

QUOTIDIAN MICRO-SPECTACLES: *ULYSSES* AND FASHION

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I, PING-TA KU, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ping-ta Ku'. The signature is stylized with a large, looping 'P' and a cursive 'Ku'.

The 5th of September, 2014

Abstract

Quotidian Micro-Spectacles: Ulysses and Fashion wishes to make a contribution to Joycean studies in the research area that has been known as cultural studies. Over nearly three decades, there have been seminal works in this research area, such as Cheryl Herr's *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture*, R. Brandon Kershner's *The Culture of Joyce's Ulysses*, Garry Leonard's *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce*, and articles featured in *James Joyce Quarterly Volume 30* (Fall 1992-Summer/Fall 1993); this thesis focuses on one specific aspect of commodity culture—that is, fashion items—in *Ulysses*, believing that a *microscopic* scrutiny at the details of these fashion items would reveal how Joyce's innovative language and narrative in *Ulysses* are rooted in and interlaced with technologies that have inconspicuously yet greatly changed people's daily life during the period of time when Joyce was writing *Ulysses*. Through the microscopic gaze, this thesis identifies a colonial phenomenon that is ubiquitous amongst *Ulysses*'s mist of language-game, that is, the omnipresence of English fashion: Stephen Dedalus's adherence to mourning dress, Leopold Bloom's meticulousness about dress codes, Gerty MacDowell's obsession with dame fashion, the Circean mise-en-scène of millinery spectacles, and Molly Bloom's desire for Edwardian lingerie. Whereas many of Joyce's Dubliners demonstrate a non-serviam stance against the British Empire, they seem pretty much unconscious of the fact that they are hopelessly colonised by miscellaneous English commodities. Therefore, the ultimate aim of this thesis is to read *Ulysses* into a testimony to the modern life trapped in the global capitalism: once subaltern Dubliners become assimilated into this Anglicising spectacle, there is no way out. They cannot help but exploit themselves to be fashionable.

For my parents

Woman's character depends on things they wear.

—James Joyce

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF MICRO-SPECTACLES 10

1.1 THE CULTURAL LOGIC OF MICRO-SPECTACLES 17

1.2 LA MODERNITÉ À LA MODE 41

1.3 A THESIS MAP 66

DUBLIN DANDIES IN SECULARISING SPECTACLES 70

2.1 ‘ÉLITE. CRÊPE DE LA CRÊPE’ 76

2.2 PODOPHILIAC POLDY AND SHOES 99

2.3 ‘RELIGIONS PAY’ 110

THE VOYEURISTIC MICRO-SPECTACLE IN ‘NAUSICAA’ 111

3.1 GAZING THROUGH THE MUTOSCOPE 113

3.2 FASHIONABLE EROTICA 119

3.3 A FETISHISTIC FADEOUT 128

THE PHANTASMAGORIC FASHION SHOW IN ‘CIRCE’ 131

4.1 REVISITING ULYSSES IN NIGHTTOWN 135

4.2 RE-THEATRICALISING ‘CIRCE’ 142

4.3 PHANTASMAGORIC ‘CIRCE’ 149

4.3.i ‘PEPPER’S GHOST IDEA’ 151

4.3.ii THE FASHION SHOW IN ‘CIRCE’ 166

4.4 ‘THAT NIGHTMARE GAVE YOU A BACK KICK’ 175

MOLLY’S CORPS ÉCRIVANT BENEATH EDWARDIAN UNDIES 181

5.1 MOLLY’S ANTI-OEDIPAL LAPSUS CALAMI? 184

5.2 BLOOMING BODY WRITING 195

5.3 LINGERIE: FROM LACY TO RACY 209

THE TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS 219

BIBLIOGRAPHY 223

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1.1—‘The Dispersion of the Works of All Nations from the Great Exhibition’	10
Fig. 1.2—Advertisement for Pears’ Soap, 1890	15
Fig. 1.3—Advertisement for Pears’ Soap, 1899	17
Fig. 1.4—A comparison between the corseted silhouette and the ‘S-bend’ silhouette	41
Fig. 1.5—Advertisement for Edwardian ladies’ wigs	47
Fig. 1.6—Edwardian ladies’ gigantic hats	48
Fig. 1.7—Advertisement for Pocock Brothers	53
Fig. 3.1—The interior of the mutoscope	112
Fig. 3.2—‘Summer Fashions’ in <i>Lady’s Pictorial</i>	119
Fig. 4.1—Playbill for <i>Ulysses in Nighttown</i>	134
Fig. 4.2—A contemporary illustration of Robertson’s ‘Fantasmagorie’	161
Fig. 4.3—Lily Elsie in the <i>Merry Widow</i> hat, 1907	170
Fig. 4.4—Spirit photograph by Edouard Buguet	174
Fig. 5.1—The title page of <i>Aristotle’s Masterpiece</i>	192
Fig. 5.2—Advertisement for Warner’s Rustproof Corsets	203
Fig. 5.3—‘La Nouvelle Tentation de Saint Antoine ou le Triomphe de la Lingerie’	212

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Shih-fang Ku and Hui-yun Chou, in gratitude for their unconditional love.

NOTES ON TEXT OF ULYSSES

All quotations are taken from *Ulysses*, ed. Hans Walter Cabler with Wolfhard Steppe and Claus Melchior, afterword by Michael Groden (London: Bodley Head, 1986) and are referred to by chapter and line number within the text.

ABBREVIATIONS

Quotations from the following works are cited in the text through these abbreviations:

<i>CW</i>	Joyce, James, <i>The Critical Writings of James Joyce</i> , ed. Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann (London: Faber and Faber, 1959).
<i>D</i>	Joyce, James, <i>Dubliners: Texts, Criticism, and Notes</i> , ed. Robert Scholes and A. Walton Litz (New York: Viking, 1969).
<i>E</i>	Joyce, James, <i>Exiles: A Play in Three Acts</i> (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952).
<i>FW</i>	Joyce, James, <i>Finnegans Wake</i> (London: Faber and Faber, 1939).
<i>JJ</i>	Ellmand, Richard, <i>James Joyce</i> , 1 st edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959).
<i>JJII</i>	Ellmand, Richard, <i>James Joyce</i> , 2 nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).
<i>Letters I, II, III</i>	Joyce, James, <i>Letters of James Joyce</i> , vol. I, ed. Stuart Gilbert (London: Faber and Faber, 1957); vols. II and III, ed. Richard Ellmann (London: Faber and Faber, 1966).

CHAPTER 1

'THE CRYSTAL PALACE OF THE CREATOR':

THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF MICRO-SPECTACLES

[...] A specially prepared or arranged display of a more or less public nature (esp. one on a large scale), forming an impressive or interesting show or entertainment for those viewing it.

[...] A sight, show, or exhibition of a specified character or description.

[...] A means of seeing; something made of glass; a window or mirror. *Obs.*

—OED, 'spectacle, *n.*'

[...] Of the nature of a spectacle or show; striking or imposing as a display.

[...] *absol.* That which appeals to the eye.

[...] Pertaining to, characteristic of, spectacles or shows.

[...] Addicted to, fond of, spectacles.

[...] As *n.* A spectacular display; also *spec.* A radio or television programme, entertainment, etc., produced on a lavish or spectacular scale.

—OED, 'spectacular, *adj.* and *n.*'

[...] 1862 *Catal. Internat. Exhib., Brit.* II. No. 2899, Concave, convex, and meniscus spectacle lenses.

—OED, 'spectacle lens, *n.*'

According to the definition of *spectacle* in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *Ulysses* is begotten through the *spectacle*: James Joyce with his poor eyesight had been writing *Ulysses* with the aid of a pair of *spectacles*, here meaning, obviously, a pair of corrective lenses that helped Joyce to fight against his eyesight-dimming myopia and iritis. In other words, *Ulysses* was born through the midwifery of Joyce's *spectacle*, here meaning, in its obsolete definition, *a means of seeing* and *something made of glass*. When referring to *spectacles* as eyeglasses, the *OED* lists a series of citations under the entry of *a pair of spectacles* dating back to 1423: 'De xxs receptis pro pare de spectakeles de argento et deaurato'; 'A peyre spectaclys of syluir and ouyr gylt'; 'as a paire of spectacles shold stand a blinde freer'; et cetera.

Despite their long history, spectacles remain an object that attracts the industrialised world. Even though the *OED* only quotes passages from the catalogue

of the International Exhibition of 1862 when tracing the phrase ‘spectacle lens’, the *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue* of the Great Exhibition of 1851—a collection of four gigantic volumes that preserves a *spectacular* event which highlights and celebrates industrial inventions—actually leaves some considerable textual space for those newly-invented pairs of spectacles:

273 BAYLEY, ROBERT, 18 Half Moon Crescent, White Conduit House—Manufacturer. Gold and steel spectacles. [. . .] 276 CLARK, F., 13 Park Side, Knightsbridge—Inventor and Manufacturer. Newly-invented adjusting spectacles and opera glasses. [. . .] 290 ROWLEY, J., Wolverhampton—Manufacturer. Front of a pair of spectacles worked out of a solid piece of cast-steel. Improved spectacles, the sides being so formed that they may be used without being placed upon the head; they also include Braham’s patent. Pair of spectacles, with several improvements. Spectacles, exhibited for their extreme lightness, worked out of best cast-steel; weight, 2 pennyweights. Globular glass travelling spectacles. Wire-gauze eye-preserving spectacles. Horse-shoe eye-preserving travelling spectacles. Another pair (finer). Small oval eye spectacle, preserver glasses. A similar pair, oblong. Small octagon eye spectacles. Folding hand-spectacle.¹

The long list of eye-preserving spectacles in the catalogue (as well as the wordplay on *spectacle*) may seem redundant, but such redundancy creates an effect that resembles fractured reflections multiplying in mirrors: a kaleidoscopic effect of micro-spectacle (here meaning *a specially arranged display*). In this last sense, *spectacle* becomes a keyword of the post-Great-Exhibition capitalist world.² Samuel Warren, a British lawyer, novelist and Member of Parliament, vividly captured the magic power of the spectacle: ‘Who can describe that astounding spectacle? Lost in a sense of what it is, who can think what it is like? Philosopher and poet are alike agitated, and silent’.³ If the spectacle, as had been depicted by Samuel Warren, is what deprives spectators of their capacities for reasoning and language, the power relation between the spectacle/commodity and spectators/consumers is unequal, because the advertising discourses and catalogues built around commodities (in our

¹ Robert Ellis (ed.), *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue: Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851. Vol. 1* (London: Spicer Brothers & W. Clowes and Sons, 1851), 438-39.

² Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (London: Verso, 1991).

³ Samuel Warren, *The Lily and the Bee: An Apologue of the Crystal Palace* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851), 23.

case, pairs of spectacles) are so dazzlingly excessive that they themselves become spectacular. The advertised spectacle transforms the mundane quotidian objects into alluring commodities: even pairs of spectacles would become part of *the* spectacle in the Crystal Palace. Horace Greeley verbalised this transformation when visiting the Crystal Palace: ‘this strange mingling of the real with the shadowy, the apposite with the obsolete, gave additional piquancy and zest to the spectacle’.⁴ This very new capitalist *spectacle*, which has been redefined by the Great Exhibition, now connotes a magnificent commodifying power that blurs such binaries as need and want, high art and mass culture, authenticity and reproduction: it emits the artificial aura that not merely illuminates those manufactured kitschy objects which have lost the genuine aura of art, but also bewitches would-be consumers to *want* these commodities that they don’t really *want for*. Such a creation of *want* (which denotes both *desire* and *lack*), argue Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari twelve decades after the Great Exhibition, is the greatest capitalist conspiracy: ‘Lack (*manque*)* is created, planned, and organized in and through social production. [. . .] The deliberate creation of lack as a function of market economy is the art of a dominant class’.⁵ It is in this sense that the Great Exhibition of 1851 has been regarded by many as the monumental event that marks the starting point of modern commodity cultures, for Victorian spectators were, for the first time, engulfed in a phantasmagoria of fantastic objects whose existence went beyond their wildest imagination.

An illustration entitled ‘The Dispersion of the Works of All Nations from the Great Exhibition of 1851’ by Victorian caricaturist George Cruikshank may serve as an intriguing metaphor (Fig. 1.1). In Cruikshank’s wood-engraved illustration, the Crystal Place is literally a geographical point of departure and resembles Pandora’s box from which floods of humanoid commodities flee; from thence, innocence has been lost and the world becomes haunted by the spectres of commodities. This illustration reveals its uncanniness when it is juxtaposed with Marx’s famous wooden table that ‘not only stands with its feet on the ground, but, in relation to all other commodities, [stands] on its head, and evolves out of its wooden brain grotesque

⁴ Horace Greeley, *The Crystal Palace and Its Lessons: A Lecture* (Harvard: Private copy at Harvard Widener Library, 1852), 7.

⁵ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 28.



Fig. 1.1—‘The Dispersion of the Works of All Nations from the Great Exhibition of 1851’ by George Cruikshank.

ideas, far more wonderful than if it were to begin dancing of its free will’.⁶ It is no mere coincidence that both Cruikshank and Marx perceive commodities as something spectral, for *spectre* and *spectacle* often pop up into one’s mind simultaneously, and a gothic scene in *Ulysses* perfectly illustrates the affinity between these two words.

When Stephen thinks of his late mother’s ‘secrets’ in ‘Telemachus’, he recollects miscellaneous kitschy tiny things she used to own and a pantomime she had been to: ‘old featherfans, tasselled dancecards, powdered with musk, a gaud of amber beads in her locked drawer. A birdcage hung in the sunny window of her house when she was a girl. She heard old Royce sing in the pantomime of *Turko the Terrible* and laughed with others’ (*U* 1.255-58). Stephen’s mother, Mary Goulding Dedalus, has now been ‘[f]olded away in the memory of nature with her toys’ (*U* 1.265), as if her life were an accumulation of these mass-produced toys, as if she were defined by what she bought. Stephen’s recollection of his mother’s spectatorship in the pantomime foreshadows another recurrent theme throughout *Ulysses*: the theatrical

⁶ Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (1867), trans. Ben Fowkes. Vol. 1 (New York: Penguin, 1976), 163-64.

spectacle. Stephen's remembrance of his dead mother and her 'muskperfumed phantasmal mirth' oozes an uncanny ambience (*U* 1.263), from which Shari Benstock tries to summon Mary Dedalus's ghost that causes 'Stephen's artistic paralysis on this day'.⁷ Benstock's reading of *Ulysses* as a ghost-story introduces the *spectre*, whose word-form looks much similar to—but isn't etymologically identical with—the *spectacle*.⁸ In terms of etymology, both spectacle and spectre are related to the action *to see*, but they leave totally different impacts on spectators: the former is highly visible while the latter is barely seen (if not completely invisible). 'Telemachus' illustrates a scene where Stephen, in a trance, meets his dead mother at her bedside when a 'cloud began to cover the sun slowly, wholly, shadowing the bay in deeper green' (*U* 1.248-49), and there Mary Dedalus's spectre reminds Stephen of the spectacular pantomime of *Turko the Terrible*. In this very scene, the spectre, the spectacle, and the spectator become to merge, as Stephen identifies himself with the spectral boy who 'can enjoy/Invisibility' in a spectacle that is summoned up from his memory when the spectre of Mary Dedalus returns (*U* 1.261-62), and such remembrance is similar to photographic processing that transforms the latent image of Mary Dedalus's spectre into a haunting visible image: 'Ghostly light on the tortured face' in yet another spectral spectacle (*U* 1.274-75).

As an encyclopaedic novel that encapsulates infinite details in one single day, *Ulysses* resembles a (Foucauldian) archaeological stratum upon which an eternal day in a colonial capital becomes fossilised and this stratum exhibits a post-Great-Exhibition world where advertised spectacles have permeated every minute aspect of daily life (and even death). If *Ulysses* is to be approached as a stratum where the traces of Dublin in 1904 become fossilised in the form of documented statements, a historical relic would be excavated from Joyce's fictional statement on Stephen's recollection of his dead mother: the pantomime of *Turko the Terrible* was the Gaiety

⁷ Shari Benstock, "'Ulysses" as Ghoststory', *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 12 (1975): 396-413 (401).

⁸ According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *spectre* originates from Latin *spectrum*, while *spectacle* originates from Latin *spectaculum*. However, *spectaculum* and *spectrum* contain respectively the following infinitives *spectare* (to look) and *spectere* (to look), which are mutually frequentative.

Theatre's much-loved production and many fin-de-siècle Dubliners' shared memory.⁹ In its issue on the 26th of December 1873, the *Irish Times* had a detailed report on the gala night of *Turko* and revealed its plot:

For the first time since the erection of the Gaiety Theatre a Christmas Pantomime was produced within its walls on Wednesday evening. [. . .] Mr Royce [. . .] has proved himself a most competent stage manager, and it is only justice to him to state the highly satisfactory inauguration of Wednesday night was due in measure to his excellent direction and indomitable perseverance. [. . .] The plot of 'Turko the Terrible' is laid in two kingdoms—one governed by King Buonocore (Mr Percival) [. . .] and the other by Turko the Terrible (Mr E W Royce). [. . .] King Turco [*sic*] [. . .] is about to invade King Buonocore's dominions. [. . .] And here we have evidence of Mr Royce's great ability, as well as his originality.¹⁰

Apart from Royce's fantastic performance, what made *Turko the Terrible* a great sensation was the magical effect of performers' sudden disappearance from the stage: 'On smelling [a white magic rose] the holder of it becomes invisible, and by a similar operation in connection with [a red magic rose] the person smelling it is once more brought into view'.¹¹ This report in the *Irish Times* is a valuable document that puts the missing pieces back into the incomplete jigsaw puzzle of the pantomime. *Turko the Terrible* is more than Stephen's vague memory of a song that triggers his own desire to become invisible;¹² it is a flamboyant spectacle that features the dazzling visual effect of making its performers disappear and re-appear at will. The investigation into Stephen's allusion to *Turko the Terrible* manifests how the *spectral* effect became to occupy the down-stage at the turn of the century, and how such a new wave might have not merely conditioned Joyce's perception of the world but

⁹ See Don Gifford and Robert J. Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated: Notes for James Joyce's Ulysses* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 18: 'Turko the Terrible—(1873) A pantomime by the Irish author-editor Edwin Hamilton (1849-1919), adapted from William Brough's (1826-70) London pantomime *Turko the Terrible; or, The Fairy Roses* (1868). Hamilton's version was an instant success at the Gaiety Theatre in Dublin during Christmas week 1873. It was repeatedly updated and revived in the closing decades of the century. Its frame was essentially a world of fairy-tale metamorphoses and transformations—as King Turko (Royce) and his court enjoyed the magic potential of the Fairy Rose'.

¹⁰ 'Gaiety Theatre: Christmas Pantomime', in *The Irish Times and Daily Advertiser* (Dublin: The Irish Times, 3.

¹¹ Ibid.3.

¹² See Fritz Senn, 'Invisible Strandentwining', *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 31 (1994): 101-03.

also driven him to forge a new structure of language to depict the new spectacular world that hadn't been tamed by the old order of words. Naming is taming.

The trajectory of thought (Joyce's *spectacles* → the advertised *spectacle* of the Great Exhibition → the *spectres* within *Ulysses*'s theatrical *spectacle*) reveals that variant aspects of spectacle(s) are interwoven to transform how the world would come to look like: the late-Victorian theatrical spectacle and its special effects provided advertisers with a representational model to exhibit commodities in an unforeseen phantasmagoric display, while commodities were also embedded in theatrical spectacles and cast their spell upon consumer-spectators. Despite the fact that the Great Exhibition of 1851 is an event quite removed from Bloomsday, the mid-nineteenth century is a crucial phase during which the modern world-view anticipating Joyce's *Ulysses* was gradually fashioned. In *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, Thomas Richards argues that the Great Exhibition of 1851 was the culmination of the Victorian public's rising fascination with theatrical special effects:

In the late Victorian theater the stage manager became a technician whose job it was to create what we now call 'special effect'. The primary result of these effects was to institute a continual escalation of representation. [. . .] Indeed, one reason Prince Albert's idea for a Great Exhibition was so well received is that by the late 1840's the escalation of spectacle had gotten so out of hand that it was evident nothing short of a massive collective effort could possibly come close to satisfying the well-nigh universal public craving for monster displays of special effects.¹³

Richards implies that the modern advertised spectacle has its root in the late-Victorian theatre, and such an implication encourages us to scrutinise the relics of Dublin's spectacular scenes that spin around the year of 1904 and permeate *Ulysses*'s dazzling representation; *spectacle* is the joint which brings together various elements in my project, whereas it is also the *punctum* on which my scrutiny is fixated. *Ulysses* seems to be the epitome of *spectacle* in every possible sense of the word; if *Ulysses* is composed of numerous trace fossils which record Dubliners' quotidian life in the twilight zone between Victorian and Edwardian eras and in transition from a

¹³ Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, 56-57.

colonised state towards independence, then each piece of these trace fossils reveals how the *Ulyssean* everyday has fallen prey to the logic of the spectacle: Bloom the canvasser is obsessed with advertised spectacles and sometimes sees through the prosthetic eyes of optical gadgets; Bloom and Stephen's hallucination in 'Circe' embodies a spectacular *mise-en-scène* of commodities and costumes; Molly, in her lingerie, literally makes a spectacle of herself in a hazy state of mind. Joyce's Dubliners think of spectacles, see through spectacles and dream about spectacles.

Since *Ulysses* captures the burgeoning phenomenon that spectacles gradually gain dominance over quotidian life by decreasing to the degree of inconspicuous ubiquity, this chapter will anatomise how spectacles become *micro*-spectacles (1.1) and, more importantly, how these micro-spectacles become associated with fashion (1.2). This project reads *Ulysses* from the perspective of sartorial micro-spectacles, because fashion (*la mode*) is intrinsic to modernity not only etymologically but epistemologically.

1.1 THE CULTURAL LOGIC OF MICRO-SPECTACLES

The coinage of *micro-spectacle* may be oxymoronic, as *spectacle* is connotatively large-scale, but it goes perfectly with the tiny objects this thesis is going to inspect (for instance, shoes, mutoscope frames, lingerie, et cetera). Since fetishism is the hegemonic logic of consumer economy, even if such myopic scrutinies may sacrifice a more panoramic point of view, I believe that various answers to the fundamental questions of *Ulysses* are buried within details. More importantly, by coining the phrase *micro-spectacle*, I aim to highlight and echo Richards's statement that '[i]n the course of the late nineteenth century spectacle became an economy of small things completely embedded in the minutiae of everyday life'.¹⁴ Victorians' fascination with small things is best exemplified by the historical fact that the Crystal Palace was built to exalt gigantic machines yet spectators' attention were drawn to those relatively tiny manufactured objects.

Intriguingly, *Ulysses* seems to correspond to this very *zeitgeist* of worshipping small things and surplus. On the one hand, *Ulysses* in its entirety puts on an exhibition where its textual machine functions in a manner true to the Linati/Gilbert

¹⁴ Ibid., 257.



Fig. 1.2—An 1890 black and white advertisement for Pears' Soap, reproduced from *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*.

schemata and produces a surplus of styles and details; the schemata, which Joyce intended to keep secret from readers, resemble an interior organic system that assimilates excessive raw materials and then excretes the mysterious constellations of trivial events whose similarities to their Odyssean models exist solely in minutiae. On the other hand, when scrutinising *Ulysses*, we find that Joyce not merely plays with taxonomy but also creates various extended catalogues. Taxonomy is the science of classification that manages to arrange the flood of things and puts them into the right place, whereas the catalogues produced by taxonomists, in Joyce's own words, 'originat[e] in and [repeat] to infinity' (*U* 17.2130-31). Catalogues themselves become the very signs of surplus, and, as the infinity of lists in the *Official Descriptives* shows, the catalogues of the Great Exhibition of 1851 becomes a textual monument of the spectacular event which, in Richards's words, 'helped to create the sense of surplus that it is so often cited as evidence for' and 'palpably embodied the

vehement hope that one day there would no longer be not enough, but too much, and too much for everyone'.¹⁵ More explicitly speaking, the Great Exhibition and its catalogues are equally spectacular, yet the latter, being the textual representation of the former, further conceptualises the spectacle as, in Richards's terms, 'the autonomous iconography of the manufactured object, the replacement of history by commemoration, the invention of a democratic ethos for consumerism, the constitution of a manageable consuming subject, a reshaping of language, a mythology of abundance'.¹⁶

Entries in *Official Descriptives* demonstrate that the surplus was composed of many tiny objects which may have become banal from our perspective yet were nothing less than micro-spectacles to Victorian spectators. Among these inconspicuous tiny objects, one of the most pertinent to my discussion of *Ulysses* may be Pears' Soap (Fig. 1.2), which was in fact awarded a prize medal in the Great Exhibition. In 'Lotus Eaters', Bloom weaves the slogan—'Good morning, have you used Pears' soap?' (*U* 5.524-25)—into his thought so seamlessly that it seems autogenetic within his own consciousness. To fully elucidate the significance behind the intrusion of Pears' soap into Bloom's mind, I am resorting to Anne McClintock's 'Soft-Soaping Empire', which offers a fascinating point of view in a colonial context. McClintock argues that '[s]oap entered the realm of Victorian fetishism with spectacular effect, notwithstanding the fact that male Victorians promoted soap as the icon of nonfetishistic rationality'.¹⁷ At the turn of the century, a soap was much more than a banal bar made of curd and sodium hydroxide; rather, it was part of the 'cleaning rituals' that were 'peddled globally as the God-given sign of Britain's evolutionary superiority'.¹⁸ As a canvasser, Bloom is supposed to be versed in his contemporary advertising discourse and its socioeconomic overtone, whereas his conscious mind chooses to quote a hearty line rather than those which are more politically provocative. In Bloom's train of thought, the slogan actually functions as an unvoiced interrogation—'Good morning, Bantam Lyons, have you used Pears'

¹⁵ Ibid., 29.

¹⁶ Ibid., 251.

¹⁷ Anne McClintock, 'Soft-Soaping Empire: Commodity Racism and Imperial Advertising', in *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995), 208.

¹⁸ Ibid. 207.

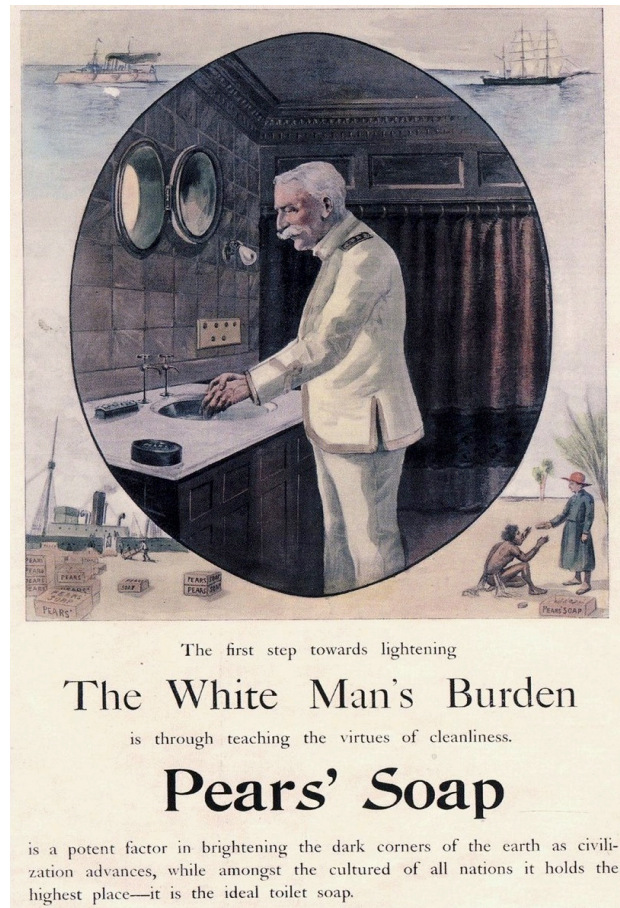


Fig. 1.3—Advertisement for Pears' Soap, reproduced from *McClure's Magazine* (1899).

soap?’—for he feels irritated by Lyons’s ‘yellow blacknailed fingers’ (*U* 5.523) and ‘[d]andruff on his shoulders’ (*U* 5.525).

While Bloom doesn’t make any explicit connection between Lyon’s personal hygiene and his social status, campaigns for Pears’ Soap apparently did. In an advertisement for Pears’ Soap that came out during the Anglo-Boer War, the brand not merely fashioned a strong bond between its commodity image and civilised upper-middle class gentlemen, but also outrageously demonstrated the imperial ideology which McClintock calls ‘commodity racism’.¹⁹

The first step towards lightening THE WHITE MAN’S BURDEN is through teaching the virtues of cleanliness. PEARS’ SOAP is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as civilization

¹⁹ See *Ibid.* 33: ‘Commodity racism—in the specifically Victorian forms of advertising and photography, the imperial Expositions and the museum movement—converted the narrative of imperial Progress into mass-produced *consumer spectacles*’.

advances, while amongst the cultured of all nations it holds the highest place—it is the ideal toilet soap.²⁰

As can be seen (Fig. 1.3), the advertising spectacle juxtaposes two spheres within one frame: the porthole-shaped image of an admiral washing his hands with Pears' Soap is inlaid within the heart of a panoptic picture of global commerce. At the bottom right corner of the picture is a kneeling indigene who receives Pears' Soap with a quasi-religious posture, as if the commodity were a God-sent miracle. In other words, what Pears' Soap sells is much more than bars of curd. It sells the ideology of England: to use Pears' Soap is to be hygienic, and, therefore, to be civilised and English.²¹ Since Pears' Soap exploits imperial capitalism and racist theory to construct its own brand image, Bloom's anti-imperialist stance seems to be incongruous with his belief in the advertised superiority of cleanliness. Indeed, Bloom may be pardoned for his endorsement of a commodity which violates his political belief, because what comes to his mind when he thinks of Pears' Soap is 'Good morning, have you used Pears' Soap?', rather than 'PEARS' SOAP is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as civilization advances'. However, such an excuse would betray the very fraudulent nature of advertising: each consumer either chooses or is forced to see a fragment of an abstracted commodity image which very often conceals the reality. I regard this case as an early manifestation of a degrading society that Guy Debord would later call 'the society of the spectacle'.

Debord, by publishing *La Société du spectacle* in 1967, aims to declare the arrival of a new era. In this new era, social phenomena can no longer be explained by the Marxian relations of production, and the society becomes an accumulation of representations. The very first thesis of *Society of the Spectacle* depicts a sci-fi-ish scenario: 'The entire life of society in which modern conditions of production reign announces itself as an immense accumulation of *spectacles*. Everything that was

²⁰ 'Advertisement', *McClure's Magazine*, vol. 13 (1899), unpagged.

²¹ E. S. Turner, *The Shocking History of Advertising!* (London: Michael Joseph, 1952), 148: 'Cynics laughed at the strenuous competition between the soap kings. It was impossible (they said) to persuade the public to use more soap; the Englishman's passion for washing himself was already an international joke'.

directly lived has moved away into a representation'.²² It may appear problematic to regard turn-of-the-century advertising spectacles and Debord's concept of the spectacle as equivalent, and Thomas Richards—despite resorting to the latter to understand the former in his study of Victorian commodity culture—does draw a distinction between the two: 'Late-Victorian advertisers created a dominant form of specifically capitalist representation that [. . .] left other forms of representation intact', whereas 'by 1967 Guy Debord believed that there was no room left for anything else'.²³ With that being said, the distinction between the two indicates rather a smooth variation than a total rupture; more radically speaking, the distinction can be even vaguer to the extent that it simply doesn't exist, as Debord's claim is nothing short of a hyperbole. Even if Debordian spectacles, as representational technologies advance, gradually evolve into what Jean Baudrillard flamboyantly calls 'simulacra', they are nonetheless 'grounded in real things made by real workers, advertised by real advertisers, and consumed by real consumers'.²⁴

My juxtapositional reading of the advertisements for Pears' Soap and Debord's concept of the spectacle is deeply indebted to Richards's projects. By reiterating how he applies the Debordian concept of the spectacle to interpreting Victorian commodity culture, I wish to reveal the subtle implication held within Richards's anachronistic (or, if you prefer it, metahistorical) reading. I call it anachronistic, not only because the object of Debord's analysis is France in the 1960s, but also because *La Société du spectacle* serves as a theoretical supplement to the second phase of the 'Situationist International' movement advocated by him. The concept of the spectacle was designed by Debord to critique his contemporary French society which had been taken over by commodity fetishism and spectacular representation. The spectacle, more than a theoretical nicety, is Debord's response to the post-war French society that was economically prosperous yet overcast with the shadows of unemployment and labour-exploitation. Fredric Jameson, in *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, also refers to Debord's concept of the spectacle multiple times and regards it as highly relevant to 'contemporary society, to the media, to

²² Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, trans. Fredy Perlman and Jon Supak (Detroit: Black and Red, 1970), thesis 1.

²³ Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, 255-56.

²⁴ Ibid., 15.

Postmodernism itself'.²⁵ According to Jameson, the spectacle is the omnipresent manifestation of the postmodern (or postindustrial/consumer/media/information/electronic/hi-tech) society: 'the culture of the simulacrum comes to life in a society where exchange value has been generalized to the point at which the very memory of use value is effaced, a society [. . .] in [which] "the image has become the final form of commodity reification"'.²⁶ Jameson's aligning the spectacle with the postmodern brings up the very question I intend to raise, that is: does Richards's (and my) appropriation of the spectacle insinuate a possibility that the postmodern condition has revealed its early symptoms at the turn of the century? Or rather: may the postmodern condition be a complication or a sequel of the late-Victorian/Edwardian condition? And, if that is the case, does *Ulysses*—the epitome of high modernism—contain fragments of turn-of-the-century quotidian scenes that anticipate what we call the postmodern condition?

Jameson's answers to these questions, it seems, would be negative. From his perspective, those who regard 'such astonishing genealogical precursors as Gertrude Stein, Raymond Roussel, or Marcel Duchamp' as 'outright postmodernists, *avant la lettre*', fail to remark 'the social position of the older modernism' and 'its passionate repudiation by an older Victorian and post-Victorian bourgeoisie for whom its forms and ethos are being variously ugly, dissonant, obscure, scandalous, immoral, subversive, and generally "antisocial"'.²⁷ In other words, Jameson rejects any suggestion that postmodernism should be construed as merely another stage of modernism or post-Victorianism, and insists that postmodernism must be understood as 'a cultural dominant' rather than as 'a style'.²⁸ In defence of the necessity of positing a rupture between the postmodern phase of capitalism and its preceding stages, he argues that the decisive difference between the modern and the postmodern resides not in that postmodern art forms take a total departure from high modernism, but in that the previously stigmatised and unprofitable art forms have become institutionalised and incorporated into the capitalist system of commodity production. For instance, '[n]ot only are Picasso and Joyce no longer ugly', opines

²⁵ Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 236.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

Jameson, ‘they now strike us, on the whole, as rather “realistic”’.²⁹ Indeed, Jameson’s insistence on separating the postmodern from the modern has much to do with his project to renew and revise Marx’s dialectical materialism, which is ‘a language and conceptuality invented for the first industrial age of Victorian society’.³⁰ Jameson is well aware of the legitimacy issue of his Marxist approach and therefore raises the most fundamental question as follows: ‘why return to Marx, and above all why return to this particular nineteenth-century text called *Capital*?’.³¹ As the advocate of Marxism, he defends its *raison d’être* by arguing that ‘[a]ny creative reading of *Capital* today is a translation process, whereby a language and a conceptuality invented for the first industrial age of Victorian society is transcoded by remaining faithful to its “original” construction’.³² What Jameson’s argument implies is tricky: *Capital*—Marx’s magnum opus and critique of the Victorian condition—is still more than pertinent to our *postmodern* (let’s use the term for the time being) era, even if the critique itself is the product of the postmodern’s dialectical other. Even more intriguingly, despite his insistence on separating the postmodern from the modern and his definition of the spectacle as the dominant phenomenon of the postmodern/late-capitalist commodity culture, Jameson, in ‘*Ulysses in History*’, cannot resist the temptation to analogise Bloom’s ‘final meditations’ (*U* 17.1769) on ‘some one sole unique advertisement to cause passers to stop in wonder’ (*U* 17.1770) to Debord’s concept of the spectacle. ‘The visual, the spatially visible, the image’, Jameson argues, ‘is, as Guy Debord has observed, the final form of the commodity itself, the ultimate terminus of reification’.³³

On the one hand, even if Jameson’s inconsistency between his alignment of the spectacle with the postmodern and his identification of Bloom’s meditations with the spectacle can be seen as a micro-glitch that won’t undo his macro-discourse, the glitch itself still needs to be fixed. On the other hand, such an inconsistency may hint at the need for a more radical reevaluation and rewriting of Jameson’s postmodern historiography. As far as the first option is concerned, there is no total rupture

²⁹ Ibid., 4.

³⁰ Fredric Jameson, *Representing Capital: A Commentary on Volume One* (London: Verso, 2011), 9.

³¹ Ibid., 9.

³² Ibid., 9.

³³ Fredric Jameson, ‘*Ulysses in History*’, in *The Modernist Papers* (London: Verso, 2007), 146.

between the Debordian spectacle and the advertisements that occupy Bloom's nocturnal mind in 1904; that is to say, the former is not as *postmodern* as Jameson has argued. The Victorian manifestation of the spectacle, as is depicted by Samuel Warren and Horace Greeley (two Crystal Palace visitors who have made their appearance earlier in this chapter), has already revealed its overwhelming wizardry that deprives spectators of their capability to tell the difference between reality and its shadow. By the same token, the second option also proposes a remapping of the relation between the Victorian and the postmodern, in the sense that Jameson's critique of the postmodern is, to a great extent, based on Marx, whose observation on capitalism is derived from a Victorian point of view. In *Victorian Afterlife: Postmodern Culture Rewrites the Nineteenth Century*, such a remapping effort has been made, and the Jamesonian term *postmodern* is boldly replaced by 'post-Victorian':

Whereas, Jameson maintains, the modernists appropriated the Victorian past to criticize cultural commodification, postmodernism fashions commodities that make the process of consumption glamorous and pleasurable. In this formulation, however, the term *postmodern* itself overvalues the (very real) ideological and aesthetic tensions between the contemporary and modern periods. Given the centrality of historical emergence that contemporary culture locates in the nineteenth century [...] aspects of late-century postmodernism could more appropriately be called 'post-Victorian', a term that conveys the paradoxes of historical continuity and disruption.³⁴

I have taken pains to replace the *postmodern* with the *post-Victorian*, because my project is focused on rereading *Ulysses* as a post-Victorian novel. The term post-Victorian, as *Victorian Afterlife* suggests, simultaneously connotes historical continuity and disruption, and therefore goes perfectly with *Ulysses*, a novel which heavily alludes to Victorian culture yet violently distorts the Victorian norm of perceiving things. Such a paradoxical duality also indicates the impossibility of separating the Edwardian era from the Victorian era, especially from the perspective of commodity culture, for many Victorian inventions and fashions kept on flourishing and blossoming after Edward VII inherited the throne. Therefore, the fact

³⁴ John Kucich and Dianne F. Sadoff (eds.), *Victorian Afterlife: Postmodern Culture Rewrites the Nineteenth Century* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), xiii.

that *Victorian* and *Edwardian* are at times juxtaposed in this thesis doesn't signal a chronological confusion, but rather reinforces an inseparability between them. On a surface level, the claim that *Ulysses* is a post-Victorian novel can be understood literally, as Bloomsday unfolds itself three years after Queen Victoria's death on the 22nd of January 1901. Moreover, by terming *Ulysses* post-Victorian, I intend to stress more on the historical continuity connoted by the term than on the historical fracture: *Ulysses* is still relevant to us, because we are still living in the post-Victorian condition that has been documented by Joyce's masterpiece in exhaustive detail. If the postmodern condition can be seen as a complication or a sequela of the late-Victorian/Edwardian condition, does *Ulysses*—the epitome of high modernism—contain fragments of quotidian scenes at the turn of the century that anticipate what we call the postmodern condition? Unlike Jameson's negative answer, mine is a resonant 'yes'. By investigating those micro-spectacles in *Ulysses*, we will see many emerging symptoms that not merely keep haunting our time but continue to worsen.

Textual facts speak for themselves. Case No. 1: in 'Eumaeus', Bloom thinks of the emerging toxic food crisis and the increasing popularity of so-called healthy food:

Sulphate of copper poison SO_4 or something in some dried peas he remembered reading of in a cheap eatinghouse somewhere but he couldn't remember when it was or where. Anyhow inspection, medical inspection, of all eatables seemed to him more than ever necessary which possibly accounted for the vogue of Dr Tibble's Vi-Cocoa on account of the medical analysis involved (*U* 16.801-6).

Case No. 2: in 'Penelope', Molly thinks of 'the face lotion' that 'made [her] skin like new' (*U* 18.458-59). Both cases vividly captures the scenarios in which commodities reshape minute aspects of everyday life. The first case demonstrates how food processing industries used the poisonous colouring agent CuSO_4 to make dried peas greener,³⁵ and how the pharmaceutical industry transformed such patent medicine as Dr Tibble's Vi-Cocoa into a gold mine by manipulating consumers' anxiety about toxic food. In the second case, advertisements for cosmetics have brainwashed Molly and made her increasingly dependent on the face lotion that not necessarily

³⁵ See Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 545: 'Bloom's chemistry is shaky; copper sulfate is CuSO_4 ; SO_4 would be hopelessly unstable'.

rejuvenates her skin. *Ulysses* reveals that, long before Debord's *La Société du spectacle* that came out in 1967, Dubliners' everyday life had already been reshaped by miscellaneous micro-spectacles. If the Debordian spectacle signifies a 'concrete inversion of life' and the substitution of reality with 'a pseudo-world' of virtual images,³⁶ the cupric sulphate dye applied to dried peas and Molly's lotion have already manifested the dominance of the spectacle: gourmands desire the artificial greenness that is chemically synthesised by food processing industries, and Molly desires a fictional state of youthfulness that is advertised by cosmetics manufacturers. Capitalism has created a mythical Victorian world where the appearances of peas replace their nutritious values and the commodity image of the face lotion conceals the fact that ageing is an irreversible process, yet consumers are more than willing to purchase these fake commodity images that have no use value at all. In other words, what Debord would call *the spectacle* came into being way before the mid-twentieth century, and he hasn't even endowed the old word with a new meaning. If we could pay enough attention to textual traces like these, we would realise that Joyce has documented the burgeoning presence of the spectacle and its pervasion into Dubliners' porous everyday life.

Such efforts to probe into Victorian cultural traces in *Ulysses* (as well as Joyce's other works) have been made by Joyce critics, and the genealogy can be traced back to Cheryl Herr's *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture* (1986), a seminal monograph that reads Joyce's works as what Cesare Segre has called 'texts of the culture',³⁷ and provides a 'survey of journalistic, theatrical and homiletic forms in Joyce's day'.³⁸ Each of these three institutions named by Herr has an intimate connection with the spectacle. On the one hand, the press, which Joyce parodies in 'Aeolus', is a gigantic vehicle that generates and transmits ideologies, political propaganda and commercials. On the other hand, the theatre and the pulpit, being the public arenas where performances (either secular or sacred) are produced, are similar to but even more powerful than the press. The commercial theatre, disguising itself as a form of harmless entertainments, actually provides a perfect locus for British productions to attract indigenous Dubliners, whose hopeless susceptibility to such a cultural invasion

³⁶ Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, thesis 2.

³⁷ Cheryl Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 8.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

results both *from* and *in* their stifled and retarded local cultural industries. As an agency moulding the ideology of the masses, the pulpit of the Catholic Church was often accused of complicity in the imperialistic control; still, even though sermons were much ridiculed and parodied by the commercial theatre, the latter ironically smuggled the latter into larger and secular auditoria. Following Herr's path, R. Brandon Kershner's *Joyce, Bakhtin, and Popular Culture* (1989) investigate yet another facet of burgeoning Victorian mass culture: popular literature. Kershner applies such Bakhtinian theoretical apparatuses as the concepts of heteroglossia and dialogism to his reading of Joyce's earlier works (*Dubliners*, *Stephen Hero*, *Portrait*, and *Exiles*), and meticulously traces how Joyce has woven multiple sources of popular literature into his fiction writing. By deconstructing the literary category of the canon and acknowledging the influence that obscure popular literature has cast on Joyce's works, Kershner invites us to question the legitimacy of the arbitrary distinction between elite and popular literature. In a similar vein to Kershner's project, Jennifer Wicke's *Advertising Fictions: Literature, Advertisement, and Social Reading* (1988) focuses on the dialectical relationship between literature and advertising, which, according to Wicke, can be divided into three developing phases. The prominent figure of the first phase is Charles Dickens, 'the first capitalist of literature', whose writing career records the rising momentum of the advertising industry and its progressive encroachment upon his novels. In the second phase, Henry James enacts a losing battle that literature was fighting against advertisements. In the final phase, Joyce shows a total fusion of advertisements and novels. Following the thread of Wicke, Gerry Leonard's *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce* (1998) scrutinises advertisements' presence in Joyce's works. Leonard seems to take a stance that is more adjacent to the Birmingham School than to the Frankfurt School on the issue of mass culture, because he sees within commodity culture a possibility that consumers like Gerty MacDowell, by becoming fully versed in the logic of the advertising discourse, enable themselves to manipulate the action of consumption as a means to increase the value of their own commodified bodies. Leonard's attitude to commodity culture is indeed ambiguous and, to a certain degree, complicit with the logic of capitalism, especially when it is compared with the Frankfurt School's outspoken hostility to all industries that are connected with

mass culture. For instance, Leonard's argument that Gerty is paradoxically empowered by her total immersion in commodity culture apparently contradicts Adorno and Horkheimer's evaluation of the cultural industry: In *Dialect of Enlightenment*, Adorno and Horkheimer regard the 'culture industry' (a term that is intrinsically derogative) as an ideology-controlling system that legitimises all waste materials it generates, paralyses the general public's reasoning capacity by means of its mass-produced and globally-distributed trash, and thus turns the masses into a homogeneous group of what Herbert Marcuse calls 'one-dimensional man'.³⁹ Following up Leonard's threads of reasoning, R. Brandon Kershner's *The Cultures of Joyce's Ulysses* (2010) also argues against the Frankfurt School's elitist critique of mass culture. Kershner's monograph not only makes a perfect complement to its prequel *Joyce, Bakhtin, and Popular Culture*, but carries out a more radical undermining of the old distinction between high and low culture. Kershner points out that popular fiction was a burgeoning culture industry in the late nineteenth century, as is evidenced by 'the expansion of the popular readership' and 'a huge increase in publication of both books and serial publication, such as newspapers and magazines'.⁴⁰ For the purpose of marketing and distribution, the new industry of popular fiction, by the 1920s, had created such genres as detective fiction, romance, adventures of empire, family sagas, and Christian morality tales,⁴¹ so that each copy could find its potential buyers more efficiently. Kershner delves into *Ulysses* and reads it as Joyce's deliberate appropriation of genre fiction. 'Joyce leaves few aesthetic hierarchies standing', Kershner argues, and 'it is Joyce, rather than his critics, who is practising what we have come to call cultural studies'.⁴² Therefore, Kershner's Joyce may be seen as an advocate of aesthetic democracy who endorses the belief that popular culture is the only culture and that even the high art for the elite is doomed to be produced by the hegemonic culture industry.

³⁹ See Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr (Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 2002) and Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1991).

⁴⁰ R. Brandon Kershner, *The Culture of Joyce's Ulysses* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 6.

⁴¹ Clive Bloom, *Bestsellers: Popular Fiction Since 1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 86-87.

⁴² Kershner, *The Culture of Joyce's Ulysses*, 40.

This genealogy of cultural studies carried out by Joyce critics highlights an incongruity: even though most critics are inclined to see the British culture industry and imported commodities as colonising forces, they also see a paradoxical possibility that popular culture would empower consumers as they, at least, have some freedom to choose what they want. In other words, Joyce's Dubliners inhabited an ambiguous condition that Derek Attridge and Majorie Howes would term *semicolonial*—a coinage extracted from *Finnegans Wake* (FW 152.16); according to Attridge and Howes, 'in [Joyce's writings'] dealing with questions of nationalism and imperialism they evince a complex and ambivalent set of attitudes, not reducible to simple anticolonialism'.⁴³ By proposing the new category of *semicolonial*, they aim to expose the aporia of Ireland's coloniality from multiple perspectives—when did its colonial status start, and when did (or, will) it end? Has Ireland been exploited or benefiting from the British colonisation? Or even more radically, does Ireland qualify for Edward Said's category of the colonised? One specific aspect of such *semicolonial* aporia is vividly exemplified in Dubliners' relation with British mass culture, because the latter is a colonising force reigning over the former who fail to separate themselves from the colonisers and feel happy to remain part of the British capitalist system. Still, the *semicolonial* condition of *Ulysses* can be understood within a more historical context. During the temporal gap between the fictional Bloomsday and the actual publication of *Ulysses*, the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed in London on the 6th of December 1921 and the Irish Free State was consequently opted out from the British Empire. Since *Ulysses* was being written during a transitional period when the identity of Dublin was transforming from a colonised city to the capital of an independent free state, an atmosphere of uncertainty pervades the everyday life of Joyce's Dubliners. That is why Andrew Gibson agrees with Attridge and Howes and opines that '*Ulysses* is not a postcolonial novel' and that it is 'rather concerned with an extraordinary arduous struggle towards a freedom that its author knows is at best partial or equivocal'.⁴⁴ The word *freedom* merits scrutiny, as many turn-of-the-century discourses (either political, economic, philosophical, or even commercial) are resonant with the word. Intriguingly, the exact wording of

⁴³ Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes (eds.), *Semicolonial Joyce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 3.

⁴⁴ Andrew Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge: History, Politics, and Aesthetics in Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 19.

freedom only appears once in *Ulysses* when Bloom is haunted by his Circean dream: ‘*The freedom of the city is presented to him embodied in a charter. The keys of Dublin on a crimson cushion, are given to him*’ (U 15.1519-20). The ‘Freedom of the City’—a municipal award bestowed upon a distinguished citizen—has its root in the medieval practice of granting valued citizens freedom from serfdom. *The Freedom of the City*, therefore, does not imply—even though it would be convenient for us if it does—that Dublin breaks free from the British control. Bloom, who is crowned as ‘Leopold the First’ (U 15.1473) in his Circean dream, gains the nugatory title of *freedom*. On the one hand, the title no longer confers any privileges as the distinction between serfs and freemen has ceased to exist in Bloom’s time, and, ironically, Bloom the freeman is also Bloom the ‘undoubted emperor-president and king-chairman’ (U 15.1471) who violates his citizens’ right to housing because ‘[n]umerous houses are razed to the ground’ (U 15.1552) when he builds up the new Bloomusalem; on the other hand, ‘Circe’ never really presents a neat blueprint for the new Bloomusalem, or the free Dublin.

In a similar vein, *free* could be a dubious word in *Ulysses*. For instance, there is the case when Mr Kernan ridicules the United States’ self-proclaimed status of freedom in ‘Wandering Rocks’: ‘And America they say is the land of the free. I thought we were bad here’ (U 10.732-33). The weird link between *free* and *bad* stems from the ‘General Slocum explosion’ in New York Harbour (U 10.725-26), which, according to Mr Kernan’s biased surmise, has been fuelled up by ‘palm oil’—a metonymy, in this case, for the preponderance of graft in the United States (U 10.731). To a certain degree, Joyce’s weaving this anecdote into *Ulysses* forces us to think what *free* really means. If the term semicolonial—notwithstanding its connoting a condition of illusional freedom—hints at a hope for real freedom, then Joyce seems to have eerily foreseen freedom’s negative effects on the human condition in an economic context. Even though the news report on the General Slocum tragedy that appeared in *Freeman’s Journal* on Bloomsday didn’t associate the disaster with corruption, subsequent investigations do verify Mr Kernan’s theory that moral laxness and bureaucratic irresponsibility were the real causes of the maritime holocaust. In other words, *free* is a polysemous word, and each of its significance may collide with the others. The General Slocum tragedy, in a sense, is

the bitter fruit of freedom, here suggesting lobbying activities and loose regulations that enable special interests to flow freely between politicians, advocates and entrepreneurs. In this sense, Mr Kernan's leap of logic—'America they say is the land of the free. I thought we were bad here' (*U* 10.732-33)—turns out to be ironically logical: 'our condition could be worse if Dublin is to be as free—whatever it means—as America'.

Indeed, such an argument may be accused of being confused and invalid because it is packed with disparate definitions of freedom; however, the fact is that personal freedom, political freedom and economic freedom have often been construed as interwoven. For instance, Friedrich A. Hayek, a prominent defender of classical liberalism, claims that governmental interference with the free market will end up destroying democracy and personal freedom:

The clash between planning and democracy arises simply from the fact that the latter is an obstacle to the suppression of freedom which the direction of economic activity requires. But in so far as democracy ceases to be a guaranty of individual freedom, it may well persist in some form under a totalitarian regime. A true 'dictatorship of the proletariat', even if democratic in form, if it undertook centrally to direct the economic system, would probably destroy personal freedom as completely as any autocracy has ever done.⁴⁵

If we are following the thread of Hayek's argument, the Anglo-Irish Economic War between the Irish Free State and the United Kingdom may be a pertinent counterexample. The fuse leading to the economic war was lit in March 1932, after Eamonn de Valera's Fianna Fáil party came to power and passed the act 'to suspend the payment of land annuities to Britain'.⁴⁶ In response to the Irish act, the British imposed 'emergency duties on Irish agricultural exports', and hoped that Irish farmers would vote de Valera down because their interests had been damaged.⁴⁷ However, evidence showed that the British miscalculated terribly, as the economic sanctions, to their dismay, rather consolidated the authority of de Valera's Fianna Fáil government, and the latter fought back by 'imposing restrictions on imports of

⁴⁵ Friedrich A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1944), 70-71.

⁴⁶ Kevin O'Rourke, 'Burn Everything British but Their Coal: The Anglo-Irish Economic War of the 1930s', *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 51 (1991): 357-66 (357).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* (358).

British coal, cement, sugar, iron and steel, and machinery'.⁴⁸ The trade war finally ended in 1938, on terms favourable to the Fianna Fáil government. Trade restrictions 'were eased on both sides', 'the land annuities were canceled in exchanged for £10 million lump-sum payment' (which was only one-tenth of the capitalised value that the British Treasury had calculated), and, best of all, 'the "Treaty Ports"—British naval facilities on the Irish coast—were handed back to the Irish, enabling de Valera to remain neutral during the ensuing world war'.⁴⁹

Joyce himself probably would have supported de Valera's policy, which can be construed as a manoeuvre to overcome the semicolonial condition that kept plaguing the newly-independent Irish Free State. In 'Fenianism: The Last Fenian', Joyce approves of Sinn Féin's departure from its old self as a 'bloody doctrine' and endorses its non-violent economic warfare against the British Empire:

The new Fenians are joined in a party which is called Sinn Fein (We Ourselves). [. . .] They practise boycotts against English goods; [. . .] they are trying to develop industries throughout the entire island; and instead of paying out a million and a quarter annually for the maintenance of eighty representatives in the English Parliament, they want to inaugurate a consular service in the principal ports of the world for the purpose of selling their industrial products without the intervention of England (*CW* 191).

By fighting the trade war, Fianna Fáil, formed out of a split from Sinn Féin, finally carried out the latter's policies that Joyce had endorsed in 1907. Indeed, de Valera's intransigence during the trade war was politically calculated (provided that politicians' primary concern is to get re-elected), but the trade war did 'redistribute income from rural to urban areas' and propel Ireland's domestic industries.⁵⁰ In other words, the Fianna Fáil government's protectionist policy was based on parliamentary democracy, and such an anti-free-trade policy ironically helped the Irish gain economic freedom and autonomy from Britain, at least in the short term.

The extended discussion on *freedom* must return to its point of departure: Kershner's implication that Joyce's 'scattering of high-cultural references throughout a novel packed with daily commodities' points to his final rejection of 'cultural

⁴⁸ Ibid. (358).

⁴⁹ Ibid. (358).

⁵⁰ Ibid. (366).

nostalgia’ and—though Kershner doesn’t make it explicit—his embrace of aesthetic democracy and liberation.⁵¹ Kershner’s argument raises a question: if these daily commodities are imports that convey British ideologies and weaken Ireland’s indigenous industries, wouldn’t they be the embodiment of a colonising force, rather than a liberating force? Kershner is acutely aware of Dublin’s semicolonial condition and addresses the fact that the ‘artificially retarded industrialization combined with the city’s still noticeable rural culture produced a populace unusually susceptible to the attractions of the British popular culture industry’.⁵² He also alludes to Douglas Hyde’s 1892 lecture on ‘The Necessity for de-Anglicising Ireland’, wherein the latter insisted on the ‘necessity for encouraging the use of Anglo-Irish literature instead of English books, especially English periodicals. We must set our face sternly against penny dreadfuls, shilling shockers, and still more the garbage of vulgar English weeklies like *Bow Bells* and the *Police Intelligence*’.⁵³ However, instead of delving deeper into the culture industry’s complicity with capitalist imperialism, Kershner takes a sudden turn and criticises H. G. Wells’s elitist objection to the Forster’s Education Act that extended literacy to the masses. Kershner disagrees with Wells’s assumption that ‘while the male of the species has chiefly exerted its influence in the degradation of journalism, the debasing influence of the female, reinforced by the free libraries, has been chiefly felt in the character of fiction’.⁵⁴ Kershner may be right when he regards the elitist hostility to mass education and popular literature as implicitly anti-liberal, but he understates the latent political forces that manipulate mass education as an ideology-controlling institution, a national machine that produces efficient labourers and valorous soldiers, and a powerful weapon that destroys colonised peoples’ mother tongues.⁵⁵

If Joyce, as Kershner suggests, ‘ultimately failed to endorse [the critique of consumer society]’,⁵⁶ may such a failure be the symptom that reveals Joyce’s total immersion in commodity culture? After all, as the majority of cultural goods

⁵¹ Kershner, *The Culture of Joyce’s Ulysses*, 40.

⁵² Ibid., 2.

⁵³ quoted in Ibid., 4.

⁵⁴ H. G. Wells, *The Literary Criticism of H. G. Wells*, ed. Patrick Parrinder and Robert Phimus (Sussex: Harvester, 1980), 74.

⁵⁵ Seán De Fréine, *The Great Silence* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1978).

⁵⁶ Kershner, *The Culture of Joyce’s Ulysses*, 39.

consumed by the Irish were manufactured in and imported from Britain, there is no obvious reason for Joyce—who endorses Sinn Féin’s protectionist policy—to exclude such commodities as penny dreadfuls and shilling shockers from the boycotts against British goods.

