place, of a sequence of events, or of a set of existents. It is not that history is absent; on the contrary, history is omnipresent” (*Joyce Effects* 88). Analysed from that perspective, *Finnegans Wake* moves closer to postmodernist historiographic metafiction in which “the conventions of both fiction and historiography are simultaneously used and abused, installed and subverted, asserted and denied” (Hutcheon, “Historiographic Metafiction” 5). The novel’s linguistic heterogeneity that defies all conventions about grammar, syntax and semantics is what makes critics consider *Finnegans Wake* as one of the first proto-postmodernist texts⁶², but its critical treatment of history, which simultaneously makes use of and subverts Irish mythology, English/Irish history, and politics, is also crucial in its categorization as a postmodernist narrative. Therefore, *Finnegans Wake* is a text which makes Irish mythology/history/politics its base and whose subversive historiography paves the way for its writer to explore more overarching concepts of history that are both structurally and contextually cyclical, and thus, universal.

⁶² Ihab Hassan, one of the key figures in postmodernist critical theory, writes that “[m]odernism and postmodernism are not separated by an Iron Curtain or Chinese Wall; for history is a palimpsest, and culture is permeable to time past, time present, and time future. We are all, I suspect, a little Victorian, Modern, and Postmodern, at once. And an author may, in his or her own lifetime, easily write both a modernist and postmodernist work (Contrast Joyce’s *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* with his *Finnegans Wake*)” (88). Another influential name of literary postmodernism, Brian McHale also highlights the postmodern elements in *Finnegans Wake*: “[...] there is no stable world behind this consciousness, but only a flux of discourse in which fragments of different, incompatible realities flicker into existence and out of existence again, overwhelmed by the competing reality of language. Postmodernist fiction, in short” (234).

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has focused on how distinct linguistic and formal patterns of Joyce's novels reveal the political unconscious behind the obvious historical contents they incorporate. Those linguistic and formal patterns act as critical pathways that disclose Joyce's intricate political stance, equipped with various analytical lenses ranging from the critique of British colonialism and Irish nationalism to the appropriation of formal and narratological elements with historical analyses. Having analysed his three novels, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Ulysses*, and *Finnegans Wake*, it is possible to summarize the findings of this study in three distinct but interrelated points. The first relates to Joyce's evolving languages/styles/forms that take on different meanings as his oeuvre continued to develop; the second one, concomitantly with the first, is about the shifting political/historical stances his works elaborate upon; and the last one, consisting of the convergence of the first two, reveal the political unconscious of his works through various nodal points, namely, the *Künstlerroman* form and epiphanies, multifarious styles and parody, and cyclical narrative and historical forms.

In order to interpret the first, one has to scrutinize Joyce's relationship with literary modernism that never ceased to be in close contact with his political positions. As the first chapter of this study has shown, modernism was born out of debilitating social, political, and cultural changes that occurred in Europe at the turn of the 20th century, and Joyce was one of the pioneers of the literary branch of this movement. His experimental works paved the way for a more diverse understanding of literary language and form through which the novel form thrived. Since its evolution from the romance genre, the novel has undergone substantial changes that were influenced by the social fluctuations in European society driven by capitalism, the bourgeois revolution, rising literacy, and the increased interest in reading. With modernism, new social forces, such as changing gender and colonial relations, the emerging intellectual networks, and the increase in the dissemination of secular knowledge in science and philosophy rewrote the façade of the literary arena, especially the novel form. Modernist novels increasingly elaborated upon the new ways of seeing and interpreting the transforming world through new narrative styles and forms. At the

beginning of the 20th century, the novel's inherent linguistic and formal heterogeneity as explained by Bakhtin was influenced by these new social paradigms since modernist novels progressively dealt with how reality has become fragmented and how new forms were needed to convey the new perceptions. Modernist writers are always considered as literary rebels due to their courage in leaving behind the obsolete literary forms and experimenting with new and hybrid ones. In *Modernism: a Guide to European Literature, 1890-1930*, Bradbury and MacFarlane discuss that "the modernist writer is not simply the artist set free, but the artist under specific, apparently historical strain" (26). Thus, the modernist writer could not easily escape from the horrors of history that necessitated more unstable and elusive forms, which were indispensable in conveying the changing faces of reality.

