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IRISH HISTORY IN "FLENECARS WAKE"

THE STRUCTURAL AND THEMATIC USE OF IRISH HISTORY
IN
JAMES JOYCE'S FINNEGANS WAKE

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A Thesis
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University
September 1976

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NUMBER OF PAGES: viii, 343

ABSTRACT

The object of this study is to discover whether Joyce's many allusions to events and personages from Ireland's history and mythology are incidental to the main narrative of Finnegans Wake, or whether they serve an intrinsic thematic and structural function.

Chapter II examines the general theories which underlie Joyce's use of the past in his novel. From Vico he derived his conception of the cyclical progress of history, and from Bruno a notion of conflict based on the confrontation of opposites. In the writings of Quinet Joyce discovered a metaphor for recurrence in the image of flowers which continue to flourish regardless of the rise and fall of civilizations. These general concepts found an Irish dimension in the work of Stefan Czarnowski. He examined the process of mythologization by which St. Patrick became absorbed into the cultural mould of the earlier Celtic heroes, and provided a parallel for Joyce's identification of his characters with corresponding figures in the past. Furthermore, Czarnowski's concept of provisional death, in which heroes were preserved by commemorative rites, reinforces the significance of the wake as a symbol of the hope of renewal.

Joyce began work on Finnegans Wake by isolating certain themes from Ireland's past, and incorporating them into the fictional framework of six preliminary sketches. These sketches are studied in their earliest and final forms in Chapter III. The figures of Roderick O'Connor, Tristan and Isolde, Kevin, Bishop Berkeley and Patrick are the focus of the first four, while the theme of invasion is prominent in "Mamalujo", and the relationship of subjugated people to a conqueror in "Here Comes Everybody." By tracing the original themes to their inclusion in Finnegans Wake Joyce's treatment of his subjects is seen to develop from a mood of simple parody towards the juxtaposition of a multiplicity of parallel themes.

The main emphasis of the novel went beyond the initial interest in history, as the concerns revealed by the isolation of themes from the past were developed in a fictional framework designed to be archetypal and representative, rather than historical and particular. Chapter IV examines the relationship that Joyce set up between the brothers Shem and Shaun and their past. First as Mutt and Jute and later as Muta and Juva, they observe respectively the Battle of Clontarf and the confrontation of the Archdruid and Patrick. Throughout the novel the oppositions of Shem and Shaun are frequently given an Irish dimension. Furthermore, in the chapters of Finnegans Wake devoted to Shaun, he adopts many attitudes associated with an insular Irish point of view. As Shaun the Post, he is associated with Victoricus, the messenger sent by the people of Ireland in a time of crisis to recall St. Patrick. Shaun does not succeed in his mission, but dreams of usurping Patrick's position himself. He is also the advocate of violent means to achieve national aspirations, and, though his slogans are popular, they are also suspect. HCE himself, therefore, is forced to rise from his slumbers to propose an alternative, more tolerant, prospect for Ireland.

Joyce's depiction of HCE has a consistent Irish dimension, studied in Chapter V. He is shown as an outsider, associated with the many invaders of Ireland, whose wider view of reality enables him to point a new way forward. He is the founder of a city culture, which complements the traditional rural way of life, but which makes him an object of suspicion for many. His roles include not only the hero Finn and Saint Patrick, but also Parnell, whose personality deeply divided the country. The loss of public confidence, which paralyses HCE's creativity, is expressed in Finnegans Wake by the image of the grave, in which HCE must sleep in the state of provisional death, awaiting the popular acceptance of a broad concept of nationhood, and the establishment of a new era by mutual consent.

The themes which interested Joyce at the outset of his novel developed through his adaptation of ideas gleaned from Vico, Bruno and Czarnowski into a theory of history which re-enacts conflict as part of

its onward progression, but in which reconciliation is the necessary prerequisite for the institution of each new era. This theory influenced his selection of events from Irish history, which became a model for the parallel operation of recurrence in world history. Irish history, therefore, is a sustained level of significance in Finnegans Wake, absorbed into the novel's structure, and providing a wealth of detail to illustrate its thematic concerns.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to express my sincere thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Brian John, for his help in the preparation of this thesis. His advice, perception and constant encouragement are greatly appreciated. I am also grateful to Dr. Alan Bishop for his careful consideration of my manuscript and useful comments on my work. In addition, my thanks go to Dr. Maqbool Aziz, of my supervisory committee, to the Department of English and to the School of Graduate Studies for their support and assistance during the course of my research. Finally, I should like to mention with gratitude the interest and enthusiasm of my husband, Patrick O'Dwyer, and his practical assistance and encouragement at all stages of my work.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"one continuous present tense integument
slowly unfolded all marryvoising moodmoulded
cyclewheeling history" (FW.185.36-186.2)

James Joyce's novel Finnegans Wake contains an ironic cameo of the author himself at work upon it: "the first till last alshemist wrote over every square inch of the only foolscap available, his own body, till by its corrosive sublimation one continuous present tense integument slowly unfolded all marryvoising moodmoulded cyclewheeling history."¹ The cameo reveals in its various details Joyce's goal of incorporating all history into his work, a goal which was present from his earliest conception of the novel, and which formed the framework for its development. The writer begins with himself, using his own experience as the raw material of his book, only to find that the threads of the past have been woven into his own present self. Furthermore, the effort of creative self-exploration allows these threads to be disentangled and the secret of their weaving to be exposed. The writer brings to bear on his work all his own experience, and stamps it irrevocably with the impress of his personal past. However, what he himself has become is the result of the centuries of social development which have gone before, and which become present again in the moment of writing. Joyce came to view this process not as a chronological or linear progression but as a spiral which revolves continuously,

¹ Joyce, Finnegans Wake, pp. 185.34-186.2.
Subsequent references to this work will be incorporated into the text, giving the page and line numbers.

re-enacting the pattern of the past but expressing it in a new form. Finnegans Wake attempts to express the nature of this cumulative experience of the past through a medium which is essentially personal and esoteric. The writer's alchemical imagination, by allowing full play to the sublimated influence of the past, can make of his personal island of Ireland and its capital Dublin, past and present, a multi-dimensional model for all the world and all of time.

Joyce was writing in a period which had become conscious of the possibility of a sudden breakdown in civilization as a result of the traumatic experiences of the First World War. The powers which had dominated Europe and the world in the nineteenth century had had to come to terms with the consequences of attempting to consolidate their authority or extend it by force, an attempt which had caused the dissolution of the monarchies of Austria, Germany and Russia. The rapidity with which established authority had succumbed to pressures from within and without suggested that the accepted analyses of social and historical trends had been mistaken, or had ignored significant indications of the true direction of events. It was necessary to reassess the assumptions about society which had been taken for granted, and to re-examine events of the past in order to discover where the fatal weaknesses had originated. For Joyce, this reassessment focussed first on the new turn of events in Ireland, where the Free State, established in 1921, held the possibility of a fresh start for the country. Therefore, the past which he chose to explore at the outset was not his own biographical past (though that too was eventually included as an element in the personality of his "alchemist," Shem the Penman), but the past of Ireland, the country to which he belonged by birth and education.

The initial impetus for Finnegans Wake came from six preliminary sketches, of which the first four focus on the actual historical or mythological figures of Roderick O'Connor, Tristan and Isolde, Kevin, and Bishop Berkeley. Joyce's treatment of these figures is ironic, showing Roderick as a drunken, abandoned old man; Tristan and Isolde as love-

lorn novelette characters; Kevin as a smug, self-satisfied hermit; and Berkeley concealing reality with a camouflage of pseudo-philosophical propositions. The fifth and sixth sketches, "Here Comes Everybody" and "Mamalujo", were the first explorations of a possible fictional world, but with a strong historical substratum. Both of these latter sketches explore the relationship between events and the record that subsequently purports to preserve them. The ambiguity that surrounds HCE's encounter with a king, and the differing accounts of it that circulate afterwards, is one aspect of this theme. The shortcomings of the designated record-keepers, the annalists Mamalujo, are exposed through their concern with gossip, and the way in which they distort events to satisfy their personal prejudices. The record of the past is seriously flawed by the unreliability of witnesses and even participants, thus a fictional reconstruction may have as much validity in interpreting history as the scholarly work of careful historians.

The subconscious mind of the individual has been formed by the force of past experiences of which his conscious mind is not aware, but which may be released by an attempt to express existence creatively. The metaphor of a dream world provided Joyce with a fictional framework which might allow access to such buried truths about the past, as in such a context formal thought-sequences could be abandoned, and layers of parallels from many centuries might achieve simultaneous expression. The straightforward parody of stereotyped figures from the past, therefore, became the starting point of a far more complex endeavour, designed to be archetypal and representative rather than historical and particular.

As Finnegans Wake developed, the interest in Ireland's history which had provided the initial stimulus became a less significant element in the overall design. It remains, however, a constant element, forming the primary focus of several passages and characters of the novel, and always present in the form of incidental references, even when the main interest of a segment lies elsewhere. Joyce's desire to place his personal heritage in a universal context led him to develop a

language which would be capable of expressing several levels of meaning and modes of existence simultaneously. His cast of characters, similarly, enact their experience of love, guilt, vigour and decline through existence in several time-scales.

This multi-level expression of history is most often achieved through the role-playing of the male members of Joyce's archetypal family of husband, wife, twin sons and a daughter. The strength of ALP and Issy is derived from their disregard of the past and their concentration on the present and the future; thus they are not often the vehicles through which the past is explored. Shem and Shaun, however, are preoccupied with history, which is one of the study subjects during their lesson period. Out of school they re-enact the battles that they have learned about, taking opposite sides in every conflict. This polarization of the twins is the means whereby aggression is expressed in Finnegans Wake. Though warfare is seen to be futile, it has taken place, and must be subsumed in the fictional framework of the novel before reconciliation and renewal can succeed. The twins adopt attitudes and life-styles which will lead to clashes and quarrels. Thus Shaun is associated with introverted Irishness, becoming the chosen representative of the people and advocating violent means to bring about national aspirations. Shem is the maverick who questions popular assumptions, but is disregarded because he has chosen to associate himself with a "foreign" external point of view. Ultimately neither brother is successful in enforcing his authority over the other. Their opposition is a necessary prerequisite for the recreation of a figure who can form the link between their polarity: the regenerated HCE.

Joyce's creation of a universe which tries to incorporate all the past into a view of the present took its structural shape from a cyclical view of history, within the fictional world of the novel. This cyclical progression is embodied principally in the character of HCE, who exists simultaneously as Here Comes Everybody, the new Everyman; Haveth Childers Everywhere, the father of all; and Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker, the pubkeeper and family man. The curve of his life, from mature vigour to

the threatened period of middle-age, leading to eventual decline and death, is also the curve which Joyce discerned in the lives of nations. Thus HCE's story is paralleled by Joyce's view of a universal tendency, and the correspondences between an individual progress and that of a country are an important aspect of the use of Ireland's history in Finnegans Wake. The double sense of "wake," both an awakening and the mourning of death, is the ambiguity on which the correspondences are based. Is death the objective towards which the life spirals of men and of nations tend? Does the novel mourn the inevitability of disintegration? Or does the process lead towards a new awakening?

These questions are explored in the parallel contexts of the Earwicker family, Ireland as the society in which the family is placed, and the world as a whole. The tensions within a generation parallel those between generations, are projected into the political splits in a nation, and reach their ultimate expression in conflicts between nations. Ireland represents a midway point between family squabbles and world wars, a manageable setting in which to describe and analyze the problems which face individuals and societies alike. The possibility of a solution remains in the balance for much of the novel as the ambitions of the sons threaten the achievements of the patriarch, and popular suspicion undermines the achievements of former heroes. The growth in complexity of Finnegans Wake itself defies the offering of simple solutions to the problems it poses. There may indeed be grounds for optimism, but only if deepening understanding leads to acceptance of heterogeneity and the rejection of bigotry and prejudice.