Therefore, Joyce’s ambivalent attitude to British cultural industry seems to exemplify yet another symptom of the semicolonial condition: even if Ireland has gained political autonomy, it continues to be haunted by a spectre that Herbert Schiller would call *cultural imperialism*. Schiller develops this concept to critique the United States’ media hegemony over its peripheral regions, which, he argues, should be construed as a new form of colonialism:

To be sure, an international structure of domination, i.e., colonialism, existed for hundreds of years. What is being considered here is the transformation of that system—in its realignments of power centers, its changed sources of exploitation, and its modern mode of organization and control.⁵⁷

Notwithstanding that the main target of Schiller’s critique is the post-war United States, his definition of cultural imperialism applies well to the British hegemony over Irish popular culture. Better still, he regards the United States’ media empire as the reincarnation of ‘the British worldwide communications network’ that ‘held the colonial system together’.⁵⁸ Schiller’s critique of the free flow of information echoes Mr Kernan’s ascription of the General Slocum explosion to the free flow of money; in other words, the rhetoric of *freedom* is often manipulated by ‘powerful economic forces employing a skillful political and semantic strategy’.⁵⁹ Freedom has been advertised as the ideal to be desired, and the free flow of capital, commodities and information has been extolled. In *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce*, Garry Leonard argues that ‘most advertisements actively call attention to their own deliberately amusing falseness in order to make more real the supposedly inviolable autonomy of the consumer who practices “free will” and “self determination” when

⁵⁷ Herbert I. Schiller, ‘Communication and Cultural Domination’, *International Journal of Politics*, vol. 5 (1975/1976): 1-127 (9).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* (26).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*(26).

he or she “chooses” what to buy’.⁶⁰ What if the concept of *freedom* is nothing but a tautological advertising discourse that sells itself? We are brainwashed into believing that we are free because we can consume whatever we want, as long as we have money that begets money (which is why we need economic liberalism) and democratic (perhaps also secular) governments that wouldn’t say no to what we want. The truth is that our desires are created by the capitalist system, which keeps us so busy fulfilling these false desires that we neither think nor rebel. In Judith Williamson’s words, advertisements ‘create an “alreadyness” of “facts” about ourselves as individuals: that we are consumers, that we have certain values’, in other words, we are ‘trapped in the illusion of choice’: advertisements ‘invite us “freely” to create ourselves in accordance with the way in which they have already created us’.⁶¹

Intriguingly, illusionary freedom and democracy were spectacularly advertised and sold in the Great Exhibition of 1851, on the pretext of glorifying *God’s creation* and celebrating *mankind’s free will*. Therefore, let us cast one final look at the Great Exhibition. As has been said, this project is much in line with Richards’s, since he sees modernity as a continuation of Victorian era; better yet, he incorporates a fascinating study on ‘Nausicaa’ into his Great Exhibition project, which may serve as a perfect defence for the legitimacy of juxtaposing the mid-Victorian event with *Ulysses*. ‘[T]he system of advertised spectacle did not simply disappear after 1914’, Richards argues; to the contrary, ‘various schools of cultural critics have repeatedly pointed to the persistence of spectacle as a generic feature of advertising in the twentieth century’.⁶² Victorians’ conceptions of the world became increasingly tinted with the discourse of advertising, their lives became the accumulation of infinite commodities, and consumerism became the indisputable dogma of a new *religion* that worshipped, in Marx’s words, *strange things*.⁶³ The rather dramatic tone in which Marx announces his *discovery* of ‘theological niceties’ within commodities

⁶⁰ Garry M. Leonard, *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 43.

⁶¹ Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising* (New York: Marion Boyars, 1978), 42.

⁶² Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, 13.

⁶³ Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (1867), 163: ‘A commodity appears at first sight an extremely obvious, trivial thing. But its analysis brings out that it is a very strange thing, abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties’.

seems ironic to a certain extent, because ‘a surprisingly large number of contemporary sources addressed the religious significance of the [Great Exhibition of 1851]’.⁶⁴ In other words, Marx is not the first one who recognises consumers’ fetishistic impulse to mistake dead commodities for holy deities; rather, commodities have been heralded by Victorians as God’s vehicles for the manifestation of His greater design. Such a Victorian logic is best demonstrated by Prince Albert’s remark on the Great Exhibition:

Whilst formerly discovery was wrapt in secrecy, the publicity of the present day causes that no sooner is a discovery or invention made, than it is already improved upon and surpassed by competing efforts; the products of all quarters of the globe are placed at our disposal, and we have only to choose which is the best and cheapest for our purposes, and the powers of production are intrusted to the stimulus of competition and capital. So man is approaching a more complete fulfilment of that great and sacred mission which he has to perform in this world. His reason being created after the image of God, he has to use it to discover the laws by which the Almighty governs his creation, and, by making these laws his standard of action, to conquer Nature to his use—himself a divine instrument. [. . .] Gentlemen,—THE EXHIBITION of 1851 is to give us a true test and a living picture of the point of development at which the whole of mankind has arrived in this great task, and a new starting point from which all nations will be able to direct their further exertions. I confidently hope the first impression which the view of this vast collection will produce upon the spectator will be that of deep thankfulness to the Almighty for the blessings which He has bestowed upon us already here below; and the second, the conviction that they can only be realized in proportion to the help which we are prepared to render to each other—therefore, only by peace, love, and ready assistance, not only between individuals, but between the nations of the earth.⁶⁵

It is truly marvellous to see how Albert eloquently compared the capitalist mode of labour exploitation, mass production and market competition to the fulfilment of the sacred mission that God has assigned to mankind. Better yet, Albert even aligned the Great Exhibition with the opening verse of Psalm 24—‘THE EARTH IS THE LORD’S AND ALL THAT THEREIN IS; THE COMPASS OF THE WORLD AND THEY THAT DWELL THEREIN’—which was reproduced on the title page of

⁶⁴ Geoffrey Cantor, ‘Commerce and Christianity’, *History Today*, vol. 60 (2010): 45-51 (46).

⁶⁵ Robert Ellis (ed.), *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue: Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851*. Vol. 1 (London: Spicer Brothers & W. Clowes and Sons, 1851), 4.

Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue as the motto of the Great Exhibition.⁶⁶

On the back of the frontispiece also appear several Latin lines as follows:

NE NOSTRA, ISTA QUÆ INVENIMUS, DIXERIS—
 INSITA SUNT NOBIS OMNIUM ARTIUM SEMINA,
 MAGISTERQUE EX OCCULTO DEUS, PRODUCIT INGENIA.

HUMANI GENERIS PROGRESSUS,
 EX COMMUNI OMNIUM LABORE ORTUS,
 UNIUSCUJUSQUE INDUSTRIÆ DEBET ESSE FINIS:
 HOC ADJUVANDO,
 DEI OPT: MAX: VOLUNTATEM EXSEQUIMUR.⁶⁷

All these messages remind us of the fact that the Great Exhibition had been *advertised* as a sacred event; even the Archbishop of Canterbury endorsed it by ‘not only pray[ing] for its success but also locat[ing] it firmly within a providentialist framework’.⁶⁸ The Victorian discourse that allies the Great Exhibition of commodities with God’s creation finds its echo in ‘Oxen of the Sun’, where Joyce alludes to the event in ‘Latinate prose styles’.⁶⁹ ‘wisdom hath built herself a house, this vast majestic longestablished vault, the crystal palace of the Creator, all in applepie order’ (*U* 14.402-3). It is likely that Joyce coins the phrase ‘the crystal palace of the Creator’ in response to the advertising rhetoric that sacralises the essentially secular event. In Joyce’s judgment, the presumed distinction between *sacred* and *secular* is ambiguous: through the interior monologue of Bloom the apostate Jew, Joyce suggests that the advertising rhetoric has its origin in religious discourse. Commodities and advertisements aren’t the mongrels of secularism and sacredness; on the contrary, they are, as *Ulysses* demonstrates, the blue-blooded offspring of Christianity.

⁶⁶ See *Ibid.*, frontispiece, and *Ibid.*, 86: ‘The mottoes on the title-page of this work were selected and placed by His ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT’.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, frontispiece. As for English translation, see *Notes and Queries: A Medium of Intercommunication for Literary Men, General Readers, Etc., Eleventh Series*. Vol. 3 (London: John C. Francis & J. Edward Francis, 1911), 10: ‘Say not the discoveries we make our own. / The germs of every act are implanted within us, / And God our instructor, out of that which is / concealed, / Developes [*sic*] the faculties of invention. [. . .] The progress of human race, / Resulting from the common labour of all men, / Ought to be the final object of the exertion of each / individual. / In promoting this end, / We are carrying out the will of the great and / blessed God’.

⁶⁸ Cantor, ‘Commerce and Christianity’, (47).

⁶⁹ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 417.

In 'Lotus Eaters', triggered by the Latin word *Corpus* during a service of Holy Communion in All Hallows, Bloom muses on the stupefying effect of Latin under which the congregation become susceptible to *propaganda fide*: 'Good idea the Latin. Stupefies them first. [. . .] Now I bet it makes them feel happy. [. . .] Blind faith. Safe in the arms of kingdom come. Lulls all pain' (*U* 5.350-68). Picking up the thread of thought again in 'Nausicaa', Bloom renders the association between advertising rhetoric and religious discourse even more explicit: 'Could hear them all at it. Pray for us. And pray for us. And pray for us. Good idea the repetition. Same thing with ads. Buy from us. And buy from us' (*U* 13.1122-24). While Bloom, from his perspective of an apostate Jew, blasphemously connects the two, there is a minor yet amusing incident in 'Wondering Rocks' that reveals advertising rhetoric's encroaching on the integrity of religious mindset: 'Father Conmee doffed his silk hat and smiled [. . .] at the jet beads of her mantilla inkshining in the sun. And smiled yet again, in going. He had cleaned his teeth [. . .] with arecanut paste' (*U* 10.30-32). At first sight, it seems a hearty depiction of Father Conmee's amiableness, but such a depiction not merely demonstrates a logical fallacy that often occurs in commercials but also ridicules clichéd images featured in advertising campaigns—Father Conmee smiles, and smiles again, only to show off his white and shiny teeth, to which he has applied areca nut paste. Areca nut paste was a popular quack medicine at the turn of the century, and an advertisement for Cracroft's Areca Nut Tooth Paste makes the following claim: 'By using this delicious Aromatic Dentifrice, the enamel of the teeth becomes white, sound, and polished like ivory. It is exceedingly fragrant, and especially useful for removing incrustations of tartar on neglected teeth'.⁷⁰ This very case in which even a rector is susceptible to false advertising for quack medicines⁷¹ has a symbolic significance: advertising has inherited the seductive language that used to belong exclusively to religion and recruited Father Conmee to endorse a quack medicine.

In *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce*, Garry Leonard, heeding Fredric Jameson's credo, attempts to *historicise* the period during which mass media

⁷⁰ 'Advertisement', *Examiner*, vol. 3586 (1876): 1201.

⁷¹ At the turn of the century, the areca nut had been regarded as potentially carcinogenic, for instance, see 'Betel-Nut Chewing', *The British Medical Journal*, vol. 2 (1872): 717 and 'Remarks on Cancer of the Mouth in Southern India, with an Analysis of 209 Operations', *The British Medical Journal*, vol. 1 (1908): 1357-58.

(advertisements in particular) gradually replaces the institution of religion. An intriguing example of such a replacement is ‘Araby’ in *Dubliners*, wherein Joyce transforms the search for the Holy Grail into a boy’s confused journey to a tawdry bazaar that sells colonial exoticism. From Leonard’s perspective (which overlaps Debord’s⁷²), ‘[m]odern advertising’s promise of completion, redemption, and the attainment of paradise is the equivalent of holy scripture for Joyce, the new (improved!) testament, promising completion and bliss if purchased, and warning of permanent gnomonic despair if spurred’.⁷³ Such a juxtaposition of advertising and religion, Leonard argues, exposes that ‘Joyce consciously links the power of advertising with the power of revelation in the Judeo-Christian tradition’.⁷⁴ Leonard’s reading is reinforced by the textual evidence that Joyce decides to make Bloom Jewish; as Susan L. Humphreys argues, Joyce’s characterisation of Bloom may have been influenced by Guglielmo Ferrero, a then-prominent Italian historian to whom Joyce referred at times in lectures and letters during his Triestine years:

Why is Bloom a canvasser of advertisements who haunts newspaper offices? ‘The Jew’, says Ferrero, ‘possesses a genius for proselytism; it can even be said that propaganda is a creation, perhaps the greatest, of the Jewish genius’. In Italian, however, the word *propaganda* also means commercial advertising. And Ferrero believes that the messianic spirit is akin to the journalistic one: ‘Every great Jewish talent is always a bit of a journalist’, he says. Probably Joyce was ironically remembering Ferrero’s theories when he chose Bloom’s profession.⁷⁵

From Bloom’s point of view, the denotation of *propaganda* is simultaneously religious and secular, and it simply means the spreading of something—either religious or commercial—into new regions. Bloom’s Jewish identity and his reference to propaganda may also remind us of Edward Bernays, Sigmund Freud’s nephew and ‘the Father of Propaganda’. Better still, Bernays, in his influential *Propaganda*, tells us that his theory of distributing propaganda resorts greatly to Freudian psychoanalysis, and goes on to argue that ‘many of man’s thoughts and

⁷² See Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, thesis 67: ‘As in the convulsions or miracles of the old religious fetishism, the fetishism of the commodity sometimes reaches moments of fervent exaltation’.

⁷³ Leonard, *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce*, 35.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁷⁵ Susan L. Humphreys, ‘Ferrero, Etc.: James Joyce’s Debt to Guglielmo Ferrero’, *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 16 (1979): 239-51 (247-48).

actions are compensatory substitutes for desires which he has been obliged to suppress'.⁷⁶ Bernays's manipulation of psychoanalysis as an ideology-controlling apparatus invites us to speculate whether Freud's theory liberates our suppressed desires or turns us into slaves to fictional desires (which will be further explored in Chapter 5). If Bloom sees the brainwashing power of religion and applies it to the modern industry of advertising, then Molly embodies another facet of secularisation: the sacred convention of Catholic confession has gradually been replaced by such secular forms as psychoanalytic talking cure, and the purification of sins would no longer be as important as the articulation of desires.

The fact that confession becomes talking cure and God's creation becomes the Great Exhibition of commodities is powerfully addressed by Debord's thesis 20, with which I seal this section:

The spectacle is the material reconstruction of the religious illusion. Spectacular technology has not dissipated the religious clouds where men had placed their own powers detached from themselves; it has only tied them to an earthly base. Thus it is the most earthly life which becomes opaque and unbreathable. It no longer throws into the sky but houses within itself its absolute denial, its fallacious paradise. The spectacle is the technical realization of the exile of human powers into a beyond; separation perfected within the interior of man.⁷⁷

In other words, the replacement of religion by the spectacle would neither enlighten Dubliners nor grant them freedom; instead, they become colonised by the illusion of freedom and reified by their ever-multiplying fictional desires.

1.2 LA MODERNITÉ À LA MODE

In the previous section, we have seen that the cultural logic of micro-spectacles is to sell consumers an opiate illusion of freedom and thus to disable them from eluding the imprisonment of their semicolonial condition. This section will both elucidate and expand on this concept by examining one specific type of micro-spectacles. As has been said, this project wishes to both *look at* and *see through* micro-spectacles; however, since *Ulysses* is so spectacular a text that there are

⁷⁶ Edward L. Bernays, *Propaganda* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1928), 52.

⁷⁷ Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, thesis 20.

infinite pieces of textual evidence for us to scrutinise, the investigated targets will be narrowed down to those traces related to sartorial fashion. Indeed, sartorial fashion—which creates an image (or a fake skin) that replaces the real body—can be construed as the Debordian spectacle *avant la lettre*, for it of course comes into being long before Guy Debord and postmodernism. In 1858, Théophile Gautier made an extremely intriguing observation in ‘De la mode’ as follows: ‘Le vêtement, à *l’époque moderne* [my italics], est devenu pour l’homme une sorte de peau dont il ne se sépare sous aucun prétexte et qui lui adhère comme le pelage à l’animal, à ce point que la forme réelle du corps est de nos jours tout à fait tombée en oubli’.⁷⁸ We may even say that Gautier’s observation is an understatement, because vestments not merely create fictional body images, but also endow wearers with the seeming freedom of crossing over classes, nationalities, religions, and even genders. This is why modern people can hardly resist the temptation to invest excessive amounts of capital in consuming sartorial fashion.

In other words, sartorial fashion is not just one of miscellaneous micro-spectacles, but *the* defining micro-spectacle of modernity. Fashionable garments and accessories are relatively small-scale commodities—a diamond ring is even tinier than a bar of Pears’ Soap or a box of areca nut paste—that dazzle consumers and sell them illusions, so they are perfectly fit for the category of micro-spectacles. Therefore, only by scrutinising these sartorial micro-spectacles can we accurately analyse how Joyce’s Dubliners in *Ulysses* are fashioned and colonised by the Englishness of their clothing, how the stage of the theatre is transformed into a proto-catwalk that advertises *la dernière mode*, and how such fashionable spectacles are distributed and mediated by means of new technologies. More specifically speaking, sartorial fashion is chosen to be spotlit on the down-stage of the spectacle here, because fashionable textiles not merely played a dynamic role at the embryonic phase of industrial capitalism (as is captured by the fragmented fabrics of Walter Benjamin’s *The Arcades Project*),⁷⁹ but also occupied enormous space in the Great

⁷⁸ Théophile Gautier, ‘De la mode’, *L’Artiste*, vol. 3 (1858): 169-71 (169). For English translation, see Ulrich Lehmann, *Tigersprung: Fashion in Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2000), 212: ‘The garment of the modern age become for man of a sort of skin, which he is not prepared to forsake under any pretext and which clings to him like an animal’s hide, nowadays to the point that the real shape of the body has been quite forgotten’.

⁷⁹ Also see Pat Hudson, *The Genesis of Industrial Capital: A Study of the West Riding Wool Textile Industry c. 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Exhibition of 1851 and its successors all over the world.⁸⁰ In addition, sartorial fashion, according to Joel H. Kaplan and Sheila Stowell, was highlighted in turn-of-the-century theatrical spectacle,⁸¹ and the commercial theatre was the true forebear of fashion shows, because Edwardian fashion designers used stages as the proto-catwalks to advertise their latest works. Most importantly, various of characters in *Ulysses* are highly fashion-conscious, and critics have devoted researches to particular fashion items.⁸² For instance, in ‘Wandering Rocks’, Bloom makes it clear that a stylish look would magically increase one’s social capital: ‘Dress does it. Nothing like a dressy appearance. Bowls them over’ (*U* 10.738-39). In this vein, this project construes fashion items depicted in *Ulysses* as a prominent dimension of commodity culture, and scrutinise them from the contextual perspective of turn-of-the-century advertised, theatrical, and proto-cinematic spectacles, so as to both understand the semiotic (or, in Garry Leonard’s words, *semerotic*⁸³) values of fashion items and excavate their historical significance out of obscurity.

In order to illustrate the fact that Joyce’s Dubliners are so hopelessly colonised by English sartorial fashion that they—just like Oscar Wilde—even out-Englished the English,⁸⁴ my first step is to zoom in on the English fashion and sketch out the contextual backdrop against which the sartorial world of *Ulysses* unfolds. As Bloomsday is set on the 16th of June 1904, Joyce’s Dubliners are, indisputably, living in the reign of Edward VII; however, Edwardian fashion is actually quite blurred with late-Victorian fashion,⁸⁵ and there is no clear distinction between the two except the remarkable event of Edward VII of the United Kingdom’s coronation in 1901. Pauline Stevenson frames Edwardian fashion between 1897 and 1914, a period that

⁸⁰ See Ellis (ed.), *Official Catalogue. Vol. 1*.

⁸¹ See Joel H. Kaplan and Sheila Stowell, *Theatre and Fashion: Oscar Wilde to the Suffragettes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁸² For instance, see Mark Osteen, ‘A High Grade Ha: The “Politicoecomedy” of Headwear in *Ulysses*’, in *Joycean Cultures/Culturing Joyces*, ed. Vincent J. Cheng, Kimberly J. Devlin, and Margot Norris (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998), and see R. Brandon Kershner, ‘The Appearance of Rudy: Children’s Clothing and the History of Photography’, in *The Culture of Joyce’s Ulysses* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

⁸³ See Leonard, *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce*, 7: ‘Desire is an effect brought about by a convergence of signifiers that makes us feel like the signified—a semiotics of desire, which in this book I have called “semerotics”’.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁸⁵ See Alison Gernsheim, *Victorian & Edwardian Fashion: A Photographic Survey* (New York: Dover, 1981), 83: ‘Before the Queen’s death, most of the main features we associate with the clothes and attitudes of Edward VII’s reign had already begun to make their appearance’.



Fig. 1.4—A comparison between the Victorian corseted silhouette and the Edwardian ‘S-bend’ silhouette, reproduced from *Ladies Home Journal* (October 1900).

expands from Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee to the outbreak of the First World War. In other words, what costume historians refer to as Edwardian fashion goes beyond the period of the King’s real reign from the 22nd of January 1901 to the 6th of May 1910.⁸⁶ According to Gernsheim, Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee is an event that ‘had a great effect on fashion’ and popularised such fashion items that were reminiscent of the matriarchal image as ‘huge sleeves, small waist and stiff, outstanding gored skirt’. This event also heralded the use of thin fabrics such as ‘muslin, gauze, chiffon and lace’ and led to the disappearance of stiff outline ‘through the abandonment of heavy materials’.⁸⁷ Queen Victoria passed away four years after her Diamond Jubilee, and ‘after the deep mourning period lasting from

⁸⁶ Pauline Stevenson, *Edwardian Fashion* (London: Ian Allan, 1980), 5.

⁸⁷ Gernsheim, *Victorian & Edwardian Fashion: A Photographic Survey*, 83.

January to Easter of [1901], the matriarchal style underwent certain subtle changes and an altogether more voluptuous woman emerged'.⁸⁸ Edwardian fashion highlights the female body image that was forced into 'a pronounced S-bend' (Fig. 1.4) by a 'long straight-fronted corset':⁸⁹

The new silhouette of the late 1890s which we generally associate with high Edwardian fashion, consisted of a great emphasis on the hipline—protuberant, svelte and padded—a very small waist, sleeves which were tight, straight and slightly puffed on the shoulder line, and a prominent but low and overhanging bust draped with various mysterious frills, laces and ribbons. The skirt had to fit very tightly over the hips so there was no room for pockets, and it flowed down to the knees, then out in wave-like lines showing frothy petticoats.⁹⁰

This new look of the Edwardian era culminated in the image of the Gibson Girl: 'an ideal type created by the American artist Charles Dana Gibson in 1901, inspired by his wife, and personified on the London stage by Camille Clifford in *The Belle of Mayfair*'.⁹¹ Clifford's name had become a synonym of the Gibson Girl in London's fashion circles since her début at the Shaftesbury Theatre in 1904.⁹² Edwardians were highly fashion-conscious and so obsessed with dressing up that they were in full dress on every possible location, and the Edwardian craze for sartorial fashion is grotesquely embodied in the phantasmagoric spectacle of 'Circe'. Such an obsession would be understandable if we consider the fact that clothes back then were 'more of a status symbol than today when the majority of people can afford to dress well'.⁹³ In other words, the ability to dress up was an indicator of one's superior social status during the Edwardian era.

An investigation into monetary values reveals how dear fashion items would cost consumers. Here is a table listed in *The Lady* that sets out the fashion items on an *economy* budget in 1902.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ Stevenson, *Edwardian Fashion*, 5.

⁸⁹ Gernsheim, *Victorian & Edwardian Fashion: A Photographic Survey*, 83.

⁹⁰ Stevenson, *Edwardian Fashion*, 12.

⁹¹ Gernsheim, *Victorian & Edwardian Fashion: A Photographic Survey*, 83.

⁹² Elizabeth Ewing, *History of Twentieth Century Fashion* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1986), 22.

⁹³ Gernsheim, *Victorian & Edwardian Fashion: A Photographic Survey*, 88.

⁹⁴ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 86-87.

Hairdresser	£2 10s. including alterations or additions to <i>toupée</i>
Millinery	£3 10s. three toques or hats
Boots and shoes	£2 10s. 1 pr. smart walking shoes, 1 pr. boots, 1 pr. evening shoes
Gloves	£1 10s. 10 prs. suede, 6 prs. kid, 2 pr. long evening gloves
Mantles and ruffles	£6 10s.
Petticoats and hosiery	£2 5s.
Parasols (2)	£1 16s.
Gowns, blouses, etc.	£25
Odds and ends	£4 9s.

This list seems striking when we think of the fact that in *Ulysses* Stephen only receives a monthly salary of £3 12s. (*U* 2.221).⁹⁵ According to *Ulysses Annotated*, Stephen's income is actually better than decent in 1904's Dublin and his overnight expense that amounts roughly £2 on the 16th-17th of June 1904 is 'wildly prodigal'.⁹⁶ If Stephen is regarded as *wildly prodigal* in spending £2, the price list almost totaling £50 in *The Lady* is definitely beyond extravagance. Another comparatively reasonable list—in which a collection of Bridal Trousseau in 1907 is set out⁹⁷—creates a more balanced view on the pricing system of fashion:

3 longcloth nightdresses trimmed and embroidered with tucks	at 3/9 each
2 longcloth nightdresses trimmed and embroidered with tucks	at 5/9
2 longcloth nightdresses trimmed and embroidered with tucks	at 7/3
3 longcloth chemises with trimmed edging	at 2/10
3 with insertion tucks	at 4/1 each
2 with insertion tucks	at 4/10 each
3 pairs of knickers with embroidery	at 2/5
3 pairs of knickers trimmed with embroidery	at 3/1

⁹⁵ See Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 7: 'In 1904 twelve pence (12d.) made a shilling (1s.); twenty shillings, a pound. In 1904 fashionable shops and services quoted their prices in guineas (now discontinued): a guinea was £1 1s. or 21s.'

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁹⁷ Stevenson, *Edwardian Fashion*, 15.

3 longcloth nightdresses trimmed and embroidered with tucks	at 3/9 each
2 pairs of knickers trimmed with embroidery or 8 combinations	at 3/9
6 slip bodices with trimmed edging	at 2/2 each
2 flannel petticoats tucked embroidered with silk	at 11/- each
2 of embroidered silk or cycling knickers	at 7/6 each
2 longcloth skirts plain	at 3/6 each
1 trimmed with embroidery	at 5/9
1 pair of white corsets	at 6/11
1 fancy underskirt	at 5/11
1 dozen towels	at 7/3
1 chamois band	at 1/-
1 dozen handkerchiefs	at 7/6
$\frac{1}{2}$ dozen handkerchiefs	at 7/6 each
3 pairs of black hose	at 1/- each
3 pairs of black hose	at 2/5 each
1 white brilliant dressing jacket	at 5/9
1 twill dressing gown	at 15/9

Total £10 13s 9d

Perceptibly, items in this list are much more affordable than those in *The Lady*, though they still cost three times more than Stephen's monthly wage.⁹⁸ Indeed, there were differences between Dublin and London as far as living standards and wages around 1900s are concerned, but such differences were not great enough to negate the fact that fashion items were rather privileges for upper-class Edwardians, either in Dublin or in London.⁹⁹ An advertisement page on the backside of *The Lady's Realm November 1903*'s front cover might help us to have a better understanding of the consumption level during the Edwardian era. On this page, Oetzmann & Co. on

⁹⁸ £10 13s 9d in 1907 is approximately equal to £1,135 in 2014.

⁹⁹ See Kevin O'Rourke, 'Emigration and Living Standards in Ireland since the Famine', *Journal of Population Economics*, vol. 8 (1995): 407-21 (412): 'One particular striking finding emerges: Irish skilled urban wages hovered at around 90% of British levels between 1870 and 1913. The obvious interpretation is that the Irish and British skilled labour markets were in fact one'.

Hampstead Road, W. promoted its great clearance sale, where a ‘Very Comfortable Easy Chair, well-upholstered, spring stuffed, and covered with tapestry in dark rich colourings’ was priced at £1 15 0 and a ‘Solid Birch, Polished Walnut, Fumed Oak, Mahogany, or Stained Green Colour Wooden Bedstead, complete with superior double woven wire mattress, 3 ft. wide by 6 ft. 6 in. long’ was priced at £1 1 0.¹⁰⁰ Harold MacFarlane provides us with some striking figures in ‘What the Nation Spends on Dress’ and demonstrates: ‘[the Prince of Esterhazy’s] Hussar uniform was entirely embroidered with pearls at a cost of £400,000, and cost £1,200 to repair every time it was worn’.¹⁰¹ Considering that ‘[the average woman] spends £5 9s. per head upon dress’, and that ‘[the average man] is content to adorn himself with garments that individually cost him £3 17s. per annum’,¹⁰² it is not difficult to see that the difference in price between *haute couture* and everyday wears during the Edwardian era was much greater than nowadays.

Notwithstanding these striking figures, Dubliners in *Ulysses* are fashion-conscious and some of them even dress up like dandies: Buck Mulligan wears ‘stiff collar and rebellious tie’ (*U* 1.513), shows off his ‘dangling watchchain’ (*U* 1.514), and even wants ‘puce gloves and green boots’ (*U* 1.516). *Ulysses Annotated* suggests that the last two items are ‘associated with late-nineteenth-century decadence and aestheticism’,¹⁰³ but Mulligan’s rebellious sartorial statement against fin-de-siècle bourgeois philistinism is nonetheless English. Mr Denis J Maginni, unlike Mulligan’s rather reluctant gesture, worships the modern English style without hesitation, and his dandyish apparel is mirrored and refracted by the multiple perspectives of ‘Wandering Rocks’: ‘Mr Denis J Maginni, professor of dancing &c, in silk hat, slate frockcoat with silk facings, white kerchief tie, tight lavender trousers, canary gloves and pointed patent boots’ (*U* 10.56-59); ‘On O’Connell bridge many persons observed [. . .] gay apparel of Mr Denis J Maginni, professor of dancing &c.’ (*U* 10.599-600). Even more flamboyant than Maginni, Blazes Boylan wears ‘a skyblue tie, a widebrimmed straw hat at a rakish angle and a suit of indigo serge’ (*U* 10.1243-44). Such sartorial phenomena exemplifies the essential paradox of fashion:

¹⁰⁰ Advertisements, W. H. Wilkins (ed.), *The Lady’s Realm*, vol. 15 (London: Hutchinson, 1903-1904).

¹⁰¹ Harold MacFarlane, ‘What the Nation Spends on Dress’, *The Lady’s Realm*, vol. 15 (1903-1904): 497-501 (499).

¹⁰² Ibid. (498).

¹⁰³ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 22.

On the one hand, Dubliners' tendency to dress up or even overdress evinces the decline of sumptuary laws and Dubliners' will to freedom and modernity, as Adolf Loos writes: 'Everyone now enjoys the right to dress as he pleases, even like the king if he wants. The level of a nation's culture can be measured by how many of its citizens take advantage of this newly acquired freedom'.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, Georg Simmel holds a totally different view from Loos's, and reminds us that such freedom is nothing but an illusion, because sartorial freedom, 'after having put a stop to tyranny, frequently becomes no less tyrannical and arbitrary'.¹⁰⁵ At first glance, Joyce's Dubliners seem to enjoy the freedom of dressing up exactly like 'E. R.' (*U* 7.17) and 'queen Alexandra of England' (*U* 17.1779), whereas they nonetheless get trapped within an eternal gyre of fashion's ever-evolving trend. Not only women, but men, end up becoming fashion's slaves, both physically and economically: in order to look classy, Dubliners imprison themselves within uncomfortable garments and invest more than they can afford in fashion items. Even more ironically, the more modern they look, the less Irish they become. To expose the degree to which Joyce's Dubliners have been colonised by English fashion, this thesis will examine individual items and their presence in *Ulysses*, from top to toe, from frock coat to lingerie.

One of the first things that we would notice about these Edwardian dames would be their extravagant hair-styles. In 'Siren', Miss Kennedy's '[g]oldpinnacled hair' (*U* 11.7) almost steals the show and recurs as the leitmotif associated with her in this fugual episode: 'her fair pinnacles of hair, stooping, her tortoise napecomb showed' (*U* 11.165-66); 'her pinnacles of hair slowmoving' (*U* 11.547-48); 'her pinnacles of gold' (*U* 11.662). In addition to Miss Kennedy's pinnacles of gold, the tumescent narrative in 'Nausicaa' also tells us that 'Gerty's crowning glory' is her wealth of wonderful hair' (*U* 13.115-16), and that her hair is 'dark brown with a natural wave in it' (*U* 13.116-17) and 'nestle[s] about her pretty head in a profusion of luxuriant clusters' (*U* 13.118-19). Miss Kennedy's and Gerty's beautiful locks of hair play an essential part in Edwardian fashion scenes; big hair was in vogue, and even young women wore wigs to create a trendy look. Wigs could literally be regarded as

¹⁰⁴ Adolf Loos, "'Men's Fashion" and "Men's Hats" (1898)', in *The Rise of Fashion: A Reader*, ed. Daniel L. Purdy (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 94.

¹⁰⁵ Georg Simmel, 'Fashion', *International Quarterly*, vol. X (1904): 130-55 (142).

PICKARD'S HAIR STORES

The Cheapest House for Style and Quality.



Fig. 329.
All Goods Post Free, securely and privately packed, on receipt of P.O. and Pattern of Hair.
Please address all communications to—
J. PICKARD, Manager
(Dept. J).

Transformations to cover allround, any style, with or without fringe, post free, **42/6** (worth 84/-). Toupées, **10/9**; to reach to ears, **21/6**.

Our Improved Flexible **Frame**, covered with waved hair, like sketch, requires no skill to arrange, will not slip, is adaptable for high or low dressing, and acknowledged the most comfortable and stylish of Frames. Post free, privately packed, **15/9**; three-quarter size, **12/9**; half size, **10/9**.

Fig. 32L.
(Grey, Pale, or Auburn shades extra.)
(Colonies and Abroad 1/6 extra.)

Orders by Post receive special attention.
Illustrated Book of Fashions Free on receipt of 1d. Postage.

Every description of **Ornamental Hair Work** equally cheap. **Wigs** from **63/6**. **Transformations** from **42/6**. **Partings**, 5/- to 10/- per inch. **Fringes** from **5/9**. **Pin Curls** from **1/9**. **Tails of Best Fine Hair**, 16 ins. **3/7**; 18 ins., **5/7**; 20 ins., **7/9**; 22 ins., **10/9**; 24 ins., **15/9**; 26 ins., **21/6**; 30 ins., **30/9**. **New Coronet Plaits**, 7/9 & 10/9.



Fig. 330.
Wigs and Coverings for semi or complete Baldness, Greyness, etc., a spécialité see Catalogues post free).

251, KENTISH TOWN ROAD, LONDON.

Fig. 1.5—Advertisement for Edwardian ladies' wigs, reproduced from *The Lady's Realm*, vol. 17 (1904-1905).

headgear, for headgear was often made of human hair, and its popularity was well illustrated by its omnipresence in lady's magazines' advertisements pages. For instance, advertisements for wigs can be seen in *The Lady's Realm* (Fig. 1.5): 'THE FRINGES here illustrated are made on a fine NET FOUNDATION, and are only 6/6 each. Worth 21/-';¹⁰⁶ 'Ornamental Hair Specialists, Fringes, Transformations, Tails, &c., at Remarkably Low Prices'.¹⁰⁷ Upon their big hair, Edwardian ladies wear even bigger hats. When it comes to women's hats, extravagance is the keyword, as they featured such lavish trimming as ostrich feathers, and gigantic hats were in vogue (Fig. 1.6). The ladies' hat depicted in the greatest detail in *Ulysses* is Gerty's 'coquettish little love of a hat of wideleaved nigger straw contrast trimmed with an underbrim of eggblue chenille and at the side a butterfly bow of silk to tone' (*U* 13.156-58). The attribute *wideleaved* suggests the hat's enormity, yet Gerty's calls her *big* hat a *coquettish little love*, which reveals the slippery of fashion discourse; Gerty's emphasis on her straw hat also 'displays that intersection of social esteem

¹⁰⁶ Advertisements, W. H. Wilkins (ed.), *The Lady's Realm*. Vol. 17 (London: Hutchinson, 1904-1905), 4.

¹⁰⁷ Advertisements, *Ibid.*, 12.



Fig. 1.6—Edwardian ladies' gigantic hats (ca. 1904), reproduced from *Victorian & Edwardian Fashion: A Photographic Survey*.

and self-regard that Simmel describes as the value of adornment'.¹⁰⁸ In other words, hats' giant brims to a certain degree materialise their enormous socioeconomic significance.

Compared with women's hats, men's hats seemed rather reasonable as far as their sizes and styles are concerned; however, the headgear that was advertised for dandies during the Edwardian era makes a considerable inventory that contains 'more than 62 different hat and cap styles'. The most fashionable among these styles were 'the Top hat or silk hat', 'the Homburg introduced by King Edward', 'the Trilby', and 'the Bowler'.¹⁰⁹ This trend is well illustrated by *Ulysses*, as most of Joyce's Dublin dandies wear hats of various styles: Buck Mulligan wears a flamboyant blue-ribboned 'Panama hat' (*U* 1.582) that hints at his economic and social superiority over Stephen Dedalus,¹¹⁰ who chooses to wear a 'Latin quarter hat' (*U* 3.174) and a 'Hamlet hat' (*U* 3.390) that suggest his 'semivoluntary

¹⁰⁸ Osteen, 'A High Grade Ha: The "Politicoecomedie" of Headwear in *Ulysses*', 272.

¹⁰⁹ Stevenson, *Edwardian Fashion*, 22-23.

¹¹⁰ Osteen, 'A High Grade Ha: The "Politicoecomedie" of Headwear in *Ulysses*', 262.

poverty'.¹¹¹ Old professor Goodwin, Father Conmee, and Mr Maginni all wear silk hats (*U* 4.293; *U* 10.30; *U* 10.56), and even the dullgarbed old man (whose name might be O'Callaghan) keeps his 'silk hat' as the relic of 'old decency' (*U* 6.234), because silk top hats are metonymies of gentility. Davy Stephens, the self-proclaimed 'prince of the news vendors', has a 'small felt hat crowning his ringlets' (*U* 7.29),¹¹² and Myles Crawford, the editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, wears 'a straw hat' (*U* 7.469), so on and so forth. As for Bloom's obscure 'high grade ha' (*U* 5.24; *U* 11.876), it may be a bowler hat, whose informality and jocosity, Osteen argues, may 'help to explain the others' disdain for [Bloom] and his exclusion from their social circle'.¹¹³ The possibility that Joyce's Dubliners discriminate against Bloom simply because he wears a bowler—which, in 1899, had been 'popularized by the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII)'¹¹⁴—also exposes the arbitrariness of aesthetic judgment and exemplifies fashion's trickle-down effect, as Georg Simmel has observed in 'Fashion': 'Just as soon as the lower classes begin to copy their style, thereby crossing the line of demarcation the upper classes have drawn and destroying the uniformity of their coherence, the upper classes turn away from this style and adopt a new one'.¹¹⁵ However, there may be another way to interpret Bloom's predicament at Dignam's funeral: the unpleasant scenario has nothing to do with his hat—be it a bowler or a silk topper—at all. In fact, Bloom is unlikely to make such a mistake, because he is one of the keenest fashion observer in *Ulysses* and, in his interior monologue, remarks on various Dubliners' outfit when strolling towards the Leinster Street baths: 'Stylish kind of coat with that roll collar, warm for a day like this, looks like blanketcloth' (*U* 5.101-2); 'the bright fawn skin shine in the glare; the braided drums' (*U* 5.111-12); 'High brown boots with laces dangling' (*U* 5.117-18); 'the laceflare of her hat in the sun' (*U* 5.139-40); 'Valise I have a particular fancy for. Leather. Capped corners, rivetted edges, double action lever lock' (*U* 5.179-80). Bloom's description is shockingly precise, almost reminiscent of Roland Barthes's semiotic anatomy of fashion discourse in *The*

¹¹¹ Ibid.260.

¹¹² Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 129.

¹¹³ Osteen, 'A High Grade Ha: The "Politicoecocomedy" of Headwear in *Ulysses*', 269.

¹¹⁴ Gernsheim, *Victorian & Edwardian Fashion: A Photographic Survey*, 82.

¹¹⁵ Simmel, 'Fashion', (135).

Fashion System. When we consider Bloom's unmistakable knowledge of fashion, it doesn't make sense to blame his plight on a wrong choice of hat. Even if Bloom wears a silk topper (and maybe he actually does), the situation wouldn't improve much. In other words, the key determiner of fashion is not *what* to wear but *who* wears it—a bowler-wearing Edward VII would steal the show in 'Hades' all the same.

If hats were the 'most detachable' and 'most unnatural' fashion items,¹¹⁶ so was the neckwear. For both Edwardian dandies and ladies, the neckwear was rather a reminder of how fashion was achieved at the expense of bodily comfort,¹¹⁷ as is revealed by Bloom's answer to the question—'What caused him irritation in his sitting posture?' (*U* 17.1430)—in the Ithacan catechism: 'Inhibitory pressure of collar (size 17) and waistcoat (5 buttons), two articles of clothing superfluous in the costume of mature males and inelastic to alterations of mass by expansion' (*U* 17.1431-33). Despite Bloom's dislike of the neckwear, he knows too well that it is the quintessence of one's sartorial statement: 'Dress they look at. Always know a fellow courting: collars and cuffs' (*U* 13.829-30).

As for men's suits, Edwardian dandies 'started the London season with about 20 suits which cost him about £5 each, with the exception of the evening suit which would be about £20 each', and were expected 'to have a fresh coat for every day of the week and [change their] clothing three times a day'.¹¹⁸ Edwardian spendthrifts modelled themselves on Edward VII, 'Europe's *arbiter elegantiarum*', who 'used to take forty suits over twenty pairs of shoes on his Continental holidays'.¹¹⁹ However, compared with the large quantities of clothes, options of colours for men's suits were rather limited, and such dark shades as grey and black were most often seen (as will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 2).¹²⁰ Knee-length and close-fitting frock coats in grey and black, 'with silk-faced lapels', were 'the supreme exponent of fashion',¹²¹ and such a stylish English look is carefully followed by the undertaker

¹¹⁶ Colin McDowell, *Hats: Style, Status and Glamour* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 25.

¹¹⁷ See Stevenson, *Edwardian Fashion*, 24: 'The Edwardians' fashions in neckwear paralleled the other discomforts and tortures which they inflicted on themselves'.

¹¹⁸ Stevenson, *Edwardian Fashion*, 23-24.

¹¹⁹ Gernsheim, *Victorian & Edwardian Fashion: A Photographic Survey*, 90.

¹²⁰ Stevenson, *Edwardian Fashion*, 23-24.

¹²¹ Gernsheim, *Victorian & Edwardian Fashion: A Photographic Survey*, 82.

who wears a '[w]ellcut frockcoat' (*U* 6.842), Denis Breen 'in skimpy frockcoat' (*U* 8.310), Mr Kernan whose frockcoat '[b]owls [his fellow Dubliners] over' (*U* 10.738), '*Bloom in a torn frockcoat*' (*U* 15.935), and Mr Denis J Maginni who wears a '*slate frockcoat with claret silk lapels*' (*U* 15.4034-35). Edwardian men's fashion already foreshadows what men's fashion is today, and an Edwardian man probably wouldn't shock passersby—though he might be regarded as eccentric—if he were walking on a sidewalk in the 21st century. Such a continuity in trend arguably embodies a sartorial post-Victorianism that has been flourishing from Joyce's time to ours.

Unlike men's suits that have remained largely unchanged over a century, trends in ladies' fashion are fickle. According to Buckley and Fawcett, 'Edwardian beauties dressed in the elaborate designs of Worth, Lucile or Callot Seours contain a certain self-parodying glamour, a hyper-felinity similar to that found in the exaggerated artifice of male transvestism'.¹²² Indeed, women's outfits during the Edwardian era were too flamboyantly mercurial to be exhausted, and this fact is highly related to Edwardian women's keen awareness of being put on show: 'It is bad enough to feel that your dress is not in harmony with your surroundings of everyday life. But how much worse if your dress belies the character that you wish to play in a scene where you must act an important part before a critical audience!'.¹²³ In other words, for fashionable Edwardian women, *there wasn't any occasion that wasn't special*. This is not an exaggerated statement. In *The Cult of Chiffon*, Mrs Pritchard roughly names several occasions that she regards as *special*:¹²⁴ at Ascot, at balls, at dinners, at Homes, in town, at a smart country house, at Henley, on a journey, at the Casino, at the restaurant, at the theatres, at the opera.¹²⁵ On individual occasions, fashionable ladies wore *de rigueur* tailor-made evening dresses, demi-toilettes, tea-gowns, et

¹²² Cheryl Buckley and Hilary Fawcett, *Fashioning the Feminine: Representation and Women's Fashion from the Fin de Siècle to the Present* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 16.

¹²³ Mrs. Eric Pritchard and Rose Le Quesne, *The Cult of Chiffon (With illustrations by Rose Le Quesne)* (London: Grant Richards, 1902), 97.

¹²⁴ See Buckley and Fawcett, *Fashioning the Feminine: Representation and Women's Fashion from the Fin de Siècle to the Present*, 32: 'In the early twentieth century, Mrs Eric Pritchard, another friend of Daisy Warwick, and one who moved in the same aristocratic circles as Lucile and her sister, was a prominent commentator on fashion'.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 97-121. Also see Gernsheim, *Victorian & Edwardian Fashion: A Photographic Survey*, 88: 'The Edwardians liked to dress up on every possible occasion. Until the First World War, women had far more leisure and opportunities to parade in finery in the daytime than they have, or wish for, nowadays'.

cetera. Even though fashion in late-Victorian and Edwardian eras was mainly for the upper classes, it would soon be assimilated by the petite bourgeoisie as a trickle-down effect, and votaries of fashion like Gerty MacDowell would make their own outfits under the instruction of Ladies' magazines.

In addition to the meticulous depictions of fashionable outfits, *Ulysses* also captures the sartorial phenomenon that started emerging from Edwardian ladies' boudoirs and entering the realm of public discussion. Gerty reveals that 'undies' are her 'chief care' (*U* 13.171), while Molly Bloom's nocturnal thoughts are also replete with drawers and petticoats. Gerty and Molly's fascination with undergarments is indeed Edwardian, as Gernsheim has powerfully summarised how important underclothes were for ladies: 'Much of the extravagance of Edwardian dress lay beneath the surface. This was above all the era of seductive underclothes, when a model petticoat might cost as much as £50'.¹²⁶ It is also intriguing to see how certain Edwardian fashion discourses (which might be exceptional though) associated undergarments with religion through a rather blasphemous analogue: 'the cult of chiffon has this in common with the Christian religion—it insists that invisible is more important than the visible'.¹²⁷ The very first chapter of *The Cult of Chiffon*—an illustrated women's fashion guide published in 1902—is entitled 'On Things Seen and Unseen', in which Mrs Eric Pritchard claims that 'among the better class of Englishwomen their lingerie [. . .] leaves much to be desired', and that 'it is in the details "invisible" that refinement is expressed'.¹²⁸ As far as how corsets should be worn is concerned, a subtle paradox could be noticed—even if corsets were worn to keep female waists between twenty-one and twenty-five inches,¹²⁹ those so-called Edwardian fashion experts were advocating loudly for a natural way to dress up: 'The true ideal of beauty in dress consists in making the very best of Nature's mould, by supplying what is deficient, or concealing what is in excess'.¹³⁰ In other words, *wearing corsets* itself betrays the paradox that Edwardian female fashion followers

¹²⁶ Ibid., 85.

¹²⁷ Pritchard and Le Quesne, *The Cult of Chiffon (With illustrations by Rose Le Quesne)*, 16.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 9-10.

¹²⁹ Stevenson, *Edwardian Fashion*, 12: 'The women endeavoured to keep their waists between twenty-one and twenty-five inches. In order to do so, corsets were indispensable and they were made of silk, satin, brocade and coutil, a sort of twill'.


¹³⁰ Pritchard and Le Quesne, *The Cult of Chiffon (With illustrations by Rose Le Quesne)*, 12.

284 LADY'S PICTORIAL MAY 14, 1904.

POCOCK BROTHERS


- - Manufacturers of High-Class Boots and Shoes - -

FOR LADIES', CHILDREN'S, - 179, BROMPTON ROAD, LONDON, S.W.
AND INFANTS' GOODS ONLY.



SMART BOOT.
25/6

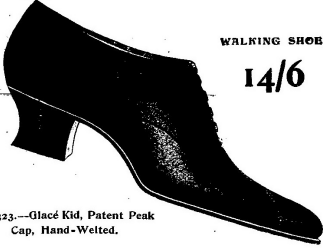
No. 256.—Glacé Kid, Button, Three-quarter Golosh, Hand-Welted.



DRESS SHOE.
15/9

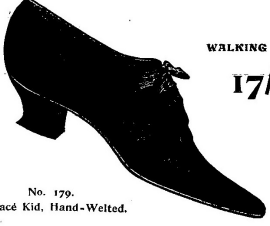
No. 73.—Glacé Kid, Double Cross-Bar, Louis XV. Heels, Steel Ornament.

A Selection sent on Approval to any part of the Kingdom on receipt of Tradesman's Reference.
All Orders by Post, with Cash, receive immediate attention.




WALKING SHOE.
14/6

No. 323.—Glacé Kid, Patent Peak Cap, Hand-Welted.



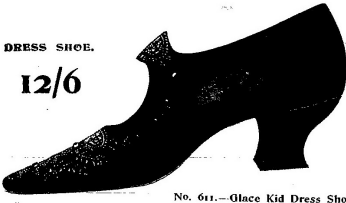
WALKING SHOE.
17/9

No. 179.—Tan Glacé Kid, Hand-Welted.



WALKING SHOE.
18/6

No. 186.—Tan Glacé Kid, Triple Bar, Hand Welted, Louis XV. Heel.



DRESS SHOE.
12/6

No. 611.—Glacé Kid Dress Shoe, with Jet Beads.

No. 331.—Smart Boot! Fine Glacé Kid to Lace, Glacé Peak Cap, Military Heel, Circular Golosh, Smart Toe, 18/6.
No. 80.—Glacé Kid 7-Bar Walking Shoe, Louis XV. Heel, Smart Toe, 14/6.
No. 90.—Tan Glacé Kid Barette Walking Shoe, Peak Cap, Louis XV. Heel, Smart Toe, 14/6.
No. 116.—Glacé Kid Cromwell Shoe, Steel Buckle, Louis XV. Heel, Hand-Sewn, 18/6.
No. 123.—Glacé Kid Button Boot, Patent or Glacé Toecap, Hand-Welted, Narrow or Medium Toe, Three-quarter Goloshed, 21/-
No. 113.—Smart Boot! Ladies' Tan Glacé, Button, Military Heel, Goloshed, Straight Toecap, 16/6.

No. 70b.—Children's Tan Glacé Button Boots, High Leg, Toecap, Round or Square Toe.
Size 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 1
Price 9/- 9/6 10/- 10/6 11/- 11/6 12/- 12/6
No. 70.—Children's Tan Glacé Lace Boots, High Leg, Toecap, Round or Square Toe.
Size 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 1
Price 9/- 9/6 10/- 10/6 11/- 11/6 12/- 12/6
No. 62.—Children's Fine Glacé Kid 2-Bar Walking Shoe, Medium Round Toe.
Size 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 1
Price 6/6 7/- 7/6 8/- 8/6 9/- 9/6 10/-

- - COUNTRY BRANCHES. - -

CANTERBURY: 25, ST. MARGARET'S ST. BEDFORD: 28, HIGH STREET. SEVENOAKS: 9, HIGH STREET.
COLCHESTER: 32, HIGH STREET. LEAMINGTON: 98, PARADE. YARMOUTH: 173, KING STREET.

Fig. 1.7—Advertisement for Pocock Brothers, a shoe-manufacturer, reproduced from *Lady's Pictorial* (1904).

went after an artificial body image that was advertised as natural.¹³¹ Next to corsets, Edwardian women wore knickers and petticoats. There were different types of knickers for different occasions and purposes. For instance, 'for day wear [knickers]

¹³¹ See Gernsheim, *Victorian & Edwardian Fashion: A Photographic Survey*, 87: 'During the first decade of the twentieth century a new dress reform movement started in Germany, advocating a shapeless garment worn without a corset, which was, of course, anathema to fashionable people'. Also see Buckley and Fawcett, *Fashioning the Feminine: Representation and Women's Fashion from the Fin de Siècle to the Present*, 26: 'there is a tension between the "made-upness" of parts of the imagery and the voluptuousness of the female body, which despite corseting connects in its implications of fertility with the idea of woman as "natural"'.

were arranged on a band with three buttons at the back and were gathered into a band below the knee which also buttoned', and there were also 'French knickers with very wide legs' that 'seem to have served no *useful* purpose at all.¹³² As for petticoats, 'the gored petticoat of 1895 was a *must* for the gored skirt of that date';¹³³ petticoats made of glacé silk and taffetas petticoats gradually fell out of fashion by 1902 because 'it had become unsubtle, even vulgar, for petticoats to be audible'.¹³⁴ Since women were clad in layers of undergarments, Patricia Cunningham contends that '[t]he intended shape or style of dress and accompanying silhouette were dependent not on the natural shape of each individual but rather on various undergarments'.¹³⁵

According to Pritchard, '[f]ashionable bootmakers to-day have returned with keenness to copy the lovely specimens of the Louis XV shoes (Fig. 1.7), especially for indoor wear. They modify the heel no doubt, for practical purposes; but the same beautiful shape [. . .] constitutes the best footgear to-day'.¹³⁶ In addition to these shoes of high fashion that were custom-made, machine-made shoes had gradually been taking over the mass market.¹³⁷ However, the Edwardian high fashion circle was against these mass-produced shoes and regarded them as vulgar; this attitude was nevertheless understandable, for high fashion, as Simmel points out, must distinguish itself from its imitators.

Finally, there is one element that floats over disparate materials, cuts and functions: the application of colours. Colours are definitely of essence to Edwardian women's fashion. For instance, an excerpt from *Lady's Pictorial* displays how colours cast their shades over fashion discourses:

Some of the newest imaginings are so charming that one wonders we have never thought of them before—particularly regarding the colourings—others, as the inconsequently delightful contrasts of palest

¹³² Stevenson, *Edwardian Fashion*, 13-14.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹³⁴ Gernsheim, *Victorian & Edwardian Fashion: A Photographic Survey*, 85-86.

¹³⁵ Patricia A. Cunningham, *Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850-1920: Politics, Health, and Art* (Kent: The Kent State University Press, 2003), 1.

¹³⁶ Pritchard and Le Quesne, *The Cult of Chiffon (With illustrations by Rose Le Quesne)*, 144.

¹³⁷ See Lucy Johnston and Linda Woolley, *Shoes* (London: V&A, 1999), 75-76: 'Shoes were being mass-produced by the middle of the nineteenth century. The sewing machine had become proficient for sewing cloth by the 1850s, and a machine for sewing leather was in use by 1856. Other machinery was developed for sewing on soles and for riveting. An example of the increasing impact of mechanization on shoe production is the firm of C. & J. Clark, which bought three treadle machines in 1856 and in 1858, and imported machines for cutting soles from America'.

ciel blue and sudden deep purple, the flashes of vivid orange on stone-shaded straw, and mauve combined with the green of the youngest hedge buds, are renewed joys to the eye.¹³⁸

As for women's fashion, the Edwardian era—departing from its preceding Victorian aesthetics—embraced pale shades: 'After white, pink is the best washing colour; blues and mauves, even of the best, are apt to fade. Yellow, if it suits you, is charming, but these are matters of individual taste'.¹³⁹ This radical shift in the aesthetics of colour was a consequence of technological innovation, because William Henry Perkin discovered the first of aniline dyes during the later-half of the Victorian era,¹⁴⁰ and chemical dyes were gradually replacing vegetable dyes, becoming the primary option of dyestuff industry. I have placed emphasis on the colour of blue due to Gerty's multiple references to blueish shades in 'Nausicaa': 'it was expected in the *Lady's Pictorial* that electric blue would be worn' (*U* 13.150-51); 'pale blue' (*U* 13.175); 'She was wearing the blue for luck' (*U* 13.179); 'the garters were blue' (*U* 13.716); etc. Joyce lists blue as one of the dominant colours of 'Nausicaa',¹⁴¹ and it may, though more evidences are needed, be a good point to argue that every detail contains the possibility of its being re-examined and re-explored through a different lens. In the case of 'Nausicaa', Gerty's preference for blue is likely to reflect the Edwardian taste and innovation, and this argument will be fully developed in Chapter 3.

The overview of Edwardian fashion's presence in *Ulysses* helps to establish the legitimacy of reading *Ulysses* from a sartorial perspective. Quite ironically, the very fact that English sartorial fashion is omnipresent in *Ulysses* to the extent that there is a possibility of building up a thesis solely upon it manifests the semicolonial condition that Joyce's Dubliners inhabit. The only major character who *seems* to appear in a traditional set of Celtic costume is the Citizen, who

¹³⁸ Butterfly, 'Summer Fashions', *The Lady's Pictorial* (1904): 910-48 (910).

¹³⁹ Pritchard and Le Quesne, *The Cult of Chiffon (With illustrations by Rose Le Quesne)*, 22.

¹⁴⁰ Gernsheim, *Victorian & Edwardian Fashion: A Photographic Survey*, 54: 'The first of the aniline dyes, a brilliant purple, was discovered by chance in 1856 by William Henry Perkin, an industrial chemist of eighteen, in the course of experiments on the production of synthetic quinine from the waste products of coal-gas undertakings'.

¹⁴¹ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 384: 'Color: gray, blue [blue is the color of beauty, chaste affections, and true love; it is an attribute of the Virgin Mary]'.

wore a long unsleeved garment of recently flayed oxhide reaching to the knees in a loose kilt and this was bound about his middle by a girdle of plaited straw and rushes. Beneath this he wore trews of deerskin, roughly stiched with gut. His nether extremities were encased in high Balbriggan buskins dyed in lichen purple, the feet being shod with brogues of salted cowhide laced with the windpipe of the same beast (*U* 12.168-73).

This close-up shot of the Citizen's outfit exposes to us a deceitful mélange of authentic and fake Irishness: for instance, a 1900 review on Irish costume contends that the kilt is 'the invention of Highland Irish, and should be left to them'.¹⁴² This review is right when it says that the kilt is rather Scottish than authentically Irish, but the fact is that the kilt 'was *invented by an English tailor*, and the first person who wore it was an Englishman [named Thomas Rawlinson], so late as the year 1727'.¹⁴³ Provided that 'Cyclops' is an episode replete with nomenclature, anonymity and misnomers, the Citizen's mistaking kilts for Irish costume may, by Joyce's design, ridicule the fact that '[s]affron kilts were assumed by some Irish nationalists to have been the standard dress in Golden Age Ireland'.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, such a mélange of authentic and fake Irishness may also be confusing, because it is hard to tell whether the target of Joyce's criticism is *fake* Irishness or *Irishness* itself. More intriguingly, such Irishness of the Citizen's outfit, either fake or authentic, is strongly reminiscent of primitive tribalism and even savagery. As Myron Schwartzman points out, '[t]he introductory paragraphs describing Cusack and his garments are not included in the copybook V.A.8',¹⁴⁵ so we don't know exactly if Michael Cusack appeared in the same quasi-Celtic costume as the Citizen does; however, photographs of 'Citizen Cusack' suggest that he looked civilised (in other words, English-genteel) enough in reality.

Enda Duffy contends that 'Cyclops' is prone to 'subscribe to the most vicious form of colonial stereotyping' when the episode depicts the Citizen as a 'quarrelsome, troublemaking' savage.¹⁴⁶ Vincent J. Cheng combs through the

¹⁴² Sigma, 'Irish Costume', *All Ireland Review*, vol. 1 (1900): 4.

¹⁴³ William Pinkerton, 'The Highland Kilt and the Old Irish Dress', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology, First Series*, vol. 6 (1858): 316-27 (316).

¹⁴⁴ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 214.

¹⁴⁵ Myron Schwartzman, 'The V.A.8 Copybook: An Early Draft of the "Cyclops" Chapter of *Ulysses* with Notes on its Development', *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 12 (1974): 64-122 (104).