Joyce's modernist practices act in line with that necessity of translating the historical traumas that his native country went through into the experimental styles and forms he employed in his works. The daily lives of Dubliners and his strained relationship with his country saturate his works and the divided consciousness of the colonized Irish subject manifests itself in his fragmented narratives which make use of dense stream of consciousness to convey the lives of the Irish under British rule. As Gibbons proposes, "Joyce's Irishness [...] is intrinsic to his modernism" since he makes Ireland not only the "subject matter or content but also [...] form, allowing Joyce to pioneer a mode of vernacular modernism" (*Joyce's Ghosts* xiv). His use of free indirect speech, for example, allows him to move in and out of internal and external consciousnesses, conveying the perspectives of inside (Irish) and outside (non-Irish) simultaneously. Joyce's self-exile has accentuated this double political consciousness as he was both an internationalist—having lived in different European cities all his life—and an Irish at heart, having written about Dublin in all his works despite the fact that he did not set foot there for nearly thirty years.

Ireland's tumultuous colonial relationship with the British Empire and the resulting nationalist movements occupy a substantial place in Joyce's works. His novels present an ambivalent, polyphonic, and dialogic set of ideas and reactions to both British colonialism and Irish nationalism. Joyce's texts reject both, situating them at the far ends of the political spectrum that is severed from the daily realities of Irish people. In this way, Joyce's texts include a negotiation of Irish political and historical

identity that does not conform to the restrictive and essentialist designations of Irish nationalism while also without ceasing to be densely grounded in Irish historical and political experience. As Joseph Valente argues, “[m]oving in and out of discrete accents, mind-sets, and evaluative positions, clarifying each by way of others,” Joyce’s texts “embody polyphony as political freedom” (62). His texts accomplish this Irish-modernist political context via a convergence of his experimentalist tendencies and his unwavering insistence on writing about his country. Dublin sets the scene for this convergence, acting as a catalyser: a colonized European city where two wars were being fought; the first, a physical war to regain the political power in Ireland, and the second, a cultural one, to break free from the social and cultural dominance of the English. It is through this convergence that it becomes possible to analyse the political unconscious of Joyce’s texts.

The modernism and Irishness of Joyce’s texts present the reader a contradictory and ambivalent set of political and historical relations: Joyce’s narratives are against both British colonialism and the sterility of Irish nationalism, a condition which Howes and Attridge call as “semicolonial” (3). Joyce’s texts are “both strongly supportive of Irish nationalism and highly critical of it,” and his experimental and fragmented narratives are a textual testament to this incomplete and fragmented colonial subjectivity (Howes and Attridge 2). That is why “his writings about Ireland may not provide a coherent critique of either colonised or colonialist; but their very ambiguities and hesitations testify to the uncertain, divided consciousness of the colonial subject, which he is unable to articulate in its full complexity outside his fiction” (Nolan 130). His texts, through their peculiar use of language and form, convey those implicit meanings that are not readily available at face value. Explicitly, Joyce’s texts do not always yield a conventional Marxist analysis whereby a character, an event, or an object represent a specific class-based paradigm; however, the convergence of the texts’ forms and contextual backgrounds paves the way for a reading that allows the reader to dig deeply into the unconscious of the texts themselves. About this convergence, Jameson argues that

related diachronic or intertextual constructs [...] allow us to reread the text, synchronically, as the coexistence, contradiction, structural hierarchy, or uneven development of a number of distinct narrative systems; and it is the

possibility of such a reading which in turn allows us to grasp the text as a socially symbolic act, as the ideological—but formal and immanent—response to a historical dilemma. (*PU* 125)

It is in this diachronic convergence of form, language, and content that the political unconscious of Joyce's texts is revealed as they become "socially symbolic acts" that respond to the historical and political dilemmas of the 20th century Ireland by formal means (Jameson, *PU* 125).