Ireland's history provided many examples of the futile and ridiculous side of recurrence, the repetition by succeeding generations of the errors and misconceptions of the past. Instances of cowardice, weakness, treachery and suspicion are so pervasive in Finnegans Wake that they might seem to indicate a fatalistic acceptance that such things are irradicable. Joyce placed them, however, in a structural context based on a rhythm of cyclical progress. This is not a circle without end or beginning, where the repetition of mistakes is inevitable,

but a spiral progress in which the periodic collapse of social structures forces a moment of pause for reflection and re-assessment. Joyce felt himself to be living in such an interregnum, at a time when life appeared to lack pattern and purpose. The post-war generation found that its certainties had been shattered, and Joyce's contemporaries began to develop existentialism and the concept of the absurd as a response to life's apparent lack of significance. The encyclopedic technique of Finnegans Wake is Joyce's way of exploring the fragmentation of life past and present, but its formlessness is deceptive, since it has a pervasive structural core and thematic integrity.

This study sets out to isolate one stratum of reference in the novel, the theme of Ireland's past, which was inherent from the outset, and which persists to the conclusion, integrated and occasionally submerged in the mass of apparent miscellanea. The unity of Finnegans Wake arises from the underlying conviction that form and meaning do exist, and that the past and present are part of an on-going harmony. The study of the development of Ireland's history as a theme in Finnegans Wake reveals the techniques by which Joyce came to terms with the complexity of experience, and created a fictional world in which disparate material is integrated into a unified whole. Joyce achieves such unification through the structural concept of cyclicism and the thematic harmonization of the microcosm of the family with the macrocosm of Ireland, and ultimately through incorporating both into a new perspective on the past, present, and probable future of mankind in the world.

CHAPTER II

THE THEORETICAL BASIS FOR JOYCE'S VIEW OF HISTORY

"a theory none too rectiline of the evolution of human society and a testament of the rocks from all the dead unto some the living" (FW.73.31-33)

Early readers of Joyce's Work in Progress assumed that the best response to the new form and style was the free play of word association, and that a structural content, if present, was minimal. This assumption, though useful when faced with disconnected fragments, was essentially erroneous. In fact, Joyce evolved an elaborate structural framework for his novel, drawing principally on the work of Vico, Bruno, Quinet and Czarnowski, and a consideration of this theoretical substructure is a necessary preliminary to the study of Joyce's use of Irish history. As his theories took shape Joyce began to discuss them with his friends, and several of these, notably Eugene Jolas and Padraic Colum, have recorded significant conversations. His letters also contain valuable hints of the more important influences which helped to formulate his views on the recurrent rhythm which underlies events. He often recommended his friends to study Vico, a seventeenth-century Neapolitan philosopher, whose Scienza Nuova (first published in 1725) expounded a cyclical theory of history very congenial to Joyce. Eugene Jolas recalled in an article written shortly after Joyce's death: "He discussed Vico's theory of the origin of language. The conception of the cyclical evolution of civilizations born from each other like the phoenix from the ashes haunted him."¹ Padraic Colum remembered a similar conversation with Joyce: "He told me of Vico's theory of cycles in history. These historical cycles connected in some way with

¹ Eugene Jolas, "My Friend James Joyce", Partisan Review, VIII, 2(March-April 1941), 89.

the Vico Road that follows the bend of Dublin Bay between Dalkey and Killiney....'Of course,' Joyce told me, 'I don't take Vico's speculations literally; I use his cycles as a trellis.' "² Joyce also recommended Vico to Harriet Shaw Weaver, with the same caution: "I do not know if Vico has been translated. I would not pay overmuch attention to these theories, beyond using them for all they are worth, but they have gradually forced themselves on me through circumstances of my own life."³ Joyce himself emphasized the Irish location for the centre of this universal cycling history, telling an acquaintance, Dr. O'Brien, " 'that Finnegans Wake was "about" Finn lying dying by the River Liffey with the history of Ireland and the world cycling through his mind.' "⁴

It is hardly surprising that, when Finnegans Wake began to appear as Work in Progress in various reviews and pamphlet editions during the 1920's, such comments should have directed the attention of Joyce's literary friends to the question of history and the treatment of time as clues to the puzzling complexity of the new work. In 1929 a collection of essays on Work in Progress appeared, called Our Exagmination round His Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress. Most of the articles had previously been published in Transition which was also publishing the new work in sections, and all were written by acquaintances of Joyce, who said of them: "I did stand behind those twelve Marshals more or less directing them what lines of research to follow."⁵ Robert Sage writes, for example: "... it is not surprising that Joyce should have had the idea of creating a history of the universe and creating a language in which such a history would have to be related." In order to achieve this, Joyce "has embraced the world, heaven, hell and the celestial bodies, and, instead of observing the traditional

² Colum, Our Friend James Joyce, p. 82.

³ Joyce, Letters, I, 241.

⁴ Hart, Structure and Motif, p. 81.

⁵ Joyce, Letters, I, 283.

chronological scheme, with the narrative fibres sharply separated and treated as individual unities, he has telescoped time, space, all humanity and the universe of gods and heroes."⁶ Elliot Paul makes a similar point: "If one can consider all events as having a standing regardless of date, that the happenings of all the years are taken from their place on the shelf and arranged, not in numerical order, but according to a design dictated by the mind of Joyce, then the text is not nearly so puzzling."⁷

These writers are still far from grasping the structural use which Joyce intended to make of his cyclical view of time, and which was not clearly evident in the fragments of Work in Progress which they had available. To them it is the internal logic of Joyce's mind which orders the unusual chronology of the work, a logic which they assume must be grasped imaginatively rather than with the intellect. The attempt to understand Joyce's procedure led Marcel Brion to consider Time as an entity in itself, the central concept of the work and almost a character in its own right:

Work in Progress is essentially a time work. From a bird's eye view, time appears to be its principal subject. It begins in the middle of a moment and of a sentence, as if to place in infinity the initial disturbance of its waves. The concept of time here plays the principal role, not only by its concrete expressions but likewise by its abstract essence. It here takes on the significance of a creator-word and determines all the movements of the work.⁸

This is to give too much emphasis to what in the finished work is a structural device, designed to order the disparate facts of experience and give them a perspective, but only in order that larger points about

⁶ Robert Sage, "Before Ulysses - and after", in Our Exagmination, pp. 157, 155.

⁷ Elliot Paul, "Mr. Joyce's Treatment of Plot", in Our Exagmination, p. 132.

⁸ Marcel Brion, "The Idea of Time in the Work of James Joyce", in Our Exagmination, p. 31.

man, his development, and his place in the universe, can be made. Simultaneity of existence allows HCE and his sons to explore the range of life past and present, so that their experiences of endeavour, conflict, success, but also public failure, opprobrium and guilt, may allow them to point the way to a possible future.

However, comments such as these are part of an attempt on the part of sympathetic readers to construct a theoretical basis for Work in Progress which would explain the way in which Joyce's new work seemed to disrupt chronology, and to telescope personages such as Noah, Gladstone and Browning into one character and a simultaneous time experience. These writers based their interpretations on the necessity for a book which has a universal setting and theme to be free to move also in a universal time-scale. It was also evident to them that Joyce intended his cosmic novel to be rooted in the particulars of family life and the Irish landscape, as he made explicit in conversation with Eugene Jolas:

"There really is no coincidence in this book," he said during one of our walks. "I might easily have written this story in the traditional manner.... Every novelist knows the recipe.... It is not very difficult to follow a simple, chronological scheme which the critics will understand.... But I, after all, am trying to tell the story of this Chapelized family in a new way.... Time and the river and the mountain are the real heroes of my book.... Yet the elements are exactly what every novelist might use: man and woman, birth, childhood, night, sleep, marriage, prayer, death.... There is nothing paradoxical about this.... Only I am trying to build many planes of narrative with a single esthetic purpose...."⁹

Joyce was not aware of any conflict between the elements which were to form his novel and those of any other novelist. His method, not his material, was different, but only because of the larger significance which he wished to give his exploration of the relationship of lessons,

⁹ Eugene Jolas, "My Friend James Joyce", Partisan Review, VIII, 2 (March-April 1941), 88-89. Ellipsis was used by Jolas in his article.

learned in the family, to the wider society outside that nuclear unit. When he began to realize that his purpose was not clear, even to the sympathetic reader, and that the careful design upon which he was working was totally obscured by interpretations which emphasized the free play of imagination, he began to remind his friends more forcefully of his structural models, suggesting that they attempt to grasp the relationship between his practice and theoretical framework.

The critical commentary was thus fortified with references to the works of Vico and Bruno in particular, generally related to the dislocation of time which had earlier attracted writers on Work in Progress. In 1929, Michael Stuart, attempting to relate Joyce's work to that of other novelists and also to Joyce's earlier writing, argued that "Since there is no 'beginning' nor 'end' to universal history, the usual straight line construction of a novel like Ulysses is inadequate to the purpose.... [Therefore,] the author shall set about to rummage among philosophical writers with their theories of history and discover in Vico's Scienza Nuova and in the dialogues of Bruno certain speculations on the origins of the world and human society which shall furnish him with the frame of the 'finite story.'" ¹⁰ Before turning to the particular use which Joyce made of Irish history, I propose to examine in turn the contribution of three writers, Vico, Bruno and Quinet, to the formulation of the complex theory of history and progress which underlies the unusual time-scale of the novel, and also the contribution of Czarnowski to Joyce's understanding of the relationship between mythologization of the past and the society which creates the myths.

¹⁰ Michael Stuart, "Joyce after Ulysses", This Quarter, II (October-December 1929), reprinted in Robert H. Deming, ed., James Joyce: The Critical Heritage (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), II, 501.

Vico

Michael Stuart's article did not attempt to develop its theme by explication, and Samuel Beckett's article in Our Exagmination became the basis for all subsequent discussion of the importance of Giambattista Vico for Finnegans Wake. He isolates two aspects of Vico's work which have a bearing on Work in Progress:

His exposition of the ineluctable circular progression of Society was completely new, although the germ of it was contained in Giordano Bruno's treatment of identified contraries...[and] a theory of the origins of poetry and language, the significance of myth, and the nature of barbaric civilization that must have appeared nothing less than an impertinent outrage against tradition. These two aspects of Vico have their reverberations, their reapplications - without however, receiving the faintest explicit illustration - in 'Work in Progress'.¹¹

In spite of Beckett's warning not to seek explicit illustration of Viconian theory in Joyce's work, a close reading of Finnegans Wake reveals that it provides a consistent structural framework for the entire novel which is reiterated in miniature in many episodes, though frequently modified by other congenial structural theories.¹² Joyce undoubtedly intended the rhythm of society's development through the Viconian stages to be implicit also in his own depiction of the universe.

La Scienza Nuova was first published in 1725, and had been almost forgotten till studied by Michelet, Quinet and Croce, and the publication of a new edition, revived interest in the philosopher.¹³

¹¹ Samuel Beckett, "Dante... Bruno. Vico... Joyce," in Our Exagmination, p.5.

¹² See Hart, Structure and Motif, p. 49 passim, for a discussion of the well-established facts and some new interpretations.