¹⁴⁶ Enda Duffy, *The Subaltern Ulysses* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 121.

backdrop against which such a stereotype has been formed. According to his research, the image of the Irishman ‘as a barbarian was a consolidated tradition (the “wild Irish”) in England and Scotland by the nineteenth century’,¹⁴⁷ and comparisons between the Irish Celts and other aboriginal peoples became a recurring theme in various scholarly works throughout the Victorian era; for instance, Gustave de Beaumont contended in 1839 that Irish peasants inhabited a worse condition than the noble savages of America, and Charles Darwin (whose evolutionism has been manipulated by the discourses of Empire) actually drew a comparison between New Zealand’s Maoris and Irish peasants in *The Descent of Man* (1882).¹⁴⁸ During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the most frequently made among all these comparisons, Cheng observes, was that between the Irish and ‘negroes’.¹⁴⁹ Victorian (pseudo-)science also created the racial ladder on which human races climb up from the apelike status to the angelic status; *Anglo*-Saxons, unsurprisingly, identified themselves with *angels*—and the pun has been ridiculed by Joyce in *Exiles* when Robert Hand, in response to Richard Rowan’s question ‘Did [my son] seem to you a child only—or an angel?’ (*E* 90), answers: ‘No. Neither an angel nor an Anglo-Saxon. Two things, by the way, for which I have very little sympathy’ (*E* 90)—whereas the Irish were tagged as *Irish apes*.¹⁵⁰ Since Joyce is well versed in the pseudo-anthropologist discourse, the explicit analogy between the Citizen and the savage raises the inevitable question: why would Joyce reinforce the racial stereotype of Irish apes? In response to this query, Duffy reminds us that the anonymous narrator’s voice is not to be trusted,¹⁵¹ because ‘I’, like Corny Kelleher, may be a police informer—‘I was just passing the time of the day with old Troy of the D. M. P.’ (*U* 12.1)—and therefore his account in ‘Cyclops’ may exaggerate or even falsify the clash between Bloom and the Citizen for his political purpose.

Notwithstanding the possibility that Joyce endows the anonymous narrator with the authorial helm only to experiment with the technique of one-eyed gigantism, he

¹⁴⁷ Vincent J. Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 21.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 29-32.

¹⁵¹ Also see Richard Ellmann, *Ulysses on the Liffey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 110: ‘One of the two narrators of Cyclops—the one who carries the burden of the narrative—is [. . .] a man never named, but privately identified by Joyce with Thersites, the meanest-spirited man in the Greek host at Troy’.

may have unconsciously revealed his own preference of *modern* outfit over traditional Celtic costume when making a caricature of the latter. In other words, whereas Joyce rejects the ‘angels-and-apes’ racial theory, he may have ironically endorsed a seemingly unbiased (yet actually bigoted) thesis that sartorial modernity is superior to rustic Celtic costume, and such an irony casts its shadow over *Ulysses*. The following textual trace may be illuminating: while relishing the perfect shape of the nude marble statue he saw earlier in the Kildare street museum, Leopold Bloom not only complains that very few of Dublin women have a perfect female form, but also claims that ‘they have so little taste in dress, most of them, which greatly enhances a woman’s natural beauty’ (*U* 16.895-96). The *taste in dress* Mr Bloom refers to is arguably *modern*, as the microscopic scrutiny of ‘Ithaca’ exposes his meticulousness about miscellaneous modern knowledges: natural sciences, advertising, speculation, technologies, medicine, hygiene, public transport, et cetera. Bloom’s blueprint for future Dublin sketches an industrialised metropolis where even animals and corpses can be transported to their destinations via tramlines, and his modern Dublin, just like Adolf Loos’s modern Vienna, should be a city inhabited by citizens who wear not only fashionable outfit but also hygienic undergarments.

As many critics have suggested, Leopold Bloom and Stephen Dedalus are the literary alter-egos of James Joyce, and such a suggestion is definitely correct when it comes to the latter’s fashion-consciousness. In David Galef’s words, ‘Joyce was fastidious in matters of dress, even dandyish at times’.¹⁵² Certain biographical traces seem to contradict Galef’s words on occasions though—for instance, when Sylvia Beach had her first encounter with Joyce in Shakespeare and Company in the summer of 1920, she found him ‘a little shabby’ and with Stephen Dedalus’s ashplant;¹⁵³ Ezra Pound, in contrast to Joyce’s shabbiness, ‘was wearing a becoming blue shirt’.¹⁵⁴ However, in spite of such counterexamples, Galef’s observation remains generally valid, because Joyce’s shabbiness is never due to his failure to take proper care over sartorial details, but always due to his recurring financial crises. We may even imagine how offended Joyce would feel, had he known that Beach

¹⁵² David Galef, ‘The Fashion Show in *Ulysses*’, *Twentieth Century Literature*, vol. 37 (1991): 420-31 (426).

¹⁵³ Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1956), 37.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

depicted him as ‘shabby’. Many of Joyce’s letters reveal that his almost irrational fascination with clothes is a psychological counteraction that reduces his negative feeling of being poor. Here is a telling case—when Joyce writes to Nora’s uncle on the 2nd of November 1915 to express his gratitude for the latter’s financial support, he, rather self-indulgently, begins with an extended paragraph on the garments that his family had purchased with the fund:

My dear Mr Healy: [. . .] Nora has bought a lot of flannels and other clothes which the children need in this climate and a hat which she finally selected from the few hundred which were shown to her. [. . .] As for myself I am to be seen in a shellcocoa-coloured overcoat which an absentminded German left behind him and I bought for eleven francs. Of his moral character I know nothing. But I am sure that he has (or had) uncommonly short arms. (*SL* 218)

It is unlikely that Nora’s uncle would be interested in the colour of Joyce’s new overcoat or his theory about the absentminded German’s short arms, but Joyce cannot help lingering over these sartorial trivia. In another letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver on the 20th of September 1928, Joyce tells an even weirder story about the losing battle that he was fighting against his gradual loss of vision, and his defence strategy—dressing in the three colours that symbolise the three stages of cecity—is beyond comprehension:

The complete eclipse of my seeing faculties so kindly predicted by A.M.’s young friend from Oxford, the ghost of Banquet [*sic*], I am warding off by dressing in the three colors of successive stages of cecity as the Germans divide them; namely, green Starr; that is, green blindness, or glaucoma; grey Starr; that is, cataract, and black star, that is dissolution of the retina. This therefore forms a nocturnal tri-color connected by one common color. [. . .] So I had a jacket made in Munich of a green stuff I bought in Salzburg and the moment I got back to Paris I bought a pair of black and grey shoes and a grey shirt; and I had a pair of grey trousers and I found a black tie and I advertised for a pair of green braces and Lucia gave me a grey silk handkerchief and the girl found a black sombrero and that completed the picture. (*SL* 338)

However comical it seems, the way Joyce draws a connection between his loss of eyesight and the colours of clothes forms a focal point where fashion (the tricolour dressing strategy) and spectacle (the mysterious symbolism with which Joyce tries to

ward off blindness) meet and become one. Aside from these two strange cases, various similar anecdotes are scattered over Joyce's letters and biographies. Here is one final amusing anecdote: when Patrick Tuohy 'philosophize[d] about the importance to an artist of capturing his subject's soul' (*JIII* 565-66), Joyce was rather uninspired by Tuohy's theory and replied nonchalantly: 'Never mind my soul. Just be sure you have my tie right' (*JIII* 566). We don't know if Tuohy followed Joyce's instructions, but Richard Ellmann tells us that 'the sitter was best pleased by the tie and the folds of the jacket' when he saw the portrait (*JIII* 566).

In addition to Joyce's personal affair with clothes, sartorial fashion has been intrinsic to the fashioning progress of *Ulysses*. In the very case of *Ulysses*'s eventful publication history, it is a *weaver* that played the decisive role, both financially and symbolically, to bring the obscure book to light. We all know that Joyce is (in)famous for his superstitious mind and his meticulousness about coincidences; because of his superstitious nature, Joyce was looking desperately for hopeful signs when almost completing 'Penelope' in 1921, and, to his delight, one of them was that 'Penelope was a weaver, like his English benefactress' (*JIII* 517). Indeed, it may be forced to regard such a wordplay on Harriet Shaw Weaver's name as a piece of evidence that consolidates the connection between *Ulysses* and sartorial fashion, but the logic triggering this very free association is definitely Joycean. Joyce is a weaver who weaves sartorial fashion into the text(ile) of *Ulysses*,¹⁵⁵ and such an analogy between the action to write and the action to weave is actually endorsed by Joyce himself. In a letter written on the 10th of December 1920, Joyce tells Frank Budgen that 'I hope you have done more than I have who have been botching and *patching* [my italics] that bloody old Circe since last June' (*SL* 275). Also, the relationship between *telling* and *text* is analogous to that between tailoring and textile in *Finnegans Wake*, and the actions of writing and weaving become integrated in the darkest hours of the Wakean dream (which may be construed as a textual continuation of the dreamy stream of consciousness of Molly Bloom, the modern reincarnation of Penelope the weaver). As the verb patch—that is, to apply a fabric to mend a textile surface—implies, the method Joyce applies to the composition of

¹⁵⁵ See Lehmann, *Tigersprung*, 209: 'Text becomes textiles; the collected works of remembrance are ideally woven like a tapestry or fabric, similar both in epistemological structure and in textual appearance'.

Ulysses resembles the action of sewing miscellaneous materials together: the making of *Ulysses* is intertextual as well as *intertextile*.

The method of patching is phonetically reminiscent of pastiche, a quality which is often tagged as postmodern, yet Ulrich Lehmann's *Tigersprung* invites us to rethink postmodernity (and, more fundamentally, modernity) in terms of sartorial fashion:

the apparently random cultural borrowing and quotation of 'postmodernism' have been anticipated in the sartorial citation of couturiers such as Paul Poiret, Elsa Schiaparelli, or Yves Saint Laurent long before Jean-François Lyotard began to write his postulates. Similarly, the 'deconstruction' of modern culture, especially literature, could be said to have been somewhat anticipated by Cristóbal Balenciaga's semi-fitted suits, his pronounced darts and seams of the 1950s and his use of patterns to indicate the cut of the fabric, thus displaying the underlying construction and not the 'look' as the *raison d'être* of the garment.¹⁵⁶

Lehmann's argument that literary postmodernism has already been foreshadowed in sartorial designs at the turn of the twentieth century is rooted in his larger archaeological project on fashion and modernity that reconstructs the embryological development of this pair of conjoined twins. Lehmann's project is essential to my reading of *Ulysses*, because it convincingly hypothesises the algorithm that being modern equals being *à la mode*. In other words, when we talk about *Ulysses* as the epitome of modernism, we would benefit greatly from reading sartorial fashion as the paradigm and proto-metaphor of modernity.

Modernity and fashion are etymologically connected, for both *modernité* and *mode* come from the Latin *modus*.¹⁵⁷ In fact, *la mode* preexists *la modernité*, as the latter remained rather obscure until it was added to the second edition of Émile Littré's *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1869), which credits Théophile Gautier with the 'first documented usage of this neologism in its proper, stylistically apt sense'.¹⁵⁸ In *Tigersprung* (which is taken from Walter Benjamin's famous epigram

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., xx.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., xv.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 12.

‘[Fashion] is the tiger’s leap into the past’¹⁵⁹), Lehmann weaves a genealogy of mode and modernity. According to Lehmann, it is Baudelaire who played a key role in feminising *le mode* (which connotes the transhistorical),¹⁶⁰ and invested his poetic imagination in ‘develop[ing] from *la mode* an expression for the immediate, the unpredictable, and the charm of constant change’.¹⁶¹ Baudelaire’s fashion discourse is folded into his project on modernity, because fashion’s ‘capacity to transcend natural law as well as time’ finds ‘its culmination in his analysis of *la modernité*’.¹⁶² *Ulysses* also belongs to this genealogy, because Joyce’s *modern* project to transform a single day into eternity perfectly manifests the dialectics between the transitory and the transhistorical. Coincidentally (or not), the fact that Leopold Bloom is depicted as a Jewish ‘womanly man’ (*U* 15.1799) is parallel to *le mode*’s gradual loss of its subject-related masculine form and its ‘fall[ing] behind *la mode* as the paradigm of modern times’.¹⁶³ It may be wilful (or even sexist) to link the feminised mode with modernity’s objectifying force and to suggest that only womanly men talk about fashion; however, this stereotypical analogy has been invested with literary and theoretical niceties. Here is one amusing case: in 1874, when Mallarmé emerged as the editor of ladies’ fashion magazine entitled *La Dernière mode*, he wrote every word by himself under a variety of feminine pseudonyms, which ‘included “Marguerite de Ponty” (for fashion, and the theory of fashion)’ and “Miss Satin” (giving news of the fashion houses of Paris)’.¹⁶⁴

Finally, the historical fact that such literary colossi as Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Simmel and Benjamin contributed their works to fashion magazines and newspapers also emblematises that modern literature, since its genesis, has been interwoven with the burgeoning institution of cultural industry and, therefore, its underlying capitalist logic. When Benjamin writes in *Über den Begriff der Geschichte* that ‘[fashion (*die mode*)] is a tiger’s leap into the past’ and the ‘same leap in the open air of history is

¹⁵⁹ Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 261.

¹⁶⁰ See Lehmann, *Tigersprung*, 18: ‘*Mode* derives from the Latin *modus*, meaning “manner” or “style”. Its masculine form expresses above all rules of change and anticipation of cycles (e.g., “modes of living”). It governs the way in which an action or historic progress develops’.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁶⁴ P. N. Furbank and Alex Cain (eds.), *Mallarmé on Fashion: A Translation of the Fashion Magazine La Dernière mode, with Commentary* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 5.

the dialectical one, which is how Marx understood the revolution',¹⁶⁵ he is—either intentionally or unconsciously—justifying his own fashion fetish by endowing the word with a paradoxical power of overthrowing the capitalist system. In other words, Benjamin's fascination with fashion and his zealous theoretical investment in this metonym for capitalist modernity rather suggest the impossibility of revolution. Similarly, Sherwood Anderson tells us that Joyce, just like Leopold Bloom, is obsessed with the idea of being a 'respectable burgher', or, in Anderson's coinage, a 'Burjoice'.¹⁶⁶ Ironically enough, Joyce's aspiration to be a bourgeois *à la mode* and to write a modern epic cannot but hobble *Ulysses*'s stride towards decolonisation, because modernity, in Walter D. Mignolo's words, is 'a European narrative that hides its darker side', namely, coloniality.¹⁶⁷ For Joyce and his Dubliners, to stay *à la mode* is to think in colonisers' languages, to behave like them, dress like them, and, to become them.

1.3 A THESIS MAP

As the *raison-d'être* of this project has been illuminated, I am now unfolding the map of the thesis and showing the future trajectory of my trail of thought. Each body chapter orbits the equivocal keyword *micro-spectacle* and displays certain dimensions of it.

Chapter 2 picks up the loose threads left unwoven in the introduction, and reveals how Dubliners' will to secularism seemingly frees them from the yoke of religion (be it Roman Catholicism, Judaism, or Anglicanism) but actually makes them enslaved by consumerism. *Ulysses* unfolds its eternal day with Buck Mulligan's performance of a mock Mass, wherein sacred gestures are caricatured by his banal daily shaving routine. This opening micro-spectacle not merely foreshadows a secularising force that runs through the entire book, but also suggests that we should scrutinise every minute detail in this gigantic book on quotidian life. Therefore, this chapter zooms in on Stephen Dedalus, the Catholic-turned-agnostic, and Leopold Bloom, the unorthodox-Jew. The first half of this chapter examines the intriguing

¹⁶⁵ Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 261.

¹⁶⁶ Beach, *Shakespeare and Company*, 42.

¹⁶⁷ Walter D. Mignolo, 'Coloniality: The Darker Side of Modernity', in *Modernologies: Contemporary Artists Researching Modernity and Modernism*, ed. Cornelia Klinger and Bartomeu Mari (Barcelona: Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 2009), 39.

fact that Stephen, who hates his ‘English and Italian masters’ and whose ‘Paris fads’ (*U* 1.342) are ridiculed by Mulligan, ironically insists on wearing mourning dress, which was actually a dominant *English* commodity at the turn of the century. The irony that Stephen holds a hostile attitude towards the British Empire and the Roman Catholic church but at the same time embraces *crêpe anglaise*—an English fabric which originates from Italy—exposes the colonising power of secular invasion: commodities achieve what politics and religion have failed to achieve. The second half of this chapter turns to podophilia Poldy and his shoe-fetishism. The connection between Jews and shoes has been examined by costume historians and ethnographers; upon this basis, this chapter intends to explore how Bloom the Jew removes the sacred connotation from shoes and replaces it with sexual and secular significance in the colonial and capitalist context. Better yet, this chapter sets the stage for the subsequent chapters: the backdrop of *Ulysses* is a colonial city that can’t win the war against the overwhelming invasion of English commodities.

Chapter 3 analyses the ambiguous double-voicedness of ‘Nausicaa’ from the perspective of a turn-of-the-century micro-spectacle, namely, the mutoscope, and anatomises the overlapping narratives into distinct yet interwoven layers of Bloom’s cinematic gaze and Gerty’s intrusion into his voyeuristic projection. Based on Christian Metz’s theory of the fetishistic nature of cinematic *off-frameness*, this chapter proposes that the mutoscopic spectacle of ‘Nausicaa’ suffers from the symptoms of cinematic fetishism on multiple levels: on a surface level, Bloom’s mutoscopic vision is fetishistic in that it zooms in on Gerty’s undergarments yet suddenly fades out before it almost encounters her revealed private parts; on a deeper level, Gerty’s narcissistic look at herself is fetishistic because it screens off her own disabilities and focuses on such commodities as fashion items she wears and patent medicines she takes; on the deepest level, Joyce’s direction of this micro-spectacle is arguably fetishistic as well, because he exhibits a commodified world in detail yet deliberately keeps the invading colonial force off-frame.

It is by casting a look at *Ulysses in Nighttown*, a well-received production which debuted in Broadway on the 15th of February 1974 that **Chapter 4** unfolds its argument against the popular suggestion that ‘Circe’ is an *anti-spectacle*. It may seem an anachronistic fallacy to regard the off-Broadway production as a piece of

evidence that supports the theatricality of ‘Circe’, but the production is relevant to my argumentation in two senses: on the one hand, *Ulysses in Nighttown* exhibits how the Circean script can be spectacularly realised in a theatrical space; on the other hand, the production highlights the burlesque elements of the commercial theatre and hints at the episode’s root in mass culture. More explicitly speaking, it is the Victorian commercial theatre—which was the dominant form of mass culture—that nurtures and inspires ‘Circe’. Consequently, this chapter contends that the scrutiny at such Victorian spectacles as pantomime and melodrama will dissipate numerous mysteries that fog up ‘Circe’. To begin with, if we examine the turn-of-the-century theatrical spectacles, the reason why Joyce locates the Circean dreamscape in a theatrical space would become manifest, because Joyce’s phantasmagoric depiction of the nightmare corresponds with and plays upon various special stage effects in his time. That is to say, the episode could be read as a historical document that simultaneously records and distorts turn-of-the-century theatrical special effects and technologies. Such endeavours to recontextualise ‘Circe’ and locate it back into the turn-of-the-century commercial theatre are to pave the way for a more detailed scrutiny over the spectacular display and special effect of miscellaneous costumes, by which the Circean fashion show is highly conditioned. The fantastic, dreamlike montage of seemingly incompatible costumes being displayed on the Circean catwalk actually corresponds to the new alliance between the fashion industry and the commercial theatre in London. All these historical findings expose an ironic reality: if Joyce’s ‘Circe’ represents Dubliners’ collective memory in a dreamscape, then most components of that dream are imported from England’s commercial theatre.

Chapter 5 proposes that ‘Penelope’ resembles a theatrical spectacle wherein Molly Bloom, in lingerie, performs her body writing. Body writing (*le corps écrivain*) is a phrase coined by Jacques Derrida, with which he refers to the private scenes wherein his writing process is anatomised into a sequence of erotic arousal, performative gestures, and mechanical reproductions. That is to say, the concept of body writing highlights the erotic, theatrical and material natures of writing. Based upon this concept, this chapter not merely aims to revisit and re-evaluate the long-established connection between ‘Penelope’ and psychoanalysis via the latter’s

analogy between the unconscious and writing mechanisms, but also wishes to re-read the episode as Molly's body writing in response to the lingerie she's wearing. Since Molly's body writing is replete with numerous *lapsus calami* that have tempted critics to interpret it from the perspective of psychoanalysis, the first half of this chapter suggests that the real impact of psychoanalysis on our reading of 'Penelope' is to reveal how the discourse of unconscious desire enables Molly and her contemporary female consumers to articulate their *wants* for erotic commodities. More explicitly speaking, there is an intriguing parallel to be found between Sigmund Freud's discovery of psychoanalysis and women's underclothes' evolution from undesirable hygienic clothing to alluring fashion items marketed under the new category of *lingerie*. The emergence of psychoanalysis and its verbalisation of previously inarticulable desires provide the advertising discourse with a possibility of selling new commodities that were previously unwanted: desires can't be advertised unless they are articulable. In this vein, the second half of this chapter carries out a historical examination of Edwardian lingerie, so as to illustrate the process of lingerie's being eroticised and reveal the fact that Molly's obsession with and outspokenness about lingerie is rather common than singular among Edwardian women. In Molly's body writing, her 'flowrèd' lingerie is not a mere floral decoration crawling over the surface of her thoughts; instead, lingerie is the essential costume for her slumbrous performance and the sensual enticement that triggers the entire sequence of her nocturnal fantasies: Molly is so obsessed with (and, in a sense, colonised by) lingerie that she, even in dreams, can't get rid of it.

CHAPTER 2

‘O, DAMN YOU AND YOUR PARIS FADS!’: DUBLIN DANDIES IN SECULARISING SPECTACLES

Thanks, Stephen said. I can’t wear them if they are grey (*U* 1.120).

—James Joyce

Modern man spends less and less of his life in production within work and more and more of it in the *production* and continual innovation of his own needs and well-being.¹

—Jean Baudrillard

Dandyism appears especially in those periods of transition when democracy has not yet become all-powerful, and when aristocracy is only partially weakened and discredited. In the confusion of such times, a certain number of men, disenchanted and leisured ‘outsiders’, but all of them richly endowed with native energy, may conceive the idea of establishing a new kind of aristocracy.²

—Charles Baudelaire

It is mourning crape that above all epitomises the middle-class Victorian widow. It was a lightweight, semi-transparent, black silk fabric, crimped into three-dimensional patterns.³

—Lou Taylor

Ulysses unfolds its eternal day on the 16th of June 1904 with a theatrical spectacle, wherein Buck Mulligan performs his (in)famous mockery of the Mass: he ‘[bears] a bowl on which a mirror and a razor lay crossed’ (*U* 1.1-2), wears a ‘yellow dressinggown, ungirdled’ (*U* 1.2-3), and recites ‘Introibo ad altare Dei’ (*U* 1.5)—‘I will go up to God’s altar’—while walking up the stairhead of the Sandycove Martello Tower. All these gestures, utensils and costumes have their semiotic values: the bowl mocks the chalice which contains Christ’s-blood-becoming-wine, whereas

¹ Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*, trans. Chris Turner (London: Sage, 1998), 80.

² Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life (1863)*, trans. P. E. Charvet (London: Penguin, 2010), 39.

³ Lou Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983), 203-4.

his yellow gown parodies the liturgical vestment made of gold cloth which is optionally worn for the Mass on the feast day of St. John Francis Regis.⁴ Jeri Johnson, in her exegesis of the opening scene in ‘Telemachus’, scrutinises the ‘miserly economy’ behind the verbs *bearing* and *crossed*, and argues that they ‘tell two tales at once: the first of Mulligan’s mundane preparations for his morning shave, the second of his imposition of a symbolic significance on this routine—mock Mass supplants morning shave’.⁵ Johnson sees the very juxtaposition of mundane routines and religious rituals as a defining case which indicates both Mulligan’s and Stephen’s ‘polysemic capacity’ to ‘assign symbolic significance to actions, objects, people’.⁶ However, the facts that Stephen ‘looked coldly at [Mulligan’s] shaking gurgling face that blessed him’ (*U* 1.14-15) and that Mulligan ends his performance with the blasphemous commentary: ‘[t]he mockery of it!’ (*U* 1.34) emphasise that we should understand this opening spectacle rather as a secular removal of sacredness than as a sacralisation of quotidian life. Mulligan’s mock Mass is a subtle play that undermines the religious paradigm: his performance suggests not so much a reaffirmation of Roman Catholicism’s pervasion in Irish quotidian life as a form of cultural unconsciousness which dominates and regulates every minute daily routine of Dubliners, but rather a series of victorious gestures that display how Catholic rituals have been deprived of their sacred overtones and downgraded into the banal mechanism of daily shaving. In other words, Mulligan’s (un)fashionable display of the ungirdled yellow dressing gown and the spectacles built around it may, in a paradoxical sense, aim for the opposite of what Johnson regards as ‘simultaneously precisely denotative and symbolically connotative’;⁷ Mulligan, with his gestures and garment, hints at Catholicism only to deflate and wipe out its religious signification. To a certain extent, we may see this opening scene of *Ulysses* as a demystification and an antithesis of the Barthesian semiotic system which aims to rediscover ancient rhetoric out of modern mass culture: Mulligan’s analogy between his daily shaving routine and the Catholic Mass, as has been emphasised, rather aims to banalise the latter than sacralising the former.

⁴ See Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 12-13.

⁵ James Joyce, *Ulysses* (1922), ed. Jeri Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 767.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 767-68.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 768.

Mulligan's blasphemous banalisation of Catholicism is further demonstrated by an analogy between 'the fry on the dish [. . .] slapped [. . .] on three plates' and the Holy Trinity (*U* 1.349-51) via the prayer 'In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti' (*U* 1.351) and his recitation of 'The ballad of joking Jesus' (*U* 1.608), with which he has been bombarding Stephen '[t]hree times a day, after meals' (*U* 1.610):⁸

—*I'm the queerest young fellow that ever you heard.*
My mother's a jew, my father's a bird.
With Joseph the joiner I cannot agree.
So here's to disciples and Calvary (*U* 1.584-87).

In Mulligan's performance 'with mad gaiety', Jesus becomes 'a doll's head' with 'a quiet happy foolish voice' (*U* 1.581-83). In response to this blasphemous chant, Haines the 'Sassenach' (*U* 1.232) and Stephen start a brief and aloof exchange between them on their understandings of agnosticism: '—You're not a believer, are you? Haines asked. I mean, a believer in the narrow sense of the word. Creation from nothing and miracles and a personal God'. '—There's only one sense of the word, it seems to me, Stephen said' (*U* 1.611-14). In contrast to Mulligan's joyful mockery of Catholicism, Stephen broods over its enslaving power, bitterly telling Haines that 'I am a servant of two masters [. . .] an English and an Italian' (*U* 1.638). The phrase *servant of two masters* not merely corresponds to an Italian play's title *Il servitore di due padroni*,⁹ but also ridicules Jesus's teachings in the Sermon on the Mount: 'No man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will be devoted to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and mammon'.¹⁰ On the one hand, God and mammon, not without a sense of irony, have gradually become the same master during the secularisation of Catholicism, as is revealed by the contextual trace that Jesus's teachings have been integrated into Italian popular cultures and then consumed as a commodity by an Irishman. On the other hand, Stephen not merely accuses religious and imperial hegemonies of

⁸ See Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 24: 'These stanzas [. . .] are quoted with some adaptations from a longer poem by Oliver St. John Gogarty, "The Song of the Cheerful (but Slightly Sarcastic) Jesus". The poem was apparently circulated in manuscript and by word of mouth in Dublin 1904-5'.

⁹ See *Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁰ Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger (eds.), *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha: Revised Standard Version* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977): Matthew 6:24. Subsequent references are to this edition.

enslaving Irish people, but also gestures his resistance to these *two masters*. However, whether he is being disdainfully disobedient or reluctantly obedient remains a question. In spite of his *non serviam*, Stephen reluctantly identifies himself as the ‘server of a servant’ (*U* 1.312) in Mulligan’s mock Mass, which rather indicates his inability to break free from the Catholic semiotic system. More explicitly speaking, his resistance is either rhetorical, gestural, or symbolic, but never real. Mulligan’s sarcasm—‘Etiquette is etiquette. He kills his mother but he can’t wear grey trousers’ (*U* 1.121-22)—is an intriguing case that merits scrutiny. Mulligan’s exaggerated statement that ‘he kills his mother’ refers to Stephen’s recent refusal to ‘kneel down and pray for [his dying mother]’ (*U* 1.93-94). Indeed, his refusal can be interpreted as a gesture of resistance to Catholic dogmas, but it makes his dogmatic insistence on wearing mourning dress even more curious.

In an attempt to make sense of Stephen’s paranoiac refusal to wear grey trousers, Alan Grant excavates a pertinent anecdote out of the dust of history:

In 1845, there was great public and ecclesiastical interest in England about when, if ever, John Henry Newman would declare himself finished with the Church of England and convert to Roman Catholicism. Cardinal Wiseman sent one Father Smith to dine with Newman to see if he might gather some intelligence on this point. The pre-dinner discussions did not touch upon Newman’s intentions at all, but when Newman changed for dinner, Father Smith noticed that his host was now wearing grey trousers. On this basis alone, Father Smith reported to a highly skeptical Cardinal Wiseman that Newman’s decision to change his religious affiliation to Rome was imminent. Within weeks, Newman was a member of the Roman Catholic Church. This may well be a classic example of the logical fallacy known as *post hoc ergo propter hoc* (because a thing happens after another event, the former caused the latter), but it does provide an allusion—however illogical—to the wearing of grey trousers and adherence to Catholicism.¹¹

If this coincidental correlation of *wearing grey trousers* and *converting to Roman Catholicism* illuminates the ambiguous cause of Stephen’s resentment towards the former, it nonetheless problematically aligns him with the illogical reasoning of the Church of England and the imperial hegemony it serves. Intriguingly, every existent explanation of Stephen’s refusal to wear grey trousers—whether it be his

¹¹ Alan Grant, ‘Why Could Stephen Not Wear Grey Trousers?’, *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 36 (1999): 628-29 (628).

identification with Hamlet or his strong adherence to appropriate mourning etiquette—makes him contradict his intended antagonism against his English master, not merely because *Hamlet* is the *masterpiece* written in the intruder’s language, but because the fad about mourning was very much a Victorian cultural formation (to which we will return in 2.1).¹² Therefore, as Stephen gestures an antagonism against his Italian master by refusing to wear grey trousers, he *unconsciously* serves the English master’s socioeconomic interests because he, in having done so, conforms to the empire’s capitalist conspiracy to sell mourning costumes by integrating them into national etiquette.

To further elucidate how the English master colonises Dubliners’ quotidian lives and turns them into loyal servants, let us take one more look at the mock Mass. When scrutinising the opening scene of Mulligan’s daily shaving, Cheryl Herr tries to investigate the cultural logic behind Joyce’s choosing this particular mundane activity to be the very first event that unfolds *Ulysses*. What Herr asks is indeed a pertinent question. Critics’ attentions have often been directed by Joyce’s heavy allusions to Roman Catholicism, Homeric epics and Irish folklore towards a world of archaic knowledge; however, we should always remember that the backdrop of *Ulysses* is Edwardian Dublin, which was arguably the second city of the British Empire during the period of that time,¹³ and a metropolis where citizens were immersed within miscellaneous commodities and gadgets that were imported from the entire domain of the Empire on which ‘the sun never sets’ (*U* 2.248) and circulating in the thriving capitalist markets. In this vein, what fascinates Herr in Mulligan’s daily shaving routine is not his mock-religious gestures, but rather the dangerous ‘razorblade’ (*U* 1.64; 71; 111) itself, whose significance is revealed as follows:

¹² As for the explanation that seems to support Stephen’s antagonism against the English master, see ‘Buck Mulligan’s Clothes Philosophy’ in Ward Swinson, ‘Notes on *Ulysses*’, *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 33 (1996): 258-66 (259): ‘Stephen cannot wear grey trousers because Joyce has for a decade associated grey clothing with being patronized by smug conventionality and especially *English* conventionality. To wear grey is to show “good taste”, to look “gentlemanly”, rather than “eccentric”’. However, we should also remember that Joyce is a dandy who tries to display *good taste* even in impecunious conditions, as is revealed by the (in)famous anecdote; see Galef, ‘The Fashion Show in *Ulysses*’, (426): ‘In 1920, poverty-stricken in Paris, [Joyce] complained to Pound [. . .] about the clothes he could not buy. This complaint led to the infamous shipment of shoes from the well-meaning Pound, which proved so embarrassing to Joyce when he opened the package in front of T. S. Eliot and Wyndham Lewis that he felt obliged to treat them both to dinner to show he was a man of means—in short, well-heeled’.

¹³ Peter Borsay and Lindsay Proudfoot (eds.), *Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland: Change, Convergence and Divergence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 22.

The century from 1800 to 1900 is known among those interested in barberiana as ‘the Golden Era of the Straight Razor’. The safety razor was invented in 1847, but it did not catch on at all for another thirty years. It was not until 1895 that a salesman named King Camp Gillette thought up the disposable razor blade. In 1903, Gillette sold 51 razors and 168 blades; by 1904 his sales reached 90,000 razors and 123,000 blades, and a patent was awarded. By 1905, Gillette’s European office opened in London. By World War I, Gillette was supplying his equipment to the U.S. armed forces, which issued a safety razor to every enlisted man on his way to Europe. Writing of 1904, Joyce has to know the cultural force of a more traditional piece of equipment; Mulligan and Bloom, Joyce’s unlikely pair of gay blades, are still teetering on the verge of twentieth-century shaving technology.¹⁴

Herr’s notes on the parallel events of Gillette safety razors’ soaring sales and Mulligan’s daily shaving with a traditional straight razor remind us of the fact that *Ulysses* is a fictional superstructure based upon a capitalist world teeming with newly-invented commodities that infiltrate and condition people’s quotidian lives. If Mulligan happened to own a Gillette safety razor, the pseudo-religious opening scene would be undone: it is exactly because Mulligan shaves himself with a traditional straight blade that his mockery of Mass has an ironic quasi-seriousness about it, for he must dedicate all his attention to the straight razor in his hand and control it with a ritualistic meticulousness; otherwise, he either chooses to stop shaving like Bob Doran does in ‘A Boarding House’ or ends up cutting himself.

If the opening scene of ‘Telemachus’ suggests that modern life is comprised of various rituals whose significance lies not in their resemblance to religious spectacles but in their involvement with miscellaneous gadgets and fashion items, then *Ulysses* opens up itself to a Marxist reading: the sign of religion’s wane doesn’t promise Dubliners freedom; to the contrary, they become enslaved by emerging commodities. The secular invasion of commodities into Dubliners’ quotidian life is omnipresent in *Ulysses*. In a similar vein to Herr’s cultural investigation into Buck Mulligan’s old-fashioned razorblade, this chapter will place the intriguing specimina of Stephen Dedalus’s adherence to deep mourning (2.1) and Leopold Bloom’s meticulousness about shoes (2.3) under the microscope, so as to reveal how the modern fashion

¹⁴ Cheryl Temple Herr, *Joyce and the Art of Shaving* (Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 2004), 17-18.

industry has radically rewritten the cultural meaning of various dress codes by means of advertising discourse. These two specimina are not chosen randomly. On the one hand, since Stephen's insistence on following the obsolete Victorian mourning etiquette seems to contradict his *non serviam* stance against the British Empire, a retrospective scrutiny at the history of mourning dress would help us unearth not only its evolutionary trajectory from the symbol of anti-materialism to the emblem of earthly wealth, but also the cultural formation of sartorial connotation that bewilders Stephen. On the other hand, if we comb through the interwoven threads that bind Bloom the apostate Jew to shoes, it becomes illuminated how religious discourse and Jewish law are not merely usurped but also manipulated by the advertising rhetorics of commodity culture.

2.1 'ÉLITE. CRÊPE DE LA CRÊPE'

Death and melancholia pervade *Ulysses*: Stephen broods over the recent death of his mother in 'Telemachus', Bloom and his fellow Dubliners attend Paddy Dignam's funeral in 'Hades', Bloom and Molly are haunted by the traumatic memory of their dead son Rudy throughout *Ulysses*,¹⁵ and the spectre of self-poisoned Rudolph Virag surfaces sporadically. In Andrew Gibson's words, Joyce not merely 'presents the Irish culture of death and the dead as partly a consequence of the ravages of the colonial vampire', but 'also presents it as partly a Victorian import, whilst making us recognize how far a Catholic and nationalist community historically steeped in catastrophics was disposed to be susceptible to the importation in question'.¹⁶ While Gibson considers the 'Hades' episode as Joyce's depiction of an Irishman's *Anglicised* funeral which exposes a colonial undercurrent through Bloom's observing gaze, he nonetheless believes that 'Bloom is robustly indifferent to matters that Irish funerary culture tends to clothe in solemn garb'.¹⁷ However, this section has a

¹⁵ Rudy's death, to a certain extent, reveals the high infant mortality rate at the turn of the century; see Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History*, 164: 'In 1911 the bad living conditions, poor food and lack of medical care led to an infant mortality rate amongst manual workers in Britain of 152 per thousand, whilst even in the upper and middle classes it was 76.4 per thousand. Almost every family had to face up to the death of at least one child, and often it was more'.

¹⁶ Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge*, 57.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.

slightly different interpretation from Gibson's: Bloom is extremely meticulous about his fellow funeral attendants' mourning attire throughout 'Hades'.

The episode is framed by two zoom-ins on hats: The very first scene of 'Hades' is composed of a snapshot on Martin Cunningham, who 'poked his silkhatted head into the creaking carriage' (*U* 6.1-2), and the last scene comically displays how Bloom the outsider suddenly decides to interrupt the duo of John Henry Menton and Martin Cunningham, only to remind the former that his 'hat is a little crushed' (*U* 6.1018), whereas John Henry Menton seems to slightly overreact by '[taking] off his hat, bulg[ing] out the dinge and smooth[ing] the nap with care on his coatsleeve' and 'clapp[ing] the hat on his head again' (*U* 6.1021-23). In addition to these two framing zoom-ins, 'Hades' is replete with scenes where Dubliners come and go, showing off their mourning ensembles, and the dandiest of them is Blazes Boylan; while Mr Power notices 'Blazes Boylan [. . .] airing his quiff' (*U* 6.196), Bloom sees his 'spruce figure' with 'the white disc of a straw hat' flashing through and talking to Simon Dedalus (*U* 6.198-99).

It may appear bizarre to launch a chapter on Dubliners' dandyism with the subject of mourning, but the link between this seemingly ill-fated pair will prove solid after a closer examination at the origin of dandyism as well as various scenarios in *Ulysses*. On the one hand, even though in our time the word *dandy* might be suggestive of a colourful fop, John Harvey reminds us of the following facts: 'what the dandies introduced was a restrained and sober smartness',¹⁸ and the first dandy, Beau Brummell, 'eschewed colour of any strength, and his successors—such dandies as Lord Alvanley and "Golden Ball" Hughes—wore more regularly a black coat and black trousers, and would have been difficult to distinguish from modern undertakers'.¹⁹ On the other hand, the duo of clothes and death often flash through Bloom's mind in sequence, and the most striking example of this is Bloom's imaginary accident in which 'Paddy Dignam shot out and rolling over stiff in the dust in a brown habit too large for him' (*U* 6.422-23). Of course, an oversized, brown corpse-wrapping habit is not fashionable at all, but it does hint at Bloom's unconscious free association. Bloom's obsession with his own mourning suit also serves testimony to the uncanny connection between dandyism and mourning.

¹⁸ John Harvey, *Men in Black* (London: Reaktion, 1995), 29.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 29-30.

Bernard Benstock has pointed out the incongruity of Bloom's presence at Dignam's funeral: 'it is not as if he would be missed or that it is an event that draws universal attention or that Dignam is particularly relevant to him'.²⁰ However obscure Benstock finds the reason behind Bloom's presence at the funeral, Bloom himself obviously regards it as an important event and feels the necessity of dressing himself properly, despite the fact that no one seems to pay any attention to his mourning dress at all in 'Hades'. Before leaving his flat for the funeral, Bloom, in his mourning trousers, goes to the outhouse: 'He kicked open the crazy door of the jakes. Better be careful not to get these trousers dirty for the funeral' (*U* 4.494-95); after '[tearing] away half the prize story sharply and [wiping] himself with it' (*U* 4.537), he anxiously examines his trousers for the funeral again: 'In the bright light, lightened and cooled in limb, he eyed carefully his black trousers: the ends, the knees, the houghs of the knees. What time is the funeral?' (*U* 4.541-43). It is rather comic to see Bloom being so cautious about the possibility that his mourning trousers may have become stained in the outhouse, but such obsession may actually be an indicator of the cultural unconscious: Dignam's funeral is not so much a commemoration of the dead as a ceremony for the living to socialise with others and exchange local gossip, and that is why Bloom must attend the gala event and deliver his peak performance. However, it seems Joyce's Dubliners hardly pay any attention to Bloom's mourning dress, as he keeps wearing it throughout the day—even in the Ormond Hotel—and mutters: 'He doesn't see my mourning. Callous: all for his own gut' (*U* 11.833-34).

The fact that Paddy Dignam's funeral is held on Thursday is important enough, because, as Lou Taylor points out, '[m]ost working-class burials were conducted on Sundays—the only non-working day of the week—to the dismay of the rest of society, which condemned this practice as desecration'.²¹ In contrast to working-class funeral attendants, Dublin dandies in 'Hades' seem to enjoy flexible working hours, or at least feel comfortable to take a day off when they must. Bloom, for instance, starts his day relatively late and dedicates the entire Thursday mourning to Dignam's funeral, whereas his fellow Dubliner, as he reveals, even takes the whole day off: 'Ned Lambert is taking a day off I see. Rather upsets a man's day, a funeral does' (*U*

²⁰ Bernard Benstock, 'Middle-Class Values in *Ulysses*—and the Value of the Middle Class', *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 31 (1994): 439-54 (443).

²¹ Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History*, 40.

7.260). In this vein, the very date on which Dignam's funeral is held contains certain socio-economic significance in that it is an essential part of these organisers and attendants' endeavour to maintain Dignam's respectability and distinguish the social status of the deceased's family from the poor; the message being sent to those who 'watched awhile through their windows' (*U* 6.37) is that Dignam was a man of means, as his family can afford an almost respectable funeral and his acquaintances belong to the (*petite*) bourgeoisie. If we look closely enough at the differences between funerals of the poor and Dignam's, we will realise that various details involved in Dignam's funeral have quasi-theatrical values: with every prop used, every gesture made and every costume worn, the living are performing the final play in honour of the late Dignam, so as to hide his socio-economic decline behind illusionary residues. On the one hand, burials of the poor—due to the relatives' inability to raise enough fund for a decent funeral—were often so seriously delayed that the corpse decayed 'in the same overcrowded room where the family slept',²² whereas Dignam's funeral is held soon after his death 'by misadventure' (*U* 6.364). On the other hand, the difference between Dignam's funeral and that of the poor is vividly demonstrated by the juxtaposition of the depiction in 'Hades' and Robert Tressell's account of a pauper funeral:

It was a very plain looking closed hearse with only one horse. There was no undertaker in front and no bearers walked by the sides. [. . .] Three men, evidently dressed in their Sunday clothes, followed the hearse. As they reached the church door, four old men who were dressed in ordinary clothes, came forward and carried the coffin into the church, followed by the other three, who were evidently relatives of the deceased. The four old men were paupers, inmates of the workhouse, who were paid sixpence each for acting as bearers.²³

As can be seen, the pauper funeral went unnoticed and unattended to, and the few attendants, due to their own miserable status, were not properly dressed. In contrast, Dignam's funeral procession is not only escorted by a 'coach and three carriages' (*U* 6.498) but also taking the route through such thoroughfares as Ringsend Road and Great Brunswick Street that lead to the centre of Dublin, so as to draw as much

²² *Ibid.*, 40-41.

²³ Robert Tressall, *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists* (London: Grant Richards Ltd., 1914), 361.

attention as possible. The procession finally arrives at the Prospect Cemetery in Glasnevin, which is notable as the ‘open air Pantheon or Westminster Abbey of Catholic and Nationalist Ireland’.²⁴ Even if the procession, from Bloom’s bourgeois perspective, is ‘[p]altry’ (*U* 6.498), it is nonetheless a ‘[p]omp of death’ (*U* 6.459) to most working-class spectators.

The sad irony of Dignam’s funeral precisely exists in its theatricality, for such a deliberately displayed spectacle is nothing but a desperate performance that conceals his family’s inevitable decline. Dignam had been a petit bourgeois until he lost his job at John Henry Menton’s firm because of ‘[m]any a good man’s fault’ (*U* 6.573), and with his untimely death the financial status of the Dignams ‘immediately become problematic, especially since the insurance policy premium has not been kept up’.²⁵ Had Dignam not died, his future trajectory would have been similar to that of the ‘dullgarbed old man’ whom Bloom sees ‘tender[ing] his wares’ (*U* 6.229) on the curbstone during the procession. As Bloom recalls, the old man used to work in the ‘[s]ame house as Molly’s namesake, Tweedy, crown solicitor for Waterford’, and the silk hat he wears is one of the ‘[r]elics of old decency’ left in him (*U* 6.233-34). As far as Dignam’s social status is concerned, Ruth Bauerle suggests that ‘Dignam may owe something to a real Galwegian whose untimely death was recounted briefly in a letter from Annie Healy Barnacle to her daughter Nora on July 20, 1916’. The letter—which is indeed reminiscent of Molly’s soliloquy—reads as follows:

also poor Sarah Talemans [?] Husband is Dead and Burrid he nearly
Dide in the Street the night he Was Dead she had not the price of a
Candle The Friend of his had to go Arunde With the hat and there Was
30 pounds colected What Will She Do With 7 children.²⁶

Such a biographical trace of the poverty-stricken Galwegian—from whom Joyce’s fictional character of Dignam may have been derived—consolidates the reading that Dignam was on the brink of indignity before his death by misadventure. The reason why Dignam’s fellow Dubliners arrange an almost respectable funeral for him may

²⁴ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 104.

²⁵ Benstock, ‘Middle-Class Values in *Ulysses*—and the Value of the Middle Class’, (446).

²⁶ Ruth Bauerle, ‘A Source for Paddy Dignam’, *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 25 (1987): 115-20 (115).

reside not merely in their benevolent wish to protect his dignity but also in a latent vanity to puff their own wealth and status.

Funerals, like Sunday Masses where ‘many the display of fashionable clothes were first worn’,²⁷ used to be social events for people to showcase their best suits, and Bloom’s observing gaze captures several scenes where such displays take place: for instance, not only Ned Lambert shows off ‘[n]ice soft tweed [. . .] in that suit’ with a ‘[t]inge of purple’ (*U* 6.828), but even the caretaker wears a ‘[w]ellcut frockcoat’ (*U* 6.842). Traces like these are strongly reminiscent of dandyish inclinations flowing in Dubliners’ veins. As Mairead Dunleavy points out in *Dress in Ireland*, it seems to have been a tradition for Irish people ‘to dress above their station and wealth’ since the seventeenth century.²⁸ By the mid-nineteenth century, dandyism had become an overwhelming phenomenon. William Makepeace Thackeray, an English novelist famous for his panoramic portrait of Georgian and Victorian eras, illustrates a picture of those dandies he saw during his visit to Ireland:

They assume a sort of military and ferocious look, not observable in other cheap dandies, except in Paris perhaps now and then; and are to be remarked not so much for the splendour of their ornaments as for the profusion of them. Thus, for instance, a hat which is worn straight over the two eyes coats very likely more than one which hangs upon one ear; a great oily bush of hair to balance the hat (otherwise the head no doubt would fall hopelessly on one side) is even more economical than a crop which requires the barber’s scissors oft-times; also a tuft on the chin may be had at a small expense of bear’s grease by persons of a proper age: and although big pins are the fashion, I am bound to say I have never seen so many or so big as here. Large agate marbles, or ‘taws’, globes terrestrial and celestial, pawnbroker’s balls—I cannot find comparisons large enough for these wonderful ornaments. Canes should also be mentioned which are sold very splendid, with gold or silver heads, for a shilling on the Quays: and the dandy not uncommonly finishes off with a horn quizzing-glass, which being stuck in one eye contracts the brows and gives a fierce determined look to the countenance.²⁹

Noticeably, such dandyism continues to thrive in *Ulysses* and, quite surprisingly, manifests itself in ‘Hades’, an episode that is presumably dark and solemn (though

²⁷ Mairead Dunleavy, *Dress in Ireland* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1989), 13.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

²⁹ William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Irish Sketch Book*, vol. 2 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1843), 127-28.

full of black humour). As subalterns under British rule, Dubliners' tendency to outdress British people and dress beyond their means should be seen as a pathological defensive mechanism against the virus of colonialism: Dubliners aspire to create an illusionary prosperity by means of excessive consumption of fashion items, which further undermines their shabby economic status. If we scrutinise Dubliners' mourning clothes in *Ulysses* (and 'Hades' in particular), we will realise that Joyce has meticulously represented the cultural invasion of English mourning etiquette.

Gibson's suggestion that we should read *Ulysses*'s mourning and funeral scenes within a colonial frame is validated by Bloom's contemplation upon Queen Victoria's influence on the etiquette of mourning: 'Widowhood not the thing since the old queen died. Drawn on a guncarriage. Victoria and Albert. Frogmore memorial mourning. But in the end she put a few violets in her bonnet. Vain in her heart of hearts' (*U* 6.549-51). What Bloom's fragmentary thoughts refer to are the grandiose funeral procession of Queen Victoria on 2 February 1901, during which the Queen's body was drawn on a guncarriage under full military observance, and the Frogmore mausoleum, where the Queen's coffin was placed in the sarcophagus along with Prince Albert on 4 February.³⁰ Queen Victoria's funeral is the culmination of a cult that the Queen has made fashionable by her extended deep mourning for the untimely death of Prince Albert. In this vein, many traces in *Ulysses*, and especially in 'Hades', indeed demonstrates a colonising force of cultural assimilation that is at work. Even though widowhood, according to Bloom's observation, was no longer fashionable after Queen Victoria's death, the passion for funerals flourished undimmed during the reign of Edward VII, as is exposed by Bloom's thoughts: 'Funerals all over the world everywhere every minute. [. . .] Thousands every hour. Too many in the world' (*U* 6.514-16). Being an indispensable part of fashionable funerals, the cult of mourning dress throughout the Victorian and Edwardian era has become a fascinating object for cultural historians to examine. By resort to such findings, we may reread various Ulyssean scenes of funeral and mourning from an unprecedented perspective.

Costume historian Lou Taylor sees mourning dress as a social signifier that aspiring Victorian middle classes manipulated to cross the barriers between

³⁰ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 116.

themselves and the high society headed by the Royal Family. Many of the middle classes accumulated huge fortunes from trading and industrial profits, but dismally found themselves kept outside the elite circle of long established society families and aristocracy. In order to push against the social barriers that denied them, the middle classes reproduced every minutia of aristocratic etiquette that they could afford, and the royal influence on the elaborate etiquette of family funerals after Prince Albert's sudden death in 1861 soon became a norm for them to go after. In memory of her late spouse, the much respected Queen 'shrouded herself in crape-covered black clothes' for the remaining forty years of her life, and 'turned away from the gently fashionable clothes' such as 'the fetching bustles of the 1870s' and 'the imposing leg-of-mutton sleeves of the 1890s'.³¹ From 1850 to 1890 mourning became 'such a cult that hardly anyone dared defy it'; mourning dress was an essential part of an upper-class lady's wardrobe because 'social ostracism—the dread of every Victorian and Edwardian lady—could be caused through the absence of the corrected black or half-mourning wear'.³² The cult of mourning was so frenzied that it even permeated ladies' fashion magazines. In a 1904 issue of *Ladies' Realm*, Mary Spencer Warren reminds her readers that

they should not, at the same time, omit to take both mourning and half mourning. King Edward and Queen Alexandra are so closely allied to so many foreign courts, rendering occasions for mourning frequent and often sudden, while news is so quickly transmitted that one is never sure when mourning may be demanded and it is etiquette that when visiting where the King and Queen are present every guest must appear in exactly the same degree of mourning or half-mourning. This also applies to those who may be invited to dinner and are not staying in the house.³³

In addition to Lady Warren's emphasis on the necessity of owning an essential collection of mourning dress in one's suitcase when one is visiting or staying in a country house, *Sylvia's Home Journal* provides its readers with a much more exhaustive list of the entire ensemble—colloquially known as 'widow's weeds' (*U* 18.1283)—that a decent Victorian woman should own in her wardrobe:

³¹ Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History*, 120-22.

³² *Ibid.*, 122.

³³ Georgina Coleridge (ed.), *Ladies' Realm: A Selection from the Monthly Issues, November 1904 to April 1905* (London: Arrow Books, 1972), 12.

One best dress of Paramatta covered entirely with crape.
 One dress, either a costume of Cyprus crape, or an old black dress covered with Rainproof crape.
 One Paramatta mantle lined with silk, and deeply trimmed with crape.
 One warmer jacket of cloth lined and trimmed with crape.
 One bonnet of Rainproof crape, with crape veil.
 Twelve collars and cuffs of muslin or lawn, with deep hems, several sets must be provided, say six of each kind.
 One black stuff petticoat.
 Four pairs of black hose, either silk, cashmere or spun silk.
 Twelve handkerchiefs with black borders, for ordinary use, cambric.
 Twelve of finer cambric for better occasions.
 Caps either of lisse, tulle, or tarlatan, shape depending much upon age; young widows wear chiefly the Marie Stuart shape but all widows' caps have long streamers. A good plan to buy extra streamers and bow.
 Summer parasol of silk, deeply trimmed with crape, almost covered with it but no lace or fringe for the first year. Afterwards mourning fringe might be put on.
 Muff of Paramatta and trimmed with crape.
 No ornaments except jet, for the first year.
 Furs are not admissable in widow's First mourning, though very dark sealskin and astrachan can be worn when the dress is changed.³⁴

At the end of the list, *Sylvia's Home Journal* also gives its readers a brief complementary instruction on the appropriate attires to be worn at different mourning periods:

The first mourning is worn for twelve months. Second mourning twelve months also; the cap in second mourning is left off, and the crape no longer covers the dresses, but is put on in tucks. Elderly widows frequently remain in mourning for long periods, if not for the remainder of their lives, retaining the widow's cap, collar and cuffs, but leaving off the deep crape the second year, and afterwards entirely discarding crape, but wearing mourning materials such as Victoria Cords, Janus Cords, Cashmere, and so on.³⁵

All these historical traces indicate that an uncanny link between mourning dress and fashionable display had been gradually established throughout the Victorian and

³⁴ *Sylvia's Home Journal* (1881), quoted in Alison Adburgham, *Shops and Shopping 1800-1914: Where, and in What Manner the Well-dressed Englishwoman Bought Her Clothes* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1964), 64.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

Edwardian reigns. Even though the juxtaposition of fashion and death may seem uncanny at first glance, such uncanniness can be explained away.

According to Barbara Vinken, the discourse of fashion is ‘constructed by the correlation of three major conceptual articulation’, namely, ‘the division of being and mere appearance’, ‘the division of the sexes’, and ‘the division of the classes’;³⁶ such divisions were equally essential in Victorian and Edwardian funerals, because Victorian and Edwardian England was ‘an extremely class-conscious place’ where not merely a ‘lush, pervasive, and variegated growth of snobbery blossomed along with the new growth of wealth’, but ‘accent and dress, elaborate codes [. . .] were developed to insist that all were not as equal, even in *death* [my italics]’.³⁷ Since the entire royal family wore mourning dress by order of the Queen, the snobbish bourgeoisie was eager to imitate the aristocratic dress code and consequently further spread such a dress code to lower classes who struggled to follow the bourgeois values. In order to examine this vertical social force more closely, a probe into the essential fabric of which mourning dress is made—that is, crape—may help us make more sense out of the Victorian and Edwardian cult of mourning, for crape is the very symbol of deep mourning, a type of etiquette that ‘was curiously in tune with the earnest moralizing of the Victorians’.³⁸

If we summarise the antecedent paragraph, it seems the cultural force behind mourning crape’s becoming fashionable can be reduced into a syllogism: what Queen Victoria wore was fashionable (major premise); Queen Victoria wore crape in her deep mourning (minor premise); mourning crape was fashionable (conclusion). However, this syllogism ends up being a tautology, because an ultimate question remains to be asked: why did the Queen regard crape as a fashionable fabric for her to wear in her deep mourning? It is often believed that crape became a fashionable fabric because of Queen Victoria’s protracted retirement into mourning; however, her extended mourning after 1861 ‘did not create that demand’ for crape. On the contrary, the nation’s demand for crape was steady from ‘the crape hatband which Charles Dickens put around Jonas Chuzzlewit’s hat’ to ‘the thousands and thousands

³⁶ Barbara Vinken, *Fashion Zeitgeist: Trends and Cycles in the Fashion System*, trans. Mark Hewson (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 4.

³⁷ Donald Cuthbert Coleman, *Courtaulds: An Economic and Social History, Vol. 1: The Nineteenth Century Silk and Crape* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 128.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 130.

of yards of crapes of King George III in 1820 and George IV in 1830, the Princess Augusta in 1840, the Duke of Sussex in 1843, Queen Adelaide in 1850, and [. . .] the Prince Consort in 1861'.³⁹ If we look into Queen Victoria's biographical traces, we are likely to find that her 'liking for the full trimmings of mourning preceded the death of her husband'.⁴⁰ In 1860, one year preceding Prince Albert's death, there was an intriguing correspondence concerning mourning dress code between Queen Victoria and her eldest child, Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa, 'afterwards German Empress and mother of the Kaiser':⁴¹

From the Princess Royal

APRIL 14, 1860

*I should like to know about your mourning, although I cannot wear the same as you. [. . .] We were only allowed to wear six weeks for our grandmother Weimar, for the King we should only wear two months, for cousin one week. Therefore in this case the utmost I could wear would be four weeks which according to the curious customs here about mourning is considered a very long time. I should only wear silk—as crêpe is the very deepest one could wear here. It distresses me much not to be able to wear the same as you, it is very painful in such cases not to be able to do as one likes. And the Prince and the whole family hate mourning as you know.*⁴²

Queen Victoria wrote a reply letter on April 18, 1860, which starts in defence of the Prussian dislike of mourning dress but suddenly takes a dramatic turn:

I think, dearest, you should not judge George of M. so harshly [. . .] people have very different ways of taking and receiving bad news—particularly men, and one must not for that be too severe towards them. [. . .] Our letters about the mourning have crossed each other. That dislike of it I think positively wrong. Darling Beatrice looks lovely in her black silk and crepe dress.⁴³

³⁹ Ibid., 131.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 131.

⁴¹ Queen of Great Britain Victoria, *Dearest Child: Letters between Queen Victoria and the Princess Royal, 1858-1861*, ed. Roger Fulford (London: Evans Bros, 1964), 1.

⁴² Ibid., 248.

⁴³ Ibid., 248-49.

The ‘bad news’ that Queen Victoria referred to here is the death of her brother-in-law, Prince Ernest of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, on April 12,⁴⁴ and the George M. whom she defended is Georg II, Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, whose second wife (Princess Feodora of Hohenlohe-Langenburg) is the late Prince Ernest’s daughter. The correspondence between the Queen and the Princess Royal reveals several fascinating details: First of all, the etiquette of an extended mourning period during the Victorian era was very British; at least, it was not enthusiastically shared by the Queen’s affinal Prussian royal family. Secondly, it seems slightly uncanny that the Queen displayed a patronising tolerance towards the Prussian royal family’s failure to mourn its own loss in the British way. Thirdly, the Queen’s fondness of mourning dress is almost pathologically fetishistic that she dressed her youngest daughter, who was just three by 1860, in crape and described her outfit as *lovely*, which doesn’t seem the most proper choice of word in that circumstances. Lastly, both the Queen and the Princess Royal used the French word *crêpe* instead of its Anglicised spelling *crape* in their letter-writing. As far as the last point is concerned, it may be even more intriguing after we have realised that fin-de-siècle Parisian *magasin de deuil* (mourning warehouse) actually marketed mourning crape as *crêpe anglaise*, so as to distinguish it from the other variety of crape that was known as *crêpe de Chine*. More explicitly speaking, while the British royal family’s preference of *crêpe* over *crape* suggests the fabric’s affinity to Frenchness and, thus, poshness, the ironic fact is that the French market developed a bond between mourning crape and Englishness by coining the phrase *crêpe anglaise*, which fuses this specific duo of fabric and nationality into one inseparable entity. Better yet, even though Paris was advertised as the capital of fashion by many British ladies’ magazines at the turn of the century, *crêpe anglaise* ‘remained an English product and an English export’ highly demanded by the French market.⁴⁵ To maintain the fashion of mourning, France not merely ‘imported *crêpe anglaise*’ but also ‘emulated English economic policy’.⁴⁶

However, history, it seems, is not without a sense of irony: *crêpe anglaise*, being a British invasion into the fin-de-siècle French fashion scene, actually has an ambiguous French connection. In ‘Lestrygonians’, Bloom associates silky red

⁴⁴ Ibid., 246.