As Chapters 3, 4, and 5 of this study have explained, in Joyce's every novel this political unconscious can be revealed by examining how different forms of these works act as critiques of certain political and historical paradigms. In *A Portrait*, the *Künstlerroman* form appropriates the artistic content of the novel that is put forward as the antidote both for British colonialism and Irish nationalism. The implicit meaning behind the *Künstlerroman* form, that is, its political unconscious, is revealed as the concurrent development of Ireland as a country on the road to independence and Stephen's artistic growth that occurs as an ideological response to the political situation in his country. The artist's novel form is transformed in this case as Joyce makes it shed its conventional representation of the hero blending seamlessly into society. Joyce makes the modernist *Bildungsroman* also a colonial one in which Stephen's artistic development occurs in response to the ideological realities of his time. "Stephen's problematic colonial *Bildung*," writes Gregory Castle, "functions critically within Joyce's modernist *Bildungsroman* because it points up the inadequacy of normative models of self-development and education that neither alleviate nor represent the 'internal catastrophe' of coming of age in the age of empire" ("Coming of Age" 379). In this way, Joyce reframes the boundaries of the *Bildung* in the specificity of the Irish context. Stephen's "internal catastrophe" of growing up on a colonized land is explored in *A Portrait* through a series of colonial issues such as the political sterility of Irish nationalism and the foreignness of using the English language to convey the Irish reality. Stephen, in this respect, forms his identity around art and includes critiques of these issues as crucial components of his artistic identity formation.

A Portrait's nodal point through which this convergence of *Künstlerroman* as form and artistic development as ideological reaction occurs is the epiphany. The

epiphany forms the basis of Stephen's artistic conceptions, and they are ideologically crucial occurrences as Stephen takes the daily lives of Dubliners as the crux of his art. Stephen's "sudden spiritual manifestation[s]," ranging from religious containment (the nightmare epiphany) and artistic realization (the wading girl epiphany) to freedom (the journey epiphany) all take their sources from daily life (Beja 18): the nightmare epiphany is directly related to the religious constraints Stephen feels he is trapped by, symbolized by monsters trying to ensnare him; the wading girl on the beach conveys an association between aesthetic contentment and joy of life through the female figure; and the journey epiphany beckons towards the future, with Stephen's mind on exile. In short, epiphany in the novel takes its power from the already ideological daily lives of Dubliners under colonization and reveals the interconnectedness of Stephen's artistic judgements and Irish political and historical realities.

Ulysses takes *A Portrait* one step further in terms of both formal and contextual multiplicity. Its experimental language that shows itself in stream of consciousness and free indirect speech, and its multifarious styles that change not only from chapter to chapter but also within chapters testify to its linguistic and formal heterogeneity. *Ulysses* also expands its political and historical context by including Leopold Bloom and other Dubliners into the narrative. Although in the first part of the novel, Telemachia, the reader follows Stephen and reads how he deals with the Irish Question, the nationalist and colonialist perspectives, anti-Semitic views, and unionist mindsets, the second and third parts of the novel focus more on Bloom and his more implicit dealings with the Irish Question as an Irish Jew. By introducing the Jewish question into the narrative, Joyce complicates the problem of Irish nationalism whose primary goal was to protect the supposed sterility of Irish culture to fight off British colonialism.

With the "Cyclops" chapter, Joyce's direct critique of the issues related to the Irish Question takes a more playful linguistic and formal turn, embodied in the parody form. The Irish nationalist tropes and the revivalist rhetorics are the main targets of the chapter, and the double narrative of "Cyclops" enacts the parody form (the incongruity between the parodied version and the reality) textually, through the interpolations, as well. In this respect, parody becomes the nodal point through which the political unconscious of the novel is revealed: the multifarious styles of *Ulysses* in different

chapters are translated into the parodic form of the chapter in which various styles are employed within one single narrative. What is more, this multiplicity of styles embodied in the parodic interpolations is interconnected with the hybridity of national and political identities that Joyce attempts to convey in the chapter. The bigotry of the Citizen character in “Cyclops” is firstly contrasted with the hyperbolic interpolations in which the main target is the various features of the revivalist movement such as its emphasis on heroic verbosity, its encyclopaedic narrative, and its primitivist outlook. Then, Bloom’s Jewishness and all-encompassing understanding of humanity create another disparity against the nationalism of the Citizen whose monologic views stand in the way to a healthy dialogue about nationhood.