¹³ Jules Michelet, "Discours sur le système et la vie de Vico", Histoire et Philosophie (Paris: 1900); Edgar Quinet, "Introduction à la philosophie de l'histoire de l'humanité", Oeuvres Complètes (Paris: 1857), vol. II; Benedetto Croce, "La filosofia di Giambattista Vico", (Bari: 1911). He also compiled Bibliografia vichiana (Naples: 1904). Fausto Nicolini edited the new edition of La Scienza Nuova (Bari: 1911-1916).

By the time Joyce went to live in Trieste, this work was readily available and frequently discussed, so that Joyce was familiar with it long before Finnegans Wake was even thought of. With his superstitious love of coincidences, Joyce was interested to find that Vico, like himself, was scared of thunder, and wrote in 1926: "I wonder where Vico got his fear of thunderstorms. It is almost unknown to the male Italians I have met."¹⁴ There was a Piazza Giambattista Vico near Joyce's Triestine home, which provided a link with the Dublin he had left and its Vico Road in Dalkey. Vico's life also provided an interesting parallel to the fall and resurrection motif which was basic to the new novel. The title Finnegans Wake incorporates the title of a Dublin ballad about a hod-carrier who fell off his ladder and was given up for dead, only to revive at his wake when some whiskey splashed over him. As a child Vico fell from a ladder in his father's library and was unconscious for several hours. His recovery, like Finnegan's, was considered a miracle by all bystanders.

Samuel Beckett's article provides a working account of Vico's theory of the evolution of society:

In the beginning was the thunder: the thunder set free Religion, in its most objective and unphilosophical form - idolatrous animism: Religion produced Society, and the first social men were the cave-dwellers, taking refuge from a passionate Nature: this primitive family life receives its first impulse towards development from the arrival of terrified vagabonds: admitted, they are the first slaves: growing stronger, they exact agrarian concessions, and a despotism has evolved into a primitive feudalism: the cave becomes a city, and the feudal system a democracy: then an anarchy: this is corrected by a return to monarchy: the last stage is a tendency towards interdestruction: the nations are dispersed, and the Phoenix of Society arises out of their ashes. ¹⁵

¹⁴ Joyce, Letters, I, 241.

¹⁵ Samuel Beckett, "Dante... Bruno. Vico... Joyce," in Our Exagmination, p.5.

This progression can be divided into three ages, the Divine, the Heroic, and the Human which are manifested in the customs of people, in the development of language, in law and government, as well as in history. Each age is characterized by a typical institution. In the Divine Age men become aware of God, and religion develops. They also set up homes, which establishes the family as a social unit. The aristocratic Heroic Age formalizes the family in the institution of marriage, while the Human Age of city organization formalizes death by the ritual of burial. Between the decay of each cycle of three ages and the beginning of the next a short period of chaos, which Vico called ricorso, intervenes. Growth, achievement, corruption, deposition and the substitution of a new successor is the path which is followed by societies and individuals within these societies alike, whether they be heroes or common men. It is the acceptance of this graph of life that allowed Joyce to make his hero at once Adam the first man, the giant Finn, and Earwicker the pub-keeper, and to incorporate in him many other personages from mythology, history and everyday life. However, it is an important corollary of Vico's ideas on progression that each age contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction: the very vitality that allows Caesar to create an empire will also inevitably make him a tyrant ripe for deposition, so enabling the succession of new values and individuals.¹⁶

Joyce expanded this notion of co-existent vigour and degeneration to include the theme of the relationship of guilt and creativity. This relationship is implicit in all his work since A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, and was a central theme in Ulysses where Stephen fled his mother's deathbed without praying, achieving thereby the freedom to write but also incurring a perpetual burden of guilt. Joyce appears to have evolved his own theology of the fall which identifies the act of creation with the guilt of original sin. The actual process of evolving a new world cannot be achieved without the creator or god

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 6.

assuming responsibility for what he has created and being ultimately at fault when his handiwork goes wrong. The beings who achieve consciousness within the context of the new world are thus justified in blaming the first mover for their unhappiness and dissatisfaction. Their recriminations make the creator aware of guilt, which thereafter persists as the inseparable consequence of the creative act.

The moment of creation is expressed in Finnegans Wake through nine 100-letter words and one of 101 letters, whose barely intelligible rumblings represent a peal of thunder, Vico's symbol for the cataclysm which inaugurates each new era. HCE himself represents the creator, whose fertility earns him the title "Haveth Childers Everywhere" (FW. 535.34-35). He was responsible for the existence of a new society, the city, specifically the city of Dublin, which he caused to grow from nothing, "erigenating from next to nothing" (FW.4.36-5.1), as the Christian myth of creation showed God making the world from nothing. HCE gives a lengthy account of his achievement (FW.532.6-554.9), which changed a "hole of Serbonian bog, now city of magnificent distances" (FW.539.24-25). In the course of this account he is also identified with Adam, the first man, "Amtsadam, sir, to you!" (FW.532.6), who committed the first, original sin, by eating the fruit of the forbidden tree: "judge on my tree by our fruits. I gave you of the tree" (FW. 535.31-32).

HCE's creativity is the basis throughout Finnegans Wake for his sense of guilt, which manifests itself through a "doubling stutter" (FW. 197.5), earning him the title "Bygmester Finnegan, of the Stuttering Hand" (FW.4.18). When asked for simple information, such as the correct time, his fear of a trap evokes a fatal "Hesitency" (FW.35.20) in word and action, and the misspelled word which trapped Richard Pigott in his attempt to discredit Parnell with a forged letter. His burden of guilt is physically expressed through "his hump" (FW.358.35). Moreover, HCE's private and public life is under constant scrutiny and is the subject of endless discussions among his citizens both to his face and behind his back: "that shebby choruysh... that would blackguardise the whitestone

ever hurtleturtled out of heaven" (FW.5.16-18). Here he becomes Lucifer as well as Adam, falling spectacularly from heaven to hell. The gossip of the citizens always revolves around the event which has already taken place and will inevitably happen again, the reasons for the fall of HCE: "It may half been a missfired brick, as some say, or it mought have been due to a collupsus of his back promises, as others looked at it. (There extend by now one thousand and one stories, all told, of the same)" (FW.5.26-29). The fall must take place because without it creation would stagnate and disappear: "In Joyce, the thunder is not so much the voice of God as the noise of a fall - the fall of the primal hero, the fall of man - and its dynamic changes the wheel and makes it turn. All history (at least, as it appears in a dream) is the story of falling and - through the force of that fall which makes the wheel go round - returning."¹⁷ Thus the thunder which initiates the new era represents the demise of the creator of the old civilization, while the actual force of his fall into oblivion provides the energy to keep the cycles turning.

In Finnegans Wake we see HCE becoming increasingly aware of the inevitable approach of his final fall and the succession of his sons to his position, which will be brought about simply by the natural process of aging, illness and death. The first hint comes when he finds the children through their games struggling to establish their relative positions in the succession stakes: "the sudden and gigantesquesque appearance... amongst the brawlmiddle of this village childergarten of the largely longsuffering laird of Lucanhof" (FW.253.29-32). Later he sends forth his sons to represent him in the world, "the fionnling and dubhlet, the dun and the fire, and, sending them one by other to fare fore forn" (FW.367.22-23). The result, however, is not the support of himself for which he had hoped but a continuation of the siblings' rivalry for his patrimony: "But see what follows. Wringlings

¹⁷ Burgess, Here Comes Everybody, p. 191.

upon wronglings among incomputables about an uncomeoutable" (FW.367.31-32). At last the father, watching his children peacefully sleeping, is fully aware that "the youngdammers will be soon heartpocking on their betters' doornoggers: and the youngfries will be backfrisking diamond-cuts over their lyingin underlayers, spick and spat trowelling a gravetrench for their fourinhand forebears" (FW.572.2-6). HCE explores this process through many different personae, historical, mythical and contemporary, and his adjustment to it is one of the central themes of the novel.

Samuel Beckett, in Our Exagmination, made the point that Vico's "social and historical classification is clearly adapted by Mr. Joyce as a structural convenience - or inconvenience," and goes on to show how the four different parts into which Work in Progress was divided illustrate the four stages of the Viconian cycle:

Part 1 is a mass of past shadow, corresponding therefore to Vico's first human institution, Religion, or to his Theocratic age, or simply to an abstraction - Birth. Part 2 is the lovegame of the children, corresponding to the second institution, Marriage, or to the Heroic age, or to an abstraction - Maturity. Part 3 is passed in sleep, corresponding to the third institution, Burial, or to the Human age, or to an abstraction - Corruption. Part 4 is the day beginning again, and corresponds to Vico's Providence, or to the transition from the Human to the Theocratic, or to an abstraction - Generation. 18

On completion, Finnegans Wake still conformed to this structural framework which Beckett had formulated in 1929, and early studies of the novel, like Harry Levin's James Joyce: A Critical Introduction (1944) or Joseph Campbell and Henry Morton Robinson's A Skeleton Key to "Finnegans Wake" (1944), were able to show the care with which Joyce chose the detail for each section to conform with its phase of the cycle. Joyce's structural use of the Viconian cycles was not, however, facile or simplistic. He incorporated other cyclical views of the

18 Samuel Beckett, "Dante... Bruno. Vico... Joyce," in Our Exagmination, pp. 7-8.

world such as those of Indian philosophy, the gyres of Yeats' A Vision, and Blake's The Mental Traveller, though these remain subordinate to the Viconian scheme.¹⁹ He also developed a kind of cyclic counterpoint of lesser cycles within the framework of Books I, II, and III of Finnegans Wake, each consisting of four chapters and each corresponding to one of the four elements, earth, water, fire and air. Clive Hart's scheme of these is as follows:

MAJOR VICONIAN CYCLES

Book I (Birth)	(1. I.1-4: Male cycle; HCE; <u>earth</u>
	(2. I.5-8: Female cycle; ALP; <u>water</u>
Book II (Marriage)	3. II Male and Female; battles; <u>fire</u>
Book III (Death)	4. III Male cycle; Shaun as Earwicker's spirit; <u>air</u> . ²⁰

Several chapters of the novel, especially the later ones, are themselves constructed on a Viconian model,²¹ as are some of the sentences that deal with Vico and the cyclical theory of history.²² The important dream structure was also carefully conceived: "It seems to have been Joyce's main purpose... to use the dream-sequences as a further illustration of the Viconian three-part cycle, this time arranged so as to be everywhere out of step with the principal cycle consisting of Books I, II and III.... There are, in fact, subsidiary dream-levels within the four-chapter cycles, and even within individual chapters."²³ Thus the development of the characteristics of one age in a particular book of Finnegans Wake does not exclude correspondences and parallels with other ages, as Samuel Beckett was careful to point out: "The consciousness that there is a great deal of the unborn infant in the lifeless octogenarian, and a

¹⁹ Hart, Structure and Motif, pp. 44-77.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 62.

²¹ See for example Clive Hart's analysis of Book III, 1, in Structure and Motif, pp. 57-60.

²² See A. Walton Litz's examination of FW.116.36-117.28 in The Art of James Joyce, pp. 59-62.

²³ Hart, Structure and Motif, p. 94.

great deal of both in the man at the apogee of his life's curve removes all the stiff interexclusiveness that is often the danger in neat construction. Corruption is not excluded from Part 1 nor maturity from Part 3."²⁴

The cyclical progression of Viconian stages in Finnegans Wake is developed, however, in the context of the Eternal Now or nunc stans.