⁴⁵ Coleman, *Courtaulds*, 166.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 132.

ribbons with cascades of blood when passing the windows of Brown, Thomas & Co.: ‘Cascades of ribbons. Flimsy China silks. A tilted urn poured from its mouth a flood of bloodhued poplin: lustrous blood. The huguenots brought that here’ (*U* 8.621-23). The logic behind Bloom’s association, as is revealed by his thought itself, points to the violent French persecution of Huguenots and their subsequent exoduses since the mid-sixteenth century; whom Bloom thinks of here are the particular branch of Huguenots who ‘sought shelter in Ireland in the late seventeenth century and established colonies in Dublin and in the Protestant north’.⁴⁷ Later in ‘Lestrygonians’, Huguenots flash through Bloom’s mind again, and this time he ponders upon the origin of a curious name: ‘miss Dubedat? [. . .] Huguenot name I expect that’ (*U* 8.889). These two textual traces lead us back to the British industry of crape again, because *Courtauld*, a surname as Huguenotic as Dubedat, is definitely a keyword of the Victorian mourning crape industry. Samuel Courtauld III—who ‘was just managing to keep his small silk business alive’ at the end of 1819 but ended up accumulating ‘a fortune of nearly £700,000’ in 1881 after his death⁴⁸—was the entrepreneur who not merely witnessed and participated in, but also fuelled up and profited from the cult of mourning crape. As Bloom suggests, there is indeed a connection between Huguenots and the silk industry; the genealogy of the Courtaulds can be traced back to a document of 1584 that briefly refers to a Christophe Courtauld, who came from the small island of Oléron, ‘just off the French coast near La Rochelle’.⁴⁹ When exactly the Courtaulds converted to Protestantism is unknown, but ‘the marriage contract of Christophe’s daughter Anne, dated 1594, shows that she was to be married in the reformed church’.⁵⁰ It was Augustin IV, Christophe’s great great grandson, who ‘left for England at some date between 28 September 1685 [. . .] and 10 March 1689’,⁵¹ and the Courtaulds first entered the English silk industry when Augustin IV’s great grandson George I ‘set up in Spitalfields, as a throwster, with the help of £500 left to him by his father’ in about 1782.⁵² George’s son, Samuel III, ‘helped his father in setting up the Braintree mill

⁴⁷ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 176.

⁴⁸ Coleman, *Courtaulds*, 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 33.

and in the early years of running it',⁵³ and finally established the crape empire, Samuel Courtauld & Co.. The Huguenot family's ascension from religious refugees to millionaires is indeed fascinating, whereas the crape industry makes the Courtaulds' story even more mysterious, not only because the fabric is a symbol of death and mourning, but also because the industry is involved with numerous endeavours in industrial espionage. The techniques behind the production of crimped crape 'were for long surrounded by a deal a mumbo-jumbo',⁵⁴ and the mystery remained unsolved till the first decade of twentieth century, because the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in its 1910 edition, reveals that the detailed processes of crape-production are 'known to only a few manufacturers, who so jealously guard their secret that, in some cases, the different stages in the manufacture are conducted in towns far removed from each other'.⁵⁵ All these fantastic rumours about secret rooms and industrial espionage remained a reality in Samuel Courtauld & Co. throughout the nineteenth century; even before the outbreak of the First World War, crimpers working for Samuel Courtauld & Co. 'were still being sworn to secrecy before a Justice of the Peace'.⁵⁶ However, the entire dramatic mystification of crape-production could possibly be a sleight-of-hand to discourage other firms from entering this highly profitable branch of silk industry and hence secure the company's monopoly;⁵⁷ the ironic truth might simply be that crape-production actually requires neither fine silks nor technical finesse:

So far from needing expensive, highly taxed, high-quality Italian organzine, crape was usually woven with singles, thrown from less-taxed, lower priced, poorer-quality silks in both warp and weft, though sometimes tram was used in the weft. So far from needing draw-ooms or jacquards, and the labour of better-paid and more skilled weavers who used them, it could be woven on simple looms by lower paid, semi-skilled men and women.⁵⁸

⁵³ Ibid., 45.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 84.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Ibid., 84.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 84.

⁵⁷ See Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History*, 223: 'In 1937 Courtaulds bought both its chief rivals—Grout and Bayliss, and Hinde, Hardy—finally achieving a belated but total monopoly in crape manufacture in England'.

⁵⁸ Coleman, *Courtaulds*, 31.

Simply said—in Stephen’s cliché—the open secret behind the crape industry’s tremendous profitability is ‘buy[ing] cheap and sell[ing] dear’ (*U* 2.359), plus the creation of a thriving market. As has been exposed, Victorian aristocracy and bourgeoisie created a paradise for crape entrepreneurs, and Samuel Courtauld manipulated the power of advertising to enhance the power of seduction with the publication of a leaflet entitled *Notes on Fashionable Mourning* in 1902, which reaffirmed crape as a symbol of royalty and haute couture.⁵⁹ Since the crape industry profits from a double exploitation of labours and consumers,⁶⁰ the moral absurdity behind the Victorian etiquette of mourning reveals itself: if we remove the sentimental and moralising discourse from this Victorian cult, the economic calculation operating beneath the royal family’s endorsement of the crape industry becomes manifest—to formulate an national mourning etiquette that demands intricate dress code is to create not merely an immense domestic market for booming textile manufacturing after the Industrial Revolution, but also various related employment opportunities within the tertiary sector of the economy. Victorian tradesmen and industrialists grasped this great profiting opportunity created by the cult of fashion; such industries as ‘undertakers, mourning warehouses, stationers, florists, stone masons and textile manufacturers ran thriving enterprises’; their secrets of success were to ‘[stress] the royal origins of their trade and [exploit] their royal and aristocratic patrons in advertising campaigns’.⁶¹ By having established the aristocratic image of mourning etiquette via advertising discourse and the royal family’s endorsement, tradesmen could easily manipulate the society’s excessive anxiety over decorum to multiply sale figures, because no families wished to lose face by violating the etiquette of bereavement. According to Lou Taylor’s observation, tradesmen cunningly ‘made it as easy as possible for their customers to part with their money’; for instance, they provided delivery and costumer service by dispatching assistants ‘to the house to take the measurements of the family and servants for their black clothes and to advice discreetly on the social correctness of

⁵⁹ Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History*, 134.

⁶⁰ See *Ibid.*, 197: ‘Samuel Courtauld, who was the biggest producer of mourning crape, paid the women crape weavers at his Essex mills some of the lowest wages in the mechanised textile industry of that time. In 1873 they complained that 8s a week was not enough to keep themselves “respectable”. Two years later some of them left the factories when they discovered that instead of £14 a year in Essex, they could earn £18 a year in domestic service in London’.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 188.

the proceedings'.⁶² That is to say, tradesmen fed on the dead by exploiting the living, and it is such absurdity that triggers Bloom's sigh: 'More sensible to spend the money on some charity for the living' (*U* 6.930-31).

It remains unclear whether Joyce intentionally keeps out of readers' sight the intricate link between *crêpe anglaise* and Samuel Courtauld the Huguenot merchant, but the industrial capitalism's overwhelming secularising force becomes even more manifest after the link has been revealed. The crape fetishism, having fed on the Victorian moralistic discourse and French Protestant's industriousness, transforms funerals into grotesque spectacles where mourners perform different degrees of grief over the dead by wearing various mourning dresses. In other words, English mourning etiquette became an arbitrary semiotic system where all minute details in gestures and costumes were endowed with various significant values, and such a system had pervaded the colonial city of Dublin, as is revealed by Bloom's calculative observation in 'Hades': 'A man in a buff suit with a crape armlet. Not much grief there. Quarter mourning. People in law perhaps' (*U* 6.180-81). It is intriguing to see how a buff suit with a crape armlet leads Bloom towards the conclusion that the man *doesn't show much grief* and therefore *may be Dignam's affine*. Better yet, the chance encounter between Bloom and the man in quarter mourning resembles that between a spectator and a performer: the former can't enjoy the spectacle the latter puts on without a mutual comprehension of theatrical conventions, and in this very case their adeptness at encoding and decoding the arbitrary semiotic system exposes the fact that Dubliners in 'Hades' think as Englishmen do when it comes to funeral dress codes. In this vein, Joyce's depiction of Dubliners wearing *crêpe anglaise* is by no means a trivia to be overlooked, since *Ulysses* aspires to capture the semicolonial condition of Dublin and its cultural phenomena.⁶³ The expertise that Joyce's Dubliners demonstrate in playing with the semiotic system of mourning dress ironically turns them into zealous consumers of this English commodity, in the sense that they can't be at the top of their game without the aid of adequate props. However, if we re-examine the intricate thread that links *crêpe anglaise* and Frenchness together, the scenarios in which Joyce's

⁶² Ibid., 189.

⁶³ As has been explained in the previous chapter, 'semicolonial' appears in *Finnegans Wake* (*FW* 152.16) and is endowed with theoretical niceties in *Semicolonial Joyce*, coedited by Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes.

bourgeois dandies turn themselves into loyal servants of the English mourning fashion would seem less incongruous: how *crêpe anglaise* became one of the most dominant English exports at the turn of the century relies on the premise that it conquered Paris, the capital of fashion, and consequently blurred its Englishness with a camouflage of Frenchness. In other words, the cult of mourning exhibits not only the formation of global markets at the turn of the century but also a marvellous case of ‘the deterritorialization of capitalism’ at its early phase.⁶⁴ As Lou Taylor points out, the Grand Maison de Noir of 27 & 29, Faubourg St Honoré, Paris—one of the grandest mourning warehouses—was situated ‘near to the great establishment of the couturier Charles Worth, and the best Court dressmakers and textile emporiums in the world’.⁶⁵ The fact that Grand Maison de Noir and other establishments of haute couture were bound together by geographical contiguity reveals a fin-de-siècle Parisian ideology in which mourning dress and haute couture were two intersecting categories. More intriguingly, Charles Worth, to whom the birth of haute couture is generally credited, was an Englishman who ‘moved to Paris in 1845, and began working at an exclusive shop for silks and other fine fabrics on the rue de Richelieu’.⁶⁶ That is to say, *haute couture*, ‘which has been described as one of the modern period’s most important innovations in the production and social meaning of clothing’,⁶⁷ and whose Frenchness is more than self-revealing, has an ironic English origin. However, according to Elizabeth Ann Coleman, Worth’s contribution to *haute couture* has more to do with his marketing strategy than with aesthetic insight, for ‘[t]he essential innovation attributed to Worth does not reside in the cut of his designs; it is, rather, the creative aspect of producing “models”, which then could be distributed commercially throughout the world’.⁶⁸ That the origin of modern *haute couture* is associated with an Englishman whose talent resides not so much in

⁶⁴ See Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 231: ‘the process of deterritorialization here goes from the center to the periphery, that is, from the developed countries to the underdeveloped countries, which do not constitute a separate world, but rather an essential component of the world-wide capitalist machine’.

⁶⁵ Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History*, 190-91.

⁶⁶ Nancy J. Troy, *Couture Culture: A Study in Modern Art and Fashion* (Cambridge, MA.: The MIT Press, 2003), 18.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁶⁸ Elizabeth Ann Coleman, *The Opulent Era: Fashions of Worth, Doucet and Pingat* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1989), 33.

designing as in marketing reveals its subtle nature: the Frenchness of *haute couture* is, to a certain extent, rather a fictional label that serves the end of advertising than a reference to specific cuts or designs. This is exactly why Grand Maison de Noir that featured *crêpe anglaise* had no difficulty fitting in with other Parisian establishments of *haute couture*: as long as *crêpe anglaise* is profitable, the English fabric is more than welcome to be fully integrated into the French discourse of advertising, as is supported by the fact that *Les Modes*, a French fashion magazine, featured expensive full-page advertisements that displayed widows' weeds, made of *crêpe anglaise Courtaulds*, by such famous designers as Lucile, Lafontaine and Lanvin.⁶⁹

As *crêpe anglaise* became assimilated into *haute couture*, we may have to consider the possibility—however unlikely it seems—that Stephen either fails to see the Englishness of the cult of mourning or idiosyncratically identifies it with Parisian fashion when denying its English root; otherwise, Stephen's adherence to the English cult would seem rather incompatible with his self-exile from Anglicised Dublin and such deliberate displays of 'Paris fads' (*U* 1.342) as wearing a 'Latin quarter hat' (*U* 1.519; *U* 3.174) and speaking 'parleyvoo' (*U* 15.3875/3898). As for Stephen's Parisian mannerism, David Weir suggests the possibility of locating him into the genealogy of nineteenth-century French poets and argues that he 'owes a great deal to the *general* turn-of-the-century image of the artist as a rebel in conflict with society', which 'the legendary reputations of Baudelaire and Rimbaud did much to foster'.⁷⁰ Intriguingly, the Baudelaire-Stephen genealogy Weir proposes here may provide us with yet another tangential point at which mourning dress and *Décadent* literary representation meet. Baudelaire's 'À une passante' (1861)—categorised within the 'Tableaux Parisiens' section of *Les Fleurs du mal*—captures a chance-encounter between the Baudelairean flâneur and a Parisian woman in deep mourning:

La rue assourdissante autour de moi hurlait.
Longue, mince, en grand deuil, douleur majestueuse,
Une femme passa, d'une main fastueuse
Soulevant, balançant le feston et l'ourlet ;

⁶⁹ Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History*, 223.

⁷⁰ David Weir, 'Stephen Dedalus: Rimbaud or Baudelaire?', *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 18 (1980): 87-91 (87).

Agile et noble, avec sa jambe de statue.
 Moi, je buvais, crispé comme un extravagant,
 Dans son œil, ciel livide où germe l'ouragan,
 La douceur qui fascine et le plaisir qui tue.

Un éclair ... puis la nuit! — Fugitive beauté
 Dont le regard m'a fait soudainement renaître,
 Ne te verrai-je plus que dans l'éternité ?

Ailleurs, bien loin d'ici ! trop tard ! *jamais* peut-être !
 Car j'ignore tu fuis, tu ne sais où je vais,
 Ô toi que j'eusse aimée, ô toi qui le savais !⁷¹

The chance-encounter captured in this sonnet depicts a modern experience that Walter Benjamin calls love at last sight.⁷² Similar scenarios recur throughout *Ulysses* as déjà-vus; 'Sees me looking. Eye out for other fellow always' (*U* 5.119); 'Lost it. [. . .] The tram passed. They drove off towards the Loop Line bridge, her rich gloved hand on the steel grip. Flicker, flicker: the laceflare of her hat in the sun: flicker, flick' (*U* 5.132-40); 'Trams: a car of Prescott's dyeworks: a widow in her weeds. Notice because I'm in mourning myself' (*U* 5.460-61). Bloom, like the Baudelairean flâneur, roams the modern streets that are full of mechanical noises and human voices, sees enticing figures pass by and perhaps even meets their eyes, but those figures soon fade away, disappearing behind distant moving images. The Baudelairean flâneur—who is rather a mixture of mundane Bloom and escapist Stephen—utilises several significant attributes to depict the woman passing by: her figure is tall and slim, her hand is splendid, and her movement is agile and noble. All these attributes suggest that the woman, in deep mourning and with majestic grief, is fashionable and desirable. However, either the chance-encounter or its subsequent affect of love at last sight, similar to the case in 'Nausicaa', is rather *imaginary*. It is imaginary, not merely because the affect is an illusion that the flâneur's imagination

⁷¹ Charles Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du mal* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 1861), 216-17. As for English translation, see Charles Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil*, trans. James McGowan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 189: 'Around me roared the nearly deafening street. / Tall, slim, in mourning, in majestic grief, / A woman passed me, with a splendid hand / Lifting and swinging her festoon and hem; / Nimble and stately, statuesque of leg. / I, shaking like an addict, from her eye, / Black sky, spawn of hurricanes, drank in / Sweetness that fascinates, pleasure that kills. / One lightning flash [. . .] then night! Sweet fugitive / Whose glance has made me suddenly reborn, / Will we not meet again this side of death? / Far from this place! too late! *never* perhaps! / Neither one knowing where the other goes, / O you I might have loved, as well you know!'

⁷² Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 169.

creates, but also because the entire episode is based on gazes and images. Benjamin, borrowing Thibaudet's words, describes 'À une passante' as a verse that 'could only have been written in a big city', and that 'reveal[s] the stigmata which life in a metropolis inflicts upon love'.⁷³ As Benjamin observes, Proust gives an echo of Baudelaire's mourning woman and integrates her into his creation of Albertine, 'the evocative caption "La Parisienne"'.⁷⁴ Even if there is no explicit evidence to support that Joyce has read this sonnet, the literary and cultural backdrop is very likely to have conditioned his perception of the cult of mourning during his exile in Paris and consequently make him (and his Stephen) regard it as an essential part of 'Paris fads'.

Yet another perspective to look at Stephen's adherence to mourning dress is, of course, the long-established Stephen-Hamlet parallel. It may seem a big leap to redirect my discussion from the English invasion of mourning crape into Parisian fashion to Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, but the latter is arguably a veiled testimony which subtly records the genesis of the English cult of black mourning. As far as *Hamlet*'s original costume design is concerned, we can't be sure how exactly Shakespeare would have dressed his Dane prince because 'the earliest visual image of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* appeared in printed editions of his plays towards the beginning of the eighteenth century';⁷⁵ however, the textual depiction that he is dressed in 'inky cloak' and 'suits of solemn black' leads John Harvey to his argument that Hamlet's black 'must have some resemblance to a young prince of the Spanish court, and of many courts; and equally to a young notable in the Calvinist and Lutheran states'.⁷⁶ Harvey's observation is valuable because it exposes a critical phase of cultural appropriation during which the English court responded to the Spanish fad of black garments and gradually integrated it into English etiquette. On the one hand, it is around the period when Shakespeare composed *Hamlet* that black fabrics became more and more accessible in Western Europe, because the Indian logwood that the Spanish discovered at the Bay of Campeachy in Mexico earlier in the sixteenth century finally provided a solution to the long search for a genuine

⁷³ Ibid., 169.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 170.

⁷⁵ Alan R. Young, *Hamlet and the Visual Arts, 1709-1900* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002), 17.

⁷⁶ Harvey, *Men in Black*, 92.

black dye which was efficient and economic;⁷⁷ what is perhaps worth remarking here is that black garments, during the Renaissance, were not merely worn in mourning and funerals but also in almost all occasions, because black was often regarded during the period as a smart and noble colour. In this vein, Shakespeare's black prince, as John Harvey suggests, reveals such a Renaissance fad and industrial innovation. On the other hand, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, in spite of its root in Nordic oral tradition, is very English in terms of its theatrical theme: *Hamlet* is often categorised as a Jacobean revenge tragedy, which, according to Steven Mullaney's observation, captures 'an uncertain economy between mourning and misogyny' during the transitional period from the Elizabethan era to the Jacobean era.⁷⁸ In other words, *Hamlet*, under its camouflage of an exotic story about the Danish court, may also be a play that deals with the aftermath of the death of Elizabeth I. Better yet, if we take a chronological examination over various portraits of the thrice-widowed 'Mary, queen of Scots' (U 10.65), we are likely to find a shift in colour-politics during that very period: in portraits painted between 1559 and 1561, Mary Queen of Scots wears 'French *deuil blanc* or white mourning, with a white Paris head, a transparent white barbe beneath her chin'.⁷⁹ In addition to such traces revealed in portraits, Lou Taylor points out that the Queen had miscellaneous coloured dresses in her wardrobe before the full mourning period was over; for instance, among her sixty gowns, numerous were made of 'cloth of gold', 'green velvet', 'blue silk with silver embroidery', and 'orange damask'.⁸⁰ Whereas funerals, as Mary Queen of Scots' colourful collection of mourning dress reveals, hadn't become monochromatically black, more and more references to black silk crepe could be found within documents; it is towards the late-Elizabethan period that the transparent black silk mourning crape was first worn in Britain, as may be seen in later portraits of Mary Queen of Scots, wherein she wears a transparent black widow's veil in the 1570-80 period.⁸¹ Since imported black silk crepe had gradually become fashionable in the late-Elizabethan era, the English court started trying to develop domestic silk

⁷⁷ Ibid., 56.

⁷⁸ Steven Mullaney, 'Mourning and Misogyny: Hamlet, The Revenger's Tragedy, and the Final Progress of Elizabeth I, 1600-1607', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 45 (1994): 139-62 (140).

⁷⁹ Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History*, 81.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 82-83.

⁸¹ Ibid., 210.

industries, and ‘amongst James I’s efforts to promote the industry was an instruction to the Lords-Lieutenant of countries to encourage the planting of mulberry trees’.⁸² All these historical backdrops suggest that literary representations are more or less fashioned by their contemporary cultural forces. In the case of *Hamlet*, the reason why the melancholic Prince in mourning is cloaked in black may have something to do with the emerging English fashion of black mourning at the turn of the seventeenth century. Similarly, *Ulysses* is set in the British Empire’s colonial outskirts at a transitional time when Edward VII has just succeeded to Queen Victoria’s long reign and when the cult of mourning has evolved for three centuries and almost become synonymously English. Here is the coda that fully illuminates how the cult of mourning has been propelled by a secularising *down*-force: the origin of mourning dress is rooted in the early Christian establishment. There were many similarities between widows and nuns in the early years—both wore black, grey and white, so as to symbolise their rejection of joy and earthliness; both covered up their faces and figures underneath loose layers of drapery, so as to erase their femininity; both deliberately abandoned sartorial fashionability, so as to denounce vanity.⁸³ As for the origin of nuns’ black habits, it is the first convent set by St Marcelle in Rome in AD 410 that established the tradition for nuns to wear black robes,⁸⁴ which reaffirms the birthright of mourning dress as the Italian master’s double. Even though mourning dress has a religious origin and used to symbolise the rejection of secular materialism, its evolution ironically illustrates a trajectory towards secularity, as is revealed by its constant decrease in austerity and increase in sexual allure: in the seventeenth century ‘the cut of mourning dress became increasingly fashionable’,⁸⁵ by the end of the seventeenth century mourning dress ‘had become so fashionable that Samuel Pepys [. . .] found it a positive attraction’ on beautiful women,⁸⁶ and towards the late-Victorian era mourning dress had become a national cult and a global industry.

⁸² Coleman, *Courtaulds*, 9.

⁸³ Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History*, 66.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 106.

After a series of archaeological exploration of mourning dress, we may now say that Stephen is, to a certain extent, serving an English master when stubbornly sticking to his ‘cheap dusty mourning’ dress (*U* 1.571). Even more ironically, if we look into the etymology and history of *crêpe anglaise*, the iconic English fabric will reveal its Italian origin: not only does the word crape come from the Latin verb *crispare* (to curl), but Victorian mourning crape is very likely to have originated in the city of Bologna, ‘which by the eighteenth century was particularly famous for its crimped crapes’.⁸⁷ Therefore, by wearing mourning costumes made of *crêpe anglaise*, Stephen and his fellow Dubliners, at least in a symbolic sense, are serving a master that is simultaneously English and Italian yet being totally unconscious of this fact. As a vivid contrast to the animosity Stephen displays towards Roman Catholicism, he chooses to ‘adhere to the letter of the old law’ and obey the English etiquette of extended deep mourning and strict dress code.⁸⁸ This very curious case wherein Stephen gestures a revolt against the Catholic church yet serves the secular master of the English mourning dress industry exposes a subtle strategy that the colonial capitalism masterfully plays; by integrating social dogma into consumers’ unconscious behavioural patterns—that is, to consume commodities is to be class—the British empire makes Stephen its loyal servant: he insists on following Queen Victoria’s extreme and obsolete etiquette by wearing black for an extended deep mourning, yet remains unconscious of the fact that he is endorsing an English industry.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 205. Also see Coleman, *Courtaulds*, 24: ‘In the course of time two main sorts of crape were developed: soft and hard. In eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England the former category included fabrics which were called Canton and China crape, French crape, and Norwich crape; in the hard category was Italian or Bologna crape. Both sorts were woven of hard silk, but whereas the former ended up as soft and usually coloured fabric, the latter was subjected to various dressing and finishing processes and ended up as a stiff and usually black fabric. The manufacture of the soft type later developed on the continent of Europe, particularly in France; the manufacture of the hard type slowly moved away from Italy and became a peculiar speciality of England. Both sorts of crape, when dyed black, were at one time or another associated with mourning, but especially the Italian and, later, English sort. Consequently the word crape alone came eventually to mean mourning crape, and when in the later nineteenth century the other variety became fashionable in England it was distinguished from its mourning relative by being called *crêpe de Chine*, whilst English mourning crape was known across the Channel as *crêpe anglaise*’.

⁸⁸ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 15: ‘In the mid-Victorian world, the period of a son’s deep mourning for his mother (black suit, shoes, socks, and the tie and a sharply limited social life) would have been considerably relaxed, but Stephen is adhering to the letter of the old law’.

2.2 PODOPHILIAC POLDY AND SHOES

Under scrutiny, the cult of mourning reveals its own colonial and institutional overtones, while Stephen Dedalus, in wearing dusty mourning dress, is ironically serving the *Britalian* master that he abhors. If Stephen's obsession with mourning dress is testimony to the fact that sartorial fashion encroaches upon his subjectivity that has remained invincible in the face of polity and religion, then Bloom's meticulousness about the seemingly humble articles of shoes may contain equally significant messages that wait for decoding. As this chapter aims to expose *Ulysses*'s downward trajectory towards a secular world that worships dead commodities, the parallel between Bloom's Jewishness and his shoe-fetishism is particularly enticing. Critics have resorted to Freudian psychoanalysis when interpreting Bloom's shoe-fetishism, as Freud writes in his famous essay 'Fetishism' that 'the foot or shoe owes its preference as a fetish—or a part of it—to the circumstance that the inquisitive boy peered at the woman's genitals from below, from her legs up'.⁸⁹ However, why is it Bloom the apostate *Jew*—rather than Stephen, Mulligan or Boylan—that is almost pathologically obsessed with *shoes*?

The fact that Bloom the apostate Jew is associated with podophilia may need to be studied against the backdrop of the pseudoscientific discourse on Jewish pathology. As Marilyn Reizbaum has keenly observed in *James Joyce's Judaic Other*, Joyce heavily resorts to Freud, Nietzsche and Otto Weininger's theories of Jews when creating Leopold Bloom, yet such theories were heavily conditioned by the *fin-de-siècle* milieu of burgeoning anti-Semitism and each of them constructed a pathological discourse of Jewish self-hatred to various degrees: '[i]n Weininger, with his notions of bisexuality and of psychological partitioning into "Jew" and "non-Jew", the motif is that of self-dividedness; in Nietzsche, it is contradiction; in Freud, the unconscious'.⁹⁰ As for the latent connection between the pathologisation of Jews and the unconscious of Freudian psychoanalysis, Sander L. Gilman indicates that

⁸⁹ Sigmund Freud, 'Fetishism (1927)', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. XXI: The Future of an Illusion, Civilization and its Discontents, and Other Works*, ed. James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-analysis, 1961), 155.

⁹⁰ Marilyn Reizbaum, *James Joyce's Judaic Other* (Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1999), 54.

Freud's *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* (1905) limits its subject of study to 'Jewish' jokes and analyse them in terms of their usage of *mauscheln* (that is, 'Bad German').⁹¹ On the one hand, when Freud sees the possibility of probing into the unconscious by analysing the ridiculed elements of *mauscheln* in Jewish jokes, he actually endorses Otto Weininger's anti-Semitic view that *mauscheln* signifies the hidden, feminine language of the Jew.⁹² On the other hand, the facts that Freud distances himself from the Jewish communities that speak *mauscheln* and creates the new language of psychoanalysis in the form of scientific German discourse also hint at the latent rejection of his own Jewishness. As Freud creates the language of psychoanalysis to 'purge himself of the insecurity felt in his role as a Jew in *fin de siècle* Vienna',⁹³ it seems possible that Freud may at times conceal the Jewish sources from which he draw ideas, and his formulation of feet fetishism may be one of the cases. When explaining why feet and shoes become popular fetishes in 'Fetishism', Freud, with his encyclopaedic knowledge, somehow overlooks the metonymical relation between shoes and genitalia in Biblical Hebrew. Even though we don't know for sure whether Freud conceals this Biblical metonymy/euphemism on purpose or simply sees no necessity for reference, he certainly knows about it, as he not merely suggests in *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis* that 'Shoes and slippers are female genitals' but also alludes to L. Levy of Brunn's *The Sexual Symbolism of the Bible and the Talmud* in the same essay.⁹⁴

This brief retrospect gives us a glimpse at how Freud's conception of the unconscious was tinted by the fin-de-siècle milieu of anti-Semitism and how foot/shoe fetishism may possibly be connected with a Biblical euphemism (which will be further examined). However, if we aim to read Joyce's Bloom and his feet/shoes within this paradigm, we face a fundamental question: is Joyce equipped with such pseudoscientific/psychoanalytic/Biblical/Talmudic knowledge? With regard to pseudoscientific anti-Semitism and Freudian psychoanalysis, abundant pieces of

⁹¹ Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 263. As for the definition of *mauscheln*, see Ibid., 139: 'It is the use of altered syntax and bits of Hebrew vocabulary and a specific pattern of gestures to represent the spoken language of the Jews'.

⁹² Ibid., 267-68.

⁹³ Ibid., 268.

⁹⁴ Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. XV: Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis (1915-1916)*, trans. James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-analysis, 1961), 158, 162.

evidence in *Ulysses* indicate that Leopold Bloom has been modelled on the pseudoscientific discourse that pathologises Jews; however, whether Joyce is versed in Biblical/Talmudic discourse (on feet and shoes) seems more obscure. As far as this latter point is concerned, Ira B. Nadel boldly proposes that '[n]ot only do Joyce's latter texts physically and conceptually embody the Talmud, but his entire perception of text is Rabbinic'.⁹⁵ According to Nadel, Joycean texts are affined with Rabbinic texts because of their metonymic strategies: '[m]etonymy [. . .] allows Bloom to be Ulysses, number 7 Eccles Street to be Ithaca, Bella Cohen's to be Circe's cave. [. . .] This trope is also fundamental to the Rabbinic tradition'.⁹⁶ In addition to textual similarities between Joyce's works and Hebrew scriptures, Nadel further combs through Joyce's biographical traces and suggested that he did study Hebrew:

With Moses Dlugacz in Trieste it is likely he discussed the language, and in Zurich in 1918-19 he contacted Dr Isaiah Sonne to learn Hebrew cognates for Greek words. Dr Sonne would certainly have fascinated Joyce. Born in Poland in 1887, Sonne was studying for his doctorate at the University of Zurich [. . .]. Joyce probably encountered him through Ottocaro Weiss who was also studying at the university. [. . .] Sonne would have been a formidable source of Jewish ideas and language for Joyce in Zurich. [. . .] Joyce further studied Hebrew in Paris after his arrival in 1920, and in his letters, Joyce describes going to see *Jacob and Rachel* performed 'in Hebrew, not Yiddish' with [Eugene] Jolas.⁹⁷

According to such pieces of information as Nadel has offered, Joyce was a philosemite who seemed considerably drawn to Hebrew language and Jewish culture; thus we may have a solid ground to further scrutinise Leopold Bloom's foot/shoe-fetishism from the perspective of his Jewishness.

Similar to the incongruity that is seen in Stephen Dedalus's *non serviam* and conformism to English mourning etiquette, Leopold Bloom's duality of Jewishness and secularism merits examination. The apostasy of Bloom is never a secret. In Andrew Gibson's words, 'Bloom is both a non-Jewish Jew who has been baptized both a Protestant and a Catholic, and a non-Irish Irishman'.⁹⁸ From Marilyn

⁹⁵ Ira B. Nadel, *Joyce and the Jews: Culture and Texts* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1989), 121.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 121-22.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 130-31.

⁹⁸ Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge*, 55.

Reizbaum's perspective, it is Bloom's ambivalent attitude towards institutional religions that defines him as a *modern* man:

Joyce has very carefully given [Bloom] no fewer than three religions not to practice, this particular combination of affiliation and apostasy signifying modernity. When Joyce makes Bloom share in all three religions—Catholicism (twice over), Protestantism, and Judaism—he is in this widely symbolic sense making him an unfathomable entity.⁹⁹

Reizbaum also suggests that the reason Joyce depicts Bloom as an apostate Jew is deeply connected to the 'commonly held notion about Jews: that they are anarchistic, godless—either they did not embrace the true god, or they were "modern" and secular'.¹⁰⁰ Curiously, even though Bloom denounces both Christianity and Judaism, a religion-tinted dogmatism seems to have been burned into his unconscious mind and thus condition his behaviour. For instance, Bloom is aware of Jewish Kosher rules—'Say they won't eat pork. Kosher' (*U* 4.276-77)—but violates them by grilling a pork kidney that he has purchased earlier from Dlugacz, a Jew who (ironically enough) is the 'only pork butcher in Dorset Street Upper'.¹⁰¹ As an apostate Jew, he feels comfortable with eating pork, but his pretext for doing so is weirdly doctrinal: 'Thursday: not a good day either for a mutton kidney at Buckley's. [. . .] Better a pork kidney at Dlugacz's' (*U* 4.44-46). This very *law* that Bloom has legislated for himself is reminiscent of the biblical book of Deuteronomy (a misnomer that means 'the second law'), whose fragments flash through Bloom's mind every now and then: In 'Aeolus', the reverse spelling sequence 'mangiD kcirtaP' (*U* 7.206) on the typesetter makes Bloom think of the 'hagadah book' (*U* 7.206), as Hebrew is also written from right to left; such a sequence of free associations ends up with the Deuteronomistic text '*Shema Israel Adonai Elohenu*' (*U* 7.209)—'Hear, oh Israel, the Lord our God'.¹⁰² Similarly, in 'Nausicaa', Bloom tries to seek the Deuteronomy-related word *mezuzah* (Hebrew: doorpost) but

⁹⁹ Reizbaum, *James Joyce's Judaic Other*, 4.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁰¹ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 70.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 132.

fails—‘And the tephilim no what’s this they call it poor papa’s father had on his door to touch’ (*U* 14.1157-58).¹⁰³

The fact that Bloom often thinks tangentially of Deuteronomy provides us with an alternative perspective when we scrutinise his obsession with feet and shoes. As Catherine Hezser has noticed, Deuteronomy 25:5-10 is the only one biblical text that deals with the *halitzah* ritual in detail.¹⁰⁴

(5) If brothers dwell together, and one of them dies, and he does not have a child [or: son, *ben*], the wife of the deceased shall not be married outside [the family] to a stranger [*le'ish sar*]. Her brother-in-law shall come upon her and take her as his wife and perform the duty of the brother-in-law. [. . .] (7) And if the man should not desire to take his sister-in-law, his sister-in-law shall go to the gate to the elders and say: My brother-in-law refuses to set up for his brother a name in Israel. [. . .] And [if] he stands [firm] and says: I do not desire to take her—(9) his sister-in-law shall approach him under the eyes of the elders and tear [*ve'haltzah*] his shoe from his foot and spit in his face [or: in front of him, *be'fanav*].¹⁰⁵

Deuteronomy 25:9 suggests that the ceremony of unshoeing symbolises emasculation for the *levir* (that is, the deceased husband’s brother), and it is not difficult to make sense of such symbolism, for shoes denote ‘supreme power and possession’ in biblical antiquity.¹⁰⁶ In addition to Deuteronomy, other biblical passages also depict shoes (Hebrew: נעל) as the symbol of power and fortune. For instance, to give one’s shoes to others symbolises the transference of property (Ruth 4:7-8). In this vein, Bloom’s obsession with shoes is very likely to be a manifestation of the Jewish cultural unconscious. Various textual traces indicate that Joyce has endowed Bloom with certain knowledge of Talmudic laws: ‘Must be without a

¹⁰³ See Ibid., 401: ‘a piece of parchment inscribed with Deuteronomy 6:4-9 and 11:13-21 in twenty-two lines is rolled up and placed in a small case on the right-hand doorpost of Jewish households’.

¹⁰⁴ Catherine Hezser, ‘The *Halitzah* Shoe: Between Female Subjugation and Symbolic Emasculation’, in *Jews and Shoes*, ed. Edna Nahshon (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 47.

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in Ibid. 47-48; Hezser’s translation.

¹⁰⁶ Jacob Nacht, ‘The Symbolism of the Shoe with Special Reference to Jewish Sources’, *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. 6 (1915): 1-22 (2).

flaw' (*U* 4.210-11);¹⁰⁷ 'Two. When three it's night' (*U* 13.1077);¹⁰⁸ 'Talmud (Mischna and Ghemara)' (*U* 17.754); Bloom even has a phantom pamphlet entitled *Philosophy of the Talmud* on one of his bookshelves (*U* 17.1380). Echoing Deuteronomy's analogy between shoes and power, the Talmud also places great emphasis on the necessity of wearing shoes, as Edna Nahshon has remarked: 'The Talmud exhorts Jews to wear shoes, so much so that it proclaims that one should even sell the roof beams of his house in order to avoid barefootedness'.¹⁰⁹ The Jewish discourse on shoes and barefootedness is consistent: the former is empowering whereas the latter is humiliating or even emasculating. Even though it seems confusing that barefootedness could also connote sacredness,¹¹⁰ such a connotation is nonetheless based on the latent power relation between God and Jews; for instance, God's introduction to Moses—'put off your shoes from your feet, for the place on which you are standing is *holy ground* [my italics]' (Exodus 3:5)—reveals this very power relation: by asking Moses to remove his shoes, God places Moses, in Ora Horn Prouser's words, 'on the level of lowly captive'.¹¹¹ That is to say, Moses's barefootedness signifies a covenantal legal relationship in which he is 'humbled before God' and 'subjugated to God's will'.¹¹²

Such Jewish dogmas concerning shoes reveal the cultural logic behind Bloom's rather ludicrous predilection for feet and shoes, and the fact that Jewish culture identifies shoes with power illuminates those curious scenarios wherein Bloom's gaze gets fixated upon Blazes Boylan's new tan shoes. When Bloom has a chance-encounter with Blazes Boylan on Kildare Street, the sequence of his depiction of Boylan's ensemble is rather peculiar: 'Straw hat in sunlight. Tan shoes. Turnedup

¹⁰⁷ See Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 74: 'The citron to be used for [the Feast of Tabernacles (Sukkoth)], according to the elaborate instructions of the *Babylonian Talmud*, was to be not only without physical flaw but perfect in every way, including the legal, moral, and religious conditions under which it was grown'.

¹⁰⁸ See *New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Original Text, Edited, Corrected, Formulated, and Translated into English, Vol. I*, trans. Michael Levi Rodkinson (New York: New Talmud Publishing Company, 1899), 60: 'If only one star (can be seen in the sky), it is yet day; if two stars, it is twilight; three stars, it is night'.

¹⁰⁹ Edna Nahshon (ed.), *Jews and Shoes* (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 3.

¹¹⁰ See *Ibid.*, 6: 'There is a strong indication that Jews worshiped with bare feet in the early Palestinian synagogues of late antiquity. [...] The association of sacredness and shoelessness is particularly striking in the scene of the binding of Isaac, which displays two pairs of shoes left by Abraham and Isaac before going up the mountain'.

¹¹¹ Ora Horn Prouser, 'The Biblical Shoe: Eschewing Footwear: The Call of Moses as Biblical Archetype', in *Jews and Shoes*, ed. Edna Nahshon (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 41.

¹¹² *Ibid.* 41.

trousers. It is. It is'. (*U* 8.1168). Bloom notices Boylan's new tan shoes as soon as he has seen his straw hat, but he ignores the rest of Boylan's ensemble except his trousers. Boylan's tan shoes reoccurs several times throughout *Ulysses*, as if they are the leitmotif accompanying Boylan's presence: 'Blazes Boylan walked here and there in new tan shoes about the fruitsmelling shop' (*U* 10.307-8); 'By the provost's wall came jauntily Blazes Boylan, stepping in tan shoes' (*U* 10.1240-41); 'Blazes Boylan's smart tan shoes creaked on the barfloor where he strode' (*U* 11.337-38); 'Dandy tan shoe of dandy Boylan' (*U* 11.977). Bloom's preoccupation with Boylan's new tan shoes may be interpreted as the former's feeling threatened by the latter's masculinity. To elaborate this argument, I would turn to the levirate custom in Deuteronomy again. According to Calum Carmichael's interpretation (which is derived from Ludwig Levy's 1918 article 'Die Schuhsymbolik im jüdischen Ritual'), the Jewish widow 'withdraw[s] symbolically from [the *levir*] by removing his shoes' and 'thereby breaks off the potential marital relationship'.¹¹³ Based on an 'additional aspect of the ceremony in Ruth', Carmichael goes on arguing that the 'handing over the sandal from one male kinsman to the other appears to symbolize the transference of the right to acquire the woman'.¹¹⁴ Indeed, Bloom is no *levir*, nor is Boylan his kinsman, but the biblical shoe symbolism does illuminate the subtle power relation between them: Boylan the womaniser, just like his shinier new tan shoes, is more appealing to Molly, whose marital relationship with Bloom has been undermined by the premature death of Rudy.

Yet another dimension could be folded into the symbolic power relation between Bloom (the potential cuckold) and Boylan (the womaniser): in Judaism the action of shoes-wearing also connotes sexual intercourse. For instance, when commenting on Pharaoh's adulterous relationship with Sarai and the consequent plagues with which God afflicts his house (Genesis 12:15-17), Midrash Genesis Rabbah remarks: 'Because he dared to approach the shoe of the lady'.¹¹⁵ This remark is curious, for there doesn't seem to be any explicit reference to shoes and feet in Genesis 12:15-17, whereas the rabbinic homiletic annotation to this biblical passage draws such an

¹¹³ Calum Carmichael, 'A Ceremonial Crux: Removing a Man's Sandal as a Female Gesture of Contempt', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 96 (1977): 321-36 (323).

¹¹⁴ Ibid. (324).

¹¹⁵ Quoted in Hezser, 'The *Halitzah* Shoe: Between Female Subjugation and Symbolic Emasculation', 50.

incongruous conclusion. To comprehend this seeming logical leap here, we should be aware that מרגלות (feet)—the plural form of רגל (foot)—is sometimes used as a euphemism for genitalia in the Hebrew Bible (for example, see Exodus 4:25; Ruth 3:7; I Samuel 24:4; Ezekiel 16:25; Proverbs 7:11).¹¹⁶ By the same token, *the shoe of the lady* serves as a euphemism for Sarai's vagina, which is penetrated by Pharaoh's *phallic* feet. However, the euphemism, according to Hezser, 'can also be used in a reversed direction',¹¹⁷ as is illustrated in the following case:

in the Babylonian Talmud, a woman might reject suitors from a superior family background by saying: 'I do not want a shoe too large for my foot': if the bridegroom pretends to be of a higher status than he actually is, the betrothal is invalid (b. Qid. 49a). Here the man is compared with the shoe and the woman with the foot.¹¹⁸

Whether it is male or female genitalia that are identified with shoes, one fact remains unaffected: the relation between shoes and feet is potentially erotic in the Hebrew Bible. The analogy between shoes-wearing and sexual intercourse may be the very reason why the alarm is ringing for Bloom the apostate Jew when he glimpses Boylan's fashionable tan shoes. Since Bloom's mind resembles a complicated machine of free association, his knowledge of Jewish shoe symbolism may endow Boylan's shoes with sexual connotations, and Boylan's wearing a pair of tan shoes may be intensely reminiscent of his becoming a cuckold. He is prone to feel threatened and emasculated in this scenario, either because Boylan usurps a pair of shoes (or, more explicitly, Molly's vagina) that should belong to him, or because Molly becomes tired of him and wants to get a new pair of shoes.

However, Bloom may not be as powerless as he seems in his cuckoldry, and he may have directed the entire adulterous scenario with masochistic pleasure. Colleen Lamos even sees 'Bloom's preoccupation with the theme of adultery' as 'a screen that shields him from [. . .] his "homosexual wish" to share his wife with other men'.¹¹⁹ Or, metaphorically speaking, it is Bloom that wants Boylan to share his

¹¹⁶ Jeremy Schipper, 'Deuteronomy 24:5 and King Asa's Foot Disease in Kings 15:23b', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 128 (2009): 643-48 (647-48).

¹¹⁷ Hezser, 'The *Halitzah* Shoe: Between Female Subjugation and Symbolic Emasculation', 50.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* 50.

¹¹⁹ Colleen Lamos, *Deviant Modernism: Sexual and Textual Errancy in T. S. Eliot, James Joyce, and Marcel Proust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 160-61.

shoes. Intriguingly, the possibility that Bloom practices masochism or even homosexuality may also be related to his Jewishness; when developing his modern Odyssean Jew, Joyce resorted to various of his contemporary anti-semitic (pseudo-)scientific theories that ascribe paraphilia to Jewishness, and the most prominent among them are Otto Weininger's *Geschlecht und Charakter* (*Sex and Character*) and Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*. The former provides Joyce with the stereotype of Jewish *womanly man* for his creation of Leopold Bloom, whereas the latter records miscellaneous clinical cases on which certain passages of 'Circe' are structured. According to Robert Byrne, Joyce 'must have read the *Psychopathia* [*sic*], at least, with reasonable faith in its status as medical science',¹²⁰ and 'was quite persuaded by Weininger on the subjects of both femininity in Jewish men and the general organic disenfranchisement of women'.¹²¹ I am not delving into the connection between the characterisation of Bloom and these theories, as Byrne has done it in great detail in 'Bloom's Sexual Tropes', but I would scrutinise the section entitled 'Latent Masochism—Foot- and Shoe-Fetichists [*sic*]', because various cases recorded in this section are strongly reminiscent of Bloom's podophilic symptoms.

For instance, in case 70, Krafft-Ebing analyses the paraphilia of a Mr X, whose '*ideal was to see [himself] in a position of humiliation*'.¹²² Mr X's masochistic perversion is accompanied by severe shoe-fetishism, of which Krafft-Ebing lets him speak in his own voice:

I always had the idea that I was forced to wear girls' boots. The sight of an elegant boot, on the foot of a girl at all pretty, intoxicated me; I inhaled the odour of the leather with avidity. [. . .] My dreams at night are made up of shoe-scenes: either I stand before the show-window of a shoe-shop regarding the elegant ladies' shoes,—particularly buttoned shoes,—or I lie at a lady's feet and smell and lick her shoes. For about a year I have given up onanism and go *ad puellas*; coitus takes place by means of intense thought of ladies' buttoned shoes; or, if necessary, I take the shoe of the *puella* to bed with me.¹²³

¹²⁰ Robert Byrnes, 'Bloom's Sexual Tropes: Stigmata of the "Degenerate" Jew', *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 27 (1990): 303-23 (321).

¹²¹ *Ibid.* (321).

¹²² Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis, with Especial Reference to the Antipathic Sexual Instinct: A Medico-Forensic Study*, trans. Charles Gilbert Chaddock (New York: Rebman, 1893), 174.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 174.

In case 72, a Mr M ‘began as a small boy to practice onanism spontaneously’ and became obsessed with women’s shoes since he was fourteen; ‘he was forced to kiss and press them to him’, and then ended up masturbating’.¹²⁴ In case 76, a merchant X ‘would accost some prostitute and ask her to go to a shoe-shop with him, where he would buy her the handsomest pair of shoes made of patent leather, under the condition that she would put them on immediately’.¹²⁵ X would ask the prostitute to get her shoes as dirty as possible by walking ‘in manure and mud’, and then lead her to a hotel.¹²⁶ However, before reaching a room, he would ‘cast himself upon her feet’, lick her dirty shoes with ‘extraordinary pleasure’, then ‘paid her and went his way’.¹²⁷

Similar to these cases, not only does Bloom prefer masturbating to Gerty’s fetishes than making love to Molly’s voluptuous body, but he has an adolescent fantasy that is revealed in ‘Circe’:

To be a shoefitter in Manfield’s was my love’s young dream, the darling joys of sweet buttonhooking, to lace up crisscrossed to kneelength the dressy kid footwear satinlined, so incredibly impossibly small, of Clyde Road ladies. Even their wax model Raymonde I visited daily to admire *her* [my italics] cobweb hose and stick of rhubarb toe, as worn in Paris. (U 15.2814-18)

Like the Mr X in case 70, Bloom has a craze for women’s buttoned shoes, and starts developing his shoe-fetishism from an early age like the Mr M does in case 72, whereas Bloom has invested his erotic fantasy with even more niceties than Krafft-Ebing’s patients do, and he is drawn closer to dead fetishes—the wax model wearing cobweb hose—to the degree that he confuses the possessive determiner of the lifeless (its) with that of the living (her). Even more intriguingly, Bloom, similar to the merchant X in case 76, ‘bends over [Bella Cohen’s] hoof and with gentle fingers draws out and in her laces’ (U 15.2811-12); both of Bloom and the merchant X derive more pleasure from the prostitute’s shoes than from her vagina. Still, the fact

¹²⁴ Ibid., 176.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 181.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 181.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 181-82.

that Joyce endows the bawd with the common Jewish surname *Cohen* (Hebrew: כֹהֵן, 'priest') tempts us to think that he is parodying the sacred Jewish ritual of putting on/removing shoes by transforming it into an erotic *masochistic* spectacle. Masochism, as we know it, is coined after Leopold von Sacher-Masoch by Krafft-Ebing, and the Austrian pornographer has cast on Joyce the raw influence that remains unmediated by Krafft-Ebing's pseudo-medical theorisation. Richard Ellmann has pointed out that 'Joyce drew heavily upon Sacher-Masoch's book, *Venus im Pelz*' when writing the *Circe* episode (*JJII* 369); however, according to Andrew Ingall, critics scarcely 'acknowledge the possible resonance of Sacher-Masoch's more obscure body of work: Jewish folklores'.¹²⁸

In fact, it is through Leopold Bloom's voice that Joyce makes the only direct reference to Sacher-Masoch in *Ulysses*: after flipping through *The Awful Disclosures of Maria and Aristotle's Masterpiece* at the book stand, Bloom picks up '*Tales of the Ghetto* by Leopold von Sacher Masoch' (*U* 10.591-92), only to put it back again because '[t]hat [he] had' (*U* 10.593); Joyce himself did have a copy of this book—*Scene del ghetto* he called it—in his Trieste library.¹²⁹ Sacher-Masoch's *Tales of the Ghetto* falls into the category of *Ghettogeschiedten*, a particular subgenre of *Dorfgeschichten*.¹³⁰ According to David Biale, *Ghettogeschiedten* 'sought to satisfy the thirst of the German-reading public for medieval romance with stories of the still-traditional Jewish communities of Eastern Europe'.¹³¹ Sacher-Masoch is among the very few *Ghettogeschiedten* author who are not Jews, whereas his 'philosemitism in many ways surpassed that of his Jewish colleagues'.¹³² His philosemitism, however, is conveyed through an ambivalent mélange of *Ghettogeschiedten* and pornography: he is empowering his Jewish Venuses by endowing them with erotic allure and reaffirming Jews' humanity by placing emphasis on their corporeality. Thus Biale calls him a 'philosemite in furs'.¹³³ Similarly, Joyce also puts himself in Jews' shoes:

¹²⁸ Andrew Ingall, 'The Fetishist's Shoe: "Poems of Pedal Atrocity": Sexuality, Ethnicity, and Religion in the Art of Bruno Schulz', in *Jews and Shoes*, ed. Edna Nahshon (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 164.

¹²⁹ Reizbaum, *James Joyce's Judaic Other*, 95.

¹³⁰ David Biale, 'Masochism and Philosemitism: The Strange Case of Leopold von Sacher-Masoch', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 17 (1982): 305-23 (305).

¹³¹ *Ibid.* (305).

¹³² *Ibid.* (306).

¹³³ *Ibid.* (313).

while exposing Bloom's anxiety and impotence underlying his obsession with shoes, Joyce nonetheless displays 'an infinite store of mercy' (*U* 13.748) on Bloom, who 'had erred and sinned and wandered' (*U* 13.749).

Now, the latent connection between Bloom's shoe-fetishism and his Jewishness has been fully exposed. On the one hand, what we see in the evolving trajectory of shoe symbolism is an irreversible process of desecration and eroticisation. Even though shoes' erotic overtone has been intrinsic to Judaism since antiquity, it seems becoming the *only* overtone and erasing other sacred connotations of shoes. On the other hand, what have inspired Joyce to connect Bloom with psychopathic masochism are his contemporary pseudo-medical theories that define Jews as a degenerating race. Such anti-Semitic theories were so influential to the degree that they were even endorsed by the Jewish intelligentsia. Thus Bloom is modelled on the pseudo-medical stereotype of the Jewish womanly man who is prone to develop paraphilia. Ironically, as a *modern* womanly man, Bloom foreshadows a new capitalist era, wherein androgyny connotes desirability and fetishism replaces religion. If it is מרגלות (feet) that first infuses an erotic overtone to shoes-symbolism, such a euphemism becomes revised in the new era: the Bible conceals sexual intercourse beneath the metaphor of shoe-wearing, whereas the advertising discourse wants consumers to see the phallus in each pair of stilettos.

2.3 'RELIGIONS PAY'

Both mournful Stephen and podophilic Bloom embrace secularism and renounce constitutional religions: the former turns his back on Roman Catholicism, whereas the latter chooses not to practice three monotheistic religions. However, the relics of religious discourses are still lurking in the darkness of their unconscious mind, and they are still dominated by a quasi-religious irrationality that becomes manipulated by the capitalist system. When Stephen claims that he can't wear grey trousers, isn't he adhering to an arbitrary set of dogmas? When Bloom feels daunted by Boylan's tan shoes, isn't he buying into the religious/advertising discourse that identifies shoes with virility and dignity? They think they are now freer than they used to be, because they have left the churches; however, they remain *religious* after all: they are worshiping at the English pantheon of commodities.

CHAPTER 3

‘MUTOSCOPE PICTURES IN CAPEL STREET’: THE VOYEURISTIC MICRO-SPECTACLE IN ‘NAUSICAA’

A dream of wellfilled hose. Where was that? Ah, yes. Mutoscope pictures in Capel street: for men only. Peeping Tom. Willy’s hat and what the girls did with it. Do they snapshot those girls or is it all a fake? *Lingerie* does it (*U* 13.793-96).

—James Joyce

[Joyce] brought himself to begin work on *Nausicaa*. [. . .] By November 9 he had fixed upon the “general plan of the specially new fizzing style”, which on January 3 he described more particularly to Budgen as “a namby-pamby jammy marmalady drawersy (alto là!) style” (*JIII* 473).

—Richard Ellmann

The erotic photograph [. . .] does not make the sexual organs into a central object; it may very well not show them at all; it takes the spectator outside its frame, and it is there that I animate this photograph and that it animates me.¹

—Roland Barthes

‘Nausicaa’ screens a quotidian micro-spectacle on Sandymount Strand, in twilight: after masturbating, Leopold Bloom suffers the detumescent disillusionment of Gerty MacDowell’s limp, while he continues to relish her erotic self-display, and thinks tangentially of the mutoscope machine he has once used in Capel Street. The mutoscope film—‘Willy’s hat and what the girls did with it’—that flashes through Bloom’s fragmentary thought is in fact a 1897 film production by the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company. This mutoscope film was then distributed under two titles—*What the Girls Did with Willie’s Hat* or *Kicking Willie’s Hat*—and now ‘exists as a paper print of 400 frames (lasting about 25 seconds) in the Library of

¹ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Vintage, 1993), 59.

Congress'.² The film satisfies the fin-de-siècle voyeuristic spectators looking through its tiny peephole with a micro-spectacle of high-kicking young women:

In a drawing-room set, four young women are frolicking about. There is a silk hat on the table and one of the young women picks it up and holds it above her head, while the remaining three girls attempt to reach the hat by kicking high over their heads. One of them apparently overextends herself for she falls over, landing flat on her back as the film ends.³

Bloom's remembrance of *Kicking Willie's Hat* leads to his subsequent speculation on the genuineness of such exhibitionism: 'Do they snapshot those girls or is it all a fake?' (*U* 13.795-96). Bloom's speculation excavates theatricality from mutoscope films' staged everydayness: even if mutoscope films tried to create a convincing illusion that these women under the voyeuristic gaze were exposed to a concealed *candid camera* while they were carrying out daily chores, the fact is that their seemingly *accidental* revelation was an elaborately staged performance. Bloom's streaming thought on the mutoscope triggered by 'a full view high up above [Gerty's] knee' (*U* 13.728-29) suggests temptingly that there be an alternative to read 'Nausicaa' from the perspective of the mutoscopic spectacle, and this alternative seems feasible because biographical traces suggest that *Ulysses* should be regarded as potentially *cinematic* and *voyeuristic*: while doubting the possibility of translating *Ulysses* into another language, Joyce suggested in a conversation with Daniel Hummel in 1924 that 'it might be translated into another medium, that of the film' (*JJII* 561); in a letter to Nora Barnacle, Joyce fantasises about 'the idea of a shy beautiful young girl like Nora pulling up her clothes behind and revealing her sweet white girlish drawers in order to excite the dirty fellow she is so fond of' (*SL* 189). Still, this alternative reading is reinforced by Philip Sicker's argument:

Although Joyce did not live to see this transmutation, he anticipated its possibilities in arranging a cinematic spectacle for Bloom's eyes in 'Nausicaa' and formulating his gaze within the allusive framework of an early film-viewing device. The mutoscope that Bloom, in 1904, recalls using in Capel Street is a forerunner of the silent film projector that

² Michael Harvey, 'Notes: The Mutoscope and Joyce', *James Joyce Broadsheet*, vol. 49 (1998): 3 (3).

³ *Ibid.* (3).

Joyce and his Triestine financial backers employed in a Dublin theater five years later.⁴

As various traces hint at cinematic devices' influence on Joyce's writing, this chapter aims to analyse 'Nausicaa' from the perspective of the mutoscope and see the micro-spectacle through its single lens.

3.1 GAZING THROUGH THE MUTOSCOPE

Since Bloom's ardent gaze at Gerty invites a reading of 'Nausicaa' from the mutoscopic perspective, to take a glance at the apparatus that provided fin-de-siècle spectators with a new entertaining spectacle would help to reconstruct the contextual backdrop against which the episode has been written. According to the brief historical account of the mutoscope by Kristin Thompson and David Bordwell, Herman Casler patented the Mutoscope in late 1894 after having sought technical support on the camera from William K. L. Dickson, who had just ended his collaboration with Thomas Edison. Casler and Dickson formed the American Mutoscope Company with other partners by early 1896. Because of its simple design of card-holder and its clear 70mm images, the mutoscope beat its major competitor, Edison's kinoscope, and made the firm dominate the business of proto-cinematic peepshow by 1897. The firm was renamed American Mutoscope and Biograph (AM&B) to reflect its 'double specialization in peepshow mutoscope reels and projected films'. In 1903 AM&B began to 'make and sell films in 35mm rather than 70mm', which was a sales-boosting innovation, and in 1908 the firm 'employed one of the most important silent-era directors, D. W. Griffith'.⁵ As for the difference between the mutoscope and the kinoscope, film historian David A. Cook observes that the former used a series of individual photographic prints that were attached to cardboards on a circular core and created a flip-book effect, whereas the latter employed one single filmstrip.⁶ Because of its flip-book mechanism, the mutoscope highlights an in-betweenness of photography and film: it is spectators' cranking

⁴ Philip Sicker, "'Alone in the Hiding Twilight': Bloom's Cinematic Gaze in 'Nausicaa'", *James Joyce Broadsheet*, vol. 34 (1999): 825-51 (825).