As Joyce’s stylistic and formal choices in “Cyclops” reinforce the contextual background of the chapter through hybridity and heterogeneity, “Joyce’s Irishness [becomes] inherently hybrid” (Slote 549). Joyce’s strong reaction against the claims of purity and any other unilateral point of views in Irish nationalism is acted out by the form of the chapter as the interpolations textually multiply and parody the events at the bar. Sam Slote argues that “three ‘comic-giant’ traditions are united in ‘Cyclops’: the Homeric, the Celtic, and the Rabelaisian. The Citizen’s delimited, monoptic perspective is thus itself enmeshed within the parallax and the multiple” (550). Thus, the chapter, both formally and contextually, enacts heterogeneity and multiplicity through “the Janus-faced⁶³ ambivalence of language itself in the construction of the Janus-faced discourse of the nation” (Bhabha 3). Because the interpolations show us the double-edgedness of language that is essential to create double meanings in the parody form, the national-critical discourse in the chapter is also twofold: Joyce uses the double-language of parody to convey the idea that nationalistic discourse operates ambivalently. This is evident in the Citizen’s bigoted responses that uses the nationalist and violent discourses of the British. Far from being a coherent Irish nationalist, the Citizen uses the discourse of the colonizer to feign sterility and purity of the Irish nation. This creates an ambivalence, an unsteady nation-space in which language prefigures that ideological uncertainty, as explained by Bhabha: “the nation-space in the process of the articulation of elements: where meanings may be partial because

⁶³ Janus is an ancient Roman god of beginnings, endings, transitions, and time. He is usually depicted as having two faces.

they are in *medias res*; and history may be half-made because it is in the process of being made; and the image of cultural authority may be ambivalent because it is caught, uncertainly, in the act of ‘composing’ its powerful image” (3). The Citizen’s nationalist barroom speeches are caught in the act of being articulated, and then taken up by the text to be parodied in the interpolations. *Ulysses*’s parodical rhetorics, in the last analysis, proves to be a textual counterpart of the ambivalent discourses of nationalism and conveys Joyce’s critique of those towards a more heterogenous understanding of nation and nationhood.

A Portrait and *Ulysses* gradually radicalize language and form to elaborate on certain political and historical issues, but it is through *Finnegans Wake* that Joyce undermines the English language to use it as a weapon against clearly defined frameworks of historiography. All semantic presuppositions that are used in traditional historiography fail in *Finnegans Wake* because its language is deconstructed deliberately to be used as a tool to overcome limited understandings of history. *Finnegans Wake*’s heterogenous language that is made up of hundreds of different world languages, puns, neologisms and portmanteaus, and its cyclical form that ties the novel’s ending to its beginning all contribute to this linguistic and formal diversity through which the novel creates a polysemantic language. Although this makes the novel dense, ambiguous, obscure, and nearly impenetrable in terms of plot (which is actually based on a family drama), it also paves the way for a divergent narrative in which semantic plurality and suggestive textuality take precedence. This is what Margot Norris calls as “[t]he indeterminacy of *Finnegans Wake*” that guides most of its narrative functions (“*Finnegans Wake*” 150). Another guiding principle that makes the novel formally peculiar is its circular narrative. The cyclical form of *Finnegans Wake* that ties its ending to its beginning not only reinforces the textual circularity, making it a narrative that never ends, but also informs the overarching theme of the novel, that is, history.

Finnegans Wake employs a more indirect approach to Irish politics and history than *A Portrait* and *Ulysses* do. Despite its references to significant Irish political and historical events and figures such as the Phoenix Park Murders and Charles Stewart Parnell, the narrative skeleton of the novel is based more on Irish mythology than contemporary Irish history. This implies a contextual journey in the novel from

specific to more general and can be interpreted as Joyce's attempt to move towards an overarching view of history. In this respect, Irish mythological scaffold in *Finnegans Wake*, evident through allusions to Finn MacCool and the ancient ritual of *Teamhur Feis*, acts as a bridge between the more specific political and historical content and the ultimate encompassing understanding of history that accompanies the cyclical text. The idea of cyclical history is reinforced in the text firstly with the cyclical narrative and then through the related concepts of Giordano Bruno's coincidence of contraries and Giambattista Vico's *corsi e ricorsi* (passages and returns). Bruno's coincidence of contraries dictates that everything is understood through its opposite and this dichotomy is necessary to reach wholeness. In *Finnegans Wake*, the narrative employs several core binarities (Shem/Shawn, life/death, day/night etc.) and these opposites come together, "coincide," and create a contextually circular narrative. In this way, Bruno's theory of coincidence of opposites augments the textual cyclicity that runs through *Finnegans Wake*. In relation to that, Vico's concept of *corsi e ricorsi* prescribes that history consists of "passages" and "returns" that lead to cyclical history. His idea of cyclical history specifies that certain stages repeat in history, such as the era of gods, the era of heroes, the era of man, and the era of return, each symbolized by ideas such as theocracy, aristocracy, democracy, and chaos. The four-part format of the novel corresponds to these four stages in human history, with events that correlate with these ideas such as Finnegan/HCE's fall and resurrection, ALP/Shem's revolutionary letter, and familial/sexual repression that involves Issy. Thus, the novel firstly enacts Vico's concept of cyclicity through its form and then secondly by incorporating the historical element through its content.