This

is a very old idea involving the mysterious simultaneity, in the eyes of the Absolute, of all that in ordinary experience is called past, present and future.... There have been many variants of this basic concept, but all involve the proposition that events which seem to be 'spaced' in a temporal succession are present simultaneously - or, rather, out of time altogether - in the Eternal Now.... A consequence of cosmic simultaneity is the potential immanence of eternity in any one point of time, and hence the seeds of any part of history may be present in any 'event'.²⁵

A counterpoint exists for Joyce between the stage that may have been reached in the Viconian progression and the ultimate irrelevance of chronology. A demonstration of the Heroic Age can take its examples from several centuries, and contrast them with examples of the Divine Age from the same centuries without doing violence to logic. Thus HCE can be both Aulaff, the Scandinavian founder of the city of Dublin, and the Christian bishop of Dublin, Lawrence O'Toole, who defied the Norman attack on the city three hundred years later. He can be Leary, High King over a pagan Ireland, and Patrick who came to convert him to Christianity. Progression from one Viconian age to another in Finnegans Wake is thematic, not schematic, and calendar time is largely disregarded.

Joyce was interested to find a theoretical confirmation of this

24 Samuel Beckett, "Dante... Bruno. Vico... Joyce," in Our Exagmination, p. 8.

25 Hart, Structure and Motif, pp. 75,77.

procedure in the work of J.W. Dunne, to which he was introduced by Eugene Jolas: "He was very much attracted by Dunn's [sic] theory of serialism, and I read to him that author's brilliant A Theory with Time which Joyce regarded highly."²⁶ Dunne attempted to explain the relationship of dream experience of events to waking experience, stimulated by his own examples of dreams which had predicted future incidents:

His studies led him ultimately to construct a diagram of the structure of time, the purpose of which was to support the contention that time is serialized. That is, he wanted to prove that time is a metaphysically viable band of sequential events, an already established reality. Furthermore, this alleged real time is subject to the observation of witnesses.... But serial time requires a serial observer... [so that] on an occasion when one segment of the serial self is asleep, another part is observing the band of established time... ²⁷

The characters in Finnegans Wake with their changing roles but consistent characteristics, may be interpreted, according to Dunne's theory, as observers placed in different positions along the band of serial time. Every view of events is "real" but it is only partial, and the multiple versions of events, which Joyce expressed through the packed significance of his Wake language, are necessary in order to represent total reality, or universal history.

Joyce's modification of the simple forward progression of Vico's cycles also extended to the development of the idea of recorso beyond anything implicit in La Scienza Nuova. For Vico, the new cycle was initiated by an act of the Divine Will, expressed in the form of a thunderbolt, which caused man to retreat in terror to the caves. There he re-discovered religion through worship of the thunder, and the institution of the family was re-established. Joyce, on the other hand,

²⁶ Eugene Jolas, "My Friend James Joyce", Partisan Review, VIII, 2 (March-April 1941), 91. The correct title of Dunne's book is An Experiment with Time (London: 1927).

²⁷ Joseph M. Phillips, "Locating J.W. Dunne in Finnegans Wake", A Wake Newslitter, XI, 4 (August 1974), 60.

"was primarily concerned with the dynamic functioning of the universe, the business of germination in the muck-heap after the nadir of the cycle had been reached necessarily became the most important moment of all. Though the fourth Age is sometimes described in Finnegans Wake as a disintegration... it is no less frequently interpreted as a vital reorganisation of scattered forces, a resurrection which is positive rather than potential."²⁸ The whole novel examines the sleeping fertility god, remembering his past vitality and wondering if a revival is possible. HCE himself in his dream about his son Shaun (Book III, chapters 1, 2 and 3), re-enacts his own social creativity, though this becomes a parody of the past, and Shaun's return as the "sphoenix spark" and the "rampante flambe" (FW.473.18-19) is a feeble anticipation of the real sunrise with its "trancefixureashone" (FW.613.9) of the old world. In a sense the prevailing mood of the novel is derived from the sense of transition, while the past order is re-examined and an attempt is made to recreate the conditions necessary for its restoration in the moment of recorso.

It was soon realized that in Work in Progress "there is little or no attempt at subjectivism or abstraction, no attempt at metaphysical generalisation. We are presented with a statement of the particular."²⁹ It is worth remembering that Vico's Scienza Nuova is similarly based on detail, and deduction from a mass of accumulated facts: "Vico's three ages, far from being schemae imposed upon material, grow out of axiomatic observations of human nature and behaviour, and are used by him not to schematize but to guide perception of a vast array of particularized persons, events, and postures of fact."³⁰ Michelet described Vico's purpose as being: "tracer l'histoire universelle,

²⁸ Hart, Structure and Motif, p. 51.

²⁹ Samuel Beckett, "Dante... Bruno. Vico... Joyce," in Our Exagmination, pp. 16-17.

³⁰ Kenner, Dublin's Joyce, pp. 334-335.

éternelle qui se produit dans le temps sous la forme des histoires particulières, décrire le cercle idéal dans lequel tourne le monde réel: voilà l'objet de la nouvelle science."³¹ This quest for an underlying meaning behind the variety of accounts of the past which is supplied by mythology, history, and the minutiae of everyday life, is basic to Joyce's use of history in Finnegans Wake. The present is made up of the sum of the past, as Frank Budgen, a close friend of Joyce, was aware: "as the history of our planet is written in the pebble we kick in walking, so may the history of our race lie, living but not manifest, in common words and habitual gestures. They are the body to the outline of history."³² The accumulated detail which forms the totality of people and their surroundings is expressed in Finnegans Wake by the use of catalogues like the list of attributes of Finn MacCool (FW.126.10-139.14), or the inventory of the contents of the Penman's house (FW.182.8-183.10) where he is to be found "writing the mystery of himself in furniture" (FW.184.9-10). Joyce's universal history is firmly rooted in the particular, in the pub at Lucalized beside the River Liffey on the outskirts of Dublin, sometime in the early twentieth century, and in the family life of the pubkeeper Earwicker, his wife Anna, their twin sons Shem and Shaun and their daughter Issy. The history with which Joyce deals is not the remote detailing of cause and effect, of war statistics and treaty terms. It is "the story of one man and his family as a paradigm of universal history by telling, at the same time and in the same words, as many similar stories as he can contrive to collect and superimpose."³³ Joyce's history is based on the minutiae of the ordinary life of the "common man [who] includes all history; he is what he is because of all heroes and saints."³⁴ Since all the detail

³¹ Jules Michelet, "Discours sur le système et la vie de Vico", Histoire et Philosophie (Paris: 1900), p. 275.

³² Budgen, James Joyce and the making of "Ulysses", p. 313.

³³ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 23.

³⁴ John Peale Bishop, "Finnegans' Wake", Southern Review, V, 3 (Winter 1940), reprinted in James Joyce: The Critical Heritage, II, 738.

available in the world, past and present, cannot be dealt with, even within the scope of Finnegans Wake, the particular setting in Ireland can become representative of the rest of the world, especially when parallels from other countries and civilizations are used as foils. Universal history can in this way become "mirrored in the history of Ireland, the microcosm reflecting the cosmos, in whose invasions, defenses, struggles, absorptions and metamorphoses Joyce saw universalities."³⁵

The idea that history is not the record of the rulers and leaders and heroes only, but the story of the past existence of those anonymous crowds of people whose names and lives have individually been forgotten, was also accepted by Vico. He was the historian

not of conquerors and rulers but of peoples - of the people. One of his boldest intuitions was that not only the gods and demigods but also the earliest suppositious human sages, moralists, law-givers, conquerors, inventors, poets, etc.... were "poetic characters" or personifications of various talents, capacities, tendencies, schools of thought or action or behaviour, to whom were attributed the anonymous achievements of many generations - i.e., of the people themselves.³⁶

Joyce's use of this idea is made explicit in Finnegans Wake where the creative alchemist "slowly unfolded all marryvoising moodmoulded cycle-wheeling history (thereby, he said, reflecting from his own individual person life unlivable...)" (FW.185.34-186.3). Thus, "Joyce has Vico's precedent for treating nations as families and breaking down society into a small number of recurrent types,"³⁷ or, in other words, for creating a microcosm to reflect the macrocosm. In the same way, the

³⁵ Benstock, Joyce-Again's Wake, p. 43.

³⁶ J. Mitchell Morse, "Where Terms Begin: Book I, chapter i", in Michael H. Begnal and Fritz Senn, eds., A Conceptual Guide to "Finnegans Wake" (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974), pp. 9-10.

³⁷ Levin, James Joyce: A Critical Introduction, p. 126.

clue to a period or a society may be embodied in the Viconian "poetic character" or hero who represents the aspirations and achievements of his people. The hero of a cosmic novel which embodies all time, all space and all men must therefore be an Everyman, HCE or Here Comes Everybody.

The story of this Everyman is not told in the ideally objective, careful language of historians talking about each other. The remote past is discussed as if it were just yesterday, and events separated by centuries become telescoped into one. Where facts are not available, surmise will do as well, as when the washerwomen gather to "hear all about Anna Livia" (FW.196.3-4). There is a sanction for the use of such licence with language and surmise in Vico's statement,

The poetic characters, in which the essence of the fables consists, were born of the need of a nature incapable of abstracting forms and properties from subjects. Consequently they must have been the manner of thinking of entire peoples, who had been placed under this natural necessity in the times of their greatest barbarism. It is an eternal property of the fables always to magnify the ideas of particulars. ³⁸

Vico's comments on early history show that he believed that "the first historians must have tried to recall the past not through research in non-existent or inaccessible records but through imaginative reconstructions of what poetic characters 'must have' done. Vico himself supplemented his factual researches with such conjectures."³⁹ History, as he saw it, could be deduced from the lives of his contemporaries, whose customs and language had been formed, influenced and changed by the course of past events. Therefore, "according to Vico the course of history could be inferred from etymology since the story of man's progress was embedded in the structure of the words we use."⁴⁰ Joyce accepted this use of

³⁸ Bergin and Fisch, translators, The "New Science" of Giambattista Vico, p. 279.

³⁹ J. Mitchell Morse, "Where Terms Begin: Book I, chapter i," in A Conceptual Guide to "Finnegans Wake", p. 10.

⁴⁰ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 34.

etymology, which has a parallel in the body of Irish folk material called dinnshenchus or " 'tradition about places', [which] tells how places got their names. There are pseudo-etymological explanations, but many of the stories are folk-lore, tales of the heroes of the mythological cycle of the people of the Goddess Danu.... Place-lore was once part of the common stock of knowledge of which the learned man, the fili, was master, and which he had to be able to produce for instruction and entertainment."⁴¹ Thus the modification of words which is the basis of the special language of Finnegans Wake has a double function in the novel. On the one hand, as "words contain in themselves the image of the structure of the Wake they also contain the image of the structure of history,"⁴² they are themselves part of the historic microcosm which they describe. On the other hand, since "Joyce sought in Finnegans Wake to transform each word into a miniature 'Image', a multiple unit capable of sounding a number of themes simultaneously,"⁴³ a single multi-meaning word can reach beyond its immediate setting in place and time and attain the universal significance of the macrocosm.

Though Finnegans Wake is, on one level, a universal history, embodying the past in the contemporary life of the common man, and containing within itself the seeds of the future, it is also a commonplace that it is a nightbook, a view of the cosmos through the mind of a dreamer. For Frank Budgen these two aspects of the novel were complementary, not contradictory:

All the characters in the book seem to have read, marked, learned and inwardly digested universal history.... When they have it properly in their bloomstream they play it. They re-enact it 'every evening at lighting up o'clock sharp in Feenichts Playhouse'.... Stephen Dedalus thought history a nightmare: here it is a dream - at once an essence of and a commentary on life. It is a deathdream or

⁴¹ Hughes, Early Christian Ireland: An Introduction to the Sources, pp. 166-167.