⁵ See Kristin Thompson and David Bordwell, *Film History: An Introduction*, 2nd edn (London: McGraw-Hill, 2003), 20-28.

⁶ David A. Cook, *A History of Narrative Film* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981), 62.

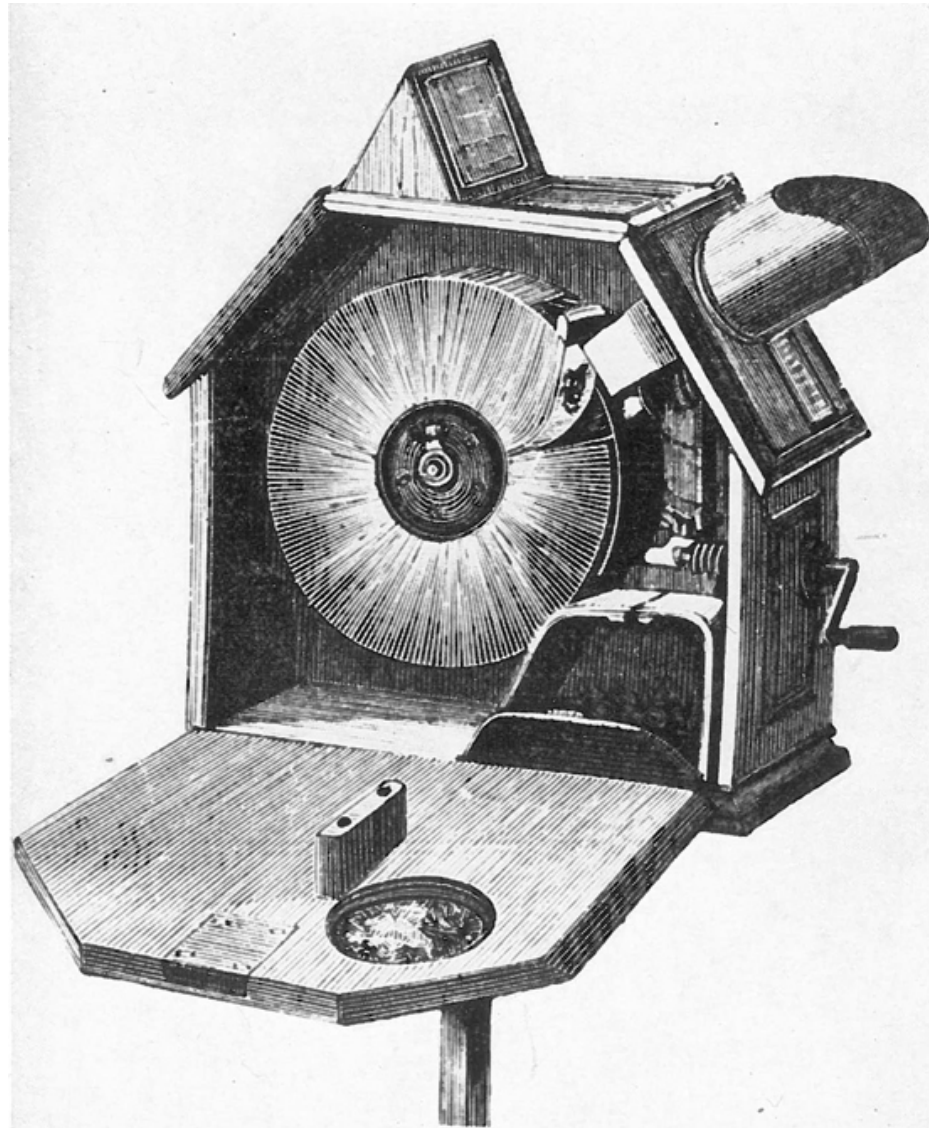


Fig. 3.1—The interior of the mutoscope, reproduced from *Scientific American* (17 April, 1897).

hands that rotate the mutoscope reel to transform separate photographic freeze frames into a film. Even though spectators are able to control the presentation speed merely to a limited degree, their hands nonetheless crank with ignited desire. Katherine Mullin emphasises this mutoscopic mechanism in her reading of 'Nausicaa', arguing that 'Joyce writes the firework display not in real time but rather in "reel time", in mutoscope slow motion and freeze frame'.⁷ In Mullin's argument, 'Nausicaa' may be regarded as modelled upon the new technologically generated spectacle wherein 'Gerty simulate[s] the first frame of a mutoscope reel' which is

⁷ Katherine Mullin, *James Joyce, Sexuality and Social Purity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 155.

‘perfectly still yet waiting for the penny to drop and the *handcrank* [my italics] to turn’.⁸

Bloom’s *handcranking* as a force that accelerates the narrative from *adagio* to *allegro* stands as an intriguing metaphor, for the mutoscope ‘seems to have invited an erotic interpretation as much from the rapid rhythm of its manual crank as from its voyeuristic visuality’.⁹ When cranking a handle to speed up static frames into a dynamic film, a cranking hand, like a masturbating hand, feels a touch that ‘should be conceived not as the impossible, metaphorical touch of the absent object by the spectator, but literally as the real touch of spectator-observer’s bodies with both the machinery of vision and themselves’.¹⁰ In this vein, Bloom’s cranking hand synchronises the processes toward orgasm of himself, of Gerty, and of the quasi-mutoscope narrative:

The eyes that were fastened upon her set her pulses tingling. She looked at him at a moment, meeting his glance, and a light broke in upon her. White-hot passion was in that face, passion silent as the grave, and it had made her his. At last they were left alone without the others to pry and pass remarks and she knew he could be trusted to the death, steadfast, a sterling man, a man of inflexible honour to his fingertips. His hands and face were working and a tremour went over her (*U* 13.689-95).

The rapidness of sentences and the *staccati* imply an imminent orgasm, and what merits scrutiny here is that the *tumescent* narrative is told through *her* voice, as if the desired female body in the *silent* erotic (if not pornographic) spectacle not only opens her mouth to *speak* but also relocates the male voyeur into a position where *he* himself becomes part of the spectacle that is under someone else’s gaze. It is *her* voice that makes ‘Nausicaa’ go beyond the mutoscopic micro-spectacle, for the objectified women under the voyeuristic gaze in turn-of-the-century mutoscope films were deprived of their voices due to the immature technology of silent films. One subtle question of this female voice to be asked is this: *who is the subject that speaks?* In Michael Sayeau’s words, ‘what appears in the episode as Gerty’s section

⁸ Ibid., 152.

⁹ Jan-Christopher Horak (ed.), *Lovers of Cinema: The First American Film Avant-Garde, 1919-1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 353.

¹⁰ Linda Williams, ‘Corporealised Observers: Visual Pornographies and the “Carnal Density of Vision”’, in *Fugitive Images: From Photography to Video*, ed. Patrice Petro (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 14.

might, in fact, be something like a *style indirect libre* narration of her interior discourse on Bloom's part, with Bloom at the authorial helm'.¹¹ It is Bloom that imagines himself speaking in Gerty's voice and verbalising her interior thoughts: he dubs an imaginary monologue of Gerty on the silent mutoscopic spectacle while his hand is cranking, so as to fulfil his kinky desire 'to infiltrate the feminine private language as much as, if not more than, the female private parts'.¹² Intriguingly, the voice dubbed by Bloom on the spectacle often refers to the *off-frame* spectator himself, as if he is also under the gaze of a high-kicking girl who is just brought alive by his cranking hand that activates her segmented movements on those freeze-frames: 'Leopold Bloom [. . .] stands silent, with bowed head before those young guileless eyes. What a brute he had been! [. . .] Should a girl tell? No, a thousand times no. That was their secret, only theirs, alone in the hiding twilight and there was none to know or tell' (*U* 13.744-51). If Bloom's obsession with penetrating into feminine private language is all about a deeper desire to copulate with female private parts, the imaginary feminine voice takes an erotic vengeance on him by exposing his masturbation that he thinks twilight would hide. From this perspective, the feminine voice—whether or not it is a parodic version articulated by a masculine imitator who, by so doing, at once fuels and fulfils his masturbational desire—somehow gains its autonomy to cast a female gaze back on him.

Kimberley J. Devlin recognises Gerty's vengeful gaze thrown back at Bloom, hence arguing that 'Nausicaa', as 'a modernist re-rendering of the Judgment of Paris', revises the sexist myth 'not only by exposing its primordially corrupt model for the judgement of beauty and desirability [. . .] but also by allowing one of the "goddesses" to return as a counter gaze [. . .] by transforming the reified female object into a critical female subject'.¹³ Devlin's interpreting Gerty's female gaze as a subtle exposure of Bloom's obsession with being looked at by the eye of the other—'Am I like that? See ourselves as others see us' (*U* 8.662)—proceeds to reveal the psychoanalytic doubleness in the gaze of the other: it could be both 'a threat, a feared intrusion [. . .] an evil eye', and 'an egotistical construct, a construct

¹¹ Michael Sayeau, "'Love at a Distance (Bloomism)': The Chance Encounter and the Democratization of Modernist Style', *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 44 (2007): 247-61 (251).

¹² *Ibid.* (251).

¹³ Kimberley J. Devlin, "'See Ourselves as Others See Us": Joyce's Look at the Eye of the Other', *PMLA*, vol. 104 (1989): 882-93 (883).

of desire'; the latter seems to be affirmative, but it in effect 'leads to another sort of fear—a fear not of a critical other but of an indifferent other, whose stance exposes not the subject's guilts or flaws but his potential insignificance or negligibility'.¹⁴ Echoing Devlin's Lacanian interpretation of Gerty's gaze, Philip Sicker makes a synoptic statement:

Bloom ostensibly asserts the power of the male gaze, but he also betrays an underlying fear of the destructive power of the female eye/I. The castration threat that breaks fleetingly and indirectly through his scopific control in 'Nausicaa' emerges in 'Circe' as a fully realized terror.¹⁵

This statement summarises Sicker's reading of 'Nausicaa' from the perspective of Bloom's mutoscopic gaze: he sees Bloom's auto-erotic excitement triggered by the mutoscopic fantasy as a forerunner of cinema's 'inherently voyeuristic and masculine system of looking' that solidifies the 'male subject/female object dichotomy'.¹⁶ Sicker's argument provides a powerful link between 'Nausicaa' and the cinematic gaze in that it positions Bloom in front of a projection screen. However, Sicker may have missed the subtlety of Devlin's discussion on the gaze of the other, wherein she argues that the 'subject is always aware of the gaze, is always watching the gaze—reflexively, not intentionally or consciously—but the gaze is not necessarily watching the subject'.¹⁷ This argument could be further elucidated by Lacan's analogy between the gaze and *ocelli*.¹⁸ Ocelli, or eyespots on wildlife, are a form of automimicry to deceive potential predators by making them believe that they are being seen; by his gaze-ocelli analogy, Lacan argues that the gaze, as an ocellus, is *not* an eye that sees but an eyespot that casts a blind illusion of surveillance upon spectators. Similarly, when Bloom looks at Gerty's '[f]ine eyes' and ponders that '[i]t's the white of the eye brings that out not so much the pupil. Did she know what

¹⁴ Ibid. (892).

¹⁵ Sicker, "'Alone in the Hiding Twilight": Bloom's Cinematic Gaze in "Nausicaa"', (838).

¹⁶ Ibid. (826-28).

¹⁷ Devlin, "'See Ourselves as Others See Us": Joyce's Look at the Eye of the Other', (884).

¹⁸ Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (1977), trans. Alan Sheridan, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 73-74: 'it is a fact that [the ocelli] have this effect on the predator or on the supposed victim that looks at them—whether they impress by their resemblance to eyes, or whether, on the contrary, the eyes are fascinating only by virtue of their relation to the form of the *ocelli*. In other words, must we not distinguish between the function of the eye of that of the gaze?'

I? [. . .] Eyes all over [women]' (*U* 13.906-12), Gerty's eyes are somehow transformed into eyespots which see nothing themselves but make Bloom feel that he himself is under the gaze. Bloom's awareness of Gerty's ocelli-like eyes seems to offer another interpretive possibility: Bloom's mutoscopic excitement and anxiety are triggered by his own imaginary cinema wherein Gerty's blind gaze sees what he wants it to see (or what he thinks it is seeing). In this sense, what Joyce displays through the free indirect narration in Gerty's section seems to rehearse the mechanism of the cinematic gaze (though my usage of *gaze* here is in its ordinary sense rather than being restrictively Lacanian), for Bloom's intended intrusion into Gerty's voice is similar to a cinematic gaze at female actresses' ocelli-like eyes on a screen, both of which reflect the subject's self-generated desire and anxiety rather than expose the object's vengeful will to replace the subject.

The extended discussion on Bloom's mutoscopic voyeurism and Gerty's ocelli-gaze touches upon another aspect of the cinematic gaze, that is, fetishism. In his seminal film study article 'The Imaginary Signifier', Christian Metz makes an observation as follows:

It is clear that fetishism, in the cinema as elsewhere, is closely linked to the good object. The function of the fetish is to restore the latter, threatened in its 'goodness' [. . .] by the terrifying discovery of the lack. Thanks to the fetish, which covers the wound and itself becomes erotogenic, the object as a whole can become desirable again without excessive fear.¹⁹

This observation may apply to Gerty's section. Whether it is Gerty that wants Bloom to focus his look at her good parts or it is Bloom that avoids seeing Gerty's limp and menstruation (and lack of penis), Gerty's tumescent section is indeed filled with scenarios where Bloom looks ardently at Gerty's exhibition of fetishes: '[a]s for undies they were Gerty's chief care' (*U* 13.171); 'her wellturned ankle displayed its perfect proportions beneath her skirt and just the proper amount and no more of her shapely limbs encased in finespun hose with highspliced heels and wide garter tops' (*U* 13.168-71); 'she leaned back and the garters were blue to match on account of the transparent' (*U* 13.715-16); 'he could see her other things too, nainsook

¹⁹ Christian Metz, 'The Imaginary Signifier', *Screen*, vol. 16 (1975): 14-76 (72).

knickers, the fabric that caresses the skin, better than those other pettiwidth' (*U* 13.7). Bloom interprets through Gerty's ocelli-gaze that 'she saw that he saw and then it went so high it went *out of sight* [my italics] a moment and she was trembling in every limb from being bent so far back that he had a full view high up above her knee where no one ever' (*U* 13.726-29). The mutoscopic narrative stops at *where no one ever* unexpectedly and leaves the action *had seen* incomplete, as if the mutoscopic film has come abruptly to an end when Gerty's private parts are almost going to be revealed. Philip Sicker exposes the fetishism in Bloom's gaze: '[a]s he repeatedly re-envisions the moment of Gerty's maximum exposure, Bloom's language becomes curiously elliptical [. . .] or stops abruptly on the threshold of conscious articulation'.²⁰

3.2 FASHIONABLE EROTICA

Gerty's tumescent section does display a cinematic fetishism that could be analysed via the Freudian concept of castration anxiety, while commodity fetishism is also highly perceptible. Even if my jump from Freudian fetishism to Marxist fetishism seems to be a leap of logic, there may be a latent link between the two: according to Ulrich Lehmann, the fact that the Freudian coinage of fetish is connotatively *sartorial* suggests that his conception has already been tinted with Marx's earlier use of the term.²¹ In other words, their different brands of fetishism are genealogically connected, and both capture an aspect of the capitalist society's fascination with sartorial fashion.

Thomas Richards argues that '[w]hat we find in "Nausicaa" is [. . .] a thoroughgoing materialism, a panoply of the practices, methods, aims, and spirit of commodity fetishism in its Irish form', and that 'Gerty fails to see that she is dealing with a social relation between human beings and supposes instead that she is dealing with a relation between things'.²² Gerty's fascination with commodities is well-illustrated:

²⁰ Sicker, "'Alone in the Hiding Twilight": Bloom's Cinematic Gaze in "Nausicaa"', (841).

²¹ Lehmann, *Tigersprung*, 222.

²² Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, 218.

Gerty was dressed simply but with the instinctive taste of a votary of Dame Fashion for she felt that there was just a might that he might be out. A neat blouse of electric blue selftinted by dolly dyes (because it was expected in the *Lady's Pictorial* that electric blue would be worn) with a smart vee opening down to the division and kerchief pocket (in which she always kept a piece of cottonwool scented with her favourite perfume because the handkerchief spoiled the sit) and a navy threequarter skirt cut to the stride showed off her slim graceful figure to perfection. She wore a coquettish little love of a hat of wideleaved nigger straw contrast trimmed with an underbrim of eggblue chenille and at the side a butterfly bow to tone. All Tuesday week afternoon she was hunting to match that chenille but at last she found what she wanted at Clery's summer sales, the very it, slightly shopsoiled but you would never notice, seven fingers two and a penny. She did it up all by herself and what joy was hers when she tried it on then, smiling at the lovely reflection which the mirror gave back to her! (*U* 13.148-62).

As if she were an actress in front of the camera lens, Gerty is a highly self-aware *votary of Dame Fashion* who, for Thomas Richard, is the 'most detailed and variegated' figure of a female consumer who celebrates the arrival of an age of the advertised spectacle at the dawn of the twentieth century.²³ She flamboyantly displays herself with a dazzling collage of miscellaneous items that feature in the fashion magazines of 1904, and her display is tellingly performative, as she expects this elaborate show to be seen by a male spectator who 'might be out' (*U* 13.149). The narrative demonstrates Gerty's fashion display in great detail under the gaze and makes her a *connoisseuse* of Dame Fashion who possesses the most accurate knowledge of every single aspect of fashion, from materials in vogue to fashionable colours, from the style of tailoring to the art of clothes-matching. Being a prominent pioneering female figure who embraces fashion at the very beginning of the twentieth century, Gerty cannot but have herself placed under the zooming lenses of microscopes that magnify every tiny traces of modern commodity culture. As the above-cited text from 'Nausicaa' has shown, the free indirect narrative in Gerty's section is so obsessed with fashionable commodities to the extent that it sometimes seems an early version of product placement: 'Widow Welch's female pills' (*U* 13.85-86), the 'eyebrowline' that 'Madame Vera Verity, directress of the Woman Beautiful page of the Princess Novelette' recommends (*U* 13.109-111), the 'electric

²³ Ibid., 207.



INTRODUCTION.

FASHION this season is surely the most elaborately lovely blossom on the rod of our civilisation. It is the flower of many graftings culled from all ages. In the paniers—for real paniers have appeared in exclusive circles—the Marie Antoinette overskirts disclosing flounced petticoats, the Fragonard colourings, elbow sleeves, and contour *corsage*, it possesses the piquant perfume of the French eighteenth century. Furthermore, *Louis Seize* coats are making a bid for favour,

but the very last word in these would probably much astonish that monarch since they are of lace or any other transparency, the seams, cuffs, &c., alone being solidified by applications of gold lace and old-world embroideries. The fussy little gauged *taffetas* overcoats that are last hour's *inspiration Parisienne* also, possibly, owe their being to Beau Nash's brocades; but the *perlerines*, sleeved and unsleeved, that are *très correct en suite* with the skirt, to be slipped over the silk or chiffon blouse, whose tone should also exactly correspond, distinctly belong, with the now modish "mush-room" hat, to the early Victorian portraits of the people little Lord Fauntleroy understood were his aunt's sisters, as do the feather bones and steels in our flounces—those timidly discreet suggestions of the happily impossible crinoline, the frayed-out ruchings, bias frills, bevers of buttons (in Paris these are quite alarming just now), and shoes *en suite* with the gown—only in Leech's time they were not shoes. Shall we say a little grace for Fashion's selectiveness?

The small basque—small by degrees, and beautifully less to nothingness in front—has appeared, and is cherished by *les élégantes*; this and the increasingly full skirt bring our waists into prominence, and therefore—somewhat inversely, perhaps—to reduction, though, of course, straight fronts will, more than ever, endure. The high hat crown, too, has come to stay, at least in smart society, as have the pearly pastel shades we admired on the Côte d'Azur, since the weather worries Fashion not at all. Cherries and immense roses in natural or miraculous hues grow everywhere, and the real old-fashioned glass bugles—just as our grandmothers wore them—have appeared. These are some of the petals of Fashion's flower this season. In the following pages, through the kindness of her experts, you will, perchance, meet them again, with others that are favoured of My Lady, and approved by

BUTTERFLY.

Fig. 3.2—'Summer Fashions' in *Lady's Pictorial* (1904).

blue' that the *Lady's Pictorial* advertises (U 13.151), 'the very it' at 'Clery's summer sales' (U 13.159),²⁴ et cetera. Therefore, Richards observes that '[i]n the world of Gerty MacDowell [. . .] the unique object stands as an oddity; only branded objects, packaged in new forms and distributed in new locations, possess any appeal for her',²⁵ and that '[i]n "Nausicaa" not only the foreground but the background of Gerty's narrative draws on a particular run of advertisements'.²⁶ Echoing Richards's observation, Peggy Ochoa also highlights the trace of evidence that Gerty wears

²⁴ See Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 88: 'Clery's—A major department store, 21-27 Sackville Street Lower (now O'Connell Street), a shopping district in the center of Dublin, north of the Liffey'.

²⁵ Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, 223.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 225.

electric blue on the advice of *Lady's Pictorial*,²⁷ and argues that her connoisseurship of fashion 'is indeed influenced by advertising' in female magazines.²⁸ Yet if the free indirect narrative in Gerty's section is scrutinised more closely, it becomes unclear whether the language is articulated by a brainwashed young female consumer or by an advertiser attempting to set off consumers' buying impulse.

As an enthusiastic reader of women's magazines, Gerty is not merely invaded by their fierce bombardment of advertisements but also transformed into an endorsing voice that makes herself a living example of embedded marketing: she is a specimen who demonstrates how to dress up in the latest fashion. In the May issue of *Lady's Pictorial*, a columnist under the pseudonym 'Butterfly' writes an article entitled 'Summer Fashions' to advertise the latest trend of colourings for the coming summer of 1904: 'Some of the newest imaginings are so charming that one wonders we have never thought of them before—particularly regarding the colourings—others, as the inconsequently delightful contrasts of palest *ciel* blue and sudden deep purple';²⁹ 'Of palest blue, it is edged with French grey straw, the long, quaintly-curling plume that gives its lovely line being *ombré* grey to blue, and the *chou* catching up the brim at one side of pale blue satin';³⁰ 'The borderland between the toque and the *chapeau* is covered by that extremely stylish creation [. . .] in pure white chip, broadly bound with sapphire blue velvet'.³¹ Concerning this contextual factor, the multiple reference to different blues in 'Nausicaa'—'the bluest Irish blue' (*U* 13.107-8), 'electric blue' (*U* 13.151), 'navy' (*U* 13.154), 'eggblue' (*U* 13.157), 'pale blue' (*U* 13.175), et cetera—could be an invasion of the advertising language into the minutest aspect of Gerty's narrative. Doubtlessly, Gerty's obsession with finding something bluish to match her 'eggblue chenille' (*U* 13.157) exposes the mechanism of advertising: as a

²⁷ See Tony Jackson, "'Cyclops", "Nausicaa", and Joyce's Imaginary Irish Couple', *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 29 (1991): 63-83 (76): "'electric blue" (a sexualization of the Virgin's color)'. Also see Aloys John Maerz and Morris Rea Paul, *A Dictionary of Color* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1930), 156: 'This color, called either Electric Blue or Electric Green, had an immense vogue during the latter nineteenth century'.

²⁸ Peggy Ochoa, 'Joyce's "Nausicaa": The Paradox of Advertising Narcissism', *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 30 (1993): 783-93 (786).

²⁹ Butterfly, 'Summer Fashions', (910).

³⁰ *Ibid.* (910).

³¹ *Ibid.* (910).

modern incarnation of the object of desire that causes the human subject to desire, it always creates false need and teases consumers to complete an infinite collection.³²

Indeed, Gerty's craze for blue should also be interpreted in line with the tradition that blue 'is the color-attribute of the Virgin Mary' and thus 'an appropriate good-luck charm for a bride'.³³ However, such a traditional link between blue and the Virgin Mary seems rather arbitrary when placed under scrutiny, as Vivian Jacobs and Wilhelmina Jacobs point out that 'white was allotted to the Virgin instead of blue, which was looked upon merely as a substitute for purple or violet' in the Sarum use.³⁴ They argue that blue has been associated with divinity in the Hebraic-Christian tradition because the blue pigment was precious in Biblical times: the word for blue in Biblical Hebrew—*tekeleth* (תְּכֵלֶת)—originates from the name of an extremely rare species of murex, which, as the Talmud tells us, appeared only once every seventy years.³⁵ Hence the religious formation of the Virgin Mary in blue has an overtone of secular reasoning: blue is sacred because it is valuable. The footnote to the Virgin Mary and blue further reveals the fickleness and rhetorical prowess of fashion discourse, as the colour of blue—either extracted from rare murices or mass-produced by chemical synthesis—remains equally alluring in Gerty's eyes.

In addition to Gerty's obsession with purchasing blue items, John Bishop has noticed that Bloom is fascinated with Gerty's fashion items made of transparent materials: 'the transparent stockings' (*U* 13.426), the garters that are 'blue to match on account of the transparent' (*U* 13.716), 'those transparents!' (*U* 13.1262).³⁶ However, instead of exploring why Gerty chooses to wear a transparent pair of stockings, Bishop relates Bloom's fascination with transparency to 'Stephen's interest in the Aristotelian "diaphane"'.³⁷ Coincidentally or not, Gerty's decision to wear them might be another evidence of how 'Nausicaa' endorses the fashion magazine, for *Lady's Pictorial* regards *transparency* (or, in another word, *diaphane*)

³² Leonard, *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce*, 16.

³³ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 387.

³⁴ Vivian Jacobs and Wilhelmina Jacobs, 'The Color Blue: Its Use as Metaphor and Symbol', *American Speech*, vol. 33 (1958): 29-46 (29).

³⁵ *Ibid.* (30).

³⁶ See Kimberly J. Devlin and Marilyn Reizbaum (eds.), *Ulysses: En-Gendered Perspectives: Eighteen New Essays on the Episodes* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 204.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 204.

as an attribute that is in vogue: '*Louis Seize* coats are making a bid for favour, but the very last word in these would probably much astonish that monarch since they are of lace or any other transparency';³⁸ 'The third frock is made of soft satin gauze in an exquisite shade of rose pink, with a frilled skirt and sleeves, and a transparent insertion of creamy lace round the neck and shoulders, elaborately jewelled with pink beads and glistening sequins';³⁹ 'Another delightful princess gown, with a short waist, is made of blue and white "Ariel" gauze, trimmed with tiny frills of the same diaphanous material, though the deep-pointed waistband is made of blue *crêpe de Chine*'.⁴⁰ Perceptibly, materials that create the visual effect of transparency are highly praised in 'Summer Fashions' through its mesmerising advertising language. Similarly, *The Lady's Realm* also favours the quality of transparency: 'July is the ideal month in England where dress is concerned, and our thoughts turn to transparent lawns, ethereal muslins and dainty laces which are all associated with the summer confections of London and Paris'.⁴¹ Therefore, aside from being a piece of evidence of the episode's 'retrogressive progression' back to 'Proteus' as Bishop intends to argue, Bloom's fascination with Gerty's wearing transparency would also seem to be a consequence of the summer fashion trend in 1904. Concerning its erotic nature, the narrative's emphasis on such attributes to fashion items as colours and fabrics would seem both distraction and arousal and create a striptease effect: 'At first. Put them all on to take them all off. Molly. Why I bought her the violet garters' (*U* 13.799-800).

Bloom is indeed enjoying the ocular pleasure when gazing at the fashion items that Gerty wears, with his mind thinking that 'a woman loses a charm with every pin she takes out' (*U* 13.802-3) and that '[f]ashion [is] part of their charm' (*U* 13.804). Similarly, Gerty also has great pleasure in looking at herself in the mirror, as is revealed in the scenario where Gerty '[smiled] at the lovely reflection which the mirror gave back to her' (*U* 13.162). This very scene is reminiscent of Rachel Bowlby's observation on the newly emerging substitute for the narcissistic mirror:

³⁸ Butterfly, 'Summer Fashions', (910).

³⁹ Ibid. (936).

⁴⁰ Ibid. (936).

⁴¹ Quoted in Claire Wilcox et al., *Modern Fashion in Detail* (London: V&A, 1991), 24.

The dominant ideology of feminine subjectivity in the nineteenth century perfectly fitted woman to receive the advances of the seductive commodity offering to enhance her womanly attractions. Seducer and seduced, possessor and possessed of one another, women and commodities flaunt their images at one another in an amorous regard which both extends and reinforces the classical picture of the young girl gazing into the mirror in love with herself.⁴²

Within the mirror-image reflected on the shopwindow, female consumers and commodities become overlapped, and thus fetishism becomes a new narcissism: the fetishistic investment in fashion items is simultaneously a narcissistic investment in their body images, because the overlapped image blurs the distinction between the interior and the exterior of the bodily space that used to be segmented by epidermis—that is to say, the new frontier of bodies is no longer our epidermis but various materials that could be worn. In other words, a flexibility of bodily space is at work when the fetishistic shopwindow-image takes over: the territory of bodies are ever-changing in accordance with what they wear. Therefore, it seems that the fetishistic shopwindow-image leads to a subtle retrogression that undoes the *I*-formation during the Lacanian mirror stage. According to Lennard J. Davis's interpretation, infantile bodies during the Lacanian mirror stage are prone to experience a state of fragmentariness:

The infant experiences his or her body as separate parts or pieces, as 'turbulent movements'. For the infant, rather than a whole, the body is an assemblage of arms, legs, surfaces. These representations/images of fragmented body parts Lacan calls *imagos* because they are 'constituted for the "instincts" themselves'.⁴³

To unify these fragments, the infant has to go through a process that 'extends from a fragmented body-image to a form of its totality [. . .] and, lastly, to the assumption of the armour of an alienating identity'.⁴⁴ The metaphor that 'identification is really the donning of an identity, an "armor" against the chaotic or fragmentary body' is

⁴² Rachel Bowlby, *Just Looking: Consumer Culture in Dreiser, Gissing and Zola* (New York: Methuen, 1985), 32.

⁴³ Lennard J. Davis, 'Nude Venuses, Medusa's Body, and Phantom Limbs', in *The Body and Physical Difference: Discourse of Disability*, ed. David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1997), 60.

⁴⁴ Jacques Lacan, *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English*, trans. Bruce Fink, Héloïse Fink, and Russell Grigg (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2006), 78.

revised by those fashion items that Gerty wears.⁴⁵ When Gerty looks at her lovely reflection (either in a looking glass at home, in a mirror at a certain fitting room, or in the shop window of the Clery's), she is in a certain sense transported back to an infantile stage of self-formation: her look at her own flamboyantly-clothed body exposes herself to the threatening recognition of fragmentation: the armour that protects her body against its primitive fragmentariness starts to crack in front of this new mirror of a commodity era when Gerty tries *not* to distinguish herself from her clothes. It is in this sense that fashion and disability are connected: if disabled bodies, as Davis argues, are regarded as threatening because they remind people of their own primitive fragmented bodies, then fashion items help this unpleasant memory escape the censorship of the conscious and endow the conventionally passive and immobile representation of disability with a new mobility—Gerty's fragmentary body is composed of interchangeable fashion items and, therefore, is able to become what she desires by putting-on and taking-off.⁴⁶ In other words, Gerty's fetishism is a psychological strategy to exorcise her anxiety about being lame.

Similar to her narcissistic and fetishistic investment in fashion items to conceal her disabling limp from herself and from the gaze of the other, Gerty intends to exorcise her menstruating body image by means of taking the 'Widow Welch's female pills' (*U* 13.85-86) and transforming her menstrual paleness into a favourable female quality. It is noticeable that Gerty avoids mentioning her menstruation as she manages to conceal her limp: 'she was much better of those discharges she used to get' (*U* 13.86), as if menstruation would damage her desirability. While menstruation is regarded as a normal female bodily function nowadays, Katherine Mullin points out that 'menstruation *was* a disability' at the turn of the century.⁴⁷ Intriguingly, menstruation-as-disability is simultaneously a taboo that Gerty refuses to name and a well-advertised female disease to be cured. This is what Thomas Richards call *therapeutic imperialism*, namely, an advertising technique that quacks manipulated

⁴⁵ Davis, 'Nude Venuses, Medusa's Body, and Phantom Limbs', 60.

⁴⁶ To push this metaphor of fashion items as fragmented and interchangeable body parts to its extreme, I would like to refer to the intriguing case of Aimée Mullins, who fashionably displays the variability of her disabled body by literally putting on and taking off functional prosthetic legs. See Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, 'Integrating Disability, Transforming Feminist Theory', *NWSA Journal*, vol. 14 (2002): 1-32 (25-27).

⁴⁷ Katherine Mullin, 'Menstruation in Ulysses', *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 46 (2008): 497-508 (502).

to '[snare] customers who as yet showed no sign of sickness. This technique can be called therapeutic imperialism, for it colonized the body, not with diseases, but with remedies, which were invariably commodities'.⁴⁸ The advertising discourse of patent medicine was so omnipresent that it even cast a shadow over Sandymount Strand and those lovely seaside girls. It can be easily seen how Gerty has fallen prey to therapeutic imperialism when constructing her self-image:

Her figure was slight and graceful, inclining even to fragility but those iron jelloids she had been taking of late had done her a world of good much better than the Widow Welch's female pills and she was much better of those discharges she used to get and that tired feeling (*U* 13.83-87).

It seems more than ordinary that Gerty, under the influence of menstrual anemia, takes iron jellies and female pills as self-medications that relieve her discomfort. However, patent medicine's rising power at the turn of the century announced that an era of *nosophobia* was coming. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the term 'nosophobia' as 'excessive or irrational fear of disease', and gives two quotations:

1889 *Lancet* 9 Nov. 966/1 *Nosophobia is certainly much more frequent in man, probably because women act as nurses, and consequently have no fear of infection.

1911 J. Hastings *Encycl. Relig. & Ethics* iv. 521/2 Among the 'phobias' are the fear of crossing an open space (agoraphobia), fear of remaining in a shut or closed place (claustrophobia), fear of infectious diseases (nosophobia), etc.⁴⁹

Coincidentally or not, these two quotations are excerpted from 1889 and 1911, two particular dates that enclose a period roughly ranging from the last decade of nineteenth century to the first decade of twentieth century. An 1907 medical article also refers to nosophobia: 'the Dictionary passes to the enumeration and illustration of *nosology* and the various associated terms (*nosography*, *nosonomy*, *nosocomial*, *nosophobia*, and *nosotrophy*). All these are derived from the Greek *νόσος*, disease'.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, 194.

⁴⁹ 'nosophobia, n.', *OED Online*, Oxford University Press (2011), <http://www.oed.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/Entry/128465?redirectedFrom=nosophobia#eid34237556>, accessed 15.03.11..

⁵⁰ 'Medical Terms in the New English Dictionary', *The British Medical Journal*, vol. 2 (1907): 1007.

In order to advertise patent medicine, both doctors and quacks provoked anxiety about diseases among potential consumers that could be either healthy or sick. New diseases were discovered, and physiological phenomena that hadn't be regarded as diseases were introduced into the domain of nosology, so as to consolidate the *raison d'être* of miscellaneous medicines that were being invented, manufactured, and distributed. Being anxious about her menstrual discharge and fatigue, Gerty is indeed affected by such an atmosphere of her time, with her consciousness invaded by all those advertising slogans for patent medicine.

3.3 A FETISHISTIC FADEOUT

Now that the undercurrents of Gerty's nosophobic anxiety beneath the advertising erotica have been exposed, the mutoscopic narrative of 'Nausicaa' may be interpreted from another perspective: Gerty's mutoscopic erotica itself is a fetish that screens off Ireland's castration threat from the British Empire. As Andrew Gibson observes, '[t]he most significant and popular women's magazines of the period were published in London. In fact, they largely emanated from a square mile, Fleet Street and environs'.⁵¹ All magazines that Gerty refers to are London-based and advertise London fashions, but Bloom's cinematic gaze never exposes this fact. More intriguingly, neither Gerty nor Bloom thinks of the Edwardian fashion icon who shares Gerty's limp. Queen Alexandra, wife of King Edward, was known as the Princess of Wales during most of her married life and regarded, along with the King, as a leader of Edwardian fashion,⁵² being so charismatic that 'all the women tried to copy the beautiful and friendly Queen, even imitating the limp she acquired, as the result of an illness'.⁵³ It remains unclear whether Joyce was thinking of Queen Alexandra when writing 'Nausicaa', but he does give her a brief appearance in

⁵¹ Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge*, 129.

⁵² See Stevenson, *Edwardian Fashion*, 5: 'For the discussion of the Edwardian style, I have taken the years 1897 to 1914 as the extent of the era. The period starts with Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897. Although by then middle-aged [Prince Edward] had an obsessive interest in fashion and style and a great awareness of the smallest detail in men and women's clothing. His mother died in 1901, and after the deep mourning period lasting from January to Easter of that year, the matriarchal style underwent certain subtle changes and an altogether more voluptuous woman emerged'.

⁵³ Ibid., 9. Also see Georgina Battiscombe, *Queen Alexandra* (London: Constable, 1969), 86: 'Physically the Princess's illness meant that she was left with a completely stiff knee, forced to face the probability that she would be lame for life, a gloomy prospect for a young woman who delighted in dancing, riding, skating, gymnastics and all athletic activities'.

'Ithaca': '2 fading photographs of Queen Alexandra of England and of Maud Branscombe, actress and professional beauty: a Yuletide card' (U 17.1779-80); Joyce's juxtaposition of Maud Branscombe and Queen Alexandra arguably verifies her admired status as a fashion icon.⁵⁴ Given the assumption that Gerty the seaside girl is unconsciously colonised by magazines' advertising language that endorses London department stores' fashion items, the fashionable lame Queen as a contextual detail appears to provide an inspiring perspective: Alexandra was in the hegemonic centre of the British Empire, whereas she, hidden behind the feminine attribute *queen* or *princess*, seemed so remote from all its imperialistic endeavours and crimes. Similarly, London high fashion as an invading force that colonises Gerty's body and mind by virtue of such magazines as *Lady's Pictorial* and *Princess's Novelettes* has often been regarded as marginal. The seemingly girlish term *princess* that magazines put in their titles to appeal to female readers is in reality a subject of imperialistic power, and Queen Alexandra (who had been Princess Alexandra until her coronation in 1901) herself was a model who not merely defined and displayed London's latest fashion, but even transformed her own physical flaw into a fad. In this light, Gerty MacDowell and Queen Alexandra are two figures that seem inclined to overlap but ultimately stay disparate. As Gerty aspires to be (though she hardly is), Queen Alexandra was a genuine fashion innovator who '[forecast] the fashion 10 years ahead' and who 'refused all advice on what she and her ladies would wear, saying she knew better than anyone how they should look';⁵⁵ however, as a keen women's magazine reader, Gerty seems to be in the difficult position of the colonised when trying to follow latest London fashion, as Gibson observes that 'literacy often made for a more efficient ideological construction of subjectivity' and that 'the cultivated, educated, well-read woman was also "feminine" and "ladylike" (in other words, English-genteel)'.⁵⁶

Consequently, the complete absence of Queen Alexandra from Gerty's section could be seen as a *fetishistic* desire to keep the imperial figure off-frame from her erotica. This desire is fetishistic in the sense that Metz links *off-frame* with

⁵⁴ See Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 395: 'In 1877 alone over twenty-eight thousand copies of her photograph were sold; as one admirer put it, "Beauty and Maud Branscombe were synonymous"'.

⁵⁵ Stevenson, *Edwardian Fashion*, 10.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 146.

photographic fetishism: 'the fetish [. . .] was [. . .] near [. . .] the place of the terrifying absence. From our perspective, what does this mean, if not that this place is positioned off-frame, that the look is framed close by the absence?'.⁵⁷ More explicitly speaking, what Metz intends to suggest is that cinematic fetishism could be reified through the manipulated camera angles which keep the threatening presence out of the aperture. In this vein, the mutoscopic erotica in 'Nausicaa' displays fetishism on multiple levels. First of all, Bloom's ardent look at Gerty is framed on her exhibition of fetishes and fades out when it is about to touch her private parts that are reminiscent of his unconscious primal threat. Secondly, Gerty's narcissistic look at herself screens off her disabilities by investing in such commodities as fashion items and patent medicines. Finally, while screening a proto-cinematic moment when Bloom enjoys the voyeuristic pleasure that reminds him of the newly-invented mutoscope and encounters Gerty's ocelli-gaze, the entire episode of 'Nausicaa' keeps the invading colonial power off-frame by stopping its camera lens on such fetishes as the twins' sailor suits with 'the name *H. M. S. Belleisle* printed on both' (*U* 13.15) and London-based women's magazines. An illuminated micro-spectacle of mutoscopic erotica is seen through the peephole of 'Nausicaa', while a threatening colonial force is kept in darkness outside the aperture. As far as the deepest level of cinematic fetishism is concerned, we may ask one final question: Why would Joyce keep the threatening colonial force outside the micro-spectacle of 'Nausicaa', at all? Here is one possible answer: by staging an elaborate erotica whose climactic exposure is screened off, Joyce slyly tempts our voyeuristic gaze to roam outside the frame (just in the same manner as the famous erotic photo takes Roland Barthes outside its frame), and thus enables a paradoxical revelation of the fact that London fashion grants British hegemony an *absent presence* in Dublin's commodity culture. Joyce's Dubliners' refusal to diagnose the colonial condition they inhabit is the very cause of their cultural symptoms, and such a refusal to make the fake absence present is uncannily similar to the nature of fetishism—a pathological defence mechanism that forces one to visually invest so much in something else that (s)he doesn't see the real thing.

⁵⁷ Christian Metz, 'Photography and Fetish', *October*, vol. 34 (1985): 81-90 (86).

CHAPTER 4

'MAGMAGNIFICENCE!':

THE PHANTASMAGORIC FASHION SHOW IN 'CIRCE'

Therefore, when Mr. Joyce writes a play, I consider it a reasonable matter of interest. The English agent of the Oliver Morosco company has refused the play, and in so doing the agent has well served her employers, for the play would certainly be of no use to the syndicate that stars *Peg o' My Heart*; neither do I believe that any manager would stage it nor that it could succeed were it staged. [. . .] It is a long play, some one hundred and eighty pages. [. . .] It could not, in fact, be anything but a play. And yet it is absolutely unfit for the stage as we know it.¹

—Ezra Pound

An unperformed play is really a dead deportee (*Letters II* 456).

—James Joyce.

The curtain drew up—I was not past six years old—and the play was Artaxerxes! [. . .] It was all enchantment and a dream. No such pleasure has since visited me but in dreams.²

—Charles Lamb

Woman's character depends on things they wear.³

—James Joyce

Are you strong on costume? I want to make *Circe* a costume episode also. Bloom for instance appears in five or six different suits (*SL* 272).

—James Joyce

In a 1916 essay entitled 'Mr. James Joyce and the Modern Stage', Ezra Pound explains why *Exiles* is unstageable. He doesn't think it's because *Exiles* deals with adultery: 'surely, we have plenty of plays, quite stageable plays, that deal with

¹ Ezra Pound, *Pound/Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce, with Pound's Essays on Joyce*, ed. Forrest Read (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), 50.

² Charles Lamb, *The Prose Works of Charles Lamb*. Vol. II (London: Edward Moxon, 1836), 224-25. That Lamb draws an analogy between theatrical spectacles and dreams indeed encourages us to read the Circean dream in the context of late-Victorian and Edwardian theatre.

³ Phillip F. Herring (ed.), *Joyce's Ulysses Notesheets in the British Museum* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1972), 279.

adultery';⁴ instead, Pound ascribes its *unstageability* to the 'certain feeling' it causes 'in a milieu of Dublin genteelness' as Ibsen's plays did in provincial Norway.⁵ Pound regards *Exiles* as *untheatrical* and *unstageable*, because Joyce is 'driving in the mind upon the age-long problem of the rights of personality and of the responsibility of the intelligent individual for the conduct of those about him, upon the age-long question of the relative rights of intellect, and emotion, and sensation and sentiment'.⁶ What really concerns Pound here is rather a question of the paradigm of modern art forms: is modernist drama as potent as the novel? This question could be reiterated in Pound's own words: 'Must our most intelligent writers do this sort of work in the novel, *solely in the novel*, or is it going to be, in our time, possible for them to do it in drama?'.⁷ *Exiles* was regarded as being unstageable because the theatre manager feared that the audience wouldn't buy show tickets. In other words, when the Oliver Morosco theatre's agent rejected it and regarded it as unstageable, the word *unstageable* in that context rather refers to a lack of commercial potential: it was an *unwillingness*, rather than an inability, to put *Exiles* on stage.

Even though Pound examines such aspects of a play as acting and speech in his discussion on stageability, he chooses *not* to touch upon the aspect of theatrical special effects, which may suggest a modernist contempt for what spectacles are linked with, namely, the commercial theatre. In saying that *Exiles* is unstageable, Pound intends to confirm, rather than negate, its value as a modernist *text*. More traces of Pound's resistance to theatricality can be found in this essay. For instance, when examining the art of acting, he recollects a divine moment of his theatrical experience: 'old, shaky' Sarah Bernhardt played a young woman and 'took off her cloak with the power of *sculpture* [my italics]';⁸ if Pound remembers nothing else of *La Sorcière* but the sculpture-like image created by Bernhardt and regards it as a moment of perfect acting that transcends cheap mimetic acting, isn't he undermining theatricality by substituting—either intentionally or unconsciously—a motionless tableau for the transience of acting? When Pound says that he values Bernhardt's

⁴ Pound, *Pound/Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce, with Pound's Essays on Joyce*, 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 53.

acting because it has a quality that is reminiscent of sculpture, what remains unspoken is that acting shouldn't be regarded as a form of art unless it resembles *other* forms of art. Such latent animosity against theatricality doesn't reside in Pound alone; as Jonas Barish observes, 'terms borrowed from the theater—*theatrical*, *operatic*, *melodramatic*, *stagey*, etc.—tend to be hostile or belittling. And so do a wide range of expressions drawn from theatrical activity expressly to convey disapproval'.⁹ It is in this vein of anti-theatricality that—for some critics like Pound—the unstageability of *Exiles* not merely becomes a virtue but also protects it from being polluted by theatricality and thus solidifies its artistic value as a literary text.

Despite Pound's belief that *Exiles* is unstageable, Joyce would sign a contract to stage his play, as his letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver on the 11th of July 1924 reveals: 'The Neighbourhood Playhouse of New York sent me a contract agreeing to all my terms of last year: advance of \$250, limit of 1 year or retainer of \$500 for another, accounts weekly and stipulation as to production. I have signed and am returning it' (*LettersIII* 100). On the 19th of February 1925, Joyce finally saw his long-anticipated première of *Exiles* in the English-speaking country—'On a donne la 1^{er} de ma piece a New-York' (*LettersIII* 114)—and the production ran for 41 performances.¹⁰ All these minutiae of *Exiles* and its un/stageability expose the ironic scenario wherein Pound enthusiastically exorcises stageability from the play which Joyce writes for the stage, only to read it as a pure text without theatricality.

By the same token, a similar exorcism has been practiced to expel stageability from 'Circe', and such an exorcism—compared with that in the case of *Exiles*—seems more than legitimate, as Joyce himself has already integrated this dramatic episode into the gigantic body of *Ulysses* and therefore suspended it from the actual stage. Yet if Pound's claim that *Exiles* is unstageable rather understates his anti-theatrical attitude, we may ask: why would Joyce endow 'Circe' with a dramatic form in the first place, if he held an anti-theatrical attitude? Most critics are prone to regard *closet drama* as the synthesis that solves the conflict between the dramatic

⁹ Jonas Barish, *The Anti-theatrical Prejudice* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), 1.

¹⁰ John MacNicholas, 'The Stage History of "Exiles"', *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 19 (1981): 9-26 (11).

form of 'Circe' and its anti-theatricality,¹¹ as closet drama is 'a form specifically designed to keep the theater at bay, but also, and more importantly, to take its place'.¹² However, the suggestion that 'Circe' is a piece of closet drama is nothing but another exposure of the anti-theatrical ideology: Hasn't Pound insinuated in a similar fashion that *Exiles* should be locked in the closet despite the fact that it is a play written by Joyce to be staged? As an intriguing contrast to the much shared belief that the fifteenth episode of *Ulysses* is written in the form of an unstageable closet play and embodies Joyce's vengeful deconstruction of English theatrical conventions, 'Circe' has actually been put on stage back in the late 50s, and, according to Pam Barkentin Blackburn (the adaptor's granddaughter and the spectator of the play), 'there was a feeling in the production of late-Victorian commercial theatrical forms, such as melodrama, pantomime, and vaudeville'.¹³

All these efforts to reintroduce the exorcised theatricality back into 'Circe' is to put the dramatic episode back into the context of the late-Victorian/Edwardian spectacular theatre, for there are layers upon layers of references to theatrical spectacles whose significance can't be fully explored unless we embrace the theatricality of 'Circe'. In order to fold the cityscape of Dublin on the 16th of June 1904 into textual strata for future archaeology, Joyce reiterated his contemporary obsession with theatrical spectacles in 'Circe' and transformed Bella Cohen's whorehouse into a playhouse,¹⁴ a space where hallucinations are *realised* by special stage effects that define the late-Victorian/Edwardian commercial theatre, and where the genesis of theatricalised fashion show is extravagantly celebrated. Only by historicising the marriage between the burgeoning fashion industry and the commercial spectacle at the turn of the century can we accurately anatomise the

¹¹ For instance, see Sidney Feshbach, 'Joyce's Anatomy of Culture by Cheryl Herr', *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 25 (1987): 145-52 (149): 'I believe, rather, he meant also to exploit the tradition of plays written only to be read, never performed. I would even suggest that in "Circe" Joyce has not removed the fourth wall of the theater, but only the door of a closet-drama. At no time is Bloom's behavior out of the closet; there is no acting-out, no performance. [. . .] How typical of Joyce to make a closet-drama of farce, burlesque, pantomime, and music hall, to transform the oral and ephemeral into the printed and permanent'.

¹² Martin Puchner, 'The Theater in Modernist Thought', *New Literary History*, vol. 33 (2002): 521-32 (523).

¹³ Pam Barkentin Blackburn, 'From Majorie Barkentin's Granddaughter', in *E-mail to Pingta Ku*.

¹⁴ The distinction between whorehouses and playhouse was blurred at the turn of the century, not merely because sexual economy flowed freely between both milieux, but also because both institutions emphasised theatrical performance and mechanically-produced spectacles. See Austin Briggs, 'Whorehouse/Playhouse: The Brothel as Theater in the "Circe" Chapter of *Ulysses*', *Journal of Modern Literature*, vol. 26 (2002): 42-57.

fantastic, dreamlike stage directions and the montage of incompatible costumes in ‘Circe’.

4.1 REVISITING *ULYSSES IN NIGHTTOWN*

A scrutiny at a monumental production of ‘Circe’ may conjure up the episode’s exorcised theatricality. On the 26th of May 1974, in the *New York Times*’s Drama Mailbag column, a reader named Thomas J. Stanton wrote the editor a letter, which reads as follows:

On May 11, two short months after its opening, one of the most ambitious theatrical productions in Broadway history came to a disastrous end. Every seat in the house was filled. The applause at the final curtain was enthusiastic, but as soon as the house lights went up the applause ended and *Ulysses in Nighttown* was presumably to be forgotten.¹⁵

This Mr. Stanton’s bleak prophecy seems to have come true. A half-century has passed since the production debuted in the Off-Broadway Rooftop Theatre in 1958, but few critics have talked about this production or thought much of the ‘Circe’ episode in terms of its stageability. It seems most critics don’t regard it as relevant to the discussion of ‘Circe’, because the play is rather a posthumous derivative of Joyce’s work, and therefore it is impertinent to his own vision of ‘Circe’ on stage. However, *Ulysses in Nighttown* demonstrates how to stage this formally theatrical yet technically challenging episode, and invites us to read ‘Circe’ not merely as a finalised text of high modernism but also as an embryo that multiplies theatrical virtualities.

‘*Ulysses in Nighttown*, in a production conceived and directed by BURGESS MEREDITH, with stage movement by Valerie Bettis, was first presented by Rooftop Productions in association with Kelsey Maréchal, Oliver M. Sayler and Marjorie

¹⁵ Thomas J. Stanton and Judy Horne, ‘Should We Mourn “Ulysses”?’ , *The New York Times*, 26 May 1974.

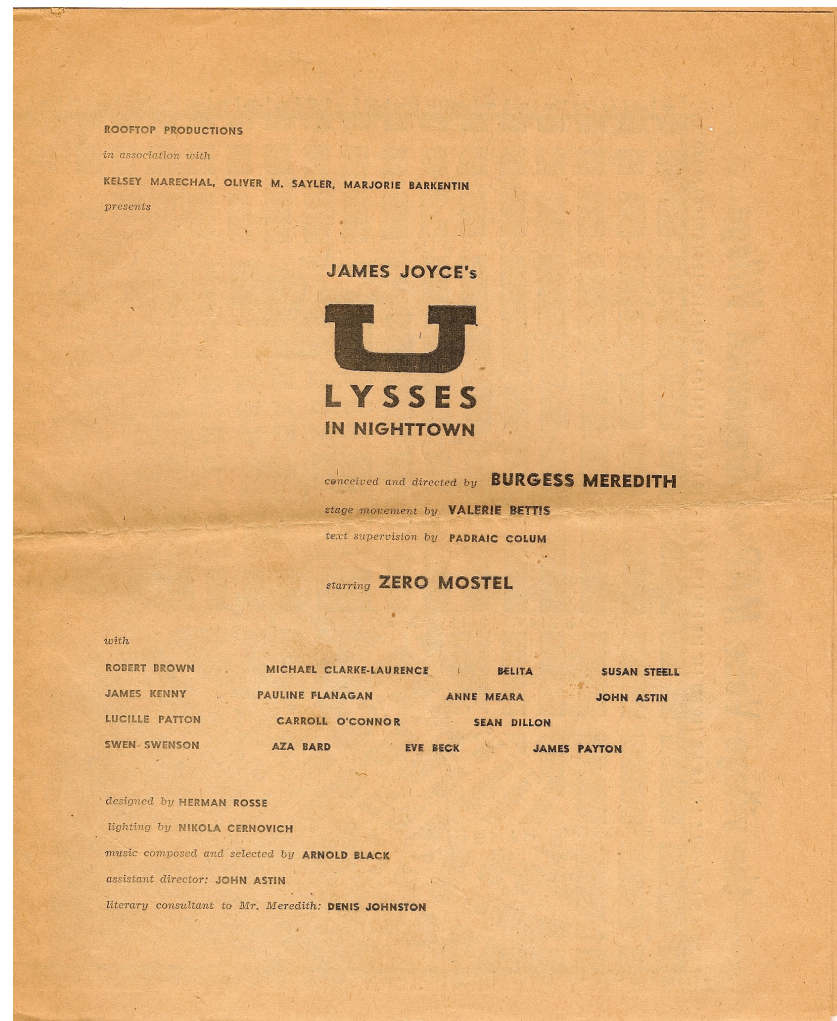


Fig. 4.1—Playbill for *Ulysses in Nighttown* (1974).

Barkentin, at the Rooftop Theatre, New York City, on June 5, 1958'.¹⁶ The production was based on Marjorie Barkentin's dramatised and transposed revision of *Ulysses*—with an emphasis on the episode of 'Circe' in particular—under the supervision of Padraic Colum. Both Barkentin and Colum were intimately connected with the theatre: the former is 'a founding member of the Association of Theatrical Press Agent and Managers in the nineteen-fifties', the latter a 'dramatist and poet, and a life-long friend of Joyce and his family'. Barkentin's dramatised version of *Ulysses* is published by Random House in 1958 under the same title as the

¹⁶ James Joyce and Marjorie Barkentin, *James Joyce's Ulysses in Nighttown* (New York: Random House, 1958), unpagged. See also John Finegan, *The Story of Monto: An Account of Dublin's Notorious Red Light District* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1978), 32: 'in 1971 there was staged at the Peacock Theatre in Dublin an imaginative adaptation, called *Ulysses in Nighttown*, by an American lady, Mrs Marjorie Barkentin, which she wrote under the supervision of Padraic Colum, dramatist and poet, and a life-long friend of Joyce and his family. First seen in New York in 1958, it was later presented in London and Paris, where it gathered awards. The Abbey staged an enlarged version in 1974'.

production. She divides *Ulysses* into ACT ONE and ACT TWO, and *dramatically* accelerates the original loose events by trimming, condensing and re-editing the actions taking place in *Ulysses*'s expansive textual space. The 1958 paperback edition of her dramatised *Ulysses* unfolds its actions over 119 pages—which comprise a pile slightly thicker than ordinary plays but considerably thinner than the original novel—and abounds in textual examples that well exhibits to what degree she has *transposed* Joyce's work. For instance, the following excerpt from *Ulysses in Nighttown* reveals a seamless grating of fragments from 'Hades', 'Oxen of the Sun', and 'Circe':

MR. DEDALUS Coffin got there before us, dead as he is.

(*Laugh*)

[*The lights fade and go out*]

VOICE Cuckoo. Cuckoo. Cuckoo. Cuckoo.

VOICES Change here for bawdyhouse. Come on, you winefizzling ginsizzling boozeguzzling existences! Come on, you doggone, bullnecked, beetlebrowed, hog-jowled, peanut-brained, weazle-eyed, fourflushers, falsealarms and excess baggage. Come on, you triple extract of infamy!

[*Music*]

NARRATOR The Mabbot street entrance of nighttown, before which stretches an uncobbled tramsiding set with skeleton tracks, red and green will-o'-the-wisps and danger signals.¹⁷

What could also be seen from this excerpt is that Barkentin introduces the device of a NARRATOR to her adaptation. However, Clive Barnes, in his review of *Ulysses in Nighttown* for the *New York Times*, criticised such a device. '[Barkentin's] use of a narrator is clumsy', contended Barnes, who believed that 'it is far more dramatic when Bloom narrates himself in a stream-of-consciousness [monotone]'.¹⁸ Barnes's criticism is not without reason. After cross-reading, it is clear that the lines for the

¹⁷ Joyce and Barkentin, *James Joyce's Ulysses in Nighttown*, 15-16.

¹⁸ Clive Barnes, 'The Theater: "Ulysses in Nighttown"', *The New York Times*, 11 March 1974.

narrator to recite are largely drawn from Circean stage directions. Here is a comparison between the original text and Barkentin's version.

BLOOM

Fish and taters. N. g. Ah!

(He disappears into Olhausen's, the porkbutcher's, under the downcoming rollshutter. A few moments later he emerges from under the shutter, puffing Poldy, blowing Bloohoom. In each hand he holds a parcel, one containing a lukewarm pig's crubeen, the other a cold sheep's trotter, sprinkled with wholepepper: [. . .]) (U 15.153-59).

And the stage direction in parenthesis, in Barkentin's version, becomes the narrator's spoken lines:

NARRATOR Puffing Poldy, blowing Bloohoom. In each hand he holds a parcel, one containing a lukewarm pig's crubeen, the other a cold sheep's trotter, sprinkled with whole-pepper.¹⁹

As a consequence, the biggest problem of the narrator resides in that it verbalises what should have been acted out on stage and puts the play at risk of becoming excessively wordy and motionless.