The "Willingdone Museyroom" passage in *Finnegans Wake* is where the political unconscious of the novel can be revealed through the convergence of form and content. This chapter takes place in a museum, which is modelled after a rotunda building in Waterloo, and takes the Battle of Waterloo as a historical reference point. Through the list of items in the museum, this chapter revisits the battle but does this through subversion: the outcome of the battle, which is a decisive victory for Arthur Wellesley (the then Duke of Wellington), is subverted by appointing a win for Napoleon. This subversion undermines the British victory and accentuates the dichotomic relationship between the two sides. Throughout the chapter, opposites are

maintained through several items of war, such as guns and war attires, based on the dichotomy between Wellington and Napoleon. Since the museum is a rotunda—shaped like a circle—the reader is circularly guided through the place while, at the same time, witnessing a subversive historical revision that is maintained through opposites. This dichotomic pairing, far from approximating Joyce as a writer who depends on binaries, enables a reading of *Finnegans Wake* whose narrative moves from the specific to the universal through a subversion of those binaries. Margot Norris asserts about *Finnegans Wake* that “[t]he formulation of theme is less useful for *Finnegans Wake* than for other literary texts because the continual dissolution of narrative, image, and language in the *Wake* prevents the sort of positive representations that we construe as thematic material from taking shape” (“*Finnegans Wake*” 164). Therefore, it is possible to conclude that in *Finnegans Wake*, the form guides, and ultimately becomes, the content and enables a reading of the novel from the lenses of cyclicity.

From *A Portrait* to *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce’s novels operate on two axes: formal and stylistic axis that incorporates linguistic play, and the contextual axis that takes its source from Irish politics and history. These two areas are inseparable in Joyce’s oeuvre since his stylistic and formal innovations that are informed by modernist practices are his tools of critique through which he revisits certain aspects of the Irish Question such as Irish nationalism, revivalism, social paralysis, and political sterility. In each of his novels, Joyce increasingly shies away from direct criticism through conventional means of dialogue and starts employing form more in order to accompany content. Through some nodal points in each of his novels, this indirect criticism—the political unconscious of the works—can be analysed/revealed: in *A Portrait*, this convergence is maintained through the form of *Künstlerroman* and epiphanies; in *Ulysses*, the multiplicity of styles and parody sustain that relationship between form and content; and lastly, the cyclical narrative and the concept of cyclical history in *Finnegans Wake* illustrate the formalization of content and the contextualization of form. In these works, each formal element—each “rhyme” so to speak—has its contextual counterpart, its “reasons.”⁶⁴

It is now possible to summarize the broad implications of this study’s argument

⁶⁴ The phrase “rhymes and reasons” is from the “Aeolus” chapter in *Ulysses* (U 7.713).

which focuses on the political importance of literary form. As Caroline Levine suggests, “[f]orms do political work in particular historical contexts” and they “reflect or respond to contemporary political conditions” (14). In Joyce’s case, his novels do political work through specific forms they employ, and these forms act as critical tools to re-evaluate certain aspects of the Irish Question and historiographic formations in general. Joyce’s literary forms are not only complemented by the content, but adopt critical lenses within themselves to comment on the content: the *Künstlerroman* form in *A Portrait* signals both Ireland’s political development and Stephen’s artistic growth under the shadow of Ireland’s tumultuous history, and epiphany acts as a catalyser in Stephen’s artistic and political maturation; the multifarious styles of *Ulysses* function as counterparts to the polyphony the content includes and the parody form critiques the content of Irish nationalism; and the concept of cyclical history in *Finnegans Wake* is reinforced by its cyclical form. “Forms matter,” in these novels, “because they shape what it is possible to think, say, and do in a given context” and that is why it is important to reveal the political unconscious—the hidden layer—of Joyce’s works that remain implicit in literary form (Levine 5).