⁴² Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 54.

⁴³ Litz, The Art of James Joyce, p. 59.

dreamdeath where the shades of all the makers of Ireland walk as in some more familiar Elysian fields.⁴⁴

Sleep paralyses the conscious, pragmatic part of the human mind, freeing the turbulent, suggestive, reflective unconscious where the residue of mankind's past experience is stored, not neatly tabulated in card-index style, but loosely ranged in categories such as love, guilt, sex, anger, belligerence, submission. This is the process which preserves the experience of the past; men "translate their impressions into myths which comprise the fragments of experience, the shreds of reality which are held in the memory. And thus is made a legend, a sort of extra-temporal history, formed of the residue of all histories...."⁴⁵ The survival of primitive race memories means that there is a source of history more intimate than any written records, in the accumulation of "certain primitive symbolic survivals in the Unconscious, archaic symbols which persist through the centuries and are the common heritage of all peoples. This is a convenient peg on which to hang the cyclical theory of history, which is Vico's contribution to Earwicker's dream."⁴⁶ Furthermore, chronology is no longer a problem when Finnegans Wake is considered as a dream-history of the universe: as J.W. Dunne concluded in his book An Experiment with Time, "dreams actually contain unsequential mixtures of past and future events."⁴⁷ The dream element in Finnegans Wake, therefore, does not clash with the book's claim to be a universal history; in fact, it reinforces it. As Joyce himself said in the Scribbledehobble workbook which he used for his preparatory notes, "dream thoughts are wake thoughts of centuries ago."⁴⁸

44 Budgen, James Joyce and the Making of "Ulysses", pp. 307-308.

45 Louis Gillet, "Mr. James Joyce and his new novel", Transition, XXI (March 1932), 265.

46 Frederick J. Hoffman, "Infroyce", from Freudianism and the Literary Mind (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1945), reprinted in Seon Givens, ed., James Joyce: Two Decades of Criticism (New York: Vanguard Press, 1963), p. 422.

47 Joseph M. Phillips, "Locating J.W. Dunne in Finnegans Wake", A Wake Newslitter, XI, 4 (August 1974), 59-60.

48 Joyce, Scribbledehobble, p. 104.

Bruno

Joyce also referred his friends seeking help in the understanding of Work in Progress to the writings of Giordano Bruno, a sixteenth-century Dominican monk from Nola, who was excommunicated for heresy and burned at the stake on 17 February, 1600, in the Campo dei Fiori in Rome. He was a prolific writer, of plays and love poetry as well as philosophical treatises, and Joyce's first acquaintance with him dated from his student days at University College, when he discussed him with Father Charles Ghezzi, the professor of Italian.⁴⁹ He also used a quotation attributed to Bruno as the opening of his pamphlet The Day of the Rabblement, written in 1901 to oppose the parochial policy of the Irish Literary Theatre.⁵⁰ Joyce left the reference deliberately obscure in order to encourage enquiry as to the identity of "the Nolan," thus stimulating interest in Bruno and his philosophy,⁵¹ and also, one suspects, to contrast his own cosmopolitan European point of view with the narrow and ill-informed attitude of his readers. Joyce probably had read some of Bruno's writings in the original to prepare himself for his discussions with Father Ghezzi, but it seems likely that he later refreshed his memory not by re-reading the works but through such intermediaries as Frith and McIntyre who wrote biographies in English incorporating accounts of his philosophy.⁵² In 1903 Joyce reviewed McIntyre's book Giordano Bruno, for the Dublin Daily Express. The paradox of Bruno the heretic, who is also the heroic mystic, passing "from heroic enthusiasm... to unite himself with God," appealed to Joyce, and also Bruno's view of existence that allowed him "through all these modes and accidents (as he would have called them) of being [to remain] a consistent spiritual unity."⁵³

⁴⁹ Ellmann, James Joyce, p. 61.

⁵⁰ See Joyce, Critical Writings, p. 69: "No man, said the Nolan, can be a lover of the true or the good unless he abhors the multitude...."

⁵¹ Joyce, My Brother's Keeper, p. 153.

⁵² I. Frith, Life of Giordano Bruno, the Nolan (London: 1887), and J. Lewis MacIntyre, Giordano Bruno (London: 1903).

⁵³ Joyce, Critical Writings, pp. 134, 133.

However, certain aspects of Bruno's philosophy, in Joyce's opinion, may be put aside. He questions, for example, Coleridge's interest in the dualistic nature of the Bruno system, especially the idea that " 'Every power in nature or in spirit must evolve an opposite as the sole condition and means of its manifestation; and every opposition is, therefore, a tendency to reunion.' " ⁵⁴ Instead, Joyce praises Bruno's powers as an independent observer, his attempt to reconcile the matter and form of the Scholastics, and his construction of a philosophical system which "endeavours to simplify the complex." ⁵⁵

More than twenty years later, however, when Joyce renewed his interest in Bruno and began to use him as a philosophical prop for Work in Progress, he ignored the points he had praised in the early book review, and even adopted a version of Coleridge's interpretation when he wished to summarize Bruno's importance for Harriet Shaw Weaver: "His philosophy is a kind of dualism - every power in nature must evolve an opposite in order to realise itself and opposition brings reunion...." ⁵⁶ This theory of dualism, which Bruno adapted from Nicholas of Cusa, was developed most fully in the fifth dialogue of De la causa, principio e uno, though it was also implicit in the Eroici Furori to which Joyce refers through the mouth of Shaun in Finnegans Wake: "And I shall be misunderstood if understood to give an unconditional sinequ岸 to the heroicised furibouts of the Nolanus theory" (FW.163.22-24). Shaun at this point is trying to justify his disinclination to help his brother, so his disclaimer of Bruno may not reflect Joyce's own attitude, but the same proviso applies to Bruno as to Vico that Joyce was not dogmatically bound by the theories he adapted. Beckett's article in Our Exagmination emphasizes Bruno's theory of the coincidence of opposites, and shows how Vico's ideas on cyclical development may be considered to be derived from Bruno:

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 134.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 134.

⁵⁶ Joyce, Letters, I, 226.

... Vico applies Bruno - though he takes very good care not to say so - and proceeds from rather arbitrary data to philosophical abstraction. There is no difference, says Bruno, between the smallest possible chord and the smallest possible arc, no difference between the infinite circle and the straight line. The maxima and minima of particular contraries are one and indifferent. Minimal heat equals minimal cold. Consequently transmutations are circular.... The maximum of corruption and the minimum of generation are identical: in principle, corruption is generation. And all things are ultimately identified with God, the universal monad, Monad of monads. From these considerations Vico evolved a Science and Philosophy of History. ⁵⁷

The Viconian theories underlie the structure of Finnegans Wake, determining the succession of divine, heroic and human phases of mankind's consciousness of his world, and illustrated by appropriate reminiscences and relivings of past events on the cosmic scale and on the parallel, parodic, microcosmic scale of events in Ireland. It was Bruno, however, who helped Joyce to formulate an individual dynamic which also functions on two levels - keeping the cycles turning on the cosmic scale and allowing for the interaction of conflict on the microcosmic human scale. Bruno's ideas were also an important factor in the method of characterisation that Joyce developed: "The feature of Bruno's system which seems to lend itself most readily to literary treatment is his doctrine of the reconciliation of antitheses, within the framework of an all-inclusive, perpetually unfolding universe. Joyce himself furnishes a slightly intoxicated explanation of this doctrine, and it would seem to be the reason for the continual dichotomizing to which he subjects his characters...."⁵⁸ In Finnegans Wake this is extended to mean that each participant in the opposition depends on his antagonist for the self-knowledge which will enable him to win. In practice, however, the growth of self-knowledge leads either to an agreement to

⁵⁷ Samuel Beckett, "Dante... Bruno. Vico... Joyce," in Our Exagmination, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁸ Harry Levin, "On first looking into Finnegans Wake", New Directions in Prose and Poetry (1939), reprinted in James Joyce: The Critical Heritage, II, 697.

differ, as in the fable of the Ondt and the Gracehoper, or to a minimization of differences which will allow them to merge later as at the end of the dialogue between Muta and Juva. Since the twin sons express to some extent the oppositions that exist within the father HCE himself, it also becomes necessary for him to understand the conflicts he observes before reintegration can take place as the prerequisite for the succession of a new creativity.

At one point in Finnegans Wake Joyce takes the name Bruno of Nola and, with puns on the Latin for the self (se or sese) and the other (alius), develops the idea of a personality at war with itself: "When himupon Nola Bruno monopolises his egobruno most unwillingly seses by the mortal powers alionola equal and opposite brunoipso, id est, eternally provoking alio opposite equally as provoked as Bruno at being eternally opposed by Nola. Poor omniboose, singalow singelearum: so is he!" (FW.488.7-12). In the microcosmic aspect of Finnegans Wake, Bruno's opposites become Shem and Shaun, the twin sons of H.C. Earwicker, who must resolve their differences and fuse into a unity before the passing of authority from HCE can take place, and the new cycle can begin. They are on opposite sides in all the battles of history, mythology and literature - Napoleon against Wellington, the Irish against the invaders, Satan against St. Michael, Cain against Abel, Jacob against Esau, Pigott against Parnell, Iago against Othello. Joyce modified Bruno's theory of opposites to provide a four-stage recurrent pattern similar to the Viconian cycle and paralleling it: "He adds a fourth proposition, 'diversity', to make it cyclic."⁵⁹

Therefore, at the end of Finnegans Wake, the twins as Muta and Juva, ready to coalesce and finally become one, have become aware of the process through which they have passed: "So that when we shall have

⁵⁹ Richard Wall, " 'Decomposition' and 'Diversity': Joyce's Modification of Hegel and Bruno", IASAIL Newsletter, VIII (Autumn/Winter 1974), 11.

acquired unification we shall pass on to diversity and when we shall have passed on to diversity we shall have acquired the instinct of combat and when we shall have acquired the instinct of combat we shall pass back to the spirit of appeasement?" (FW.610.23-27) Their agreement creates the unity of the new HCE, released by "the light of the bright reason which daysends to us from the high" (FW.610.28-29), and ready to initiate a further cycle of creativity.

However, it is important to realize that "Joyce does not take sides. He tells the pessimistic story of mankind's internecine war with a smile of irony and sometimes pity.... The martial antinomies of life are the elements with which he deals."⁶⁰ There is also some truth in Edmund Wilson's assertion that Joyce "is not good at energetic action. There is never any direct aggressive clash between the pairs of opponents in Joyce, and there is consequently no real violence.... All that Joyce is able to do when he wants to represent a battle is to concoct an uncouth gush of language...."⁶¹ Battles in fact hardly exist in the world of Finnegans Wake. Instead there is a series of single combats between personages representative of opposing points of view. Thus we have the antagonism between Wellington and Napoleon instead of the meeting of the English and French armies at Waterloo, or the encounter between Buckley and the Russian General instead of the clash of Russian and English forces at Balaclava. This is an expression of an instinctive reaction against the narrowness of immovable points of view: "Joyce's interest in authority often dictates a more rigid frame: a dramatic dualism instead of a world where a multitude of factors are at play. More and more in Joyce's work the material world forms a mere

⁶⁰ Eugene Jolas, "Homage to the Mythmaker", Transition, XXVII (April-May 1938), 174.