Even if Barkentin's dramatisation isn't without flaws, the production was well-received. Barnes himself, while not convinced by Barkentin's use of the narrator, thought '[t]he strength of play is in its impressionistic vision of this Dublin walpurgisnacht, and the performance of Mr. Mostel as Leopold Bloom'.²⁰ Brooks Atkinson, another prominent theatre critic who had been contributing articles to the *New York Times* from 1925 to 1960, also wrote a positive review:

As director, Burgess Meredith has put the whole thing together on the stage. Since he is not dealing with rational material, he has persuaded Valerie Bettis to direct the 'stage movement', which consists of dance steps and turns in myriad styles. If the material cannot be easily understood in the novel, it is inevitable that the stage version should be baffling at times. But the play does give a vivid picture of the dark

¹⁹ Joyce and Barkentin, *James Joyce's Ulysses in Nighttown*, 20.

²⁰ Barnes, 'The Theater: "Ulysses in Nighttown"'.

seamy labyrinth of the mind of a worldly but unsophisticated man, gross, vain, sentimental, hypocritical, naïve, doomed.²¹

Various sources indicate that Burgess Meredith, who may be best known to the public for his role as Rocky Balboa's trainer Mickey Goldmill, had done a virtuosic directing job and transformed Joyce's monstrous text into an enjoyable play. According to the account in a book entitled *The Off-Broadway Theatre*,

[i]t was a stroke of genius on the part of directors Meredith and Bettis to use a mad, feverish ballet to suggest Bloom's subconscious, his hidden desires and thoughts, his fears and humiliations, his delusions of grandeur. Although in a novel and in the average play characters must think and speak in words, this ballet-drama in the theatre provides actors with a myriad of opportunities to think in images—even images that sometimes bewildering melt into, or are imposed on, one another. In addition to dance, expressionistic devices like those used by Kaiser, Hasenclever, Lawson, and Rice forty years ago were utilized.²²

Better yet, Michael Allen, a writer and blogger who attended the gala night, shares with me a valuable account of mise-en-scène:

As for my memories of the set and the staging, it certainly wasn't a realistic setting, as the scene changes fairly rapidly from place to place. We open in the Martello tower, then we enter a funeral carriage, then we see Bloom's dead son, then the script says 'a drove of branded cattle pass the window!' And so on. So the scene changes were done with minimal props, suggestive lighting, and bits and pieces of furniture to suggest place. [. . .] I don't remember so much the ballet, sound, and the movement as the words. But then I am a words man. The words are funny in themselves, very often, particularly if you have a dirty mind (I was 19), but coupled with Zero Mostel's genius with bodily contortions and facial expressions, the effect was extraordinary.²³

Michael Allen also reveals how Meredith had fixed Barkentin's undramatic use of narrator and put an eye-dazzling fashion show on stage: 'My recollection is that where the narrator describes a character's dress, the character would appear

²¹ Brooks Atkinson, "'Ulysses' on Stage: Zero Mostel Is Ideal as Leopold Bloom in Dramatization of Joyce's Novel', *The New York Times*, 15 June 1958.

²² Richard A. Cordell and Lowell Matson (eds.), *The Off-Broadway Theatre: Seven Plays* (New York: Random House, 1959), 335-36.

²³ Michael Allen, 'Re: An Enquiry Concerning "Ulysses in Nighttown"', in *E-mail to Pingta Ku*, ed. Pingta Ku.

appropriately clothed. There are a large number of characters, and they were played by a large number of actors doubling and trebling their parts'. According to these accounts of various sources, Meredith's direction of *Ulysses in Nighttown* crossed such theatrical genres as burlesque extravaganza, musical, and ballet-drama to stage what seems to be physically impossible for the theatre. In addition to a touch of vaudeville Meredith added to the play, the star of this production, Zero Mostel, was a virtuosic stage and film actor of Jewish descent whose rising career as an impressionist and vaudeville actor was almost stifled by McCarthyist persecution during the late 1950s. The 1958 production team of *Ulysses in Nighttown* opposed the blacklist and brought Mostel back to the New York stage from this inactive period, though they just paid him a symbolic wage. Mostel's comeback portrayal of Leopold Bloom 'won high praise but low pay',²⁴ demonstrated his transformation from a light-hearted comedian into a profound performer who was able to 'combine comedy with pathos',²⁵ and put him back into the right track towards stardom.

Intriguingly, the Rooftop Theatre, reached by taking an elevator to the fifth floor at 111 East Houston Street,²⁶ also had a subtle connection with the burlesque, for it was originally built for such erotic spectacles as burlesque extravaganzas and striptease shows. 111-117 East Houston Street had been home to the National Winter Garden, a theatre built by Louis Minsky and Max Steuer. The National Winter Garden 'was opened on [September] 15, 1913, showing vaudeville and motion pictures. After experimenting for three years, the four Minsky brothers began a new policy of presenting original burlesque extravaganzas'.²⁷ The Minsky brothers had been producing their risque burlesque shows featuring topless striptease at this site until they move their shows to Broadway in the 1930s. As it was located on the top floor, the National Winter Garden became known as the Rooftop Theatre from the mid-1940s. In 1958, the Transit Authority purchased the the building, and the Rooftop Theatre dropped its curtain. The closure of the Rooftop Theatre didn't bring

²⁴ Robert D. McFadden, 'Zero Mostel Dies of Heart Failure at 62', in *The New York Times*, 9 September 1977.

²⁵ 'Alpha Plus for Zero Mostel—A Gret Character Comedian', in *The New York Times*, 21 June 1961.

²⁶ Cordell and Matson (eds.), *The Off-Broadway Theatre: Seven Plays*, xix.

²⁷ 'Old Winter Garden Will Close Tonight', in *The New York Times*, 19 September 1931.

an end to the production. Sixteen years later, Alexander Cohen,²⁸ a prolific theatrical producer, reunited director Meredith and star Mostel at a grandiose Broadway theatre whose name, again, was the Winter Garden. Unlike the Rooftop Theatre, this Winter Garden had long been a venue that hosted mainstream commercial productions and accommodated more than 1,500 spectators. However, it seems that Cohen had been overly optimistic about the production's commercial potential and that *Ulysses in Nighttown* failed to become a blockbuster in the end. Cohen 'blamed his sluggish box office on a culturally derelict public which fails to recognize and support "artistically challenging works"' in *The New York Times*. Despite disappointing box office figures, the production gathered six nominations and won Best Lighting Design in the 28th Annual Tony Awards on the 21st of April 1974. Twenty nights after its victory in the awards ceremony, the production received its enthusiastic curtain calls and then went into history.

This brief account of *Ulysses in Nighttown* reminds us that 'Joyce himself loaded the scenes on which "Night-town" is based with material from the vaudeville stages of his time' and that there are miscellaneous 'references to music hall entertainers, minstrels, song and dance men, humorous patter, pantomime, popular ballads, etc.'. ²⁹ Joyce situates 'Circe' in a theatrical space not merely because it resembles a dreamscape where reality and hallucination intersect, but also because turn-of-the-century theatrical spectacle provides literature with new perspectives to depict the world. Such theatrical spectacles as pantomime and melodrama also heralded a new democracy in the sense that they intended to entertain and amaze spectators from all classes, no matter they were Cohen-the-producer or Cohen-the-bawd. What have been regarded as unstageable in 'Circe' were actually staged in late-Victorian pantomime and melodrama in a spectacular way (as will be explored later in 4.3.i). Such spectacles as rapid scene changes, Bloom's transformation from man to woman, the haunting manifestation of Bloom's dead son and Stephen's dead mother, and the ancient cityscape of the new Bloomusalem could have been staged even

²⁸ A similar coincidence can be found in the first New York production of *Exiles*. See Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 569: 'Joyce noted the coincidence that the leading actress's first name was Joyce, and was pleased that the play continued for forty-one performances, though it did not create the sensation for which he hoped'.

²⁹ Ben Raeburn et al., 'Does "Ulysses" Do Justice to Joyce?', in *The New York Times*, 28 April 1974.

more dazzlingly in the late-Victorian theatre, because Barkentin's use of the narrator turns those visual spectacles in Joyce's stage directions into monotonic mumbling.

Whether or not *Ulysses in Nighttown* fulfills Joyce's vision of 'Circe' on stage remains a question, but it does consolidate the connection between 'Circe' and the theatre. 'Circe' is not only a fiction episode written in the form of a play, but also a historical document that simultaneously records and distorts turn-of-the-century theatrical stage effects and technologies. However, the anti-theatrical mindset is too tenacious to be revised by a single theatrical adaptation of 'Circe', and its counteraction will be explored in the following section.

4.2 RE-THEATRICALISING 'CIRCE'

36 years after the publication of *Ulysses*, the spectre of 'Circe' and its haunting phantasmagoria had finally been embodied as a spectacle in the New York-based *Ulysses in Nighttown*. Let us trace further back from 1958 to the time when 'Circe' was still being conceived and reconstruct an account of its evolving theatricality. According to Martin Puchner's genetic study on the embryogenesis of 'Circe',

the first draft of 'Circe' is not yet fully written in the dramatic form but consists of the words of a descriptive narrator, whose discourse is only occasionally interrupted by speakers and dialogue. [. . .] The first draft of 'Circe' is a peculiar combination of narrative and drama. [. . .] With the second draft, Joyce shifted this balance between narrative and drama in the direction of drama. New stage directions indicating tone and manner of speech are inserted where there had been none before. In addition, all direct speech is now presented with the speaker's name centered above each paragraph. [. . .] 'Circe' is thus transformed into a standard dramatic form, consisting of *dramatis personae* and direct speech. This simplest but also most consequential change, however, concerns the narrator of the first draft, for this narrator is now confined into the enclosed space of the stage direction. Besides the conventional short stage direction, inserted before a direct speech, 'Circe' now has a much more substantial type of stage direction, one that is always set apart from the dialogue and contains the text's narrative voice. [. . .] In the process of experimenting with a large number of narrative modes, Joyce came to the realization that a dramatic stage direction was nothing but a particular form of present-tense narration. [. . .] 'Circe' therefore constitutes an important contribution to the history of the closet drama,

one that demonstrates that the stage direction represents a particular form of diegesis.³⁰

Puchner's excavation into the formational history of 'Circe' exposes how the episode has been transported from the domain of narrative fiction into that of quasi-drama. By exposing how 'Circe' has become a quasi-drama, Puchner doesn't intend to celebrate the victory of theatricality over narrative fiction, but intends to manifest Joyce's modernist resistance to the theatre; he situates the embryogenesis of 'Circe' towards a play within the context of modernist *anti-theatricalism* and interprets the episode as Joyce's attempt to negate theatricality from within by means of 'creat[ing] an entirely new genre: the narrative closet drama'.³¹ By adding the attribute *narrative* to the genre of closet drama—which is nothing new at all³²—Puchner aims to exorcise the spectre of theatricalism that haunts 'Circe' once and for all. The logic behind his exorcism is that those stage directions in 'Circe' completely distort theatrical representation and becomes a black hole into which all possible theatrical spaces must collapse into a vacuum and then reform themselves: these stage directions' sole function is to construct a *diegetic* world where 'speech acts have absolute and immediate transformative power' to create 'phantasmatic reality effects' that are impossible for the actual theatre.³³ More explicitly speaking, Puchner argues that 'Circe', like such closet drama as Goethe's *Faust II*, Shelley's *The Cenci*, Flaubert's *La Tentation de Saint-Antoine*, and de Sade's *La philosophie dans le boudoir*, is 'the acting out of the illicit, the deviant, and the censored' which 'exceeds the limits of theatrical representation, especially its reliance on real actors, with real appearances and genders, as well as the presence of actual censorship'.³⁴ Before exorcising the spectre of theatricalism, Puchner must expose what it is.

³⁰ Martin Puchner, *Stage Fright: Modernism, Anti-theatricality and Drama* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 85-87.

³¹ Ibid., 100.

³² The origin of closet drama can be traced back to Plato's dialogues. See Puchner, 'The Theater in Modernist Thought', (523): 'In response to his own critique of the theater, Plato invents a new form of theatricality, what one could call the first closet drama'.

³³ Puchner, *Stage Fright*, 88-89. Also see Ibid., 92: 'In its attempt to replace theatrical enactment with a new form of stage direction, 'Circe' demonstrates that the closet drama not only rejects the theater but also needs to create a different, literary one in its stead. This need led Joyce to both draw on and reject the vocabulary of dance, which he used as something against which he could develop his own poetry of motion'.

³⁴ Ibid., 90.

Theatricalism, according to his definition, is 'the rise, in the later nineteenth century, of an unprecedented celebration of the theater and of theatricality' driven by 'the nervous energy of those turn-of-the-century reformers and revolutionaries of the theater who made it their business to rescue the theater from what they thought of as its accelerating decline'.³⁵ Theatricalism, rooted in Richard Wagner's concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art), is thus a desperate fight against its own predicament.

While exorcising theatricality out of 'Circe', Puchner cannot but confront the Rooftop production of *Ulysses in Nighttown*. To complete his exorcism, he contends that the staging of 'Circe' doesn't change its intrinsic quality as a closet drama, for *stageability* is no longer a criterion that differentiates anti-theatricality from theatricality, in the sense that almost every genre of text has been brought into the theatre during the twentieth century. Instead of examining how *Ulysses in Nighttown* has managed to stage 'Circe', Puchner strategically focuses on how the production has trimmed the episode to the extent that its wild anti-theatricality has become domesticated within a theatrical space; in other words, Puchner argues that the production paradoxically consolidates the anti-theatrical status of 'Circe' by excluding what is impossible for the stage and exposing the fact that Bloom's hallucinations are rather stage effects than reality. One of the decisive factors for Puchner to reconfirm 'Circe' as a closet drama is his belief that 'within the fictional frame of the text, Bloom actually does have a vulva',³⁶ and that 'it is in the condition that allows Leopold Bloom to turn into a woman (and this means to turn actually and really into a woman rather than just cross-dressing)'.³⁷ However, when embracing the belief that Bloom either physically becomes a real woman or psychologically has an androgynous nature,³⁸ Puchner seems to have neglected the fact that *hallucination* is the dominant technique in 'Circe' and that Bloom's becoming-woman is embedded within a dreamscape modelled upon Sacher-Masoch's *Venus in Furs*, where 'Bloom

³⁵ Ibid., 6.

³⁶ Ibid., 88.

³⁷ Ibid., 17.

³⁸ See Ellmann, *Ulysses on the Liffey*, 143: 'Bloom changes from man to woman'; Gladys Garner Leithauser and Paul Sporn, 'Hypsospadia: Linguistic Guidepost to the Themes of the "Circe" Episode of "Ulysses"', *Journal of Modern Literature*, vol. 4 (1974): 109-14.

plays the part of Severin' and Bello plays 'that of a masculinized Wanda'.³⁹ His assertion that Bloom *really* turns into a woman is problematic, for even a genuine woman wouldn't have a vulva into which Bello could '[bare] his arm and [plunge] it elbowdeep' (*U* 15.3089) in reality. To misread Bloom's theatrical transformation into a woman as a real event that negates theatricality is to fail the Freudian *Realitätsprüfung*.⁴⁰ In other words, it is to maintain the sanity of *Ulysses* that Joyce locks the hallucinatory episode of 'Circe' within a virtual theatrical space, in the sense that the theatre has long been functioning as a locus where lucid-minded performers' feigned insanity helps the audience to release their unconscious desires that have been repressed and censored by social reality.⁴¹ If the production's inability to transform Bloom into a real woman is irrelevant to our evaluation of 'Circe', what else can prove 'Circe' to be intrinsically a closet play? Puchner argues in *Stage Fright* that the modernist genre of closet drama not merely distances itself from the theatrical space that embraces mass culture and disseminates political propaganda but also tries to distort theatrical mimesis with the diegetic intrusion of narrators. However, does his argument suffice to exorcise theatricality out of 'Circe'? The answer is scarcely positive.

On the one hand, even if Barkentin's reintroduction of the narrator—which has been gradually erased during the embryogenesis of 'Circe'—into her adaptation upon which the Rooftop production was based seems to conform to Puchner's observation that modernist closet drama usually penetrates the mimetic theatrical space with a diegetic voice from its margin or the outside, two problems remain. The first problem: it is Barkentin, not Joyce, that regards the narrator as a necessary device; therefore, if the Rooftop production can't defend the theatricality of 'Circe', neither can Barkentin's use of the diegetic narrator prove the episode anti-theatrical. The second problem: whether diegesis should be regarded as an anti-theatrical force that clashes against the mimetic theatre is still questionable. If diegetic figures who 'project speech that conditions the mimetic space that is simultaneously present to

³⁹ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 500.

⁴⁰ See Jean Laplanche and J. B. Pontalis, *The Language of Psycho-analysis*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (London: Karnac and the Institute of Psycho-analysis, 1988), 382-85.

⁴¹ Also see Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture*, 150: 'To argue that Bloom actually becomes a woman in "Circe" is to ignore Joyce's references to such cultural stereotyping as portrayed through the dramatic form of the chapter. [. . .] Once we are drawn inside the theatrical context, we can no longer tell—based on the roles played—what the "truth" of any character's gender is'.

the audience's eyes' are themselves '[d]erived from the Greek chorus or the Nôh chorus',⁴² it seems illogical to suggest that the very origin of the theatre itself is anti-theatrical; in other words, the dichotomous boundary between theatrical mimesis and anti-theatrical diegesis is so problematic that it should be reterritorialised and shouldn't be utilised as a criterion when one judges whether or not 'Circe' is intrinsically anti-theatrical.

On the other hand, there is no evidence to prove that Joyce held an anti-theatrical attitude when he was writing 'Circe'. In his letter to Claud W. Sykes on the 11th of October 1920, Joyce wrote: '*Circe* progresses. [. . .] *Exiles* is already translated and will be produced by M. Lugné-Poë, and Mme Suzanne Després in December or January' (*Letters III* 23-24). That Joyce juxtaposed the progress of 'Circe' and his effort to put *Exiles* on stage is indeed a minute yet suggestive clue to be examined. What Joyce mentions briefly in this letter have been reconstructed by Richard Ellmann into a more detailed account:

Jenny Serruys now offered to translate *Exiles*. Joyce wanted desperately to have it produced in Paris. [. . .] He was glad to accept her offer to persuade Lugné-Poë to produce it at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre, where his skill with experimental plays was already well known. [. . .] Lugné-Poë vacillated about the play during August, then in October informed Joyce he and Suzanne Després would produce it during December or January. There was no money in it, but he would do it anyway. Joyce must agree in advance to '*la révision scénique du texte*', and Joyce, eager to see *Exiles*, acceded to this vague stipulation. [. . .] In June 1921, Lugné-Poë abruptly informed Joyce that he had no intention of losing 15,000 francs on *Exiles* (*JJ* 488, 497-98).

Even though Joyce's hope for a Paris production of *Exiles* was stifled in the end, this anecdotal event reveals his enthusiasm in the theatre, and there is no sign that Lugné-Poë's abrupt rejection of *Exiles* had brooded Joyce's animosity against the theatre as an industry or had turned him against theatricality. A closer study on biographical traces suggests that Joyce was not merely connected with the theatre *tangentially* as a playwright; on the very contrary, his involvement with the theatre started at an early age and continued to play an important part in different periods of his life. As has been thoroughly documented by Ellmann, Joyce was exposed to Henrik Ibsen's plays

⁴² Puchner, *Stage Fright*, 27.

at the end of his schooldays, and became a devotee of Ibsen thenceforth. However, Joyce's obsession with the theatre went beyond Ibsenian Realism. When he was still a teenager, 'Joyce became convinced of the importance of drama; and, while he did not yet try playwriting, he went to the theater as regularly as he could afford it, and wrote review of every play he saw so as to contrast his opinions with those of newspaper reviewers'.⁴³ When he was in Paris, he 'managed to attend one of the first performances of Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* at the Opéra Comique; he saw Bernhardt and Réjane; he saw Signoret act in Heijerman's *La Bonne Espérance* at the Théâtre Antoine', and even 'bought a gallery seat to hear Jean de Reszke sing *Pagliacci*' at 'the high cost of 7 francs 50 centimes'.⁴⁴ During his stay in Zurich, Joyce joined forces with Claud Sykes to start a theatre company and, by so doing, wished to 'secure the production of *Exiles*'. As the business manager of the new company, he even 'persuaded several professional actors to accept small fees' and 'persuaded his pupils and their friends to buy tickets'.⁴⁵ These sporadic events, to a certain extent, indicate that Joyce never rejected the theatre due to its connection with commercialism and mass culture, and that he never separated drama from a theatrical space and worshipped it as a pure narrative genre distilled from theatricality.

Such examination on the production of 'Circe' and Joyce's involvement in the theatre reveals the fact that to approach 'Circe' as an anti-theatrical dramatic text cannot but get trapped in a *cul-de-sac*. This is why Cheryl Herr argues that the focus of 'Circe' is 'not on literary topics or forms' but on the theatre, which is 'an institution with different generic determinations and cultural functions from "literature" and with a more immediate, compelling, and widespread influence than narrative form'.⁴⁶ Abundant textual traces suggest that 'Circe' is coded by the turn-of-the-century theatre on several levels. On the most superficial level, allusions to theatrical productions permeate 'Circe' to the extent that the episode at times resembles a *cadavre exquis* generated randomly out of miscellaneous play titles and cannot be decoded unless the lost significance behind such titles have been regained.

⁴³ Ibid., 54.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 126.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 423.

⁴⁶ Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture*, 97.

For instance, it seems difficult to make any sense out of the line delivered by Bloom at the beginning of his trial scene: 'Mistaken identity. The Lyons mail. Lesurques and Dubosc' (*U* 15.760-61), but the logic behind these three phrases becomes clear when readers realise that *The Lyons Mail* is the English version of a French play 'founded on a celebrated trial under the Directory in 1796, by the verdict recorded in which an innocent upright man Lesurques suffered death through his extraordinary resemblance to Dubosc, a robber leader of a gang known as "The 500"'.⁴⁷ Far from being resistant to popular plays, 'Circe' inscribes their transient existence into its own archaeological stratum and thus offers them an opportunity to be excavated by future generations. On a subtler level, the erotic theatrical space and its spatial politics can be decoded out of 'Circe' in the sense that it not merely displays on-stage performances but also mirrors off-stage activities among the audience; Joyce's *Dubliners*, when recollecting their theatrical experiences, vividly depict the theatre as a public sphere in which their social statuses are revealed by where they can afford to seat themselves in the audience, and in which theatregoers are often more fascinated with off-stage attractions than on-stage performances. For instance, when accusing Bloom of having attempted to seduce her with an obscene letter in the trial scene, Mrs Yelverton Barry states that 'he had seen from the gods my peerless globes as I sat in a box of the *Theatre Royal* at a command performance of *La Cigale*. I deeply inflamed him, he said' (*U* 15.1018-21). According to *Ulysses Annotated*, the gods is 'a slang for the upper balcony of a theatre',⁴⁸ and the very fact that Bloom sits among the gallery-gods whereas Mrs Yelverton Barry occupies a box is a mark of class distinction. In addition to Mrs Yelverton Barry's statement, the Victorian poet and solicitor Arthur Munby records a visit to the gods with his mistress Hannah, a domestic maid, and pictures a supplementary perspective:

⁴⁷ 'The Lyons Mail', *The Theatre: A Monthly Review and Magazine*, vol. 17 (1891): 148-49: 'The original French drama by M. M. Moreau, Siraudin, and Delacour, entitled "Le Courrier de Lyons", was first produced at the Gaité Paris, March 16th, 1850; permission being given by the descendants of Joseph Lesurques for the use of his name. [...] Lewis Philips' was the first London adaptation and was played at the Standard, March 10th, 1851, and was advertised as "The Courier of Lyons", and also as "The Courier, or the Assassins of Paris", and "The Courier of Paris".'

⁴⁸ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 465. Also see 'god, *n.*', *OED Online*, Oxford University Press (2012), <http://www.oed.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/Entry/79625?rskey=PISDg8&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>, accessed 29.03.12: '4. *Theat.* [So called because seated on high.] *pl.* The occupants of the gallery. Also *gallery-gods*. Also *rarely* in *sing.*'

met my Juno at the Haymarket Theatre to see Tom Taylor's ingenious and spirited piece *The Overland Route*. We went to the gallery, of course; Hannah had never been to any other part of a theatre except once, when 'William the groom' took her with an order to the boxes—actually the boxes!—at Astley's. Poor child! She did not presume to recognise me in the street, but waited above the Gods. As for me, to stand in the mob at the gallery door in the Haymarket, to sit in the gallery among the 'roughs' by the side of a maid of all work, and drink with her out of the same bottle between the acts—is not this the very nadir of vulgarity and degradation?⁴⁹

As a middle-class man, Munby not merely suffers a strong sense of out-of-placeness but also connects the upper balcony with vulgarity and indecency. In this sense, Mrs Yelverton Barry's reference to Bloom's seat in the gods is a strategy to convince the jury to find him guilty, because the bias that gallery-gods are potential criminals has been rooted in the social unconscious. Intriguingly, it is Mrs Yelverton Barry that decides to display herself as a desirable object '*in lowcorsaged opal balldress and elbowlength ivory gloves*' (*U* 15.1014), and therefore Bloom's crime resides neither in his voyeurism nor in his obscene letter-writing, but rather in the fact that he writes to the wrong lady who sits in the box and has no interest in flirting with gallery-gods. Mrs Yelverton Barry's wearing *proper upper-class* evening garb to showcase her allure not merely constitutes a glamorous part of the sexually-charged Circean episode but, more importantly, brings up another dimension of the episode's theatricality: 'Circe' is a testimony of the newly-born millinery stage.

4.3 PHANTASMAGORIC 'CIRCE'

If the narrative of 'Nausicaa', as has been exposed in 3.1, is to a certain extent modelled upon the turn-of-the-century micro-spectacle, the ultimate aim of this chapter is to reread 'Circe' within the context of phantasmagoric theatrical spectacles. This chapter has now combed through the long-term debate on the fifteenth episode's (un)stageability and (anti-)theatricality. Since the Rooftop production of *Ulysses in Nighttown* has proven 'Circe' stageable, and various textual traces have solidified its pro-theatrical stance, the discussion is now going to

⁴⁹ Derek Hudson (ed.), *Munby, Man of Two Worlds: The Life and Diaries of Arthur J. Munby, 1828-1910* (London: Murray, 1972), 54.

excavate how the narration of 'Circe' has been shaped by its contemporary theatrical spectacles. As most discussions on 'Circe' seem to have been obsessed with its dazzling experiment with narrative techniques, this section intends to read 'Circe' from an alternative perspective, that is: the theatrical narrative embodies Joyce's fervorous response to various *technological* innovations within the turn-of-the-century theatrical space. Joyce's contemporary Walter Benjamin foresees how art will gradually become subject to fast-evolving technology and finally be degraded into a medium that serves to advertise machine-made commodities:

the transformation of things that set in around 1800 dictated the tempo to art, and the more breathtaking this tempo became, the more readily the dominion of fashion overspread all fields. Finally, we arrive at the present state of things: the possibility now arises that art will no longer find time to adapt somehow to technological processes. The advertisement is the ruse by which the dream forces itself on industry.

[G1,1]⁵⁰

Although his ominous vision here refers to graphic arts rather than literature, Benjamin writes in the subsequent entry [G1a,2] that '[t]he writings of the Surrealists treat words like trade names, and their texts are, at bottom, a form of prospectus for enterprises not yet off the ground. Nesting today in trade names are fragments such as those earlier thought to be hidden in the cache of "poetic" vocables'.⁵¹ Benjamin also uses theatrical imagery as a simile to depict an advertising poster in the arcades: 'I saw a plate that, at first glance, could have passed as something like Siegfried's bath in dragon blood. [. . .] When we hear that portraits of famous cancan dancers like Rigolette and Fricchette would have hung there, we have to imagine them colored like this'.⁵² Benjamin's fragmentary references to such motifs as the degradation of art, the commodified language of Surrealism and the dramatic yet false colours of commercial posters in a random sequence of free association arguably reveal his struggle to construct an encyclopaedic panorama that captures all these disparate aspects of graphic art and literature in the age of mechanical reproduction. Intriguingly, Benjamin refers to *The Arcades Project* in a letter of 1930 to Gerhard

⁵⁰ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 171.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 173.

Scholem as ‘the *theater* [my italics] of all my struggles and all my ideas’;⁵³ Benjamin might simply use the term *theatre* as a metaphor without much significance, but the minute trace that he thinks of nothing else but *the theatre* to describe this impossible project in which he represents and critiques the fin-de-siècle bourgeois experience is significant: the theatre is the locus where art, technology and commodity intersect. In this vein, the theatrical space of ‘Circe’ merits closer scrutiny from the perspectives of how Joyce represents and critiques the new theatre of technologically-generated spectacles that helps machine-made commodities penetrate into the unconscious of the audience. The subsequent discussion will focus on two particular aspects of such technologically-generated and commodified spectacles that are highly present throughout the entire episode of ‘Circe’: special stage effects (4.3.i) and prototypical fashion show (4.3.ii).

4.3.i ‘PEPPER’S GHOST IDEA’

‘Circe’ opens up itself with a stage direction that depicts a phantasmagoric *panorama*:⁵⁴

**(The Mabbot street entrance of nighttown, before which stretches an uncobbled transiding set with skeleton tracks, red and green will-o’-the-wisps and danger signals. Rows of grimy houses with gaping doors. Rare lamps with faint rainbow fans. Round Rabaiotti’s halted ice gondola stunted men and women squabble. [. . .] The swancomb of the gondola, highreared, forges on through the murk, white and blue under a lighthouse. Whistles call and answer.) (U 15.1-9).*

Such uncanny settings as skeleton tracks and will-o’-the-wisps hint that the theatrical dreamscape of ‘Circe’ will be submerged in a surreal atmosphere which can only be

⁵³ Walter Benjamin, *The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin 1910-1940*, trans. Manfred R. Jacobson and Evelyn M. Jacobson, ed. Gershom Scholem and Theodor W. Adorno (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 359

⁵⁴ See Michael R. Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre, 1850-1910* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 6: ‘The panorama itself was originally a huge picture painted in special perspective on a domed cylinder in such a way that it could be viewed from the centre of a circular building, sometimes from several levels in that building, as with Hornor’s immense panorama of London from the cross of St Paul’s exhibited at the Colosseum in 1829. The panorama soon diverged from the concept of circularity but always retained its great size. It was lit by daylight; when it became a flat picture with an illusion of depth and illuminated by special techniques it was called a diorama. The diorama had been invented by Daguerre and shown in Paris in 1822; the following year, specially housed on a site by Regent’s Park next to the Colosseum-to-be, it opened with landscapes a interior views of famous cathedrals’.

created by means of new stage machinery. Even though critics, in Richard Kain's words, have long been regarding 'Circe' as 'possibly the most brilliant *dramatization* [my italics] of Freudian psychology in literature',⁵⁵ which kindles 'the most elementary feeling on the level of psychological *melodrama* [my italics]',⁵⁶ they often put more emphasis on *psychological* than on *dramatisation* or *melodrama* when scrutinising the text, and therefore overlook such theatrical spectacles as are depicted by Joyce's stage directions in 'Circe'. Cheryl Herr's fascinating cultural studies on 'Circe' intend to pick up the thread that has long been set aside and build up a ground-breaking account on the premise that the 'signifying form to which Joyce chiefly alludes in "Circe" is the pantomime'.⁵⁷ However, the fact that Herr focuses on the socio-cultural side of the theatre leaves the techno-spectacular side unexplored. There might be two explanations for critics' reluctance to examine quasi-pantomimic 'Circe' from the perspective of techno-spectacles: On the one hand, even though critics like Herr do read 'Circe' within the theatrical context of the pantomime, they are prone to overlook the potential of techno-spectacles because the dramatic genre of pantomime is often pre-conceptually linked with ancient themes and naturalistic mimesis.⁵⁸ On the other hand, not only do critics often deny the possibility of representing 'Circe' on stage, but they also believe that there isn't much potential in 'Circe' for stage machinery to perform its magic, in the sense that the episode shows 'a supreme disregard for realistic limits' and that its 'parenthetical direction transcends the boundaries of any stage'.⁵⁹ Simply said, critics overlook the connection between 'Circe' and techno-spectacles because they either underestimate technology's involvement in the popular theatre or read the episode as a phantasmagoric carnival of unconscious desires and delusions where such

⁵⁵ Richard M. Kain, *Fabulous Voyager: James Joyce's 'Ulysses'* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), 31.

⁵⁶ Harry Levin, *James Joyce: A Critical Introduction* (London: New Directions, 1941), 111.

⁵⁷ Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture*, 103.

⁵⁸ See R. J. Broadbent, *A History of Pantomime* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1901), 14-15: 'The very name Pantomime itself signifies Nature as Pan was amongst the Ancients, the allegorical god of Nature, the shepherd of Arcadia, and with *Mimos*, meaning an imitator, we have, in the combination of these two words, 'an imitator of Nature', and from whence we derive the origin of our word Pantomime'.

⁵⁹ Fritz Senn, "'Circe" as Harking Back in Propective Arrangement', in *Reading Joyce's 'Circe'*, ed. Andrew Gibson (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), 63-64.

supernatural phenomena as the séance of spectres exceed the possibility of technological representation.

Paradoxically, when critics regard ‘Circe’ as being *phantasmagoric*,⁶⁰ they have already—perhaps unconsciously—located it within the techno-spectacular theatre, for phantasmagoria, a striking effect that was exhibited to London spectators for the first time in 1802 by M. Philipstal,⁶¹ highlights the ‘[n]ew application of the magic lantern by placing it on the opposite side of the screen, and making the figures alone transparent’.⁶² The French word *fantasmagorie* was coined by Belgian Etienne-Gaspard Robertson in 1797 to describe his newly-invented spectral spectacle, and the etymology underwriting his neologism is open for interpretations. The *OED* proposes that it is composed of ancient Greek *φάντασμα* (phantasm) and an uncertain second element, which can either be the French suffix *-gorie* (as is seen in *allégorie*, γορία) or Ancient Greek *ἀγορά* (agora: place of assembly).⁶³ This techno-spectacle (which had been haunting spectators since the late 18th century) attracts Walter Benjamin’s attention, possibly because of its obscure etymological link with allegory, which helps him to associate *The Arcades Project*—a phantasmagoric theatre he calls it—with his earlier work, especially *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*.⁶⁴ Probably due to a latent anti-theatrical tendency within the collective memory, phantasmagoria has gradually undergone a shift of meaning from its original theatrical implication to the ghost-shows of the 19th century to its late Romantic denotation that refers to ‘([a] vision of) a rapidly transforming collection or series of imaginary (and usually fantastic) forms, such as may be experienced in a dream or fevered state, or evoked by literary description’.⁶⁵ However, it is this very shift of

⁶⁰ For instance, see William P. Fitzpatrick, ‘The Myth of Creation: Joyce, Jung, and *Ulysses*’, *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 11 (1974): 123-44 (135): ‘the purgative phantasmagoria of “Circe” serves as the cleansing fire’; Philip Sicker, ‘Shades of Descartes: An Approach to Stephen’s Dream in *Ulysses*’, *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 22 (1984): 7-24 (15): ‘in Joyce’s description of the drunken Stephen staggering through Mabbot Street, where the harlot-ridden phantasmagoria of his dream becomes a waking nightmare’; Harold Bloom, *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1994), 432: ‘the Nighttown phantasmagoria of *Ulysses*’.

⁶¹ David Brewster, *Letters on Natural Magic* (London: John Murray, 1832), 80.

⁶² William Nicholson, *A Journal of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and the Arts*. Vol. 1 (London: G. and J. Robinsons, 1802), 147.

⁶³ ‘phantasmagoria, *n.*’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press (2011), <http://www.oed.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/Entry/142184?redirectedFrom=phantasmagoria#eid>, accessed 28.05.12.

⁶⁴ Margaret Cohen, ‘Walter Benjamin’s Phantasmagoria’, *New German Critique*, vol. 48 (1989): 87-107 (95).

⁶⁵ ‘phantasmagoria, *n.*’, *OED Online*.

meaning that perfectly matches phantasmagoria with 'Circe', for the word has become sort of a double entendre which simultaneously signifies spectral magic lantern shows and unconscious hallucinations. 'Circe' is thus truly *phantasmagoric*, in the sense that it depicts the unconscious dreamscape by means of magic lantern effects and other technologically-generated spectacles.

In *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, Michael Booth reveals the historical fact that

[i]n a real sense melodrama and pantomime were creatures of *technology* [my italics]. The very existence of new materials, new stage machinery, and new methods of lighting impelled them into a dramatic structure which in part existed to display the ingenuity of machinist, gasman, head carpenter, costume designer, and stage manager.⁶⁶

That is to say, naturalistic mimesis in the Victorian theatre is in fact a technology-generated illusion which conceals its own artificiality so well that spectators often forgot its connection with technology. In addition to Booth's retrospective account, Percy Hetherington Fitzgerald, a turn-of-the-century British critic and theatre-enthusiast, tells a detailed insider's story in *The World Behind the Scenes*. This valuable book, first published in 1881, not only reveals all those secrets behind the machinery of scenic illusion but also reminds its readers how *spectacular* the Victorian theatre was. Victorian spectacular plays did what blockbuster films do today: the former dazzled the audience with special stage effects as the latter do with computer graphics.⁶⁷ If twenty-first-century filmgoers believe that sci-fi films are capable of creating otherworldly spectacles that only exist in virtual reality, then turn-of-the-century theatre-goers had a similar expectation that 'there was nothing in Nature, from an avalanche to a moving swan, that the artist could not reproduce' in Victorian plays.⁶⁸ Filmgoers' obsession with and indulgence in computer graphics and 3D cinema suggest that the spectre of the turn-of-the-century spectacular theatre has never stopped haunting mass culture; the intrinsic quality of the entertainment industry has scarcely changed: it appeals to spectators' sensual pleasure, paralyses

⁶⁶ Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre, 1850-1910*, 64.

⁶⁷ See Russell Jackson, 'Victorian and Edwardian Stagecraft: Techniques and Issues', in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian and Edwardian Theatre*, ed. Kerry Powell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 58: 'Refinements of the technology of illusion continued into the twentieth century, and may be said to have their inheritors in the cinema and in modern achievements in computer-generated virtual reality'.

⁶⁸ Percy Hetherington Fitzgerald, *The World behind the Scenes* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1881), 2.

their reasoning faculty by bombarding them with a maximum of sensational visual effects. Unsurprisingly, various primary sources—such as newspaper, periodical journals, and production notes—inform us that theatre critics back then had been accusing spectacular plays of their ‘taint of vulgarity and tastelessness’.⁶⁹ Such an analogy between spectacular plays and popcorn films through their shared property of techno-spectacularity seems doomed to suffer from the problem of anachronistic fallacy, in the sense that the significances conveyed by *theatre* and *cinema* vary considerably from one period, and one society, to another.

However, this seemingly anachronistic analogy does generate an insight from a vantage point: the reason why the dramatic episode of ‘Circe’ and all its explicit allusions to pantomime and melodrama have seldom been read from the perspective of theatrical spectacles arguably resides in the modernist hypothesis that the popular spectacular theatre belongs to the domain of low art, from which *Ulysses*, being regarded as a monument of high modernism, should be distinguished. It is this distinction within the modernist mindset that leads to Ezra Pound’s total exclusion of English popular theatre from his reading of *Exiles* and Martin Puchner’s exorcism of theatricality during his encounter with the dramatic form of ‘Circe’. In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Pierre Bourdieu observes that the Seine divides the Parisian theatre into two sub-categories, namely, right-bank boulevard theatre and left-bank experimental theatre;⁷⁰ Bourdieu carries on to play with this distinction by looking at François Dorin’s 1973 play *Le Tournant*, which dramatises ‘a boulevard playwright’s attempt to start a new career as an avant-garde playwright’.⁷¹ To bring in Bourdieu here may seem out of context; however, it may help us to rethink our (mis)understanding of the theatre in Joyce’s time, in the sense that Bourdieu’s observation on these two sub-categories of the theatre not merely points out the distinction but simultaneously exposes its being arbitrary and

⁶⁹ Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre, 1850-1910*, 29.

⁷⁰ See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1984), 19: ‘The theatre divides its public and divides itself. The Parisian opposition between right-bank and left-bank theatre, bourgeois theatre and avant-garde theatre, is inextricably aesthetic and political’; 234: ‘Boulevard theatre, which offers tried and tested shows [. . .] written to reliable formulae and performed by consecrated actors, and which caters to a middle-aged, “bourgeois” audience that is disposed to pay high prices, is opposed in every respect to experimental theatre, which attracts a young, ‘intellectual’ audience to relatively inexpensive shows that flout ethical and aesthetic conventions’.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 234.

problematic. On the one hand, the intriguing fact is that Lugné-Poë's Théâtre de l'Œuvre, where *Exiles* was once planned to be staged, is an experimental theatre located at 55 rue de Clichy on the *right-bank* of the Seine and best known for its production of Alfred Jarry's surrealist *Ubu Roi* in 1896. On the other hand, it is tempting to see Joyce's writing 'Circe' as a reversion of *Le Tournant*: Joyce is an experimental novelist who attempts to write a spectacular play-within-the-novel with heavy allusions to the popular theatre. Both cases suggest that the distinction between commercial theatre and experimental theatre should be rethought: the distinction might exist, but there was not necessarily a clear boundary between spectacular popular theatre and austere experimental theatre in Joyce's time.

The interaction between these two factions of the theatre was also taking place in Dublin. If we scrutinise experimental plays that were staged in the Irish Literary Theatre, we are likely to be surprised by the fact that the obsession with spectacles which haunted London's playhouses was infecting the Irish Dramatic Movement. As L. H. Platt observes, Irish revivalist drama was notorious for its phantasmagoric stage directions: '[p]roducing angels, fairies, butterflies emerging from characters' mouth, indeed, staging the so-called Heroic Age generally, could not have been easy, and occasionally one comes across a stage direction in a revivalist play that would be quite at home in Joyce's text'.⁷² Being the inaugural performance of the Irish Literary Theatre, *The Countess Cathleen*'s première on the 8th of May 1899 in the Antient Concert Rooms—with James Joyce sitting enthusiastically in the auditorium—was regarded as a controversial event and was 'marked by one of those demonstrations of æsthetic illiteracy which have from time to time conferred a certain notoriety upon works deserving of more serious fame'.⁷³ The première of the play was attacked by a 'storm of booing and hissing' when the curtain fell,⁷⁴ whereas Joyce clapped zealously and was particularly moved by Oona's song 'Who Goes with Fergus?' (which will recur in *Ulysses* through Stephen's voice). However, if we put aside the ideological controversy over the play and scrutinise its stage directions, we may realise that the spectacles of *The Countess Cathleen* is not necessarily an

⁷² L. H. Platt, 'Ulysses 15 and the Irish Literary Theatre', in *Reading Joyce's 'Circe'*, ed. Andrew Gibson (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), 35.

⁷³ Ernest A. Boyd, *The Contemporary Drama of Ireland* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1918), 58.

⁷⁴ Seumas O'Sullivan, *The Rose and Bottle and Other Essays* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1946), 119.

antithesis of ‘the machine-made effects of the popular drama’ that dominated London theatres at the turn of the century.⁷⁵

The opening scene of the play is vividly depicted by a stage direction in the first edition of 1892: ‘*The Inn of SHEMUS RUA; a wood of oak, hazel and quicken trees is seen through the window, half hidden in vapour and twilight. The door is in the centre of the wall at the back. The window is at the right side of it, and a little catholic shrine hangs at the other*’.⁷⁶ In the tenth edition of 1920, the stage direction is revised as follows: ‘*A room with lighted fire, and a door into the open air; through which one sees, perhaps, the trees of a wood, and these trees should be painted in flat colour upon a gold or diapered sky. The walls are of one colour. The scene should have the effect of missal painting*’.⁷⁷ Similar to the opening scene of ‘Circe’, the opening scene in both editions requires considerable technical finesse to represent the woods, vapour, and twilight with a touch of missal painting. In other words, even though such Irish Literary dramatists as Yeats aspired to critique the invasion of London’s philistine commercial theatre and respond to the intellectual demands of the Irish audience, their scenic aesthetics tend to have been conditioned by the popular spectacle to a certain extent. Such a tendency, nevertheless, does not necessarily lead to an artistic degeneration; on the contrary, new stage technology should be an evolutionary force that aids the theatre to enhance—or even to transcend—mimesis, for art and technology are intensely interrelated rather than mutually exclusive in the theatrical space. Dennis G. Jerz’s elaboration on the relation between them is elucidative:

Today we generally limit the terms ‘art’ and ‘artistic’ to the realm of ideas and restrict the terms ‘technology’ and ‘technological’ to the physical; yet the division is *artificial*, because the difference is merely *technical*. The realm of art and the realm of technology have only recently diverged from their classical roots—*ars* (Latin) and *techne* (Greek). In their original forms, both words simply meant ‘skill’. The creations of a *technician* may be *artistic* (especially in the theatre), and all the best *artisans* study *technique*.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Boyd, *The Contemporary Drama of Ireland*, 1.

⁷⁶ W. B. Yeats, *The Countess Kathleen and Various Legends and Lyrics* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892), 13-14.

⁷⁷ W. B. Yeats, *The Countess Cathleen*, 10th edn (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1920), 9.

⁷⁸ Dennis G. Jerz, *Technology in American Drama, 1920-1950: Soul and Society in the Age of the Machine* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2003), 2.

Mutualism seems to be the word that perfectly defines the relation between art and technology in the theatre, especially at the turn of the century, when the status of stage mechanics was transformed from a subsidiary tool that serves literature to an important medium that creates visual wonders and steals the show from playwrights' elaborately-written texts. Therefore, the resistance to technologically-generated spectacles doesn't result from the possibility that technology would damage theatricality, but rather from playwrights' fear that they would be replaced by producers and technicians. (Sadly, their nightmare has become a reality in Hollywood's film industry.) In this sense, the fact that Yeats locates his plays in rural landscapes which seem so distanced from industrial cities is just like a magician's gesture to conceal his reliance on technology to produce these very landscapes in the first place. The paradox behind such a gesture is as follows: modernist playwrights cannot escape from being influenced by the stage technology that they critique, because '[b]efore the dramatist can write a play for the theatre, the theatre has to be there. And not only a theatre in the abstract, but a very particular kind of theatre—the theatre of the playwright's own epoch'.⁷⁹ Therefore, 'Circe' plays a different game. As Platt observes, the 'city slum and the red-light district were places that simply did not exist in the topography of an Irish revivalism which [. . .] regarded the city as responsible for producing an anti-theatrical theatre, "theatre of commerce" as Yeats called it'.⁸⁰ The uncobbled tramsiding at the very entrance to the nighttown depicted in the stage direction highlights the industrial side of Dublin and foreshadows the penetration of technology into the Circean narrative. Joyce adopts the strategy to *mime* his contemporary commercial theatre and transform this very mimesis into a spectacle by audaciously exposing its internal mechanism to his imaginary audience.

A juxtaposition of 'Circe' and the late-Victorian popular theatre will help to elucidate how the Circean theatre *mimes* mimesis. In *The World behind the Scene*, Fitzgerald illustrates a vivid picture of how the late-Victorian theatre manipulated technology to create spectacular scenes that transcends mere mimesis of the nature:

⁷⁹ Mordecai Gorelik, *New Theatres for Old* (London: D. Dobson, 1947), 17.

⁸⁰ Platt, 'Ulysses 15 and the Irish Literary Theatre', 38.

All will recall in some elaborate transformation scene how quietly and gradually it is evolved. First the 'gauzes' lift slowly one behind the other—perhaps the most pleasing of all scenic effects—giving glimpses of 'the Realms of Bliss', seen beyond in a tantalizing fashion. Then is revealed a kind of half-glorified country, clouds and banks, evidently concealing much. Always a sort of pathetic and at the same time exultant strain rises, and is repeated as the changes go on. Now we hear the faint tinkle—signal to those aloft on 'bridges' to open more glories. Now some of the banks begin to part slowly, showing realms of light, with a few divine beings—fairies—rising slowly here and there. More breaks beyond and fairies rising, with a pyramid of these ladies beginning to mount slowly in the centre. Thus it goes on, the lights streaming on full, in every colour and from every quarter, in the richest effulgence. In some of the more daring efforts, the *femmes suspendues* seem to float in the air or rest on the frail support of sprays or branches of trees. While, finally, perhaps, at the back of all, the most glorious paradise of all will open, revealing the pure empyrean itself, and some fair spirit aloft in a cloud among the stars, the apex of all. Then all motion ceases; the work is complete; the fumes of crimson, green, and blue fire begin to rise at the wings; the music bursts into a crash of exultation, and possibly to the general disenchantment, a burly man in a black frock steps out from the side and bows. Then to [a] shrill whistle the first scene of the harlequinade closes in, and shuts out the brilliant vision.⁸¹

This passage reveals intriguing connections between these pantomimic spectacles and those phantasmagoric stage directions in 'Circe'. The panoramic scene that seduces us into the nighttown is strongly reminiscent of Fitzgerald's depiction of the *gauzes that lift slowly one behind the other*: the ice gondola's moving in the *murky* night is a common visual effect created by layered gauzes and lighting devices. The dreamy atmosphere of 'Circe' is by no means unusual in Victorian productions; for instance, Samuel Phelps's 1853 production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at Sadler's Wells put the whole sequences of the forest scenes behind gauze to 'create an effect of mysterious gloom'.⁸² The '*uncobbled transiding set with skeleton tracks, red and green will-o'-the-wisps and danger signals*' (U 15.2-3) is another striking imagery at the nighttown's entrance that turn-of-the-century stage craftsmen were able to represent. On the one hand, real-size rail tracks were featured on stage to attract the audience: Fitzgerald mentions a scene that 'represents a railway train passing across the stage, for which little engines that gave out steam and could

⁸¹ Fitzgerald, *The World behind the Scenes*, 89-90.

⁸² Jackson, 'Victorian and Edwardian Stagecraft: Techniques and Issues', 56.

whistle were specially constructed',⁸³ and the Drury Lane Theatre's 1908 production of *The Whip* even created a sensational scene of train crash.⁸⁴ On the other hand, will-o'-the-wisps and other fire scenes in 'Circe'—'*in a seamless garment marked I. H. S. Stands upright amid phoenix flames*' (U 15.1935-36); 'Dublin's burning! Dublin's burning! On fire, on fire! [. . .] (*Brimstone fires spring up. Dense clouds roll past. [. . .]*)' (U 15.4660-61)—were also stageable spectacles in Joyce's time, as scenic designer Frederick Lloyds reveals his tricks in great detail:

For a fire scene a transparent cloth is most valuable. On the front of the cloth, the building which is to figure the scene is to be painted in sound condition with transparent colours, while, on the back, it must be represented in a state of conflagration. [. . .] At the back of the transparent cloth have three opaque cloths hung on separate lines, one in the centre, and one of the other two on each side. Let them overlap each other, so as to cover the whole of the front cloth, the edges being but very deeply with a very rough and broken line. When the fire is supposed to break out, raise the middle one; the gas rows at the back will then cause a light and the flames painted on the back to begin to appear.⁸⁵

The skeleton tracks and ghostly fires raise the curtain for the spectacular theatre of 'Circe' and suggest that the episode should be read with closer attention to stage machinery. As has been revealed by Lloyds, fire scenes are created by a clever combination of transparent fabrics and lighting, and the vivid effect of conflagration that frightens the audience is nothing but an illusion, though this illusion is powerful enough to convince spectators of its absent reality to the extent that they sometimes flee from auditoria in great terror. In addition to creating fire scenes, new technology of lighting played a fundamental role in the spectacular theatre:

The spectacular display of mass and colour would have been impossible without advances in lighting technology. The various forms of lighting introduced through these advances had more or less the same objective: to throw more and brighter light upon the actor and the scene, to control the intensity and the area of lighting, and to extend its colour range. The arts of scene painting and costuming in the context of gas, limelight and

⁸³ Fitzgerald, *The World behind the Scenes*, 99.

⁸⁴ Jackson, 'Victorian and Edwardian Stagecraft: Techniques and Issues', 61.

⁸⁵ Frederick Lloyds, *Practical Guide to Scene-Painting and Painting in Distemper* (London: George Rowney & Co., 1875), 83.

electric light could not be the same as in the days of candlelight and oil lamps; better lighting also led to the development of new scenic and dress materials. Gaslight was used on stage in 1817, limelight in 1837, the electric carbon-arc in 1848, and the incandescent carbon-filament light in 1881. All these took some time to improve and perfect.⁸⁶

The fact that lighting was seminal in the theatre in Joyce's time further consolidates the connection between 'Circe' and the spectacular theatre, for its stage directions are replete with meticulous references to various kinds of lighting devices: '*their tunics bloodbright in a lampglow*' (U 15.60-61); '*Tommy Caffrey scrambles to a gaslamp*' (U 15.131); '*Bloom halts, sweated under the bright arclamp*' (U 15.150-51); '*In the cone of the searchlight behind the coalscuttle*' (U 15.2261); '*A skeleton judashand strangles the light. The green light wanes to mauve. The gasjet wails whistling*' (U 15.2277-78); '*Zoe runs to the chandelier and [. . .] adjusts the mantle*' (2281-82);⁸⁷ '*Virag truculent, his jowl set, stares at the lamp*' (U 15.2491).

Such textual traces further manifest the episode's meta-theatricality, in the sense that Joyce's stage directions expose the hidden mechanism of lighting behind visual spectacles and turn it from an invisible force into visible phenomena. In other words, 'Circe' is a spectacular meta-theatre that exposes all secrets behind its spectacles, or, metaphorically speaking, a prestidigitation that reveals all of its sleight-of-hand. In the meta-theatre of 'Circe', instead of being projected from *outside* the space where the plot unfolds, the sources of light are highly present *inside* that very space: Bloom feels the *heat* of the electric arclamp and sweats, whereas Zoe adjusts the gas mantle of the chandelier after the GASJET speaks its line: 'Pooah! Pfuuuuuu!' (U 15.2280). Lighting literally *plays* an important *role* in Circean spectacles. Intriguingly, these textual traces also reveal how references to theatrical lighting in 'Circe' are subtly connected with the manifestation of *spectres*: the apparition of spectres often looms lurid through a haze of darkening light. After Leopold Bloom follows Zoe Higgins and cross the threshold into Mrs Cohen's whorehouse, '*a morris of shuffling feet without body phantoms, all in a scrimmage higgledypiggledy*' (U 15.2045-46) in the

⁸⁶ Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre, 1850-1910*, 24.

⁸⁷ See 'mantle, n.', *OED Online*, Oxford University Press (2012), <http://www.oed.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/Entry/113712?rskey=yAn9ar&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>, accessed 20.04.11.: 'A fragile mesh covering fixed over a gas jet to give an incandescent light when heated; = *gas mantle*'.

chandelier's dim mauve light, and then a bizarre dialogue unfolds between Zoe, Kitty and Lynch:

ZOE

More light, Charley. (*she goes to the chandelier and turns the gas full cock*)

KITTY

(*peers at the gasjet*) What ails it tonight?

LYNCH

(*deeply*) Enter a ghost and hobgoblins (*U 15.2062-68*).

This passage reaffirms the strong link between lighting and spectral effects, but there were other methods to represent spectres. For instance, Joyce adopts a rather dated stage machinery, namely, a hidden lift on which the actors who played spectres 'ascended through a square hole in the floor and departed in the same way',⁸⁸ in his stage directions to conjure up the spectre of Mary Dedalus—'*Stephen's mother; emaciated, rises stark through the floor*' (*U 15.4157*)—and exorcise the spectre of Patrick Dignam—'*He worms down through a coalhole*' (*U 15.1255*). However, the most haunting spectral effect is the optical illusion that a hidden magic lantern projects upon a transparent screen, namely: phantasmagoria (Fig. 4.2). William Nicholson analyses the pre-cinematic mechanism of phantasmagoria meticulously:

After a short interval the lamp was drawn up, and the audience were in total darkness, succeeded by thunder and lighting; which last appearance was formed by the magic lathorn upon a thin cloth or screen, let down after the disappearance of the light, and consequently unknown to most of the spectators. These appearances were followed by figures of departed men, ghosts, skeletons, transmutations, &c. produced on the screen by the magic lanthorn on the other side, and moving their eyes, mouth, &c. by the well known contrivance of two or more sliders. The transformations are affected by moving the adjusting tube of the lanthorn out of focus, and changing the slider during the moment of the confused appearance.

It must be again remarked, that these figures appear without any surrounding circle of illumination, and that the spectators, having no previous view or knowledge of the screen, nor any visible object of comparison, are each left to imagine the distance according to their

⁸⁸ Percy Hetherington Fitzgerald, *Shakespearean Representation: Its Laws and Limits* (London: Elliot Stock, 1908), 34.



Fig. 4.2—A contemporary illustration of Robertson's 'Fantasmagorie', reproduced from *Marvellous Méliès*.

respective fancy. After a very short time of exhibiting the first figure, it was seen to contract gradually in all its dimensions, until it became extremely small and then vanished. This effect, as may easily be imagined, is produced by bringing the lanthorn nearer and nearer the screen, taking care at the same time to preserve the distinctness, and at last closing the aperture altogether: and the process being (except as to brightness) exactly the same as happens when visible objects become more remote, the mind is irresistably led to consider the figures as if they were receding to an immense distance.

Several figures of celebrated men were thus exhibited with some transformations; such as the head of Dr. Franklin being converted into a skull, and these were succeeded by phantoms, skeletons, and various terrific figures'.⁸⁹

Bearing Nicholson's description in mind, we may find numerous Circean stage directions to be *phantasmagoric* in its original techno-spectacular sense rather than in its later-derived psychological sense. There are abundant textual traces within 'Circe' that demonstrate magic-lantern-generated visual effects. For instance, a phantasmagoric transformation is depicted in the stage direction during Bloom's

⁸⁹ Nicholson, *A Journal of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and the Arts*, 148.

messianic scene: '[Bloom] contracts his face so as to resemble many historical personages, Lord Beaconsfields, Lord Byron, Wat Tyler, Moses of Egypt, Moses Maimonides, Moses Mendelssohn [. . .] Sherlock Holmes, Pasteur' (U 15.1844-49). Similarly, Shakespeare's transformation into Cunningham much resembles the phantasmagoric effect known as the transmutation: '*The face of Martin Cunningham, bearded, refeatures Shakespeare's beardless face*' (U 15.3854-55). Andrew Gibson also mentions the term *phantasmagoria* and argues that it 'denaturalizes and defamiliarizes everyday experience and allows us to see its (often grotesque) colonial dimension for the first time'.⁹⁰ Even if Gibson seems to regard *phantasmagoria* more as a figure of speech than as an actual stage mechanism when referring to it, the intriguing fact is that Joyce deliberately makes the appearance of Edward VII comically phantasmagoric in the following stage direction: 'EDWARD THE SEVENTH [. . .] *levitates over heaps of slain, in the garb and with the halo of Joking Jesus, a white jujube in his phosphorescent face*' (U 15.4475-77). If we are aware of the underlying purpose of Etienne-Gaspard Robertson's invention of phantasmagoria in 1797—which was to exorcise the haunting and violent images of the French Revolution from spectators' traumatic memory⁹¹—we are likely to see the signature of phantasmagoria that this very stage direction bears: the striking image of a ghostly king levitating over heaps of dead corpses was often seen in magic-lantern shows. Since the sanguinary slaughter during the revolution traumatised the collective memory and gave stage to those ghost-seers who claimed to see the phantoms of the slain, producers of phantasmagoria responded to the contemporary obsession with spectres and stated that 'the new entertainment would serve the cause of public enlightenment by exposing the frauds of charlatans and supposed ghost-seers' and that '[a]ncient superstition would be eradicated when everyone realized that so-called apparitions were in fact only optical illusions'.⁹² In this vein, Edward VII's phantasmagoric apparition upon the heaps of the dead functions as Joyce's intended exorcism of the British sovereignty and threatening terror that have been colonising Irish minds; it is a gesture of defiance and mockery with which Joyce tries to make

⁹⁰ Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge*, 188.

⁹¹ Terry Castle, 'Phantasmagoria: Spectral Technology and the Metaphorics of Modern Reverie', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 15 (1988): 26-61 (30).