Marxist literary critics of the 60s and 70s tended to see “literary form as an ideological artifice, a neat structuring of representation that soothes us into a false sense of order, preventing us from coming to terms with a reality that always exceeds form” (Levine 14). As the approach of “vulgar Marxist criticism” gradually left its place to more eclectic strain of criticism which favours “symptomatic readings” of works, the question of form, style, and language began to figure into literary criticism more frequently. For this strain of Marxist literary analysis, “the literary work is constituted by its embeddedness in history; it cannot be understood apart from the ways in which it is shaped and constrained by material existence” (Foley 131). According to this view, “a literary work symptomatically registers extra-literary situations and conflicts” and “ideological maneuvers [in a literary text] mediate historical contradictions that cannot be directly represented” (Foley 131-2). Literary form configures into the Marxist analysis exactly at this point since unrepresentable historical contradictions are made representable through the materiality of the form. In this way, as opposed to vulgar Marxism’s dismissal of form as “completely unreal,” “[l]iterary forms and social formations [become] equally real in their capacity to

organize materials, and equally unreal in being artificial, contingent constraints” since “sociopolitical life [...] itself [is] composed of a plurality of different forms, from narrative to marriage and from bureaucracy to racism” (Levine 14).

Joyce’s novels, in this respect, are formally and linguistically experimental not only because they are the products of the modernist era in which new forms had to be invented to convey the changing understanding of reality, but also because Joyce makes language and narrative form surpass their narrow dispositions that limit his literary imagination by relating them to the social forces of his era, which so densely occupy the pages of his works. In this way, Joyce’s works produce “imaginary resolution[s] [to] real contradiction[s]” in literary form by creating new ways of political and historical articulations and pave the way for renewed ways of thinking about politics, history, and literary form alike (Jameson, *PU* 62). Joyce’s texts, with their forms and languages as politics, generate literary pathways that expand the already intricate relationship between the text and the world.

This kind of a reading enables us to analyse Joyce’s oeuvre from an entangled standpoint that refuses reductionist and monologic outlooks of both textual and historical readings. Without textual depth, historical readings are left devoid of their literary critical value and become simple attempts to find what historical details are mentioned in the text; and without a historical reading the text becomes a mix of certain word choices that the reader finds, at times, aesthetically pleasing. To relate the two does not mean a compromise between the two because form and content are always already inseparable as the Formalists famously asserted, and form is sometimes content, and the content occasionally directs the form. As this study’s relational analysis has articulated, neither a purely formalist nor a vulgar Marxist analysis can do justice to James Joyce’s works. It is high time we abandoned the image of “Joyce the high modernist” whose obsession with elite aesthetics obscure his political and historical explorations and started scrutinising his works from a textual/formal Marxist point of view that combines his experimental narrative aesthetics and his unending intellectual and affective occupation with Ireland. It is the least we can do for a writer who once said, “[t]he demand that I make of my reader is that he should devote his whole life to reading my works” (qtd. in Ellmann, *JJ* 703).

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor Prof. Dr. Nevin Yıldırım Koyuncu for her academic guidance, support, and friendliness during the realization of this dissertation.

I am indebted to my dissertation committee, Prof. Dr. Dilek Direnç, Prof. Dr. Nilsen Gökçen Uluk, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aylin Atilla Mat, and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mahinur Akşehir, for their time, effort, constant encouragement, and valuable advice.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the scholarship I have had the opportunity to receive from The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK). I am humbly thankful to TÜBİTAK for funding not only this study but also the studies of many other researchers who are in need of financial support to advance in their careers.

I am forever grateful to my family; my mother Saime Kuşdemir and my father Cüneyt Kuşdemir who sacrificed everything for my studies, my brother Cemre Kuşdemir who has been my best friend since the day he was born, and our family cat Hera. I would not be here today as I am without your support and love. I owe you everything. Thanks for letting me read in my bed under the bedside lamp.

I also convey my warmest thanks to my colleagues at Yaşar University and Ege University, and my super fun friends Ceyda Pektaş, Uygur Başpehlivan, Efe Cengiz, and Erdost Akın without whose enjoyable chats I could not find the motivation to go on.

Most importantly, I would like to thank my partner İlker Özbilek who has always been with me, who have nurtured me academically with his critical readings of this study and by opening up new horizons of knowledge before me. I love you with all my heart and mind.

My furry thanks go to our cat friends at home, Loki and Kali, for being there with me and listening (?) to me all the time when I felt burnt out and desperate. Meow!

This dissertation is dedicated to special people whom I lost very early and whose absence I feel more and more every day: my grandfather Hidayet Özdzibay, my uncles Eray Kuşdemir and Bilgin Turanlı, my cousin İffet Özcan Şengeldi, and my brother-in-law Onur Özbilek. If only you were here to share the joy of finishing this study...

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