⁶¹ Edmund Wilson, "The Dream of H.C. Earwicker", New Republic, XCI (12 July 1939), reprinted in James Joyce: Two Decades of Criticism, p. 340.

background rather than an active influence on the characters. Against this rather unmoved and unmoving background the repeated encounters take place, usually encounters between two men."⁶² The danger with this kind of technique is an excessive stylization, a series of programmed pas de deux. However, "the switching of roles... keeps these dichotomies from acting in a reductive, over-simplified way. And the very plenitude of these pairs results in a multivalued view of the world rather than a reduction to the confines of art."⁶³ Joyce's inability to depict vast conflicts led to the device of the opposition of pairs, which succeeds in creating the impression of wider warfare by the variety of possible encounters: childhood squabbles, the symbolic differences of pseudo-fable characters like the Ondt and the Gracehoper or the Mookse and the Gripes, the battle setting of the discussion of Butt and Taff, the philosophical opposition of Justius and Mercius. Conflict can take place at all levels of life, and is expressed in Finnegans Wake through the selection of representative oppositions.

At least two other principles upheld by Bruno influenced Joyce, as J.S. Atherton has shown. The first is contained in Bruno's statement "in his Of the Infinite Universe and Innumerable Worlds that 'The actual and the possible are not different in eternity!'" It is from this that Joyce derives his assumption that the events and characters described in history, literature and myth have equal validity."⁶⁴ Joyce's own account of mankind's universal history is for him as valid as any "historical" account. In fact, it has rather the same force as the Bible for the Christian - universal truth can be derived from poetry like the Psalms or the Song of Solomon, from imaginative reconstruction like Genesis, from chronicles and genealogy of a people like Numbers or Kings, as well

⁶² Bonheia, Joyce's Benefactions, p. 9.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 10.

⁶⁴ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 36.

as from the books of the Prophets. It follows, that "No one affair of combat is any more important than another in the Wake, since they are essentially all the same war; no historical event is any more real than the fictional counterpart invented by Joyce or the legendary warfare recorded by epics and bibles."⁶⁵

The second point that Atherton made was that "Bruno also maintained that each thing contained the whole. By this he seems to have meant that the universe is made up of separate entities each constituting a simulacrum of the universe. This was a fairly common medieval theory and provides another source for the axiom already suggested that in Finnegans Wake each individual word reflects the structure of the entire book."⁶⁶ It also supports the idea, basic to the understanding of Joyce's use of Irish history in Finnegans Wake, that each individual, incident, or place reinforces the central universal meaning of the entire book. St. Patrick's meeting with the Druid at Tara (FW.611.4-613.7) is not just an event from the past the effects of which have long since been absorbed into the texture of Irish life and culture, but an encounter still going on which reflects the clash of antithetical cultures and opposing ways of regarding the world and creating social organization.

Norman Silverstein, in an article on Bruno's idea of memoria, has shown how Joyce derived his own theory of collective race memory from Bruno, and has pointed out the similarities in their approach to the universe:

Like Dante and like Bruno, Joyce saw the spiritual in the sordid, reading the allegory of the world in which everything relates to some one ideal.... Joyce settles the argument about truth by accepting both plain reality and mystic symbolism, using Bruno for enrichment of plain facts and for the epiphanization of race memory.... Like Bruno's geometrical frivolities and his chart of

⁶⁵ Benstock, Joyce - Again's Wake, p. 174.

⁶⁶ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 36. See above, p. 25.

sounds that recall a former unity, Joyce's later fiction imposes an order for a universe that has lost its design. 67

The achievement of order out of chaos has gradually come to be recognized as the responsibility not of HCE the god-hero-father, but of his twin sons, when, their conflicts resolved, they amalgamate and become one. Ronald J. Koch has recently provided evidence to support this thesis. Through a close reading of the Prankquean fable he concludes that "The sons' function of maintaining peace or avoiding opposition is hereby established as a requirement for the genesis of familial social order."⁶⁸ First, however, they must learn the principles of social organization. It is their "difficulty in learning social organization [which] leads to continued fighting between the sons."⁶⁹ When peace is established between them, they will be capable of taking over the father's creative power, a theme which "is developed throughout the Wake largely in sexual terms: the brothers must learn the sexual nature of the mother and try to achieve sexual union with their sister Issy, thus replacing the father in his role as creator. Creative power in the Wake, however, means not only sexual creation, but also creation of human social organization seen first in the family unit. In short, it is the creation of human order in the universe."⁷⁰ Bruno's Eroici Furori had used the metaphor of love between man and woman to express the mystical love of God, thus "The Wake's use of sexual union as a metaphor for the creation of human social order echoes Bruno's use of the union of man with woman to express man's ability to regain divine creative power, a power grounded in Bruno's doctrine of the One, and his conception of infinity."⁷¹ The reawakening of creative power after a fall is implicit in the resurrection

67 Norman Silverstein, "Bruno's Particles of Reminiscence", James Joyce Quarterly, II, 4 (Summer 1965), pp. 278-279.

68 Ronald J. Koch, "Giordano Bruno and Finnegans Wake: A New Look at Shaun's Objection to the 'Nolanus Theory' ", James Joyce Quarterly, IX, 2 (Winter, 1972), 238.

69 Ibid., 243.

70 Ibid., 242-243.

71 Ibid., 245.

myth that underlies Finnegans Wake. The hero commits a crime or is conscious of a burden of guilt; he falls; a short period of chaos intervenes, but eventually he rises again to begin a new era. The seeds of the hero's destruction are implicit even in his prime, according to Vico's interpretation of history, so too are the seeds of the succession. Joyce makes the twin sons at once the incarnation of the warring elements within HCE which will lead to his fall, and also those who will succeed him, thus fusing the cyclical elements of the Viconian system and the conflict element from Bruno.

Quinet

Joyce may have become interested in Edgar Quinet, a nineteenth-century French historian and associate of Michelet, by their common interest in Vico whom Quinet translated and interpreted. He was particularly attracted by a sentence from Quinet's Introduction à la Philosophie de l'Histoire de l'Humanité which he incorporated into the text of Finnegans Wake (281.4-13) in the original French, and adapted as a motif no less than five times throughout the book. The sentence expresses in lyrical form the idea of recurrence, through the endurance of common flowers which continue to grow, bloom and wither regardless of the rise and fall of civilizations. Joyce's quotation is not entirely accurate, however. Here is the original sentence, with Joyce's changes enclosed in parenthesis throughout:

Aujourd'hui, comme aux jours [temps] de Plin et de Columelle, la jacinthe se plaît dans les Gaules, la pervenche en Illyrie, la marguerite sur les ruines de Numance; et pendant qu'autour d'elles les villes ont changé de maîtres et de nom [noms], que plusieurs sont rentrées [entrées] dans le néant, que les civilisations se sont choquées et brisées, leurs paisibles générations ont traversé les âges et se sont succédées l'une à l'autre [sont arrivées] jusqu'à nous, fraîches et riantes comme aux jours des batailles. 72
[Joyce's punctuation is also much lighter.]

Joyce did not make any other use of this essay, in which Quinet is

discussing history as it was presented by Vico and others, although, as J.S. Atherton has indicated, there were many other comments in the pages around this sentence which express inferences from Vico similar to those which Joyce illustrates in Finnegans Wake. They can be summed up briefly: "All history is to be deduced from any part of the created universe. Yet it is found most completely in the mind of any human being."⁷³ The best source of history is the mythological residue in man's subconscious which is released by sleep and dreams, but, for those sufficiently sensitive, the flowers among the ruins, the stones of which the ruins are composed, the hill which overlooks them and the river which runs past them are books in which the past can be read.

In a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver concerning Book II, chapter 1, Joyce expressed his appreciation of the Quinet sentence and explicated it for her, though rather crudely: "The page enclosed is still another version of a beautiful sentence from Edgar Quinet which I already refashioned in Transition part one beginning 'since the days of Hiber and Hairyman etc'. E.Q. says that the wild flowers on the ruins of Carthage, Numancia etc have survived the political rises and falls of Empires. In this case the wild flowers are the lilt of children."⁷⁴ The use he made of it in Finnegans Wake is much more finely nuanced than this comment might suggest, and different motifs and references come into play depending on the context of the five Wakian versions (FW.14.35-15.11; 117.16-30; 236.19-32; 354.22-36; 615.2-10). Joyce's use of the motif has been carefully studied and the cross-connotations perceptively explored by Clive Hart.⁷⁵ The significance of the sentence in the context of history in Finnegans Wake can be deduced from its cyclical form, connecting the present with the long-gone days of Pliny and Columella, or the decline of Rome, which Vico considered to be a recorso period, as

⁷³ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 35.

⁷⁴ Joyce, Letters, I, 295.

⁷⁵ Hart, Structure and Motif, pp. 182-200.

Joyce considered the twentieth century to be. The theme of regeneration from the elements of continuity that persist even in chaos is central to Joyce's use of this passage so that Pliny and Columella become metamorphosed into the symbolic brother-pair who are to renew the male principle, as the flowers become the tempting young girls who represent the continuity of the female principle, necessary for the regeneration of the male and the initiation of the new cycle.⁷⁶ Atherton has suggested also that Joyce's identification of the wild flowers with the lirts of children, especially with reference to the version of Quinet used on p. 236.19-32, may contain overtones of the "anthropological [theory] which maintains that children in play re-enact the history of their race."⁷⁷

For Richard Kain, the sentence "is the informing principle behind the muted poetry of tree and stone, hill and river,"⁷⁸ and Joyce developed the theme of the continuity of flowers by giving his principal characters a dimension in the natural world. Eugene Jolas recalled a holiday spent with Joyce in a little town in Austria when they "took long walks together along the swirling mountain river Ill, nearby, or [they] climbed the wooded hills. He had a deep love for mountains and rivers, because, he said, 'They are the phenomena that will remain when all the peoples and their governments will have vanished.'"⁷⁹ The Irish dinnshenchus or place-lore attached its tales and mythologies to the security of the country's physical features, and Joyce gave the characters of his mythology a similar geographical symbolism. Thus HCE, as the giant sleeping Finn, is a mound or mountain, a "brontoichthyan

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 184-185.

⁷⁷ James S. Atherton, "Sport and Games in Finnegans Wake", in Jack P. Dalton and Clive Hart, eds., Twelve and a Tilly (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), p. 58.

⁷⁸ Richard M. Kain, "'Nothing Odd will do long': some thoughts on Finnegans Wake Twenty-five years later", in Twelve and a Tilly, p.95.

⁷⁹ Eugene Jolas, "My Friend James Joyce", Partisan Review, VIII, 2 (March-April 1941), p. 87.

form outlined aslumbered.... Upon Benn Heather, in Seeples Isout too. The cranic head on him, caster of his reasons, peer yuthner in yondmist. Whooth? His clay feet, swarded in verdigrass, stick up starck where he last fellonem, by the mund of the magazine wall..." (FW.7.20-32). According to this Wakian geography, the giant's head forms the mound of Howth Head ("Binn Éadair" - "Benn Heather"), while his feet can be distinguished as two little hillocks a couple of miles away in the Phoenix Park, where the Magazine Wall stands and which extends westwards towards Lucan past Chapelizod ("Seeples Isout"), the "Lucalized" (FW.32.16) where Earwicker has his pub. The River Liffey flows along by the side of the Park, coming to the sea in Dublin Bay, which is flanked to the north by Howth and to the south by Dalkey and Killiney where the Vico Road runs. For Joyce this river symbolizes the female principle in Finnegans Wake, Anna Livia Plurabelle, "the troutling stream....sure, we all love little Amny Ruiny, or, we mean to say, lovelittle Anna Rayiny, when unda her brella, mid piddle med puddle, she ninnygoes nannygoes nancing by" (FW.7.21-27).