⁹² *Ibid.* (30).

fun of the king and the Britishness he symbolises in front of his imaginary audience, with a jocular non-diegetic voice whispering from outside the stage: the king is nothing but a *transmuted* clown. More explicitly speaking, the Circean phantasmagoria carries out an exorcism not merely by manifesting the spectre of colonialism through what Gibson calls denaturalisation and defamiliarisation, but more importantly by *theatricalising* real events and traumatic memories into something comical and imaginary, as if these events and memories were no longer *real*.

Being components of the phantasmagoric meta-theatre that represents apparitions only to exorcise them and coronates the king only to abolish him, Circean stage directions not merely display these effects of ghostly transmutation but, more importantly, reveal such machinery that operates to create phantasmagoria as the hidden projector and the invisible screen: 'Asia Minor, slides of which will now be shown. [. . .] *The image of the lake of Kinnereth with blurred cattle cropping in silver haze is projected on the wall*' (U 15.982-87); 'Bloom surveys uncertainly the three whores then gazes at the veiled mauve light, hearing the everflying moth' (U 15.2405-6). In addition to mingling the self-exposing phantasmagoric effects that exorcise spectres from spectators' unconsciousness into its hallucinatory stage directions, 'Circe' also turns the Blakean Armageddon into a comical spectacle,⁹³ with the stage direction demystifying the visual wonder: '*Along an infinite invisible tightrope taut from zenith to nadir the End of the World, a twoheaded octopus in gillie's kilts, busby and tartan filibegs, whirls through the murk, head over heels, in the form of the Three Legs of Man*' (U 15.2176-79). Joyce ridicules the Biblical apocalypse by representing the significant event with a grotesque literalisation of *deus ex machina*: a crane is used to lower the actor in an octopus-shaped props who plays THE END OF THE WORLD and speaks '*with a Scotch accent*' (U 15.2181) onto the stage. Once again, such a device of *deus ex machina* here is to make spectators *not* believe what they see; the theatrical parody of the Armageddon functions as the secular removal of eschatological anxiety.

⁹³ See William Blake, *Milton: A Poem* (London: W. Blake, 1804), plate 34:32-34: 'Four Universes round the Universe of Los remain Chaotic, / Four intersecting Globes, & the Egg form'd World of Los / In midst, stretching from Zenith to Nadir in midst of Chaos'.

Now that many *spectacular* and *spectral* effects in 'Circe' have been debunked and explained away, the reason why Joyce chooses to locate the hallucinatory episode within a theatrical space becomes clear: the theatre with all its special visual effects creates a world that not merely resembles the reality we experience when awake, but also reflects our unconscious desire and fear within dreams. In other words, spectators experience an uncanniness within the theatrical space because they are exposed to an illusionary world which simultaneously *mimes* and *undermines* reality. Phantasmagoria itself is therefore a perfect allegory of theatricality, in the sense that it visualises the imaginary spectres and makes them seem more real than ever only to exorcise them from spectators' haunted minds.

4.3.ii THE FASHION SHOW IN 'CIRCE'

Among numerous technologically-generated phantasmogorias, a prototypical fashion show arguably occupies the central stage of the Circean theatre. In 'The Fashion Show in *Ulysses*' David Galef calculates that 'Joyce provides over ninety elaborately described costumes, mostly male attire on men and female attire on women, many in quick-change on the same characters',⁹⁴ and attempts to answer what this fabulous fashion show in 'Circe' signifies. His psychoanalytic approach to this question does generate fascinating interpretations: the fashion show in 'Circe' fulfills Joyce's two related desires, namely, 'a wish to be clothed, in the solid bourgeois sense; and the greater wish to adorn the blank page with raiment'.⁹⁵ Galef's psychoanalytic diagnosis manifests Joyce's unconscious desire hidden underneath such biographical traces as correspondences wherein he exposes his fascination with fashionable items and his meticulousness with all details. Case No. 1—in a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver, Joyce lists his collection of fashion items:

The grey of evening balancing the gold of morning and the black of something balancing the white of something else, the egg probably. So I had a jacket made in Munich of a green stuff I bought in Salzburg and the moment I got back to Paris I bought a pair of black and grey shoes and a grey shirt; and I had a pair of grey trousers and I found a black tie and I advertised for a pair of green braces and Lucia gave me a grey silk

⁹⁴ Galef, 'The Fashion Show in *Ulysses*', (420).

⁹⁵ Ibid. (426).

handkerchief and the girl found a black sombrero and that completed the picture (*SL*, 338).

Case No. 2—Joyce wrote another letter to Pound to explain why he decided to travel back to Dublin, revealing that he was in desperate need of new clothes during the course of his writing of ‘*Circe*’ and that he thought he ‘ought to go to Dublin to buy them’:

The second reason is: clothes. I have none and can’t buy any. The other members of the family are still provided with decent clothes bought in Switzerland. I wear my son’s boots (which are two sizes too large) and his castoff suit which is too narrow in the shoulders, other articles belong or belonged to my brother and to my brother-in-law. I shall not be able to buy anything here. A suit of clothes, they tell me, costs 600-800 francs. A shirt costs 35 francs. I can just live with what I have but no more. (*SL*, 253)

These two biographical cases may support Galef’s hypothesis that Joyce is a dandy that his fascination with clothes leads him to play on the textual representation of costumes in ‘*Circe*’. However, Galef may miss the mark when he chooses not to further excavate the contextual connection between the Circean fashion show and Joyce’s contemporary popular theatre; Galef’s presupposition that ‘plays generally *feature actors in costume* [my italics]’ can be anachronistic to a certain extent,⁹⁶ for not until the late-Victorian evolution of theatrical lighting could actors and their costumes be effectively displayed. More explicitly speaking, as a new cultural industry that would powerfully integrate fashion marketing and theatrical entertainment during the very period when Joyce was writing ‘*Circe*’, the millinery stage is definitely too essential to be overlooked.

If the fact that Galef regards ‘*Circe*’ as a fashion show without recognising its subtle connection with the turn-of-the-century theatrical spectacle hints at critics’ unawareness of the episode’s keen response to the technological evolution in the theatre, then such an unawareness is further verified by critics’ failure to realise that Joyce’s contemporary theatre was absolutely capable of staging the dazzling Circean fashion show. For instance, when examining how such theatrical adaptations as *Ulysses in Nighttown* and *Circe* managed to represent Joyce’s stage directions on

⁹⁶ Ibid. (420).

costume changes, José Laners concludes that 'staging all of [these costume changes] properly is an impossibility' and that 'having the narrator describe them is a possible solution'.⁹⁷ While making these conclusions, Laners may be completely unconscious of the fact that the large-scale display of costumes was an essential spectacle in the late-Victorian popular theatre. In fact, the Christmas pantomime that Joyce alludes to in 'Ithaca'—*Sinbad the Sailor* (*U* 17.423)⁹⁸—'used 300 different costume designs' within one single procession in its 1882 London production at Drury Lane.⁹⁹ In other words, the Circean fashion show is far from being an impossibility: the late-Victorian popular theatre not merely produced what Joyce's stage directions depict on an much more tremendous scale—even the carnivalesque procession at the inauguration of Leopold the First (*U* 15.1398-449) is hopelessly outdone—but also regarded the expensive fashionable spectacle as a highly profitable investment that would boost box-office.¹⁰⁰

These historical traces reveal one paradox: while regarding the impossible Circean fashion show as a parody that distorts theatrical representation and embodies Joyce's revenge on the late-Victorian popular theatre, critics may have failed to distinguish Joyce's *neutral* imitation from his *malicious* parody in the first place. A question is thus derived: does Joyce really distort his contemporary theatrical representation with the Circean parade, or does he in fact manage to represent his contemporary theatrical scene that had always been a technologically-generated distortion of reality itself? To answer the question, this section aims to recontextualise the Circean fashion show into the turn-of-the-century popular theatre, where such dominant fashion designers as Lucille and Paul Poiret adopted a new strategy to market their commodities by exhibiting them on newly-invented

⁹⁷ José Laners, *Missed Understandings: A Study of Stage Adaptations of the Works of James Joyce* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988), 107.

⁹⁸ See Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 572: 'The first edition of the pantomime *Sinbad* made its Dublin debut 26 December 1892; the second, 30 January 1893. In both editions the sixth scene was advertised as "Grand Ballet of Diamonds and Serpentine Dance".'

⁹⁹ Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre, 1850-1910*, 86.

¹⁰⁰ Similar to Hollywood's big-budget films in our time, pantomime was an extremely expensive business and the most costly form of Victorian theatre. See *Ibid.*, 86.

actresses-models in sexually-charged and theatricalised fashion houses.¹⁰¹ Such a recontextualisation may also demystify the dreaminess of ‘Circe’, because it helps us to see how Joyce elaborately turns his contemporary theatrical events into day’s residues that are scattered all over the Circean dreamscape. On the Circean stage, the juxtaposition of such incongruent costumes as oriental ‘*red fez, cadí’s dress coat*’ (*U* 15.728) and dandy ‘*morning dress, outbreast pocket [. . .] creased lavender trousers and patent boots*’ (*U* 15.815-16) is often seen within one single procession, and therefore tempts critics to read the episode so venturesomely as a ‘Self-Opener theater which [. . .] decomposes each and everyone into his several selves, breaks the real into fragments and calls on the multiplicity of the entire pieces to speak’.¹⁰² However, Joyce’s seemingly misplaced pastiche of costumes in fact corresponds with what he saw on his contemporary stage—e.g., society drama that features the latest fashion of haute couture, pantomime that features oriental and exotic costumes, etc.—and, from this particular perspective, the grotesque incongruity of Circean costumes should be regarded as a Cubist collage which rearranges such quotidian fragments as newspaper or advertisement, and, by so doing, creates obscurity and polyvalence. It is by pressing costumes that originally belonged to different theatrical dimensions onto the same textual plane of ‘Circe’ that Joyce creates a surrealistic effect of parallax. Therefore, if we aim to see through the parallaxic illusion of ‘Circe’, we have to put these fragments back to their right places.

As has been explored in 4.3.i, new lighting technology had transformed the late-Victorian theatre into a locus of spectacle, and such a transformation played an essential role in the development of costume design. On the one hand, more advanced lighting technology—for instance, the introduction of the focused limelight—not merely illuminated every minutiae of actors’ costumes but at the same time exposed their imperfection, and thus both enabled and forced costumiers to experiment with new designs to respond to the theatrical evolution; on the other hand, materials that would reflect or refract light—for example, gilt foil, glass,

¹⁰¹ See Kaplan and Stowell, *Theatre and Fashion*, 116: ‘As in the nineties, Lucile’s most significant innovations were attempts to provide a specifically theatrical context for the selling of women’s clothes’. Also see *Ibid.*, 119: ‘Lucile’s displays [. . .] used the paraphernalia of stage representation—ramp, curtains, wings, limelight, and music—to establish a voyeuristic bond between mannequin and spectator. The process was intended to draw a mixed audience of male and female viewers, the former lured to Lucile’s premises by the prospect of inspecting flesh as well as fabric’.

¹⁰² Hélène Cixous and Carol Bové, ‘At Circe’s, or the Self-Opener’, *boundary 2*, vol. 3 (1975): 387-97 (387).

crystal, spangles, bright satins, plush, silks, brocades, velvets, silvery armour, shields and helmets—were commonly used by costumiers to create visual spectacles out of the interplay between rich fabrics and floating light.¹⁰³ If we are conscious of these contextual facts while scrutinising 'Circe', we might find such a trend in costume designs to be highly visible in its stage directions, for Joyce has sewn numerous shiny materials into Circean costumes: '*Signor Maffei, passionpale, in liontamer's costume with diamond studs in his shirtfront*' (U 15.703-4); '*a comb of brilliants and panache of osprey in her hair*' (U 15.1015-16); '*The very reverend Canon O'Hanlon in cloth of gold cope elevates*' (U 15.1128); '*They rustle, flutter upon his garments, alight, bright giddy flecks, silvery sequins*' (U 15.1275-76); '*Bloom assumes a mantle of cloth of gold and puts on a ruby ring*' (U 15.1491-92); '*the Koh-i-Noor diamond*' (U 15.1499-500); '*in papal zouave's uniform, steel cuirasses as breastplate, armplates, thighplates, legplates*' (U 15.1853-84). Such textual traces not merely reveal that those tiny shiny fashion items (such as *a comb of brilliants* and *diamond studs*) became the most desired objects under spectators' ardent gaze within the technologically illuminated theatrical space, but also echo the rustling whispers among theatre-goers, costumiers, and couturiers who were more obsessed with how actors *dressed up* than what they performed. The fact that actors became living coat-hangers whose main function was to advertise costumiers' new collections is manifest in Circean stage directions, which sometimes put more emphasis on how characters should be dressed than how they should act:

BLOOM

(in youth's smart blue Oxford suit with white vestslips, narrowshouldered, in brown Alpine hat, wearing gent's sterling silver Waterbury keyless watch and double curb Albert with seal attached, one side of him coated with stiffening mud) (U 15.268-72).

BLOOM

(squire of dames, in dinner jacket with wateredsilk facings, blue masonic badge in his buttonhole, black bow and mother-of-pearl studs, a prismatic champagne glass tilted in his hand) (U 15.449-52).

BLOOM

(in an oatmeal sporting suit, a sprig of woodbine in the lapel, tony buff shirt, shepherd's plaid Saint Andrew's cross scarfie, white spats, fawn

¹⁰³ Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre, 1850-1910*, 25.

dustcoat on his arm, tawny red brogues, fieldglasses in bandolier and a grey billycock hat) (U 15.535-39).

These three stage directions exclusively deal with the details of Bloom's costumes ('*a prismatic champagne glass tilted in his hand*' being the only exception that refers to Bloom's gesture) and well debunk the millinery stage's concealed scheme, which is to manipulate theatrical performances as a marketing strategy to boost sales. If we further examine these stage directions and their contexts, we may find it difficult to tell whether Bloom's costumes serve the purpose of story-telling or the plot developed around Bloom is nothing but a tool that serves the ends of embedded marketing, because the surreal reunion scene of Bloom and Mrs Breen is overloaded with fashion items—'*a purple Napoleon hat with an amber halfmoon*' (U 15.465); '*a onepiece evening frock executed in moonlight blue*' (U 15.471); '*three ladies' hats*' (U 15.499); '*smart Saxe tailormade, white velours hat and spider veil*' (U 15.543)—to the extent that the *raison d'être* of the entire scene seems merely to advertise as many attires and accessories to the audience as possible. This reading is further solidified when Bloom's spoken lines repeatedly direct the audience's attention to the outfits that Mrs Breen wears: 'you had on that new hat of white velours with a surround of molefur that Mrs Hayes advised you to buy because it was marked down to nineteen and eleven' (U 15.548-51); 'it didn't suit you one quarter as well as the other ducky little tammy toque with the bird of paradise wing in it that I admired on you' (U 15.556-57).

Another minute textual trace provides us an intriguing thread to further scrutinise the strong connection between 'Circe' and the newly-born millinery stage: '*Under the umbrella appears Mrs Cunningham in merry widow hat*' (U 15.3856-57). Even though Mrs Cunningham's image here is rather grotesque than fashionable, Joyce's reference to *merry widow hat* arguably reveals his awareness of the new alliance between fashion and theatre. *The Merry Widow* was Edward Morton's English adaptation of the operetta *Die lustige Witwe* by the Austro-Hungarian composer Franz Lehár, and George Edwardes's original London production in 1907 took Lily Elsie (Fig. 4.3) to 'Lucile's Hanover Square shop for a complete make-over'.¹⁰⁴ By playing the title role in this enthusiastically-received production, Elsie became an

¹⁰⁴ Kaplan and Stowell, *Theatre and Fashion*, 115.



Fig. 4.3—Lily Elsie in the *Merry Widow* hat, 1907, reproduced from *Victorian & Edwardian Fashion: A Photographic Survey*.

Edwardian fashion icon, and this enormously successful collaboration established Lucile's position as London's first internationally renowned couturière, and created 'a craze for slit skirts and black hats with broad brims and bird-of-paradise plumes'.¹⁰⁵ In *The Glass of Fashion*, Cecil Beaton recollects Lucile's glamorous designs for *The Merry Widow*:

The leading lady's gowns were inevitably made by Lucile and were masterpieces of intricate workmanship. [. . .] [She] worked with soft materials, delicately sprinkling them with bead or sequin embroidery, with cobweb lace insertions, true lovers' knots, and garlands of minute

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 116.

roses. Her colour sense was so subtle that the delicacy of detail could scarcely be seen at a distance, though the effect she created was of an indefinable shimmer. Sometimes, however, she introduced rainbow effects into a sash and would incorporate quite vivid mauves and greens, perhaps even a touch of shrimp-pink or orange. Occasionally, if she wanted to be deliberately outrageous, she introduced a bit of black chiffon or black velvet and, just to give the coup de grace, outlined it with diamonds. [. . .] In her heyday, Lucile's artistry was unique, her influence enormous.¹⁰⁶

Noticeably, numerous fashion items and fabrics in these comments on *The Merry Widow* also make their appearance in 'Circe', such as the cobweb lace and the black hat decorated with bird of paradise that Mrs Breen wears. From this perspective, Joyce was presumably familiar with the latest London fashion that Lucile created, despite the fact that he never makes any explicit reference to her name in *Ulysses*. Still, Joyce himself hints at the intricate interconnection between theatrical entertainment and fashion industry by—metaphorically speaking—surrounding his characters with covert listening devices that broadcast their private backstage chat on fashion trades to spectators. For instance, spectators overhear Bloom's conversation with Bella Cohen when he '*bends over her hoof and with gentle fingers draws out and in her laces*' (U 15.2811-12):

I can make a true black knot. Learned when I served my time and worked the mail order line for Kellett's. [. . .] To be a shoefitter in Manfield's was my love's young dream, the darling joys of sweet buttonhooking, to lace up crisscrossed to kneelength the dressy kid footwear satinlined, so incredibly impossibly small, of Clyde Road ladies. Even their wax model Raymonde I visited daily to admire her cobweb hose and stick of rhubarb toe, as worn in Paris (U 15.2805-18).

When mentioning David Kellett's milliner shop at 19-21 Great George's Street South and Manfield's fashionable footwear shop at 78-79 Grafton Street, Bloom the advertising agent grasps this very chance to implant these brand names into spectators' consciousness.

Bloom's embedded marketing, however, is not unprecedented; on the very contrary, it was a common phenomenon on Joyce's contemporary millinery stage. As Kaplan and Stowell observe, '[b]y the century's end, a select group of West End

¹⁰⁶ Cecil Beaton, *The Glass of Fashion* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1954), 32-34.

theatres had themselves become part of the London Season, perpetuating in their very architecture some of the tension between public space and privileged enclosure that helped to define late Victorian society'.¹⁰⁷ The alliance between theatre and fashion continued to prosper towards the Edwardian era, and Lucile's 1909 piece *Seven Ages of Woman* is arguably among the most flagrant cases: loosely based on Shakespeare's lines, this seven-act play flamboyantly displayed different phases of a society dame's life-cycle and their corresponding garments in front of an audience including 'the glamorous Queen Marie of Romania, the Queen of Spain, Princess Patricia of Connaught, and virtually every smart society woman in London'.¹⁰⁸ According to Meredith Etherington-Smith and Jeremy Pilcher's account, Lucile opened up this full-scale theatrical fashion show with

'The Schoolgirl' which had but two dresses (one called 'The Beginning of Knowledge', the other 'The Awakening of Youth')[;] the show then progressed through 'The Debutante', 'The Fiancée' (a large scene, reflecting the importance of the trousseaux in Lucy's business), 'The Bride', 'The Wife', 'The Hostess' (another big scene), and finally 'The Dowager' who was only allowed four rather subdued ensembles with names like 'Eventide' and of course 'Twilight'.

It was 'The Hostess' (in other words, the married woman who entertained, was entertained and who could indulge in the luxury of a lover) who came in for the full hot-house Lucile treatment.¹⁰⁹

Similar to *Seven Ages of Woman*, 'Circe' also displays different phases of Bloom's life-cycle with various costumes. We see Bloom as a high school boy '*in nondescript juvenile grey and black striped suit [. . .] white tennis shoes, bordered stockings with turnover tops and a red schoolcap with badge*' (U 15.3316-18); as a young man '*in youth's smart blue Oxford suit with white vestslips*' (U 15.269); as a dandy gentleman '*in dinner jacket with wateredsilk facings*' (U 15.450); so on and so forth. Joyce's giving Bloom the role as a male model who demonstrates men's fashion and making him a male counterpart of Lucile's beautiful mannequins suggests not merely that London fashion had permeated into Dubliners' consciousness via the British invasion

¹⁰⁷ Kaplan and Stowell, *Theatre and Fashion*, 11.

¹⁰⁸ Meredith Etherington-Smith and Jeremy Pilcher, *The 'It' Girls: Lucy, Lady Duff Gordon, the Couturière 'Lucile' and Elinor Glyn, Romantic Novelist* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1986), 90.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 90.

of millinery plays, but also that theatricalised fashion had diffused from playhouses into both men and women's quotidian life.

'Circe' faithfully captures an Edwardian reality in which fashion followers imitated the latest fad demonstrated on the millinery stage and self-consciously turned themselves into spectacles that outdid their peers. 'Circe' is a dramatic embodiment of the Edwardian *Zeitgeist* that celebrated theatricality, spectacle and fashion. With these historical traces having been excavated, the extravagant fashion show in 'Circe' now appears more *realistic* than *fantastic*; or it should be put this way: the Circean fashion show is rooted in an era wherein people were so fascinated with fashion and theatricality that they integrated the fantastic into everyday reality.

4.4 'THAT NIGHTMARE GAVE YOU A BACK KICK'

In *The Odyssey*, Circe transforms Odysseus' crew into swines with her foul magic; in his modern revision of this Homeric episode, Joyce simultaneously transforms his Dubliners with theatrical special effects and exposes that such transformations are nothing but visual illusions created by hidden magic lanterns and quick change of costumes. *Whether 'Circe' is stageable or not* should no longer be regarded as a superficial question that merely cares about the theatre's technological capability to create spectacles; on the very contrary, it is these technologically-generated spectacles that make seemingly impossible scenes stageable and define a new theatricalism in Joyce's time: the aim of the theatre is not to mime and represent reality, but to proliferate phantasmagorias that haunt the unconscious of spectators with the spectres of commodities.

Andrew Gibson argues that the parenthetical structure of 'Circe'—which begins with the two British redcoats who march through the nighttown and ends with their malicious confrontation with Stephen—suggests the British omnipresence in the darkest and the deepest corner of the Dublin unconscious.¹¹⁰ However, what enclose the gigantic Circean body are actually two phantasmagoric stage directions, which set the framework for a dazzling display of technologically-generated spectacles that

¹¹⁰ As far as the historical background of British redcoats' presence in Dublin's nighttown around 1904 is concerned, see Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge*, 184: 'Army enrolment in Ireland had dropped markedly with the onset of the Boer War. To make recruitment easier, the Army therefore dropped its rule of obliging the men to sleep in barracks. According to [Maud] Gonne, O'Connell Street was soon full of redcoats walking with their girls'.



Fig. 4.4—Spirit photograph by Edouard Buguet (ca. 1870), reproduced from *The Female Thermometer*.

fascinated turn-of-the-century spectators. Private Carr and Private Compton's presence in the nighttown symbolises the intrusion of British military violence, whereas the phantasmagoric form of 'Circe' suggests something even more ominous: the unconscious of Joyce's *Dubliners* has been colonised by British popular cultures to the extent that even their dream-thoughts are largely composed of residues of imported plays and latest London fashion. The colonised unconscious is best embodied by the phantasmagoric manifestation of Rudy's spectre at the coda of

‘Circe’: ‘Against the dark wall a figure appears slowly, a fairy boy of eleven, a changeling, kidnapped, dressed in an Eton suit with glass shoes and a little bronze helmet, holding a book in his hand’ (U 15.4956-59). It is significant that Rudy’s manifestation is much modelled on the visual effect of magic lantern shows and that the imaginary spectre of Rudy is dressed in the Eton suit, because this spectral image not only functions as a final synthesis of fashion and phantasmagoria but also reminds us of ‘three forgotten forms of photography’, namely, ‘spirit photography, fairy photography, and memorial photography’.¹¹¹

As R. Brandon Kershner points out, all these three forms of photography evoke the uncanny by juxtaposing the dead, the imaginary, and the living; an even more intriguing aspect about these three genres is that they create the same optical and theatrical illusion as the phantasmagoria does. When scrutinising the uncanny nature of the phantasmagoria, Terry Castle is attracted by a spirit photograph that Edouard Buguet took in the 1860s, and she describes it as follows:

[t]he image is truly phantasmagorical—and not only in the sense that the camera, like a magic lantern, has realized the phantom-woman in a curiously literal way. From one perspective this carefully staged double exposure (if that is what it is) is a kind of self-reflexive commentary on the uncanny nature of photography, the ultimate ghost-producing technology of the nineteenth century. But the image is phantasmagorical in another sense, in that it is also a representation of reverie itself—a fantastically exalted picture of what one ‘sees’ when one thinks. It strikes us as comical, perhaps, because it makes the spectral drama of psychic life almost too obvious; it borders on the perverse. Yet, in this very theatricality, it also evokes something unmistakably familiar—something both inside and outside, real and unreal, the luminous figure of thought itself.¹¹²

In other words, both phantasmagoria and apparitional photography theatricalise the unconscious and visualise the invisible by means of technology. The spirit photograph taken by Buguet—no matter how *real* it appeared to his contemporary spectators—is nothing more than a simulacrum. The fact that the female spectre that exists both inside and outside the man’s mind is an optical trick created via the carefully staged double exposure that leads to an overlap of the actor playing the man

¹¹¹ Kershner, *The Culture of Joyce’s Ulysses*, 25.

¹¹² Castle, ‘Phantasmagoria’, (60-61)

and the actress playing the spectre reveals a paradox: the phantasmagoric photograph is not so much an embodiment of the haunted unconscious as a gimmick that transforms the unconscious fear into a commodity, namely, a kitschy photomontage *theatrically* juxtaposing on the same chemically-developed plane the actor and the artificial spectre that rather haunts spectators who buy the photo than troubling the actor's unconscious thought. Terry Castle's observation on how the phantasmagoria—whose origin is a technologically-generated spectacle invented to simulate the imaginary spectre—has gradually, and paradoxically, become 'translated into a metaphor for the imagery produced by the mind' would help us to further elaborate on the connection between 'Circe' and the phantasmagoria.¹¹³ Castle observes that 'nineteenth-century empiricists frequently figured the mind as a kind of magic lantern, capable of projecting the image-traces of past sensation onto the internal "screen" or backcloth of the memory' and that '[t]o invoke the supposedly mechanistic analogy was subliminally to import the language of the uncanny into the realm of mental function. The mind became a phantom-zone'.¹¹⁴ What is intriguing about her observation is that the mechanism and structure of the unconscious are often understood analogically—e.g., the unconscious functions *as* a magic lantern/ a mystic writing pad/ language/ etc.—and eventually replaced by these analogical vehicles. That is to say, people's understanding of the unconscious is to a great extent conditioned by their contemporary *vehicles*. In this vein, that Joyce depicts Rudy's manifestation at the coda of 'Circe' as Bloom's phantasmagoric delusion can be interpreted as being modelled, either intentionally or unintentionally, upon the very turn-of-the-century analogical vehicle.

The subtle connection between the phantasmagoria and 'Circe' not merely resides in that the former has been conceived as an analogical vehicle for the unconscious, but also resides in that the Circean dreamscape is a commodified space which anticipates Benjamin's conceptualisation of the phantasmagoria in the *Arcades Project*. If Benjamin is fascinated with the etymological connection between *phantasmagoria* and *allegory*, Margaret Cohen helps to reveal the nuance in their etymologies that fascinates him:

¹¹³ Ibid. (30).

¹¹⁴ Ibid. (30).

Allegory's etymology implies the possibility of redemption and as such contrasts with the etymology of the phantasmagoria, which substitutes ghosts for the *allos* that signifies allegory's transcendence. Appearing as allegory's demonic *Doppelgänger*, the phantasmagoria remains firmly rooted in the haunted realm of commercial exchange. Its etymology thus well expresses Benjamin's conclusions about the commodity origins of 19th-century Parisian hell and about the inescapability of this hell.¹¹⁵

In other words, the phantasmagoria, for Benjamin, is a perfect metaphor for the modern commodity world that is eternally haunted by its origin within the magic theatre of the Parisian arcades. In 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century: Exposé of 1939', Benjamin sees the arcades built in the early 19th century as a phantasmagoric theatre of iron construction and artificial illumination that anticipates the world exhibitions, 'whose link to the entertainment industry is significant'.¹¹⁶ It is noticeable that the industrial image of the Crystal-Palace-like glass and iron construction strikes both Benjamin and Joyce's minds, and makes its appearance in *The Arcades Project* and 'Circe'. The textual fact that Joyce puts the new Bloomusalem—'a colossal ediface with crystal roof' (U 15.1548)—on the Circean stage consolidates the reading of 'Circe' as a commodified space, in the sense that he conjures up the very monumental emblem that symbolises the arrival of a new era of commodities and spectacles. Under the crystal roof of the new Bloomusalem, 'Circe' displays demonised commodities that talk, walk, and remind us of Karl Marx's phantasmagoric metaphor of the commodified table which 'not only stands with its feet on the ground, but, in relation to all other commodities, [stands] on its head, and evolves out of its wooden brain grotesque ideas, far more wonderful than if it were to begin dancing of its own free will'.¹¹⁷ The theoretical significance behind the Circean display of commodities is further explored in *The Arcades Project*:

Our investigation proposes to show how, as a consequence of this reifying representation of civilization, the new forms of behavior and the new economically and technologically based creations that we owe to the nineteenth century enter the universe of a phantasmagoria.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Cohen, 'Walter Benjamin's Phantasmagoria', (96).

¹¹⁶ Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, 14.

¹¹⁷ Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (1867), 163-64.

¹¹⁸ Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, 14.

For Benjamin, the new economically and technologically based creations, namely, *commodities*, enter the realm of a phantasmagoria and become phantasmagorias themselves. According to Michael Jennings, in Benjamin's last phase 'the category of phantasmagoria largely replaces the commodity as analytical tool', and 'the notion of phantasmagoria is tied to notions of collective psychology'.¹¹⁹ In other words, commodities as phantasmagorias are depicted as dream images in the flâneur's slumber, and *The Arcades Project* immerses itself into the luxurious bourgeois dreamscape only to awaken modern dreamers from the ironic utopia of capitalism.

Benjamin's ambiguous feelings towards the modern commodity culture are shared by Joyce. The fact that phantasmagoric spectacles and haute couture are not only the embodiments of late-Victorian and Edwardian theatricalism but also Britain's cultural and economic invasions makes Joyce's stance even more ambiguous. Such a dilemma is exemplified by Bloom. In his Circean dream, Bloom, on the one hand, accuses capitalists of manipulating technology to exploit labourers: '[m]achines is their cry, their chimera, their panacea. Laboursaving apparatuses, supplanters, bugbears, manufactured monsters for mutual murder, hideous hobgoblins produced by a horde of capitalistic lusts upon our prostituted labour' (*U* 15.1391-94). On the other hand, he is nonetheless fascinated with all gadgets and fashion items produced by these very machines which he attacks. Even though Andrew Gibson argues that Joyce fills the Circean dream with British discourses, commodities, and popular cultures only to overthrow their dominance with a Bakhtinian carnival, in which "'Circe" repeatedly gives an Irish inflection to English culture',¹²⁰ Irish cultures have already been contaminated by British influences in the first place before taking the carnivalesque revenge.

When Bloom sees the phantasmagoric manifestation of Rudy's spectre in an Eton suit at the end of 'Circe', an impossibility is suggested: even if he knows it is a dream, he is too haunted to wake up. Joyce, being fascinated with modern spectacles, may have created a phantasmagoric fashion show so spectacular that his spectators, or perhaps even himself, can no longer be sure whether it aims to carry out an exorcism or provoke a demonic possession.

¹¹⁹ Michael Jennings, 'On the Banks of a New Lethe: Commodification and Experience in Benjamin's Baudelaire Book', in *Benjamin Now: Critical Encounters with the Arcades Project*, ed. Kevin McLaughlin and Philip Rosen (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003), 96.

¹²⁰ Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge*, 203.

CHAPTER 5

'HE DOESNT SMEAR ALL MY GOOD DRAWERS': MOLLY'S *CORPS ÉCRIVANT* BENEATH EDWARDIAN UNDIES

I really can't write. Nora is trying on a pair of drawers at the wardrobe. Excuse me (*SL* 44).

—James Joyce

I am going to leave the last word with Molly Bloom—the final episode *Penelope* being written through her thoughts and body Poldy being then asleep (*SL* 274).

—James Joyce

J'observe mon corps – car c'est de corps qu'on va parler – la position du corps.¹

—Jacques Derrida

L'usage du pantalon dans la toilette des femmes ne se perd pas dans la nuit des temps.²

—Bertall

The beginning of all Wisdom is to look fixedly on Clothes [. . .] till they became *transparent*.³

—Thomas Carlyle

A piece of lingerie can be seen as an optical machine that screens out the beam of light escaping from the surface of the naked female body, and thus prevents the escaping light from projecting a reconstruction of the desired objects on the retina of the one who gazes.⁴ Simply said, a piece of lingerie keeps naked body-parts from being seen. Intriguingly, the micro-spectacle of a women wearing lingerie appears to

¹ Jacques Derrida, '« Entre le corps écrivant et l'écriture... » Entretien avec Daniel Ferrer', *Genesis*, vol. 17 (2001): 59-72 (60). My translation: 'I observe my body—for it is the body that we're going to talk about—the position of the body'.

² Quoted in Pierre Dufay, *Le Pantalon Féminin: Un Chapitre inédit de l'Histoire du Costume* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles Parisiens, 1916), 2. My translation: 'The use of knickers in women's fashion is never lost in the mist of time'.

³ Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus: The Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1836), 52.

⁴ A piece of lingerie is regarded as a *machine* here because it interrupts the flow of light. See Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 38: 'every machine functions as a break in the flow in relation to the machine to which it is connected'.

be erotic because of such invisibility, and Mrs Eric Pritchard, the Edwardian fashion guru, has made the observation as follows: 'I must say that among the better class of Englishwomen their lingerie (or ling-ur-ie as it is called in "the vernacular") leaves much to be desired. It is in the details "invisible" that refinement is expressed'.⁵ The fact that lingerie enhances female bodies' sexual allure through creating an opaque quality to it is arguably parallel to Joyce's writing strategy of 'Penelope': the naked body of the text is covered up by a muslin-like opacity beneath which punctuation marks become invisible. To interpret the opaqueness of the Penelopean textual body as a *lingerie effect* isn't as willful as it seems, for the 'text/texture/textile metaphor has been a common trope of poststructuralist and feminist criticism'.⁶ Margaret Mills Harper has recognised Joyce's loaded references to women's fabrics and the kinetic gesture of dressing/undressing as seminal themes in 'Penelope', whereas she chooses not to 'consider clothing in primarily cultural or historical terms, as a sign of consumption or costume', but to 'look at fabric in the *Odyssey*, that well-worn text with which to dress interpretations of *Ulysses*'.⁷ Since critics scarcely scrutinise Molly's underwear from a material perspective (for instance, are Molly's drawers *open-crotch* or *closed-crotch*?), this chapter aims to pick up the very thread that critics have let loose and re-examine Molly's underwear within the context of Edwardian commodity culture.

The textual fact that miscellaneous pieces of lingerie (as well as loads of licentious sexual activities) permeate Molly's nocturnal thoughts is often regarded as evidence for the argument that 'Penelope' consists of Molly's stream of consciousness (or, in Franco Moretti's term, stream of unconsciousness⁸), because her indecent references should have been censored and repressed by the Freudian psychic apparatus of the super-ego in a waking state of mind. However, during the

⁵ Pritchard and Le Quesne, *The Cult of Chiffon (With illustrations by Rose Le Quesne)*, 9-10.

⁶ Margaret Mills Harper, "'Taken in Drapery": Dressing the Narrative in the *Odyssey* and "Penelope"', in *Molly Blooms: A Polylogue on 'Penelope' and Cultural Studies*, ed. Richard Pearce (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 239.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 237.

⁸ See Franco Moretti, *Signs Taken for Wonders: Essays in the Sociology of Literary Forms*, trans. Susan Fischer, David Forgacs, and David Miller (London: Verso, 1983), 195: 'Far from being the expression of an "interior freedom" [. . .], stream of consciousness indicates that the individual is enslaved by arcane and uncontrollable forces: stream of *unconsciousness* would be a better definition, and though this technique does not coincide with the psychic domain that Freud defined as "unconscious", it is clear that both enact the function of emphasizing a discontinuity within the individual psyche'.

Edwardian era women's lingerie were no longer kept secret within nocturnal fantasies and became a popular topic that was publicly discussed among female consumers. For instance, Mrs Pritchard unfolds *The Cult of Chiffon*, a women's fashion manual, with an opening chapter on *things unseen*, and makes a rather blasphemous claim that the cult of Chiffon is similar to the Christian religion because 'it insists that the invisible is more important than the visible'.⁹ Since the lingerie had gradually emerged from the suppressed unconscious and became consciously articulable after the 1901 enthronement of King Edward VII, who is 'known at home and abroad for his interest in fashion and his love of sensual pleasures',¹⁰ this chapter suggests that most of Molly's nocturnal soliloquy in 'Penelope' can be more profitably read as her highly conscious reaction to the Edwardian cult of chiffon than as a random sequence of unconscious flow. Even if there may indeed be certain unconscious traces scattered here and there in 'Penelope', they themselves have already been conditioned and encrypted by Molly's contemporary commodity culture that sold such products as lingerie and patent medicine by imposing fashionable body images upon female consumers like her.

This chapter is designed in the fashion of a striptease show. The striptease, according to Roland Barthes's analysis, 'hides nudity, and smothers the spectacle under a glaze of superfluous yet essential gestures, for the act of becoming bare is here relegated to the rank of parasitical operations carried out in an improbable background';¹¹ simply said, it is the strategically-deferred revelation that makes the spectacle erotic and pleasurable. By the same token, this chapter starts the show by smothering itself under an extended discussion about the latent connection between the spectacle of Molly's body writing and the impossibility of psychoanalysis, so as to intensify the pleasure that is to be derived from the final revelation of lingerie's erotic allure and its secret history.

⁹ Pritchard and Le Quesne, *The Cult of Chiffon (With illustrations by Rose Le Quesne)*, 16.

¹⁰ Jill Fields, *An intimate affair: Women, Lingerie, and Sexuality* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2007), 31.

¹¹ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies (1957)*, trans. Annette Lavers (London: Vintage, 2000), 86.

5.1 MOLLY'S ANTI-OEDIPAL LAPSUS CALAMI?

Echoing Richard Ellmann's commentary that the French word *clou* (which Joyce used to refer to 'Penelope' in his letter to Frank Budgen) should be translated into English as 'the star turn of the show',¹² Cheryl Herr suggests that 'Penelope' should be read as a dramatic script written for theatrical performances,¹³ and proceeds boldly to propose that the episode 'projects simply an *actor* [my italics] reading a script, a star singing an aria'.¹⁴ Unlike Herr, I don't intend to speculate upon the possibility of a male actor's 'ventriloquiz[ing] through female bodies the patterns and ideas' and its subsequent issues related to (post)modern gender performativity.¹⁵ Her reading is valuable simply in that it highlights the theatricality of 'Penelope', and to read the episode from a theatrical perspective would remind us of the fact that body and voice are intricately woven together in the episode, just like in a theatrical space; Molly's soliloquy often functions as *audible* stage directions. For instance, such stage directions on somatic movements that Molly assigns to herself as 'O Lord I must stretch myself' (*U* 18.584) and 'O this blanket is too heavy on me thats better' (*U* 18.660) and 'to let a fart God or do the least thing better yes hold them like that a bit on my side' (*U* 18.906-7) are recorded by an invisible—in Derrida's terminology—gramophone inside her body. An experimental writing like 'Penelope' always tempts us to speculate on the relation between the written texts and the writing process, and the reason why Derrida, in his speculation, imagines Molly's interior monologue to be taken down by a gramophone is closely related to his personal writing experience, as he himself has revealed: 'I began writing ["Ulysses Gramophone"]—or rather, I began to dictate the main ideas into a pocket cassette recorder'.¹⁶ In replacing the pocket cassette recorder which he used to track his own thoughts in a Tokyo hotel in 1984 with the micro-gramophone which, he imagined, has been put within Joyce's characters' body to 'remember everyday [. . .] yes' (*U*

¹² Ellmann, *Ulysses on the Liffey*, 162.

¹³ See Cheryl Herr, "'Penelope' as Period Piece", in *Molly Blooms: A Polylogue on 'Penelope' and Cultural Studies*, ed. Richard Pearce (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 64.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁶ Jacques Derrida, 'Ulysses Gramophone: Hear Say Yes in Joyce', in *Acts of Literature*, ed. Derek Attridge (London: Routledge, 1992), 259.

6.962-63) in 1904, Derrida acknowledges the materialness of writing: the actions of writing in different eras are much mediated by different technological apparatuses.

In a 2001 interview entitled ‘Entre le corps écrivain et l’écriture’, Derrida revisits his earlier speculation on the relation between writing and technological apparatuses, and makes the observation as follows:

L’histoire des instruments et des supports a été, je pense, une histoire commune à tous les intellectuels de ma génération. La plume, d’abord, pas le stylo, la plume, pour les premières versions des textes, même quand j’ai commencé à publier. Mes premiers livres, je les ai écrits à la plume. Je n’écrivais à la machine à écrire que la version finale. Ma première machine à écrire, je l’ai achetée aux États-Unis en 1956. Il fallait que je tape. C’est là que j’ai appris à taper. Je tape très vite, très mal, avec beaucoup de fautes.¹⁷

It seems that Derrida has turned the very scene of his own writing process into a theatre where he simultaneously plays the double roles of a performer and a spectator; he observes how himself, with the aid of such stage props as a plume, a pencil, or a typewriter, performs the action of writing and makes errors. It is intriguing that Derrida mentions his fast typing speed and its subsequent errors, as if he tries to insinuate that, by typing fast, he could capture his unconscious thoughts through these accidental errors, which, in the context of psychoanalysis, are similar to the slip of the tongue. As far as the slip-of-the-tongue effect of the erroneous machine typing is concerned, ‘Penelope’ is replete with similar cases. According to Joyce’s student Paolo Cuzzi, Joyce had discussed Freud’s theory of slips of the tongue with him.¹⁸ Even though Joyce has once claimed that ‘[he] cannot dictate to a stenographer or type[; he] write[s] all with [his] hand’ (*Letters II* 396), Molly’s famous case of erroneous writing—because it is unpronounceable and can only be represented on paper, let us call it writing for the time being—‘symp~~h~~athy I always make that mistake and newp~~h~~ew with 2 double yous in’ (*U* 18.730-31) much resembles those typing errors that are struck out *après-coup* (whereas the presumed

¹⁷ Derrida, ‘« Entre le corps écrivain et l’écriture... » Entretien avec Daniel Ferrer’, (63). My translation: ‘The history of instruments and supports has been, I think, a shared history to all those intellectuals of my generation. First of all, dip-pens, rather than pens, were used for the first versions of texts, even when I started to publish. I wrote my first books with a dip-pen. I used the typewriter only when I wrote the final version. I bought my first typewriter in the United States in 1956. I had to type. That’s when I learned to type. I type very fast, very badly, with many errors’.

¹⁸ Gordon Bowker, *James Joyce: A New Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), 217.

chronological sequence of miswriting's preceding deletion is undone by the mediation of printing: both *#* and *w* become events wherein two separate actions—namely, miswriting and deletion—are pressed together and integrated into one single static inked existence). In fact, Freud himself often makes analogies between the topography of human mind and writing apparatuses, and one of the most famous apparatuses that Freud uses to illustrate the mechanism of mnemonic function is the *Mystic Writing-Pad*, which is described by Freud as follows:

The Mystic Pad is a slab of dark brown resin or wax with a paper edging; over the slab is laid a thin transparent sheet, the top end of which is firmly secured to the slab while its bottom end rests upon it without being fixed to it. This transparent sheet is the more interesting part of the little device. It itself consists of two layers which can be detached from each other except at their two ends. The upper layer is a transparent piece of celluloid; the lower layer is made of thin translucent waxed paper. When the apparatus is not in use, the lower surface of the waxed paper adheres lightly to the upper surface of the wax slab.

To make use of the Mystic Pad, one writes upon the celluloid portion of the covering-sheet which rests upon the wax slab. For this purpose no pencil or chalk is necessary, since the writing does not depend on material being deposited upon the receptive surface. It is a return to the ancient method of writing upon tablets of clay or wax: a pointed stylus scratches the surface, the depressions upon which constitute the 'writing'. In the case of the Mystic Pad this scratching is not effected directly, but through the medium of the covering-sheet. At the points which the stylus touches, it presses the lower surface of the waxed paper on to the wax slab, and the grooves are visible as dark writing upon the otherwise smooth whitish-gray surface of the celluloid. If one wishes to destroy what has been written, all that is necessary is to raise the double covering-sheet from the wax slab by a light pull, starting from the free lower end. The close contact between waxed paper and the wax slab at the places which have been scratched (upon which the visibility of the writing depended) is thus brought to an end and it does not occur when the two surfaces come together once more. The Mystic Pad is now clear of writing and ready to receive fresh inscriptions.¹⁹

Indeed, Freud's analogy between the Mystic Writing Pad and the system Pcpt.-Cs. is quite different from the visual effect of typing errors in Molly's so-called soliloquy of the unconscious. Noticeably, Freud's Mystic Pad is a multilayered apparatus

¹⁹ Sigmund Freud, 'A Note upon the "Mystic Writing-Pad" (1925 [1924])', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. XIX: The Ego and the Id and Other Works*, ed. James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-analysis, 1961), 228-29.

which not merely serves to illustrate his topographic system of the double strata of the preconscious and consciousness, but also highlights—by metaphorically transforming the mnemonic mechanism into a writing device on whose visible surface the written traces can be erased whereas underneath whose invisible backside the residues of the erased writing remain intact—the mnemonic mechanism’s elusiveness and paradoxical duality of visible absence and invisible presence. In contrast to Freud’s Mystic Pad analogy, Molly’s soliloquy as erroneous machine-typing appears to be a machine writing upon the surface of a single sheet of paper, and there is no such complicated mechanism as Freud’s multilayered structure of the celluloid, the wax-slab and the erasure-device involved in her writing. In a certain sense, whether *symp~~h~~athy* and *new~~p~~hew* are machine-typed and hand-written doesn’t even matter; what matters here is the fact that Molly’s spelling errors are subtly exposed in the way that they are purposely displayed and made visually distinguished from their contiguous letters with the ~~strike-out~~ effect. More explicitly speaking, what is intriguing about *symp~~h~~athy* and *new~~p~~hew* is that the dynamic trace of error-making which flashes through Molly’s nocturnal mind becomes preserved as static *trace fossils* by means of Joyce’s typographical invention of cancelled letters (which, not without a sense of irony, has caused printers so much technical trouble and cannot be successfully reproduced in the original Shakespeare & Co. editions).²⁰

If there is something in common between Freud’s Mystic Pad and Molly’s (and Derrida’s) typing errors, it would be the metaphorical process that transforms psychic mechanisms into the system of writing apparatuses. However fascinating Freud’s analogy between the Writing Pad and the system Pept.-Cs. is, we should always be aware of the fact that the latter *is not* the former. In his response to Freud’s analogy between psyche and writing, Derrida reveals some fissures that undermine the theoretical solidity of Freudian psychoanalysis:

(1) the danger involved in immobilizing or freezing energy within a naive metaphors of place; (2) the necessity not of abandoning but of rethinking the space or topology of this writing; (3) that Freud, who still insists on *representing* the psychical apparatus in an artificial model, has

²⁰ Derek Attridge, *Joyce Effects: On Language, Theory, and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 104.

not yet discovered a mechanical model adequate to the graphematic conceptual scheme he is already using to describe the psychical text.²¹

What Derrida intends to expose is not merely the fictionality and arbitrariness of Freud's analogy between psyche and writing but, more fundamentally, the artificiality of the triple topographical strata of the unconscious, the preconscious and the conscious that Freud invents to illustrate human psyche. As Derrida is apparently aware of Freudian psychoanalysis's fictionality, the reason why Derrida is still fascinated with Freud's analogy between psyche and writing becomes an intriguing question. One plausible explanation would be that the materialness which Freud assigns to psychic mechanism by depicting it as a writing apparatus corresponds with Derrida's intended attack on the logocentrism that prefers speech to writing. The ironic fact that the connection between 'Penelope' and Derrida here is also built upon an analogy just reaffirm the danger of analogical thinking, because under the same appearance of typing errors, the significance of Molly's erroneous typing differs greatly from Derrida's case. Most of Molly's typing errors don't seem to have the theoretical subtlety of Freud's preconscious repression or Derrida's anti-logocentrism; rather, they simply visualise the inevitable consequence of her erroneous spellings due to insufficient education than insinuating some coded unconscious desires.²² Obviously, Joyce has modelled Molly's idiosyncratic writing habit on that of Nora, as is displayed in an interpolated letter to Stanislaus Joyce:

Dear Stannie

I hope you are very well I am sure you would be glad to see George now he is well able to run about he is able to say a lot he has a good appetite he has eight teeth and also sings when we ask him where is Stannie he beats his chest and says non c'e piu Nora (*LettersII* 173).

In order to make sure Stanislaus sees what he himself sees in Nora's writing, Joyce reveals his own observations in the form of a question: 'Do you notice how women

²¹ Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 212-13.

²² See Attridge, *Joyce Effects*, 110-11: 'I noted earlier that an appreciation of the written dimension of "Penelope" can lead to a reading that—whatever Joyce's views on the matter—makes, in comic vein, a practical and historical point about women's education. [. . .] The issue that is really at stake here is not some phallic language which all men, and only men, speak, but the long history of exclusion from education that women have suffered'.

when they write disregard stops and capital letters?’ (*LettersII* 173). Indeed, the fact that Joyce models Molly’s writing on Nora’s doesn’t nullify the possibility that he may utilise such an idiosyncratic writing as a vessel that carries other purposes rather than as a mere special visual effect, but any suggestion that Molly’s punctuation-free writing represents an unconscious state of mind would be a complete non-sequitur, because Nora is apparently clear-headed when writing these letters.

Regardless of the said fact, psychoanalysis has long been regarded as a useful method to be *applied* to the reading of ‘Penelope’, for the episode is widely believed to simulate Molly’s unconscious mental activity; most of these readings, however, would probably have been condemned by Jacques Lacan, the self-proclaimed Freudian heir, as ‘applied psychoanalysis [. . .] which remains blind to the agency of the letter and prefers to deal with banal commonplaces’.²³ When critics, by means of psychoanalytic reading, claim, for instance, that ‘[t]he Boylan-Molly-Bloom triangle is a common enough variation on the oedipal situation’,²⁴ they might be so dazzled by psychoanalysis’s theoretical eloquence that they have forgotten its own *fictional* origin: the psychoanalytic theory of the Oedipus complex itself came to Freud while he tried to juxtapose *Hamlet* and *Oedipus the King*—or, rather, while he managed to superimpose the former onto the latter and created a fictional scene of archaeology. In a letter to his friend Wilhelm Fliess on 15 October 1897, Freud mentions his discovery of the Oedipus complex and immediately applies the new theory to his own reading of *Hamlet*:

Fleetingly the thought passed through my head that the same thing might be at the *bottom* [my italics] of *Hamlet* as well. I am not thinking of Shakespeare’s conscious intention, but believe, rather, that a real event stimulated the poet to his representation, in that his unconscious understood the unconscious of his hero. [. . .] How does he explain his irresolution in avenging his father by the murder of his uncle [. . .] ? How better than through the torment he suffers from the obscure memory that he himself had contemplated the same deed against his father out of passion for his mother.²⁵

²³ Luke Thurston, *James Joyce and the Problem of Psychoanalysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 47.

²⁴ Mark Shechner, *Joyce in Nighttown: A Psychoanalytic Inquiry into Ulysses* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 207.

²⁵ Sigmund Freud and Wilhelm Fliess, *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess*, trans. Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, ed. Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1985), 272-73.

The Freudian hypothesis that the Oedipus complex lies at the bottom of *Hamlet* corresponds to his topographical imagination of the human psyche, as if these plays are two archaeological strata which are waiting for excavation and whose buried secrets will consequently be uncovered. Freud's appropriation of archaeological concepts for the development of psychoanalysis is made manifest in his own commentary on *Gradiva*, the Pompeian novella by Wilhelm Jensen: 'There is, in fact, no better analogy for repression, by which something in the mind is at once made inaccessible and preserved, than burial of the sort to which Pompeii fell a victim and from which it could emerge once more through the work of spades'.²⁶

It is not difficult to detect that the concept of archaeology pervades in Freud's psychoanalysis, but what is its connection with 'Penelope'? The connection could be lucid: 'Penelope' is much about the archaeological excavation into Molly's mind and body. As has been pointed out, most psychoanalytic readings of 'Penelope' rather remain at the level of applied psychoanalysis; therefore, this chapter intends to understand psychoanalysis not as a theoretic frame that formulates the reading of 'Penelope', but as a theory-in-development that was rooted in its contemporary scenes of knowledges—which were also the scenes wherein 'Penelope' was being written. Archaeology, for instance, was arguably a shared interest between Freud and Joyce, for its development was a much-celebrated scientific event at the turn of the century; the concept of archaeology was very likely to pervade Joyce's consciousness when he was writing *Ulysses*, concerning that Dublin in 1904 witnessed 'preservation movements [arising] to spare the artefacts of urban archaeology, to preserve or at least to document them before the whole preindustrial, precommercial past vanished forever',²⁷ and such a link between *Ulysses* and archaeology has been heralded by Richard Lehan: '*Ulysses* is the literary complement to what was happening in archeology [at the end of the 19th century]—the discovery of layered cities, the realization that different cultures were superimposed upon each other in time'.²⁸ Just like Freud has borrowed the concept of

²⁶ IX, 40.

²⁷ Heyward Ehrlich, 'James Joyce's Four-Gated City of Modernisms', in *Joyce and the City: The Significance of Place*, ed. Michael H. Begnal (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2002) 8.

²⁸ Richard Lehan, *The City in Literature: An Intellectual and Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 111.

archaeology and integrated it into his own psychoanalytic topography, Joyce's appropriation of archaeology is often coded. In the case of 'Penelope', the connection between archaeology and the episode is multilayered.

On the first layer, the episode could be seen as a practical endeavour that embeds Edwardian artefacts and lifestyle into its own stratum for future archaeology, as Joyce himself has famously boasted about how detailed *Ulysses* is as an archaeological document: 'I want [. . .] to give a picture of Dublin so complete that if the city one day suddenly disappeared from the earth it could be reconstructed out of my book'.²⁹ Indeed, 'Penelope' is a small-scale archaeological scene: what we can excavate out of the episode are those trace fossils of Molly's lifestyle in 1904—namely, the traces of what she wore, what she ate, what she did, how she got laid, where she visited, whom she met, etc.—and such an analogy between trace fossils and 'Penelope' itself has already been tinted with a Freudian hue, in the sense that it is all built upon the *premise* that something is buried underneath the archaeological stratum of Molly's unconscious body-writing (such a premise itself, however, is still to be examined later).

On the second layer, from the perspective of Molly's body-writing, 'Penelope' resembles an archaeology of the body, or rather, an anatomy of the body (and especially a 'vivisect[ion]' (*U* 15.1105) of the thinking brain). Even though archaeology and anatomy are etymologically unrelated, both terms illustrate a scene in which the dissection and probing of traces and tissues are performed, and Freud himself does suggest that there should be a link between them by claiming that 'consciousness is the *surface* of the mental apparatus [. . .] and spatially not only in the functional sense but [. . .] also in the sense of anatomical dissection'.³⁰ According to Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis's observation, the Freudian topography—despite being a criticism of his contemporary neuroscientific hypothesis that each mental action has its own corresponding cerebral area—is strongly influenced by the concept of anatomy, whereas Freud's word-choice of the term *topography* itself also has an archaeological overtone because of its ancient roots in Greek philosophy:

²⁹ Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses' and Other Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 69.

³⁰ Freud, 'The Ego and the Id', 19.

The term 'topography', meaning theory of 'places' (Greek: *τόποι*), has had a role in philosophical language since Greek antiquity. [. . .] The Freudian hypothesis of a psychical topography has its roots in a whole scientific context embracing neurology, physiology, psychopathology. [. . .] The anatomico-physiological theory of cerebral localisations which predominated during the second half of the nineteenth century sought to anchor highly specialised functions or specific types of ideas or images to strictly localised neurological foundations. Such functions or ideas were thus seen as stored up, as it were, in a particular region of the cerebral cortex.³¹

The neuroscientific anatomy that had triggered Freud's invention of psychic topography also occupies Molly's nocturnal mind when she thinks of Bloom's refusal to go to mass and his disbelief in the existence of soul: 'he says your soul you have no soul inside only grey matter because he doesnt know what it is to have one yes when I lit the lamp yes because he must have come 3 or 4 times with that tremendous big red brute of a thing he has' (*U* 18.141-44). Molly's recollection not merely heralds the arrival of a new era in which psychoanalytic talking cure replaces religious confession and cerebral grey matter replaces the existence of soul, but also hints at a strong link between the two disparate anatomical parts of the brain and the genitals, for there is a non-sequitur leap in Molly's thoughts from *grey matter* to Boylan's *big red brute of a thing*. Indeed, Molly's seemingly bizarre logic which eroticises the anatomy of cerebral tissues could be understood within a psychoanalytic context, wherein Freud regards *libido* as *the* infrastructural dynamic force that interacts with the topographical structure of psyche.³² Better yet, there is still another link between anatomy and eroticism, as has been revealed by Molly's own *lapsus linguae* (or rather by her *lapsus calami*):³³ 'then tucked up in bed like

³¹ Laplanche and Pontalis, *The Language of Psycho-analysis*, 449-50.

³² See Freud and Fliess, *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess*, 251-52: 'The motives of *libido* and of *wish fulfillment as a punishment* then come together. Here the general tendency toward abreaction, toward a break-through of the repressed is unmistakable, and on this the other two motives are superimposed. It appears that at later stages on the one hand more complicated psychic formations (impulses, fantasies, motives) are displaced from the memory, and on the other hand *defense*, arising from the Pcs. (the ego), would seem to force its way into the unconscious, so that defense too becomes *multiocular*: Symptom formation by identification is linked to fantasies—that is, to their repression in the Ucs.—in an analogous way to the alteration of the ego in paranoia. Since the outbreak of *anxiety* is linked to these repressed fantasies, we must conclude that the transformation of libido into anxiety does not occur through defense between ego and the Ucs., but in the Ucs. itself. It follows, therefore, that there is Ucs. libido as well'.

³³ Bernard Benstock (ed.), *James Joyce: The Augmented Ninth: Proceedings of the Ninth International James Joyce Symposium* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1988).

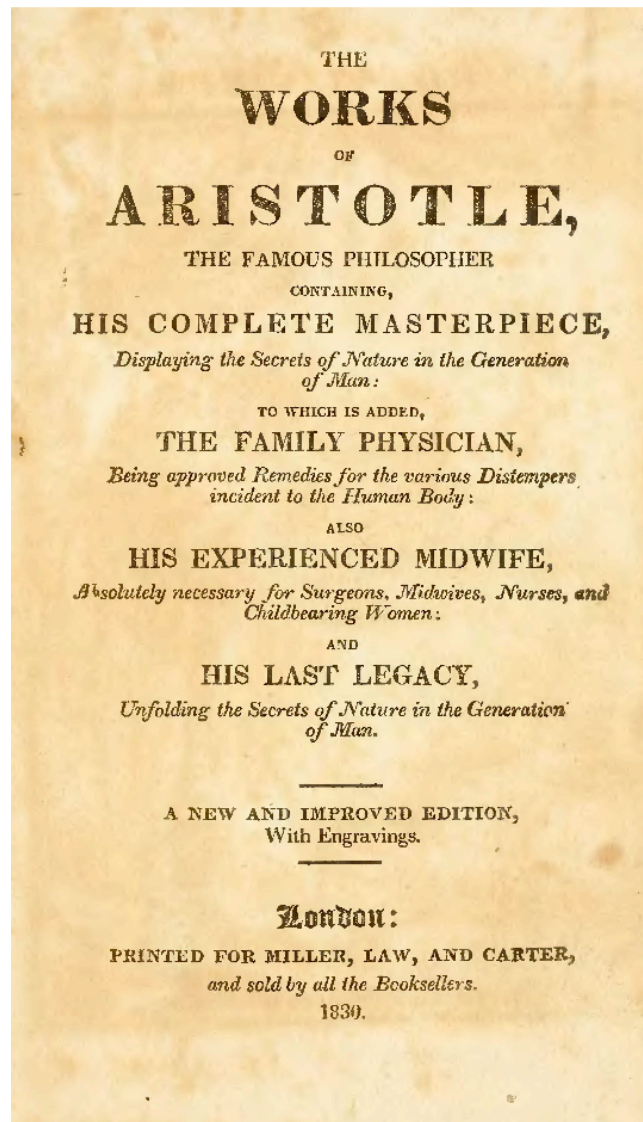


Fig. 5.1—The title page of *Aristotle's Masterpiece*, reproduced from the Miller, Law, and Carter edition (1839).

those babies in the Aristocrats Masterpiece he brought me another time as if we hadnt enough of that in real life without some old Aristocrat or whatever his name is disgusting you more with those rotten pictures' (U 18.1238-41). What Molly misremembers as 'the Aristocrats Masterpiece' should be corrected as *Aristotle's Masterpiece* (Fig. 5.1), a 'purportedly clinical' but 'mildly pornographic' book that has been 'the most widely circulated work of pseudosexual and pseudomedical folklore in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England' since 'its initial appearance in 1694'.³⁴ As for Molly's mispronunciation of 'Aristotle' as 'Aristocrat', Vike Martina Plock proposes that her slip of the tongue 'underlines the effects of [the] modern medical imperialism' and 'correctly identifies doctors such as her

³⁴ Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 271.

gynaecologist, Dr Collins, as the new aristocrats of a modern, medicalised society'.³⁵ Most importantly, Molly's allusion to *Aristotle's Masterpiece* illuminates how the anatomy of bodies becomes eroticised and how pornography disguises itself as medical discourse.

On the third layer, those pieces of lingerie that cover up Molly's naked body resemble layers and layers of strata, and the action to remove the former from the latter is, metaphorically, an eroticised process of archaeological excavation. There are miscellaneous pieces of lingerie having been mentioned in *Ulysses*: drawers/pantaloons (*U* 4.322; *U* 5.281; *U* 8.603; *U* 13.1023/1284; *U* 15.3444; *U* 17.2093; *U* 18.285/289/300/439/1095/1509/1521/1528), chemises (*U* 1.721; *U* 18.438), corsets/stays (*U* 3.431; *U* 8.197/198; *U* 9.629; *U* 13.561/1023/1199; *U* 15.1024/2054/2075/3010/3011/3257; *U* 18.446), petticoats (*U* 1.384; *U* 3.462; *U* 4.265/325; *U* 7.1017; *U* 8.631/1061; *U* 10.252; *U* 11.190; *U* 13.483/508; *U* 14.600; *U* 15.288/2058/2477/2759/2979/4693/4705; *U* 18.15/308/765/811/862/1379), bustles/false bottoms (*U* 15.284; *U* 18.56), underskirts (*U* 17.2096), skirts (*U* 3.331; *U* 4.151/164/521; *U* 5.454/1013; *U* 8.192/603; *U* 9.1193; *U* 10.202/275/383/384/440/474/1221; *U* 11.216/410/891; *U* 13.154/169/355/362/479; *U* 15.34/288/2058/2330/3115/3840/4678; *U* 17.1998; *U* 18.290/298/471/672/811/1039/1139/1259), and bodices (*U* 10.252; *U* 18.765). To properly understand how Molly should put on and take off her miscellaneous pieces of lingerie literally requires certain archaeological knowledge of turn-of-the-century material cultures. The standard operating procedure for Molly to cocoon herself up by layers and layers of underwear is as follows: the first layer of lingerie she puts on would be a pair of drawers, which could be either open-crotch or close-crotch, but the former would be a more practical and preferable option, considering that many other layers of underclothes would be worn over Molly's drawers, and that Molly does complain about the close-crotch drawers that Bloom wants her to wear: 'that black closed breeches he made me buy takes you half an hour to let them down wetting all myself' (*U* 18.251-52); it should be noticed that Molly would also put her garters, stockings and shoes on at this step, because it would be literally impossible

³⁵ Vike Martina Plock, 'Jack the Ripper and the Family Physician: Gynaecology and Domestic Medicine in "Penelope"', in *Joyce, 'Penelope' and the Body*, ed. Richard Brown (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006), 130.

to do so after she laces up a corset. The next layer to be worn over her drawers is a chemise, as is revealed by Molly's nocturnal thought wherein these two particular items are registered adjacently: 'I want at least two other good chemises for one thing and but I dont know what kind of drawers he likes' (*U* 18.438-39); the main purpose of wearing the chemise is not merely to protect Molly's skin from the corset but also to protect the corset from such epidermal secretions as sweat and grease, because it is a much harder task to launder corsets than chemises. The third layer to be worn, then, is a piece of corset; the popularity of corsets was dwindling during the Edwardian era because of contemporary women's health campaigns against them, and this historical fact is arguably revealed by the textual trace that Molly only mentions the term *corset* once: 'one of those kidfitting corsets Id want advertised cheap in the Gentlewoman with elastic gores on the hips' (*U* 18.446-47).³⁶ However, corsets remained to be essential items in Edwardian women's wardrobes because they helped to shape female bodies into the fashionable S-bend. After the corset has been laced up, the fourth layer would be one or multiple petticoat(s) which, with their additional rows of tucks or lace at the hem, would create a desirable effect of fullness for Molly: 'so plump and tempting in my short petticoat' (*U* 18.1378-79). Over the petticoat(s), Molly might put on an additional layer corset cover to protect her corset, though she doesn't mention it in her soliloquy.

5.2 BLOOMING BODY WRITING

Let us go back to Derrida's speculation on his *corps écrivain*, or, his body writing. As he confesses, the gesture and motion of his body writing are often indecent, exhibitionist, and even nudist to a certain degree:

L'exercice auquel je suis convié est redoutable. C'est un appel à un geste assez indécent, geste que certains pourraient interpréter comme narcissique, exhibitionniste, voir nudiste. Ce dont il est question, c'est de parler de ce qui, dans notre vie à tous, représente le plus secret, le plus intime : c'est ce que nous faisons dans la solitude, chez nous, au moment où, dans un espace fortement érotisé et je dirais presque auto-érotisé,

³⁶ See 'Kidfitting corsetry', Joyce's Environs, James Joyce Online Notes (2012), <http://www.jjon.org/joyce-s-environs/kidfitting>, accessed 16.11.12: 'A "kidfitting corset" is simply a corset which incorporates "kid fittings" or fittings made of soft kidskin. We can find "kid fittings" used in support garments from at least the 1850s (and doubtless earlier)'.

nous préparons, avec toutes sortes d'instruments et de supports, ce qui est déjà une exhibition : des publications.³⁷

That Derrida eroticises the process of writing and makes it corporeal seems to be a blasphemous revision of the Christian Incarnation—or, the Logos becoming flesh—that turns holy words into *whorely* words. Similarly, in a letter to Ettore Schmitz, Joyce refers to *Ulysses* as 'Sua Mare Grega', which could be literally translated as 'his Greek mother' yet actually means 'his whore of a mother' in Triestine dialect (*SL* 276). It's not difficult to tell the similarity between Derrida's whorely body writing and Joyce's whore of a mother: both playfully and subtly eroticise the Greek concept of logos, and turn the scene of writing into something pornographic. Even though Derrida suggests that the action of writing should essentially be extremely erotic, narcissistic, and corporeal, his essay is rather a retrospective analysis of his body writing than being a trace fossil which captures the trace of body writing as it *is happening*. More explicitly speaking, Derrida's account of his body writing is not so much a living specimen of *le corps écrivain* as a manual which demonstrates how *le corps écrivain* is performed. On the contrary, 'Penelope' is arguably the perfect trace fossil (if not the vivisection) of body writing, not merely because Molly's soliloquy records in great detail each indecent and intimate gesture that triggers her body writing while she's lying in bed and suffering from insomnia, but also because her writing orbits every aspect related to her body: gestures, senses, gynaecology, lingerie, sexual intercourse, etc..

Molly's body writing is sexually and ideologically provocative in that she, by 'drag[ging] open [her] drawers and bulg[ing] it right out in his face as large as life', invites the absent—and presumably male—spectator of her mysteriously-written soliloquy to gaze at her genitals (*U* 15.1521). Molly's explicit exposure of herself is indeed evocative of Gustave Courbet's 1866 painting *L'Origine du monde*, not merely because both force spectators to gaze straightly into the close-up of female genitals, but also because both associate female genitals with (the origin of) life. In

³⁷ Derrida, '« Entre le corps écrivain et l'écriture... » Entretien avec Daniel Ferrer', 59. My translation: 'The exercise to which I am invited is daunting. It's a call for a quite indecent gesture, a gesture which some might interpret as narcissistic, exhibitionist, nudist. What is at issue is to talk about that which, in all our lives, represents the most secret and the most intimate: it's what we do in solitude at home at the moment when, in a highly eroticised and I would say always auto-eroticised space, we prepare, with all kinds of instruments and materials, something that is already an exhibition: publications'.

Modernism's Body: Sex, Culture, and Joyce, Christine Froula provides us with an even subtler connection between this oil painting and Joyce's writing, arguing that *L'Origine du monde* 'invokes the same cultural psychodynamics surrounding the maternal body that Joyce explores' and that 'one of its owners happens to have been the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, who suggestively diagnosed Joyce as a perverse "symptom" of his masculine culture'.³⁸ Better yet, Froula gives us a brief yet interesting account of how Lacan, after having acquired the painting, saw necessity to repress its real content by veiling it behind a screen image:

Lacan acquired *L'Origine du monde* after it disappeared from Budapest during World War II and hung it in the loggia overlooking his studio in his country house. Continuing previous owners' tradition of concealing the painting behind a false front (Kahlil Bey, a green veil; the Bernheim-Jeune Gallery, a panel depicting a castle in the snow), Lacan hung it behind a wooden screen that he commissioned from the painter André Masson, the design of which abstracted the painting's elements. By a secret mechanism, the screen could be slid back to reveal the painting beneath.³⁹

That Lacan turns *L'Origine du monde* into a double tableau by burying it beneath the veil of André Masson's avant-garde abstracted image is strongly evocative of Freud's metaphorical Mystic Writing-Pad, because both mechanisms involve a double-layered structure that serves the purpose of repression or censorship: similar to the Freudian Mystic Pad which features a layer of celluloid that erases the trace of writing, the Lacanian double tableau obscures the image of an exposed female genitals. By contrast, Molly's writing mechanism—no matter whether it resembles a mystic typewriter, an invisible gramophone, or even a digital voice-to-text converter that is hardly imaginable in Joyce's time—has a shockingly transparent quality to it: everything is exposed and seen, articulated and heard. Joyce endows Molly with a language that undermines the Lacanian Symbolic Order and its *Nom-du-père*. Such a transgression of the name of the father is made explicit in one of Joyce's letter, which reads as follows: 'I think a child should be allowed to take his father's or mother's name at will on coming of age. Paternity is a legal fiction' (*LettersII* 108). That Joyce

³⁸ Christine Froula, *Modernism's Body: Sex, Culture, and Joyce* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

himself regards paternity as a legal fiction and lets Molly expose—though anachronistically—the fictionality of the Lacanian symbolic father often encourages critics to read ‘Penelope’ as an embodiment of ‘feminologist re-Joycings’,⁴⁰ and ‘Penelope’ has consequently been seen as a textual body of *écriture féminine* that undermines the paternal law of language (although it is paradoxically written by a male author). However, Derek Attridge questions this vein of reading, arguing that ‘Molly’s monologue, far from being “asyntactic”, is more syntactically orthodox than those of the major male characters’,⁴¹ and that ‘there is no recipe in “Penelope” for an *écriture féminine* that will undermine patriarchal structure’.⁴²

If the body writing is a highly self-conscious process as Derrida observes, the fundamental problem occurs once again: is it feasible and legitimate to read ‘Penelope’ within the theoretical frame of psychoanalysis, which is presumably a clinical discipline that studies the pathology of the unconscious? Such a problem may even worsen, as Jacques Lacan makes the following remark: ‘I shall speak of Joyce, who has preoccupied me much this year, only to say that he is the simplest consequence of a refusal—such a mental refusal!—of a psycho-analysis, which, as a result, his work illustrates’.⁴³ It is Derek Attridge that first introduces the concept of body writing into the reading of ‘Penelope’,⁴⁴ but the intriguing point here is that he reads the episode as Joyce’s body writing, rather than as Molly’s. When we take Attridge’s disagreement with the reading of ‘Penelope’ as a *flow* into consideration,⁴⁵ his implication that the episode shouldn’t be construed as an unmediated narrative becomes manifest. Even though ‘Penelope’ appears to depict Molly’s fluid mind, it is rather a facsimile of Joyce’s fastidious transcription than the unseen trace on the negative celluloid film of Freud’s Mystic Pad.⁴⁶ If we manage to situate the Joyce-

⁴⁰ Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, ‘Sexual Linguistics: Gender, Language, Sexuality’, *New Literary History*, vol. 16 (1985): 515-43 (519).

⁴¹ Attridge, *Joyce Effects*, 107.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 107.

⁴³ Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (1977), ix.

⁴⁴ See Derek Attridge, ‘The Body Writing: Joyce’s Pen’, in *Joyce, ‘Penelope’ and the Body*, ed. Richard Brown (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006), 47-62.

⁴⁵ See Attridge, *Joyce Effects*, 93-116.

⁴⁶ See *Ibid.*, 102: ‘What these visual effects suggest is a style not of thought but of *writing*: an unconventional orthographic practice which ignores the rules of punctuation, prefers the directness of figures to verbally presented numerals, and suffers from errors characteristic of the *transcription* [my italics] of speech’.

Molly-relation into a psychoanalytic context, it might resemble the relation between a psychoanalyst and his analysand, whereas the Penelopean episode could arguably be seen as the former's reconstructed and decoded written account of the latter's verbal narrative during talking cure sessions. However, under closer scrutiny, this analogy appears problematic because neither Molly nor her soliloquy exists as an object for Joyce to analyse or transcribe: it is Joyce that has invented both Molly and her soliloquy in the first place. Nevertheless, this analogy does help us to identify the episode with the decoded account of Molly's nocturnal mind and abolish the illusion that 'Penelope' represents the unconscious content. As Attridge observes, most of the Penelopean narrative is in perfect harmony with syntactic rules, and 'once the missing punctuation and other typographical absences have been made good, the language of this episode is relatively conventional'.⁴⁷ Attridge also reveals that 'it is Molly's greater syntactic correctness and explicitness which conveys the sense of smooth transitions from subject to subject',⁴⁸ and, in this sense, Molly's soliloquy can hardly be associated with the Freudian unconscious mechanism of condensation and displacement, which presumably produces implicit and illogic *mélange* of nonsense.

In this vein, we should be aware that each of Molly's erroneous typing—which has been regarded as the repressed unconscious latent content escaping psychic censorship—is in fact the end-product of Joyce's deliberate (and thus highly conscious) design. In other words, no matter how much Molly's slips of the tongue tempt us to interpret them as the effluence of repressed contents, they are no more than the simulacrum—if not the parody—of the unconscious. The entire endeavour to develop Molly's unprocessed *lapsus linguae/calami* on the negative film is based upon the Lacanian hypothesis that 'the unconscious [. . .] is structured like a language',⁴⁹ while the hypothesis itself is either a misreading or an abuse of the Freudian presupposition that the unconscious is not incompatible with and can't be

⁴⁷ Ibid., 95.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 97.

⁴⁹ Lacan, *Écrits: The First Complete Edition in English*, 737.

embodied by language.⁵⁰ However, the Lacanian misreading may not be a completely intentional abuse, because Freud's own account on the impossible relation between the unconscious and language is often slippery and inconsistent. The best example of Freud's inconsistency resides in that his oneiric theory is not merely an impossible translation of non-linguistic latent contents into linguistic manifest contents, but also an antithesis that undermines the preconscious structure as a censoring mechanism. Jean Laplanche and Serge Leclaire, in their attempt to solve the incompatibility between Freud's and Lacan's disparate definitions of the unconscious, ask themselves a fundamental question:

When an unconscious representation becomes conscious, is it the same one undergoing a change of state ('functional hypothesis')—the process being accomplished on the same material and in the same 'locality'—, or is it a question of a second 'inscription' (*Niederschrift*), of a new 'fixation'?⁵¹

They argue that the 'first viewpoint seems to [Freud] "the more probable"', but themselves 'would willingly decide in favor of the double inscription'.⁵² The concept of double inscription troubles (and is even momentarily abandoned by) Freud because it leads to the suggestion that there should be a cathectic energy that can flow from the unconscious to the preconscious, whereas in his own theory these two strata are supposed to remain separated and can't be driven by an identical energy because of the said barrier. In accordance with this premise, Lacan's equation of *condensation* (*Verdichtung*) with *metaphor* and *displacement* (*Verschiebung*) with *metonymy* is problematic,⁵³ because both condensation and displacement, from Freud's perspective, fall into the domain of the primary process, whereas 'something more has to be introduced into the primary process [. . .] in order for language in the strict, or at least in the common sense of the term to be established'.⁵⁴ Even though

⁵⁰ See Jean Laplanche, Serge Leclaire, and Patrick Coleman, 'The Unconscious: A Psychoanalytic Study', *Yale French Studies*, vol. 48 (1972): 118-75 (151): 'Freud, in fact, did speak explicitly of language, but what he relates it to is essentially the preconscious system and the process that characterizes it: the secondary process, which opposes its barriers and detours to the free play of libidinal energy'.

⁵¹ Ibid. (132).

⁵² Ibid. (132).

⁵³ Ibid. (149-50).

⁵⁴ Ibid. (152).

My revisitation of the problem behind the Lacanian claim that ‘the unconscious is structured like a language’ serves the purpose to illuminate the scenario where Molly is located: she is in a first-person narrative, which is associated rather with the decoded content than with the raw unconscious materials (as has been pointed out before). If we scrutinise the textual body of ‘Penelope’, it is not difficult to realise the fact that the first-person pronoun ‘I’ dominates the entire narrative from the very beginning: ‘I suppose she was pious’ (*U* 18.10-11), ‘I hope Ill never be like her’ (*U* 18.11-12), ‘I suppose he was glad to get shut of her and her dog smelling my fur’ (*U* 18.14-15), so on and so forth. Even though the very first pronoun unfolding the episode is a ‘he’—‘Yes because he never did a thing like that before’ (*U* 18.1)—we can easily see it is the ‘I’ of Molly that refers to Bloom as a ‘he’. More explicitly speaking, I aim to debunk the myth that ‘Penelope’ is an unconscious writing or any other variations of it—for instance, the association between ‘Penelope’ and *écriture féminine* that Attridge has denounced. As Attridge has pointed out, those implications that the *écriture féminine* shares such intrinsic qualities as nonsensical, fluid, and asyntatic with the unconscious writing are stereotypical and arbitrary themselves.

If psychoanalysis neither works like a mathematical function (or a Lacanian algorithm),⁵⁸ nor translates the Penelopean text—which is by no mean implicit—into a more explicit one, why does this chapter touch upon psychoanalysis in the first place when reading ‘Penelope’? I would like to suggest that (Freudian) psychoanalysis is germane to ‘Penelope’ because it provides us with a contextual reference that helps us notice the undercurrents carving and shaping the topography of turn-of-the-century intelligentsia. For instance, it is hardly a coincidence that both ‘Penelope’ and the Freudian reconstruction of decoded dreams resemble a first-person play, because (as has been discussed in chapter 4) the theatrical spectacle was a dominant cultural phenomenon often linked with dreamscapes at the turn of the century; still, such micro-spectacles and newly-invented gadgets as mutoscope and printator not merely provide Joyce’s Bloom with a visual model to reconstruct Gerty’s erotic exposure but also provide Freud with vivid analogies by means of which he develops and illustrates—if not fictionalises—his psychoanalytic

⁵⁸ The Lacanian appropriation—if not abuse—of mathematics has long been a target of criticism and ridicule; for instance, see (just for a laugh) Alan Sokal and Jean Bricmont, *Fashionable Nonsense: Postmodern Intellectuals’ Abuse of Science* (New York: Picador, 1998).

concepts.⁵⁹ Arguably, the most important theme shared by ‘Penelope’ and psychoanalysis is an quasi-anatomical excavation of desire and eroticism, as Molly reveals: ‘he knows a lot of mixedup things especially about the body and the inside I often wanted to study up that myself what we have inside us in that family physician’ (*U* 18.179-81); the private parts of human bodies have become medical objects to be examined by not merely doctors but even laymen like Bloom and Molly who have purchased a copy of *The Family Physician*.⁶⁰ Similarly, once the repressed contents have been articulated by Freud, they are no longer repressed; or this chain of reaction should rather be reversed: the reason why Freud is able to articulate the so-called repressed contents is because they are no longer untouchable taboos.

Instead of having discovered the unconscious, Freud may have rather invented a fictional account of the unconscious pathogenesis. As has been discussed in Chapter 4, Terry Castle sees Freudian psychoanalysis as a spectralising discourse that transforms the unconscious into a spectral space; in a similar vein, psychoanalysis may also have fuelled the unconscious with excessive erotic energy and turns it into an erotic space where capitalism finds a vast virgin land to colonise with its ever-multiplying commodities. More explicitly speaking, psychoanalysis benefits our reading of ‘Penelope’ in the ironic sense that this occult theory of the unconscious emerging at the turn of the century may have helped advertising discourse eroticise lingerie, just as late-Victorian charlatans’ pseudo-medical theories have created imaginary needs among healthy consumers for patent medicines that were placebos at best. In other words, psychoanalysis is not merely a discipline that comes into being in the wake of industrialised consumerism but also the latter’s accomplice in colonising the consumers by means of a discourse that creates fictional desires and lacks. Valerie Steele’s account on a corset advertisement would help us develop this argument:

⁵⁹ See Sigmund Freud, ‘A Note upon the “Mystic Writing-Pad” (1925 [1924])’, in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. 19: The Ego and the Id and Other Works*, ed. James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-analysis, 1961)226: ‘The curious little apparatus, which is the basis of this ingenious and illuminating discussion of the conscious, preconscious and perceptual-conscious systems, is still (1961) quite easily obtainable, at least in Great Britain, under the trade name of “Printator”. The subject-matter of the paper will become much clearer if an actual specimen can be examined and dissected’.

⁶⁰ See Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 611: ‘*The Family Physician; a manual of domestic medicine by Physicians and Surgeons of the principal London Hospitals* (London, 1879), with four revised editions before 1895’.



Fig. 5.2—Advertisement for Warner's Rustproof Corsets (1901).

One advertisement, from 1901, promoted Warner's Rustproof Corset—with an image of a little boy holding a hose between his legs and spraying water on the corset, which floats in the air. Since the corset has essentially the same shape as the female torso, we could even say that the stream of water is being directed to the area analogous to the female genitals. Censorious members of the public *did* complain about this advertisement: They insisted that the naked little boy had to put on some clothes. Some copies of the advertisement were duly altered. No one appears to have commented on the rest of the sexual symbolism.⁶¹

Steele's comment on this advertisement is more intriguing than the image itself: '[i]n those innocent pre-Freudian days, quite explicit images often went unremarked'.⁶² Steele's analysis of the *hidden* erotic meaning is apparently Freudian, but we

⁶¹ Valerie Steele, 'The Corset: Fashion and Eroticism', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture*, vol. 3 (1999): 449-73 (459-61).

⁶² *Ibid.* (459).

couldn't be sure whether pre-Freudian consumers were, as Steele suggests, *unconscious* of the erotic overtone of the advertising image, or post-Freudian critics become overly-conscious of a *fictional* desire. If we further scrutinise this image, we realise that the gender of the naked child remains rather unclear because the male genital is unseen, and the area the water stream is being directed to is high above the navel. Even though Steele's association of the child's spurting water stream at the corset with male ejaculation into the female genitals isn't that far-fetched, it may be a slightly strained and uninspired interpretation. However, she is absolutely right about one thing: whether or not her Freudian interpretation of this advertising image is strained, the ironic fact is that psychoanalysis indeed has eroticised our vision when we see such things. Exactly because of our eroticised vision, we regard it as being overly naïve to assume that advertisers and consumers in 1901 were so innocent that they didn't detect the erotic undercurrent; it seems more likely to us that a subtler play with innocence and eroticism is involved here in this image: the appearance of an innocent child watering a vase-like piece of corset containing a bunch of wild tree flowers creates an almost idyllic scenario where all erotic elements remain absent and unseen, whereas such an understatement of eroticism itself is a smart strategy to elude censorship. That is to say, this advertising image exemplifies a surgical execution wherein the precise amount of eroticism is hinted at yet none of excessive caution is aroused. Another advertising image that promotes Warner's rust-proof corset—with its explicit slogan shouting out loud: 'Get more water! Mamma wont [*sic*] care—she knows it is Warner's Rust-Proof Corset'—may further help us to explain away Steele's Freudian speculation on the erotic symbolism of the water-spurting child. As can be seen in the image, two children of unknown gender are playing with a piece of Warner's corset; one child is holding the corset supportively at its right breast, while the other child, with a naughty grimace, is standing on a stool and pouring water down on the corset. The action of pouring water serves only one purpose, that is, to highlight the rustproof condition of the commodity. To have said so is not to argue that the image is innocent as it appears to be, but rather to argue that Steele underestimate its prowess to play an erotic yet safe game.

Compared with the water-pouring child, the analogy between the female body and flowers deserves more attention, especially when this analogy is strongly

reminiscent of Molly's words: 'I was a flower of the mountain yes so we are flowers all a womans body' (*U* 18.1576-77). Towards the end of the episode, Molly's thoughts have a dramatic turn from her previous speculation on 'a nice semitransparent morning gown' (*U* 18.1495-96), 'a peachblossom dressing jacket [. . .] in Walpoles only 8/6 or 18/6' (*U* 18.1496-97), 'my best shift and drawers [. . .] that [. . .] make his micky stand for him' (*U* 18.1508-10), '£1 or perhaps 30/- [. . .] to buy underclothes' (*U* 18.1523) to her praise of an idyllic scenario: 'I love flowers Id love to have the whole place swimming in roses God of heaven theres nothing like nature the wild mountains then the sea and the waves rushing then the beautiful country' (*U* 18.1557-60). Such a great shift from erotic lingerie displayed and sold in urban department stores to idyllic rural landscape has led to different interpretations among critics. For instance, Joseph Heininger makes the following argument:

Molly's flower is a personal image retrieved from the stock poetic and popular images of women, and a political image with which she clearly rejects the commodification of woman's bodies promoted by the ideology of the *Gentlewoman* magazine. Molly therefore resists England's merchandizing and colonizing imperatives by reclaiming a symbol encoded wit personal significance from the store of publically merchandised images.⁶³

Heininger's interpretation of Molly's flower as a refusal to the idea of the commodified female body may need re-evaluation, because the analogy between the female body and flowers is demonstrated by many advertising images that promote lingerie. We can't exclude the possibility that Molly's thoughts of the rural scenery have been triggered by the advertising analogy. Another Penelopean link between the floral image and lingerie exists in the fact that such fabrics as 'flowerèd muslin'⁶⁴ and 'fresh flowered silk'⁶⁵ become popular after 'the midcentury invention of the sewing machine',⁶⁶ and that the pastel colours Molly refers to—'pink and blue and yellow' (*U* 18.1600)—become available colour options for lingerie items after the

⁶³ Joseph Heininger, 'Molly Bloom's Ad Language and Goods Behaviour: Advertising as Social Communication in *Ulysses*', in *Molly Blooms: A Polylogue on 'Penelope' and Cultural Studies*, ed. Richard Pearce (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 171.

⁶⁴ Pritchard and Le Quesne, *The Cult of Chiffon (With illustrations by Rose Le Quesne)*, 32.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁶⁶ Fields, *An Intimate Affair*, 30.

application of chemical dyes to undergarments in the 1860s.⁶⁷ To have listed these material minutiae is not to suggest that Molly's recollection of her days in Gibraltar should be regarded as a disguised advertising language, but to reveal another latent logic driving Molly's leaping thought: her final return to the Rock—whose ancient name used to be *flora calpensis*⁶⁸—may have been triggered by the fine pattern of flowered fabrics being pressed against her skin and caressed by her fingertips, while she's still struggling to 'doze off 1 2 3 4 5' (*U* 18.1545). If Jennifer Wicke's observation is correct, namely, if 'Penelope' illustrates 'a mental passage to Gibraltar or back from Gibraltar, mediated by the act of consumption' and if Molly uses consumption to think through—to produce a situated analysis—of the relations of Gibraltar to Ireland, Gibraltar to England, England to Ireland',⁶⁹ then the association between flowered lingerie and *flora calpensis* is definitely a fine example of such mnemonic mapping mechanism.

Even though Wicke argues that Molly uses commodities to forge a mental connection between England, Ireland and Gibraltar, Andrew Gibson reminds us of how Molly's sensuous recollection of Gibraltar departs from Joyce's contemporary literary depiction of the Rock as an austere military citadel, which is often identified with imperial garrisons, arsenals and the trafficking of Irishwomen. Because of such a colonial military backdrop, when interpreting Joyce's own comment on the significance of his use of 'yeses' in 'Penelope'—'*J'avais trouvé le mot "yes", qui se prononce à peine, signifie l'acquiescement, l'abandon, la détente, la fin de toute résistance*'⁷⁰—Gibson argues that 'Penelope' embodies *la fin de toute résistance* 'in at least two senses: the end of all resistance is to challenge, subvert, overthrow, maybe even transform the power resisted. But it is also to cede, to be reconciled to the effects of that power'.⁷¹ Gibson regards Molly's *yeses* as Joyce's coded gesture of détente to the colonial power, and points out that Joyce's self-acclaimed completion date of *Ulysses* on the 29th of October 1921 is 'nearly four months after the IRA and

⁶⁷ Ibid., 28.

⁶⁸ Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge*, 271.

⁶⁹ Jennifer Wicke, "'Who's She When She's at Home?': Molly Bloom and the Work of Consumption', in *Molly Blooms: A Polylogue on 'Penelope' and Cultural Studies*, ed. Richard Pearce (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 190.

⁷⁰ See Ellmann, *James Joyce*, 712: 'I had found the word "yes", which is barely pronounced, which denotes acquiescence, self-abandon, relaxation, the end of all resistance'.

⁷¹ Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge*, 269-70.

the British Army declare truce, eighteen days after the opening of the Anglo-Irish conference and just over five weeks before the signing of the Treaty itself'.⁷² However, long before the truce that put an end to political and military struggles, Molly in 1904 has already ended all her resistance to the colonising power of fashionable commodities. If the discursive route from Molly's flowered lingerie to the military backdrop of *flora calpensis* seems incongruous, it nonetheless perfectly resembles the impossible logic that drives Molly's train of thought: when thinking of the British military presence on the Rock, she often patches it together with fashion items. For instance, her recollection of 'Gardner lieut Stanley G 8th Bn 2nd East Lancs Rgt of enteric fever' (*U* 18.389) ends up with an incongruous conclusion that comes after *enteric fever*: 'he was a lovely fellow in khaki' (*U* 18.389-90); after several lines, her thoughts roams again from 'the first time I saw the Spanish cavalry at La Roque' (*U* 18.397), through 'the Black Watch with their kilts in time at the March past the 10th hussars the prince of Wales own' (*U* 18.400-2), and finally to the bizarre connection between war profiteering and fashionable souvenirs: '[Boylan's] father made his money over selling the horses for the cavalry well he could buy me a nice present up in Belfast after what I gave him theyve lovely linen up there or one of those nice kimono things' (*U* 18.403-5). Molly's nocturnal thoughts demonstrate how she makes (non)sense out of her obscure national identity and the two colonial sites where she lives. Being the daughter of Brian Cooper Tweedy (an Irishman who had been sent to the British Gibraltar with the Royal Dublin Fusiliers, the regiment where he served as a sergeant major) and Lunita Laredo (a mysterious Spanish Jew whom we know next to nothing about), Molly seldom feels troubled with her ambiguous national identity and remains politically apathetic, as is revealed by her own statements: 'he was going about with some of them Sinner Fein lately or whatever they call themselves talking his usual trash and nonsense [. . .] I hate the mention of their politics' (*U* 18.383-88). Rather, Molly becomes obsessed with and indulges herself in all those *corporeal* things, things that excite and affect and ornament her body—Boylan's 'tremendous big red brute of a thing' (*U* 18.144), corsets that give her 'a delightful figure line' (*U* 18.448), 'antifat' pills that make her slim (*U* 18.456), 'the face lotion' that makes her 'skin like new' (*U* 18.458-59), 'eggs

⁷² Ibid., 19.

beaten up with marsala' that enlarge her breasts (*U* 18.538), 'that cheap peau d'Espagne that faded and left a stink' (*U* 18.864-65), the lace on her black dress that shows off her bubs (*U* 18.900-1), 'that white thing coming from' her (*U* 18.1152-53), et cetera. Molly, born at a colonial siege and living in a colonial city, demonstrates how she, as a proto-modern consumer, deals with her own obscure national identity; she turns her back to the political inquietude that haunts the colonial city and enjoys corporeal pleasures by consuming commodities that the British empire and its global capitalist system offer. Instead of wondering whether she is British or Irish or Spanish, Molly embraces a new identity that breaks the national and ethnical barriers, namely, the status as a dame of fashion. An Irish woman would wear a kimono-inspired tea-gown and a Japanese woman would spray herself with French perfume, even though the production and circulation of these commodities might have involved such imperial evils as exploitation of labour and war-profiteering. Joyce doesn't seem to judge the complicit relation between the British empire and the rise of global consumerism; he just exposes how it has taken hold of Molly's mind.

5.3 LINGERIE: FROM LACY TO RACY

Molly's soliloquy, in Heininger's words, 'contains many references to commodities and consumption, especially clothes and lingerie of high quality and higher-than-average price'.⁷³ A scrutiny at the subtle connection between eroticised lingerie, psychoanalysis, and capitalism will reveal how Molly's mind becomes colonised by Edwardian advertising discourse and the surplus desire for commodities that exceeds the real need. In 'The Fall and Rise of Erotic Lingerie', Dana Wilson-Kovacs makes the following statement: 'modern capitalism has advocated the manufacture, extension and detail of desires, rather than their suppression. The commodification of fantasies has gradually gained erotic lingerie its place in the contemporary sexual iconography'.⁷⁴ If Wilson-Kovacs regards the entire process through which lingerie becomes an erotic icon as an elaborate capitalist construction

⁷³ Heininger, 'Molly Bloom's Ad Language', 163.

⁷⁴ Dana Wilson-Kovacs, 'The Fall and Rise of Erotic Lingerie', in *Dressed to Impress: Looking the Part*, ed. William J.F. Keenan (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 175.

that resorts to consumers' desires, then what has been hinted at yet remains unsaid is that lingerie's sexual allure is rather artificial than natural and that consumers are brainwashed into seeing lingerie as erotic symbols.

The episode of 'Penelope' as a whole could arguably be read as an archaeological document that trace and preserve the eroticisation of Edwardian women's lingerie. In other words, 'Penelope' reveals some valuable traces of how women's lingerie had gradually gained its status as *the* erotic fetish at the turn of the century. Indeed, critics have long been identifying Molly's seductive pieces of lingerie with erotic fetishes, and such identification is strongly supported by the Ulyssean text itself, for—when he is questioned by the catechistic voice: 'What miscellaneous effects of female personal wearing apparel were perceived by him?' (*U* 17.2090-91)—Bloom answers with a startling meticulousness that suggests fetishistic cathexis:

A pair of new inodorous halfsilk black ladies' hose, a pair of new violet garters, a pair of outsize ladies' drawers of India mull, cut on generous lines, redolent of opoponax, jessamine and Muratti's Turkish cigarettes and containing a long bright steel safety pin, folded curvilinear, a camisole of batiste with thin lace border, an accordion underskirt of blue silk moirette, all these objects being disposed irregularly on the top of a rectangular trunk, quadruple battened, having capped corners, with multicoloured labels, initialled on its fore side in white lettering B. C. T. (Brian Cooper Tweedy) (*U* 17.2092-2100).

Bloom's eyes function as a camera lens that zooms in and captures every single details of female lingerie. In fact, the word *lingerie* only appears three times in *Ulysses*. It is first articulated by Bloom in 'Nausicaa' while he recollects Gerty's exhibitionism: '*Lingerie* does it. Felt for the curves inside her *deshabille*' (*U* 13.796). It then makes two more appearances in 'Circe' within Virag's and Bello's lines: 'Correct me but I always understood that the act so performed by skittish humans with glimpses of lingerie appealed to you in virtue of its exhibitionististicity' (*U* 15.2324-25); 'creations of lovely lingerie for Alice and nice scent for Alice' (*U* 15.2980). At first sight, it is intriguing to wonder why Joyce italicises the word 'lingerie' when he lets Bloom introduce the word into *Ulysses* for the very first time, but the answer becomes more than lucid if we notice the other italicised word that

goes after *lingerie*, that is, *deshabille*: both words are etymologically French. The entries for *lingerie* and *deshabille* in the *Oxford English Dictionary* read as follows:

lingerie, *n.*

Pronunciation: /lɛʒri/ /'lænzəri:/

Etymology: French, 'the making or selling of linnen cloth; also, linnen, linnen stuffe, things made of linnen' (Cotragve), < *linge* linen.

a. Linen articles collectively; all the articles of linen, lace, etc. In a woman's wardrobe or *trousseau*; women's underwear and nightclothes.⁷⁵

dishabille, *n.* and *adj.*

Pronunciation: /dɪsə'bi:l/ /-'bɪl/

Etymology: French *déshabillé* (in 1642 *desabillé*, Hatzfeld & Darmesteter) undress, subst. use of past participle of *déshabiller* to undress, < *des-*, DIS- prefix + *habiller* to dress, etc. The final -é of the French word (or its equivalent) has been occasional in English since the 17th cent., but it was soon changed to *e* mute, and the prefix generally (like Old French *des-*) altered to *dis-*.

A. *n.*

1. The state of being partly undressed, or dressed in a negligent or careless style; undress. Usually in phr. *in dishabille* (= French *en déshabillé*).

...

2. *concr.* A garment worn in undress; a dress or costume of a negligent style.⁷⁶

Since Joyce deliberately uses the italicised French words—it could be noticed that Joyce even keeps the French form of *dishabille*, though he does replace the accented *é* with the mute *e*—to articulate women's underwear, the mindset behind his word choice certainly merits scrutiny. Does Joyce choose this pair of French words because he thinks they sound more erotic? And if this is the case, how does such a bond between *lingerie* and eroticism come into being? As far as its etymology is concerned, there is nothing erotic about the French word *lingerie*, because it simply denotes 'things made of linen'. However, according to Jean McElvain and Angelina Jones's observation, the term *lingerie*, because of certain cultural formations, seems to have been endowed with extra connotations:

⁷⁵ 'lingerie, *n.*', *OED Online*, Oxford University Press (2012), <http://www.oed.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/Entry/108667?redirectedFrom=lingerie#eid>, accessed 16.11.12.

⁷⁶ 'dishabille, *n.* and *adj.*', *OED Online*, Oxford University Press (2012), <http://www.oed.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/Entry/54439?redirectedFrom=deshabille#eid>, accessed 16.11.12.

Lingerie as a term evokes different response from terms like *underwear* and *undergarment*. An undergarment is typically associated with functionality, as an object used to shape the human form or worn for comfort beneath outer garments. Lingerie, on the other hand, makes one think of lace, satin, garter belts, and bustiers. Regardless of dictionary definitions, *lingerie* has come to connote a use associated with sexuality and personal interactions.⁷⁷

It is this very shift of meaning, or rather, proliferation of meaning, that merits scrutiny. If we look into some turn-of-the-century periodicals, we may notice that the italicised *lingerie* is a conventional typographical feature that aims not merely to highlight its French origin but also to identify it with sensuality and luxury. For instance, a 1898 journal article entitled 'FASHIONS IN LINGERIE' in the *London Journal Ladies' Supplement* tries to seduce female consumers with its advertising language: 'Of course, *lingerie* that is handmade in French style is the daintiest'.⁷⁸ Such an association between lingerie and Paris fashion was indeed emphasised by the turn-of-the-century advertising discourse, as a couple of references to lingerie in the *Daily Chronicle* would further reveal: 'The lingerie blouse made a most emphatic appearance in Paris [. . .] this winter';⁷⁹ 'Embroider [. . .] if the sacque is of piqué or lingerie materials'.⁸⁰ Even Molly herself acknowledges the magical charm that the sound of Paris casts on consumers, as she thinks of the fashionable gift sent to her from the Parisian department store Bon Marché: 'that lovely frock fathers friend Mrs Stanhope sent me from the B Marche paris' (*U* 18.612-13). The emphasis on the Frenchness of lingerie and the abundance of French words in undergarment advertisement reveal a rooted stereotypical distinction: when referring to Frenchness and Englishness, Mrs Pritchard, the godmother of Edwardian fashion, links the former with 'delightful coqueties' while the latter 'solidity and practicability'.⁸¹ Therefore, the introduction of the French word *lingerie* into the English diction seems to work as a marketing strategy, whose aim is to create a brand new category

⁷⁷ Jean McElvain and Angelina Jones, Jean McElvain and Angelina Jones, 'Feathered Lingerie: From the Stage to the Bedroom', in *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion* (Oxford: Berg, 2012).

⁷⁸ 'Fashion in Lingerie', *The London Journal, and Weekly Record of Literature, Science, and Art*, vol. 30 (1898): 12 (12).

⁷⁹ 'lingerie, n.', *OED Online*.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*.

⁸¹ Pritchard and Le Quesne, *The Cult of Chiffon (With illustrations by Rose Le Quesne)*, 23.



Fig. 5.3—‘La Nouvelle Tentation de Saint Antoine ou le Triomphe de la Lingerie’, reproduced from *Le Rire: Journal Humoristique Illustré Paraissant le Samedi*, No° 58. 2 (14 December, 1895).

of luxurious and sensuous undergarments that not merely remind consumers of latest Parisian fashion but also exist only for eroticism’s sake.

The eroticisation of the French word *lingerie*—which transforms it from a *lacy* word to a *racy* word—is also deeply associated with the turn-of-the-century subculture of prostitution. As can be seen, Joyce himself connects lingerie with prostitution by registering the word within Cohen’s whorehouse in ‘Circe’, and the origin of such a connection suggested by ‘Circe’ can be traced back to Paris’s art scenes of the 19th century. An intriguing case that is highly pertinent to our

discussion here is *Nana*, Édouard Manet's most (in)famous *essai du corset*.⁸² *Nana* (the *demi-mondaine* debuting in Émile Zola's *L'Assommoir*) is posed here by Henriette Hauser—a popular *théâtre-de-boulevard* entertainer—in a pale blue satin corset.⁸³ On the one hand, *Nana* reflects the fin-de-siècle phenomenon that 'courtesans and actresses were the first to wear conspicuously erotic lingerie'.⁸⁴ On the other hand, the critical opprobrium generated by *Nana* reveals a mixed symptom of hypocrisy and fetishism, because the portrait of a clothed courtesan is accused of being more morally corrupt than the nude. Such modern and pathological preference for lingerie over the real body is the target of mockery in 'La Nouvelle Tentation de Saint Antoine ou le Triomphe de la Lingerie', a caricature published in *Le Rire: Journal Humoristique Illustré Paraissant le Samedi* (Fig. 5.3). *Modern* and *modernism*, at the fin de siècle, were derogative in certain contexts. For instance, in a harsh review Petronius Arbiter (a pseudonym borrowed from the Roman author of *Satyricon*) contends that *Nana* embodies the disease of modernism:

The noise made about [*Nana*—noise upon which Manet depended to attract attention to himself and his creations—had back of it nothing but personal notoriety and 'business'. So that this work is an incarnation of the disease called 'modernism', whose chief symptoms are commercial noise, æsthetic aberration and moral degeneration.⁸⁵

However biased this review may seem, it is nonetheless right about one thing: modernism is to a certain degree conditioned by commercialism. On the one hand, Manet's choice of the controversial theme is calculated, for controversy can be the best advertisement. On the other hand, a piece of lingerie became erotic and controversial, because it was associated with courtesans and actresses, who invested more than decent ladies did in expensive luxurious lingerie to enhance career opportunities. Even though it seems tautological to ascribe lingerie's eroticism to courtesans and actresses, they were indeed the best walking advertisements for the

⁸² See Steele, 'The Corset: Fashion and Eroticism', (454): 'the *essai du corset* was an important subcategory within the genre of the *toilette galante*, which also included images of women pulling on their stockings'.

⁸³ Beth Archer Brombert, *Edouard Manet: Rebel in a Frock Coat* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1996), 384.

⁸⁴ Steele, 'The Corset: Fashion and Eroticism', (456).

⁸⁵ Petronius Arbiter, 'An Unethical Work: "Nana" by Manet', *The Art World*, vol. 2 (1917): 536-40 (539).

new lingerie industry, which was blossoming unprecedentedly in France; according to an article published in *La Vie Heureuse* in May 1912, there were 15,000 *maisons de lingerie* around that time, grossing millions of francs annually.⁸⁶

Yet another intriguing question of *Nana* is this: Valerie Steele reveals that the erogenous zone is prone to shift according to the trend of lingerie fashion; for instance, women's derrières were perceived as sexually attractive when the bustle was in vogue.⁸⁷ Similarly, Wilson-Kovacs also notices that '[p]arallel to the rise of the underclothes industry in the last hundred years, a subtler process of redefining eroticism and reinventing the boundaries between licit and illicit sexuality took place'.⁸⁸ Let me be more explicit: the advertising discourse has reversed the chain-reaction of erotogenesis. Naked body parts are erotic because they *are reminiscent of* fashionable lingerie, and consumers desire the latter more than the former. Intriguingly, while certain consumers desire dirty dangerous lingerie that whores wear and 'the modern taste for luxurious, erotic lingerie grew steadily',⁸⁹ other consumers still hold the belief that loose corsets connote loose morality. Such double-facedness of corsets perfectly reveals the slipperiness of the advertising discourse: a piece of lingerie can be either moral or immoral; it all depends on who its target consumers are.

Similar to Manet's *Nana*, Joyce's Molly used to be accused of being morally debased, but 'Penelope' is a textual version of *toilette galante*. Among her miscellaneous pieces of lingerie, Molly seems most obsessed with her drawers, for her nocturnal thoughts visit and revisit them every now and then. Molly's drawers are indeed fascinating and complicated objects to be scrutinised. Just like corsets, drawers have been seen as fetishes without much doubt. For instance, Joseph Heininger makes his observation as follows:

Drawers are especially potent fetishes, as she knows: she has worn drawers with Boylan; she plans to wear new drawers to display her body for Bloom. She even comments in a moment of etymological inspiration

⁸⁶ Jules Huret, '150 Millions de frivolités: Le Rôle social d'une artiste de la mode', *La Vie Heureuse*, vol. 5 (1912): 130-32.

⁸⁷ Valerie Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian Era to the Jazz Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 42.

⁸⁸ Wilson-Kovacs, 'The Fall and Rise of Erotic Lingerie', 164.

⁸⁹ Steele, 'The Corset: Fashion and Eroticism', (457).

that the still-daring fashion in women's dress, bloomers, is doubtless named for Bloom, who is always 'skeezeing' at the girls on the bicycles.⁹⁰

Molly's references to her drawers do suggest a tint of fetishism as they explicitly recall Bloom's almost pathological crush on such items: 'hed never have got me so cheap as he did he was 10 times worse himself anyhow begging me to give him a tiny bit cut off my drawers' (*U* 18.283-85); 'of course hes mad on the subject of drawers thats plain to be seen' (*U* 18.289). However, it seems rather problematic to regard her drawers as proper fetishes in a Freudian sense, because Molly is wearing a pair of *open-crotch* drawers that literally reveals every inch of her private part, at the very heart of which is the female hole. As Molly's drawers rather expose than concealing her female genitals, it is quite clear that the categorisation of drawers as fetishes should be re-evaluated. According to Freud's definition, 'the fetish is a substitute for the woman's (the mother's) penis that the little boy once believed in and—for reasons familiar to us—does not want to give up';⁹¹ if this is how Freud defines the fetish, then Molly's drawers could hardly function as one, because the open crotch rather frames the gaze and forces it to focus on the lack, the absence, the hole, than postponing the shocking discovery or creating the optic illusion that the penis is there.

How should we understand Bloom's fetishistic obsession with Molly's drawers then? The very first sentence of this chapter compares a piece of lingerie to a tiny optical machine. This analogy is inspired by Deleuze and Guattari, who have made the audacious statement that '[e]verywhere it is *machines*—real ones, not figurative ones'.⁹² They (or, more accurately, Félix Guattari alone) invent the concept of *desiring-machine* to reject the Freudian conception of the unconscious as an impotent representational *theatre*. For Deleuze and Guattari, Freud made the fatal mistake when he confined the unconscious to the Oedipal theatre and thus castrated its capacity for production:

⁹⁰ Heininger, 'Molly Bloom's Ad Language', 165. Also see Dunleavy, *Dress in Ireland*, 155: 'About the 1850 the constrictions and weight of fashionable dress provoked two reactions. The first was the introduction of a hooped petticoat while the other was the promotion of a revised dress system by an American, Mrs Amelia Bloomer [my italics]'.

⁹¹ Freud, "Fetishism", 152-53.

⁹² Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 1.

The great discovery of psychoanalysis was that of the production of desire, of the productions of the unconscious. But once Oedipus entered the picture, this discovery was soon buried beneath a new brand of idealism: a classical theater was substituted for the unconscious as a factory; representation was substituted for the units of production of the unconscious; and an unconscious that was capable of nothing but expressing itself—in myth, tragedy, dreams—was substituted for the productive unconscious.⁹³

By the same token, they reject the Freudian hypothesis that fetishism is a defense mechanism of repression; instead, they contend that ‘fetishes are manifestations of desiring-machines’.⁹⁴ That is to say, the *raison-d’être* of fetishes is not to repress desire, but to multiply it. Freud, therefore, may have misled us when he argues that the fetish conceals the lack. Capitalism creates sartorial fetishes to multiply the lack, so as to force consumers to invest and spend more.

It is with the intriguing verb *spend* that this chapter is going to seal itself off. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *spend* means:

To pay out or away; to disburse or expend; to dispose of, or deprive oneself of, in this way. [. . .] To express (an opinion). [. . .] To employ, occupy, use or pass (time, one’s life, etc.) *in* or *on* some action, occupation, or state. [. . .] To suffer the loss of (*blood* [my italics], life, etc.) [. . .] To expend or employ (speech or language); to utter or emit (a word, sound, etc.) [. . .] To allow or cause to *flow* [my italics]. [. . .] To *consume* [my italics]. [. . .] To ejaculate; to have an orgasm. *slang*.⁹⁵

This verb shows up thrice in ‘Penelope’: ‘I made him spend once with my foot’ (*U* 18.263); ‘he made me spend the 2nd time tickling me behind with his finger I was coming for about 5 minutes with my legs round him’ (*U* 18.586-87); ‘he wont spend it Ill let him do it off on me behind provided he doesnt smear all my good drawers’ (*U* 18.1527-28). Apparently, in Molly’s soliloquy, the verb *spend* is strongly sexually charged, meaning *to ejaculate* or *to have an orgasm*. If Molly means *orgasmic emission* when saying *spend*, then the verb not merely becomes associated with a fluid image but also perfectly echoes Molly’s menstrual soliloquy. Having

⁹³ Ibid., 24.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 183.

⁹⁵ ‘spend, v.1’, *OED Online*, Oxford University Press (2012), <http://www.oed.com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/view/Entry/186268?rskey=amfbOz&result=3&isAdvanced=false#eid>, accessed 15.12.12.

said so, I do not wish to return to the clichéd interpretation of ‘Penelope’ as Molly’s flowing language; instead, I wish to put emphasis on the action of *spending* as an emission of excessive body fluid, desire, thoughts, capital, etc.. The polyvalent verb *spend* is wonderfully pertinent to various aspects of ‘Penelope’: it is to excrete body fluid and waste, it is to discharge excessive and disturbing thoughts, and it is to consume commodities. Therefore, *spend* is the key word, the repetitive action, and the central event of Molly’s *corps écrivain*. On the one hand, it encapsulates all recurrent themes in Molly’s body *writing*—orgasmic pleasures and consumption. On the other hand, it is the very action that Molly’s writing *body* is doing—her body is struggling to *spend* the insomniac night away and her looming brain is *spending* her verdicts on those men whom she *knows*. Better yet, in its slangy sense, *spend* is the perfect word that exposes the complicity between capitalism and psychoanalysis, because it is simultaneously scatological, economical, and erotic—isn’t the entire process of psychoanalytic talking cure best described as an action of *spending*, in the sense that the analysand excrete his/her sexually-charged psychic surplus and transacts it to the analyst, who then translates it into a linguistically-constructed equivalent (or fiction)? Similarly, Molly’s body writing undergoes an economic transaction, through which her surplus desire and menstrual blood and psychic traces are *traded* for multiplying words. Molly’s body writing spends on spending.

CHAPTER 6

'MET HIM PIKE HOSES': THE TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS

—Metempsychosis, he said, frowning. It's Greek: from the Greek. That means the transmigration of souls. (*U* 4.341-42)

—James Joyce

Metempsychosis—a Greek word which recurs in *Ulysses*—may be the perfect word to encapsulate the chameleonic nature of fashion: similar to the transmigration of souls, fashion trends move in a circular motion and certain modes reincarnate and remain *à la mode* throughout different times. Curiously, Molly's mispronunciation of the word—'Met him pike hoses' (*U* 8.112) she calls it—erroneously enhances its connection with fashion fetishism, and transforms the Greek word into an erotic spectacle wherein a voyeur witnesses (perhaps accidentally) a man *penetrating* female stockings. Molly's misconception of the word's pronunciation reveals that commodities have invaded Dubliners' language and conditioned their thoughts. If *metempsychosis* has been endowed with new possible connotations (namely, the transmigration of *la mode* and the erotic spectacle of met-him-pike-hoses), what is the force driving such transmigration and eroticisation? This very force is what I have aimed to make manifest: a fictional desire that is planted into Dubliners' mind. Let me be more explicit: dead fashion can be revitalised, because consumers are told to desire and want it again; Molly sees the erotic spectacle in metempsychosis, because she is implanted with the idea that hoses are sexy fetishes. These implanted ideas and desires are so small that one hardly senses their alien intrusions. For instance, Stephen hardly realises that his refusal to wear grey trousers conforms to English etiquette, whereas Gerty is brainwashed into believing that electric blue is in vogue but never asks why. In other words, they are colonised by the capitalist logic of *micro-spectacles*.

Such a colonising force that seeps into Dubliners' consciousness is what this thesis has exposed: micro-spectacles are ubiquitous yet inconspicuous, thus easily encroaching on one's quotidian life without triggering the alarm. Micro-spectacles

are more than tangible commodities; they are also lens through which one sees things or self-images that one desires to fashion. In *Ulysses*, these miscellaneous faces of micro-spectacles comprise a system that not merely dominates various aspects of Dubliners' quotidian life, but, even more radically, distorts their very conception of how the *everyday* should be lived. As Henri Lefebvre has it: 'Everybody knows from having seen or appreciated this that familiar gestures and everyday manners are not the same in the West (*chez nous*) as in Japan, or in Arab countries. These gestures, these manners, are acquired, are learned'.¹ But from whom does everybody acquire and learn them? From advertisements, entertainment, propaganda, schools, the law, et cetera. In *Ulysses*, these institutions are in the English master's hands. If Joyce's Dubliners speak English, wear English mourning crape, read English fashion magazines, and dream about English pantomime, how do they define and defend their Irishness?

While having demonstrating how English micro-spectacles penetrate and dominate Dubliners' everyday life, I have also suggested that psychoanalysis and capitalism are partners in crime, which is a point that merits a final explanation. This line of argument has been borrowed from Deleuze and Guattari. In *Anti-Oedipus*, they see the flows of capital and the flows of desire as 'one and the same economy', or, as Mark Seem has it, 'the economy of flows'.² In other words, '[t]he flows and productions of desire will simply be viewed as the unconscious of the social productions. Behind every investment of time and interest and capital, an investment of desire, and vice versa'.³ Therefore, Deleuze and Guattari contend as follows:

It is lack that infiltrates itself, creates empty spaces or vacuoles, and propagates itself in accordance with the organization of an already existing organization of production. The deliberate creation of lack as a function of market economy is the art of a dominant class. This involves deliberately organizing wants and needs (*manque*) amid an abundance of production; making all of desire teeter and fall victim to the great fear of not having one's needs satisfied; and making the object dependent upon a real production that is supposedly exterior to desire (the demands of

¹ Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life* (London: Continuum, 2004), 38.

² Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, xviii.

³ Ibid., xviii.

rationality), while at the same time the production of desire is categorized as fantasy and nothing but fantasy.⁴

It is within this theoretical frame that I have dealt with Joyce's Dubliners' fashion fetishism. Stephen, Bloom, Gerty, and Molly are made to desire what is being mass-produced: mourning crape, shoes, blue fabrics, and lingerie. Such fetishistic obsession with fashionable commodities is sometimes so excessive that the subject ironically becomes sexually infertile, as is revealed by the premature death of Rudy and Bloom's inability to make love to Molly. In other words, the surplus of fictional desire leads to barrenness, because the labour of (re)production is replaced by investment and spending, either psychologically, physically, or economically.

By the same token, Deleuz and Guattari probably would call *Ulysses* a textual machine, for its heteroglossic narrative mode curiously conforms to the capitalistic logic that always desires surplus. As Derrick Attridge observes, 'the most tenacious and widespread' among the criticism of Joyce 'has been that there is an excess of technique over content',⁵ yet it is also such an excess of technique that marks *Ulysses* as the epitome of high modernism. Here are some intriguing questions: why would Joyce feel the need for the surplus of technique and styles? and why is this surplus identified with high modernism? I would propose that—since modernity is etymologically derived from *la mode*—Joyce's craze for ever-multiplying styles is resonant with the fashion industry's obsession with newness, pastiche, and abundance. Even more intriguingly, Ezra Pound's tagging Joyce as an *international* modernist whose target market is a global audience seems to hint at the economic reasoning as follows: a deracinated writer is more marketable and hence has a greater chance in achieving wider circulation in the era of global capitalism. However, the capitalist process of deterritorialisation, in Deleuze and Guattari's words, 'goes from the center to the periphery';⁶ therefore, if the erasure of Joyce's Irish root would pass him over to the centre, it nonetheless suggests that Ireland is on the periphery. In this vein, the entire discourse to establish Joyce as an international modernist curiously reveals a capitalist mentality.

⁴ Ibid., 28.

⁵ Attridge, *Joyce Effects*, 175.

⁶ Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 231.

Almost in a dystopian fashion, *Ulysses* has foreseen and illustrated a world of global capitalism where a new form of empire colonises our everyday life at every micro level. We see through micro-spectacles, we consume micro-spectacles, we become micro-spectacles.

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