The symbolism of tree and stone, which is also a persistent motif throughout Finnegans Wake, is more complex than the simple identification of HCE with mountain and ALP with river. On two significant occasions Shem and Shaun are identified with the tree/stone motif. The first of these is the end of the Mookse and Gripes episode (FW.152.15-159.18), a quarrel between two antagonists in the typical warring-twins formula. The end of this conflict is not the synthesis of the two opposites, as is expected in the Bruno pattern, but their metamorphosis into a tree and a stone: "And there were left now an only elmtree and but a stone" (FW.159.03-04). The second identification occurs at the end of Book I, chapter 8, the "Anna Livia Plurabelle" chapter, in which the washerwomen have been discussing Anna and her husband and family. Gradually the form of the washerwomen begins to change as dusk falls: "I feel as old as yonder elm.... I feel as heavy as yonder stone" (FW.215.34-216.01) and instead of asking for the story of Anna, as they did at the beginning of the chapter ("O tell me all about Anna Livia! I

want to hear all about Anna Livia," (FW.196.1-4) they ask for the story of the twins, whose characteristics they are rapidly assuming themselves: "A tale told of Shaun or Shem? All Livia's daughter-sons.... Tell me of John or Shaun? Who were Shem and Shaun the living sons or daughters of? Night now! Tell me, tell me, tell me, elm! Night night! Telmetale of stem or stone" (FW.215.35-216.04). The twins are not simply identified with tree and stone; they share some of the symbolism with which Joyce invests this motif, and which he then proceeds to develop and elaborate quite separately from his development of the twins.

The climax of this development occurs in Book III, chapter 3, which deals with the inquisition of Yawn (a manifestation of Shaun) by the four old men and others. At the opening of this chapter Yawn, a parody of HCE, is lying stretched over the landscape of Ireland, right in its centre, at the point of the ancient division of Ireland between Conn Céadcathach and Eoghan Mór of Munster: "For a line of demarcation they fixed on a natural ridge of sandhills called Esker-Riada, which can still be traced running across Ireland with little interruption from Dublin to Galway. This division is perpetually referred to in Irish literature: the northern half, which belonged to Conn was called Leth - Chuinn or Conn's half; and the southern Leth - Mogha, that is Mogh's [Eoghan Mór's] half."⁸⁰ The place of Yawn's recumbence is also the site of the fifth province of Ireland, created by Tuathal the Legitimate towards the end of the first century: "he cut off a portion from each of the provinces and formed therewith the province of Meath, to be the special demesne or estate of the supreme Kings of Ireland."⁸¹ Joyce uses both of these references to describe Yawn's position: "Pure Yawn lay low. On the mead of the hillock lay, heartsoul dormant mid shawdowed landshape," (FW.474.1-3) and "Afeared themselves were to wonder at the class of a crossroads puzzler he would likely be, length

⁸⁰ Joyce, Short History of Ireland, p. 131.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 130.

by breadth nonplussing his thickness, ells upon ells of him, making so many square yards of him, one half of him in Conn's half but the whole of him nevertheless in Owenmore's five quarters. There would he lay till they would him descry.... Up to the esker ridge it was, Mallinger parish, to a mead that was not far, the son's rest" (FW.475.3-23).

The inquisition of Yawn by the questioners gradually builds up to the revelation that the tree and the stone are both situated at this central point, where Ireland's four authentic provinces meet the new fifth province. This unity of tree and stone, animate and inanimate, the eternal opposites, was foreshadowed at the end of Book II, chapter 1 with the prayer for the children: "that thy children may read in the book of the opening of the mind to light and err not in the darkness which is the afterthought of thy nomatter.... Till tree from tree, tree among trees, tree over tree become stone to stone, stone between stones, stone under stone for ever" (FW.258.31-259.2). Joyce reinforces the significance of the tree and the stone in the Yawn chapter by making them part of universal mythology, as the Skeleton Key pointed out: "What is now described is the great World Tree, or World Axis, known to all mythologies. This is a primal symbol of Life. Eternally growing, eternally casting its dead leaves and branches, masculine and feminine and neuter at once, all-sheltering.... A stone is by the tree. The vast monolith or towering mountain is another well-known mythological symbol of the World Axis, or center of all. In the stone it is not the dynamism but the durability of the cosmos that is represented."⁸² It is this combination of durability with dynamism which Joyce admired in Quinet's flowers, and which is now embodied in the "overlisting eshtree... the grawndest crowndest consecrated maypole" (FW.503.30-34) which Yawn can see from his "invisibly lyingplace" (FW.504.9), beside the "steayne of law... [which is] Finight mens midinfinite true. The form masculine. The gender feminine" (FW.505.21-25).

⁸² Campbell and Robinson, Skeleton Key, pp. 311-312.

Clive Hart's study of the detail of this passage has shown how Joyce related his world tree to several other symbolic trees. It is Yggdrasil ("eggdrazzles", FW.504.35) or the Tree of Jesse (FW.502.3), "which, in medieval art, sometimes luxuriates out of the supine Jesse's phallus.... Allusions to Darwin and the Origin of Species carry the family tree further."⁸³ The Christian iconography which permeates the description of Joyce's "sovereign beingstalk" supports the probability that it is also the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil which grew in the garden of Eden and was the instrument of Adam's Fall, and also by traditional association it becomes Christ's cross on Calvary.⁸⁴ In addition, "The supine Shaun's navel is the omphalos-like Stone of Divisions in old Royal Meath in the centre of Ireland, and hence it lies at the centre of Joyce's Irish universe. This stone, on old Uisnach Hill, is named at 476.5: 'the knoll Asnoch'."⁸⁵ It marks the place where Tuathal the Legitimate created his fifth central province by taking a piece from each of the other four. Symbolically it becomes for Joyce the monolith which stands near the world-tree, representing Shaun's phallus as well as his navel since "for Joyce navel and genitals are equivalent; they are contraries - the beginning and the end of birth...."⁸⁶ This then is the centre of the universe of Finnegans Wake, the creative centre which represents the qualities which will recreate the new era out of chaos. Clive Hart has also noticed that the diagram on FW.293, which is a symbol of the cosmos with definite sexual connotations, which the children must study and master before they can succeed their father, is also a map of the Irish universe, centred on Tree and Stone: "the Great Ulm (with Mearingstone in Fore ground)" (FW. 293.14-15). The two circles which intersect each other in this diagram

⁸³ Hart, Structure and Motif, p. 139.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 140.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 136.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 137.

represent respectively Shaun's world, centred on the Stone of Divisions and entirely within Ireland, and Shem's world which is half within Ireland and half outside it.⁸⁷ Within the area of conjunction of the two circles is the delta or triangle, symbol of Anna or the female principle, which is also necessary before the union of opposites can become fruitful and generate a new cycle.

James Joyce is following the old pagan inclinations of Ireland in his use of geographical features for symbolic and mythological purposes. Running through the dinnshenchus, and frequently made explicit in the old literature, is the religious association with which many places and objects in the countryside were invested. T.W. Rolleston, discussing the Celtic religion of magic, says: "Besides the heavenly bodies, we find that rivers, trees, mountains and stones were all objects of veneration among this primitive people."⁸⁸ Edward Ledwich, an eighteenth-century writer, wishing to cast doubt upon the miracle tales which had surrounded such saints as Kevin of Glendalough, suggested that he never existed at all, but that since "Kevn is the name of many mountains in Wales... the mountain Kevn at Glendaloch was to be metamorphosed into Saint Kevin... it is a positive fact, that very few of the Saints who adorn our legends ever had existence, but are personifications of inanimate things, and even of passions and qualities...."⁸⁹ P.W. Joyce mentions that "The most solemn and binding pagan oath was by the sun and moon, water and air, day and night, sea and land," and that Tuathal the Legitimate, after he had created the fifth province, "gathering together the chief men of the country, he made them swear the solemn old pagan oath - by the sun and wind and all the elements - that they would give the sovereignty of Ireland to his descendants for

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 248-249.

⁸⁸ Rolleston, Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race, p. 66.

⁸⁹ Ledwich, Antiquities of Ireland, p. 32.

ever."⁹⁰ This traditional reverence in Ireland for the features of the countryside and natural forces is an additional justification for the way in which Joyce developed Quinet's brief comment on continuity beyond the association of the flower-girls with Quinet's hyacinth, periwinkle and daisy. The persistence of physical massiveness in the case of mountains and stones, and the persistence of perpetual renewal in the case of rivers, trees and flowers express the quality of continuity which Joyce wished to establish as the basis for his cyclical history.

Czarnowski

Finnegans Wake, however, is not just a tissue of incidents chosen to fit in with a pattern of recurring cycles, any more than Ulysses is a traveller's tale designed to imitate in detail the Homeric structure on which it is based. Both novels owe their vitality to the characters who people these careful thematic structures, threatening at times to burst from their confines and run riot through the pages. Margot C. Norris has indicated how this dichotomy operates in Finnegans Wake: "Joyce valued Vico as a social historian who provided him with new myths of origin. At the same time, Vico failed to provide Joyce with an individual psychology to complement his social theories."⁹¹ Joyce was not completely without guidance even from Vico, however. His "ideal and timeless history in which all the actual histories of all nations should be embodied" is revealed "in the lives, true or legendary, of national heroes; they are revealed through human personalities, rather than by acts or events.... When man craved for men-like-gods he had his way of combining generations in an individual, by incarnating in a single hero the ideas of a whole cycle of creation."⁹² These "poetic

⁹⁰ Joyce, Short History of Ireland, pp. 140, 130.

⁹¹ Margot C. Norris, "The Function of Mythic Repetition in Finnegans Wake", James Joyce Quarterly, XI, 4 (Summer 1974), 347.

⁹² Stuart Gilbert, "Prolegomena to Work in Progress", in Our Examination, pp. 51-52.

characters" are capable of representing the aspirations of their people, and are accordingly looked up to by them as an ideal. These figureheads thus become heroes and are eventually mythologized, but this process was not subjected to scrutiny by Vico.

It was, however, the subject of investigation in an Irish setting by the third of Joyce's trinity of important influences, the writer whom he recommended to Harriet Shaw Weaver along with Bruno and Vico, but whose influence on the structure and development of Finnegans Wake has so far been little noticed: Stefan Czarnowski. He was the author of Le Culte des Héros et ses Conditions Sociales: Saint Patrick, Héros National de l'Irlande (1919), a book on the relationship between society and those whom it venerates as heroes, taking as his particular example St. Patrick. Czarnowski's work had a sociological rather than a historical intention: his research was undertaken in France at the École Pratique des Hautes - Etudes under the direction of M.H. Hubert, who wrote a long preface examining the book from the point of view of its contribution to the relatively new discipline of social theory, and it was published in a series called "Travaux de l'Année Sociologique", which was under the direction of the famous sociological theorist Emile Durkheim. It was not, however, sociology in the current sense, since it was dealing with a historical rather than a contemporary society, and had to rely on imperfect written and archaeological evidence as a basis for its conclusions.

Joyce, however, was less interested in the scientific basis for the book than in the stimulus of its novel outlook on early Irish history and society, which he adapted to suit his own purposes. Harriet Shaw Weaver had a copy of the book, perhaps sent to her by Joyce, and on 17 April 1926 he asked her eagerly: "Have you read Le Culte des Héros yet? What do you think of it? Every time I read a piece I go round with the hat after begging those present to remember it and help me by finding things for me."⁹³ In May he again enquired about her reaction, this

⁹³ Joyce, Letters, III, 140.

time coupling Czarnowski with Vico and Bruno in the well-known quotation about his use of theories, in which it is often forgotten that Czarnowski is included: "Have you read Saint Patrice? There is a book on Bruno (though not on Nolan) by Lewis McIntyre (Macmillan). I do not know if Vico has been translated. I would not pay overmuch attention to these theories, beyond using them for all they are worth, but they have gradually forced themselves on me through circumstances of my own life."⁹⁴ Some weeks later he again asked her "Have you finished S. Patrice?"⁹⁵ with a persistence that he does not show about his other theorists. Stefan Czarnowski's book was a thematic influence on Finnegans Wake, useful especially for the development of characterization within the cosmic historical and philosophical framework on which Joyce wished to build his new world epic, and for its interpretation of Irish society which justified Joyce's own use of Ireland as the stage for the creative expression of man's eternal rise and fall.

Czarnowski defines his intention at the outset of the book quite simply: "L'objet de ce livre est de mettre en lumière les relations entre le culte des héros et l'organisation sociale."⁹⁶ In order to do this he defines the idea of hero, in terms which link his usage closely with the representative "poetic personality" of Vico: "Le héros est un homme qui a rituellement conquis, par les mérites de sa vie ou de sa mort, la puissance effective inhérente à un groupe ou à une chose dont il est le représentant et dont il personifie la valeur sociale fondamentale" (27). Czarnowski establishes that the hero with which he is concerned is a man, rather than a god or a spirit, and that the cult attached to the hero is a public one. When the hero has a cult associated with him, he is generally dead: "Le tombeau du héros

⁹⁴ Ibid., I, 241.

⁹⁵ Ibid., I, 241.

⁹⁶ Czarnowski, Le Culte des Héros, p. (i). Subsequent page references in this chapter will be enclosed in parenthesis in the text.

est le lieu du culte; le temps du culte est la nuit ou bien le crépuscule.... Les fêtes des héros ont le même rituel que les fêtes funéraires" (14). Thus the giant hero HCE, sleeping under Howth and the Phoenix Park, has Dublin as the focus of his cult, which takes place in the night world of Finnegans Wake, with all the ritual associated with the traditional Irish mourning of the dead at a "wake."

Czarnowski devotes his third chapter to a study of the myths and legends associated with the traditional pagan festivals of Ireland, around which the rhythm of life in the country was organised, and traces of which persisted until the twentieth century: "Les fêtes sont en Irlande l'occasion de grandes assemblées populaires, qui concentrent, pour ainsi dire, toutes les manifestations de la vie sociale" (109). The most important festivals, such as Samhain and Bealtaine, are also the anniversaries of tragic deaths, those of Muircertach MacErc and Flann respectively, while the Festival of Lughnasa at Tailtiu was said to have been instituted by the god Lug to honour the death of his adoptive mother, Tailtiu, an anniversary to which Joyce appears to refer when he wrote: "first to fall, cursed be all, where appetite would keenest be, atte, funeral fare or fun fain real, Adam and Eve's in Quantity Street by the grace of gamy queen Tailte, her will and testament..." (FW.83.20-23). From a number of such legends Czarnowski concludes that "la mort du dieu de la fête est le thème général de toutes les fêtes irlandaises" (126). These festival gods or spirits are ancestors of the people who are now commemorating them, personages distinguished themselves as kings or heroes during their lifetime: "les héros deviennent après leur mort les acteurs mythiques des fêtes.... Les épisodes de leur vie se passent aux fêtes. D'autre part, c'est aux fêtes qu'on raconte leurs légendes au public assemblé, et ces auditions font partie du rituel général des fêtes..." (162-163). From a study of accounts of the festivals in the old manuscripts, Czarnowski concludes also that "les assemblées périodiques sont toujours tenues dans des cimetières et autour de tombeaux" (163).

Further study reveals that the connections between the events

at festivals and actual funeral rites was very close. The funeral rite is divided into two sections: "La première commence dès l'instant du décès. Le cadavre est d'abord lavé dans une rivière, après quoi commence la veillée, pendant laquelle on se lamente sur le mort et l'on prononce son éloge" (185). This is the preliminary mourning which corresponds to the surviving custom of waking the corpse. "Les funérailles proprement dites commencent quand la veillée est terminée. Le cadavre placé sur une bière est transporté jusqu'au cimetière. C'est un rite qui représente le départ du mort pour l'Autre - Monde" (187). Czarnowski deduces, in fact, that "Les deux séries de rites funéraires correspondent à deux états du mort" (189): during the "waking" section "la mort n'est pas complète. Le mort est dans sa maison, au milieu de ses parents. Son âme n'est pas encore détachée de son corps.... Le mort demeure en cet état jusqu'à l'enterrement. Son âme ne s'en va rejoindre les autres âmes des morts que par l'effet des rites de transport" (189). For the hero or other distinguished dead person the first stage can be prolonged indefinitely, even after burial. His death remains a provisional or ritual one, regularly celebrated on the occasion of communal festivals, by games and story-telling and eulogies similar in format to the activities of the wake.⁹⁷

These heroes, therefore, are not lost to their people but inhabit a middle state of existence, awaiting the call to renewed action. Tales about them form the basis for a good deal of early Irish literature and belief in their continued existence persisted for centuries: "as far back as record reaches, the Irish bards have told of lost heroes sleeping; the gods belong to the past, fuerunt dei;... Celtic gods and heroes alike inhabit an underground dream-kingdom of the Dead."⁹⁸ This dream world is the real setting for the action of Finnegans Wake, a

⁹⁷ For a discussion of the festive nature of wakes and their survival into the twentieth century see Sean O'Suilleabhain, Irish Wake Amusements (Cork: 1967).

⁹⁸ Kenner, Dublin's Joyce, p. 268.

world which depends for its existence on the re-creation through story-telling of a dimly remembered past. Joyce indicated this setting through his careful choice of title, Finnegans Wake. The wake, a night watch over a body, is the occasion for the telling of his cosmic tale. Its subject, on one hand, is the giant Finn, one of those heroes who have remained in the state of provisional death, preserved alive in the minds of the people by the body of legend and mythology which is told and retold about him. He is thought to be asleep, waiting to be called when Ireland shall again have need of him. Also implicit in the title is the story of the hod-carrier Finnegans, his fall from a ladder, apparent death, and unexpected resurrection during the course of his wake. The fall and presumed death of HCE takes place on the first page of Finnegans Wake, represented by the word of a hundred letters (FW.3.15-17) and described as "The fall ... of a once wallstrait oldparr is retaled early in bed and later on life down through all christian minstrelsy. The great fall of the offwall entailed at such short notice the pftjschute of Finnegans..." (FW.3.15-19). The mythologization of his life and death proceeds throughout the novel in the many accounts of him supplied by history, hearsay, ballad and gossip, the traditional discussion of the dead person that takes place at the wake. A serious question underlies this whole discussion: is the hero really dead, and with him the whole civilization of which he was the representative, or is his death a ritual or provisional one whose effect is regenerative and fertile?

Associated with this is the question of HCE's personal success or failure. He appears to be repudiated by the society he founded, which has become sterile. Can it revive again? Is he representative of his peoples' aspirations or just a false hero? The apogée of HCE's Dublin kingdom was its glory of civilization in the eighteenth century, but it has become a decaying and stagnant city. The people have turned from HCE to a new possibility, Shaun the Post, who seems to promise a new age, "the national morning of golden sunup" (FW.428.13). One function of the use of Irish history in Finnegans Wake is the attempt

to answer this question: is there an Irish culture which can exist as a separate entity in the twentieth century after the decisive separation from Britain brought about by the treaty of 1922? Shaun's "day that belongs to joyful Ireland" (FW.472.34-35), with its emphasis on the characteristics that separate Ireland from the world, is subjected to close scrutiny. Shaun is chosen as the peoples' messenger to awake the sleeping heroes, but his mission is never accomplished as he falls asleep himself, "heartsoul dormant mid shadowed landshape" (FW.474.2-3), a victim of the paralysis that results from cutting oneself off from outside sources of energy. The process of setting up a state by bloody encounters and by civil war is ironically described as "Molochy wars bring the devil era" (FW.473.7-8), with a hint at one of its guiding spirits, Eamonn de Valera. The overt reference to Moloch stresses Joyce's disapproval of warfare as a means to any end, while Malachy and his opposition to the Danes many centuries before is a reminder of the persistence of such struggle in Ireland.

Shaun's new light heralds a false dawn since it fails to take account of the qualities of Shem, educated in "beurlad's scoel" (FW.467.25) (Béarla is the Irish word for "English"), whose reaction to battle is to seek refuge in a quiet place, "under a bedtick from Schwitzer's" (FW.176.34-35), whence he can emerge later to continue his pursuit of creativity by writing. For this he is castigated as a "moral defective" (FW.177.16), and indeed his view of experience needs to be fortified by contact with the lives of Shaun's supporters. Neither of them can succeed alone, since each seeks to cut himself off from a portion of his past, and all the past, however painful, has played its part in creating the present. The conflict of opposing nationalities, like all other oppositions, cannot be resolved by ignoring one of them, but by seeking for the possibility of synthesis.

Czarnowski's discussion of the cult of the dead associated with Irish heroes added a mythological level to Joyce's choice of the wake as the framework for his novel. Furthermore, the preservation of the Celtic heroes in a sleep-like state of provisional death provided a specifically

Irish dimension for the dream world of Finnégans Wake. The access which sleep permits to the suppressed experience of the past stored in the subconscious mind of the sleeper explains the concern with history that pervades the novel. The commemoration in Ireland of dead heroes by discussion of their achievements and re-enactment of their feats, as analysed by Czarnowski, reinforced this basis for Joyce's handling of Irish history as a significant element in his characters' experience.

Joyce found in Czarnowski's book further conclusions to reinforce the idea of Viconian recorso in the context of Ireland, in particular the notion of spiritual life as something separate from corporal life: "La mort et la naissance ne sont, selon les idées irlandaises, qu'une désincarnation et une réincarnation des mêmes génies.... Ces génies sont d'une nature telle qu'ils se réincarnent continuellement et de la sorte passent de la vie divine à la vie terrestre et inversement. Ils sont les esprits qui donnent la vie aux corps et la mort n'est autre chose que leur départ" (169). The sources of vitality in earthly life are to be found in the spirit, and in this context death represents a return to the world spirit: "Il y a ainsi une relation intime entre l'idée de mort, celle de la vie et celle de la vie divine. La vie corporelle n'est qu'un intermède entre deux périodes de vie divine et la mort est le retour d'un esprit divin dans le dépôt de forces vitales, dont il est sorti pour créer de la vie ici-bas" (176). At times, therefore, when it is necessary to the society to renew itself, a hero may be found to represent the people, and to pass through a ritual death into the spirit world through which revival may come: this Czarnowski describes as "le passage rituel dans l'Autre-Monde qui assure la continuité de la vie" (184). This is the kind of death with the possibility of rebirth towards which the cycles of progress through youth, maturity and decay in Finnégans Wake are tending. HCE, asleep in the dream-world of the spirit, and faced with the necessity to come to terms with the failure of his creativity, and with the conflicts which it has created, is passing through this process of purification. Czarnowski also mentions that one of the ceremonies of the ritual or

provisional funeral was the washing of the corpse, preferably in a river. The reason was partly purification but principally an attempt at revival since "Les rivières dans lesquelles on lave le mort viennent de Mag Mell, du Pays de la Vie. Leurs sources sont des passages qui mènent dans cette contrée.... [Ces bains] ont pour effet d'introduire dans le corps du patient une force de vie nouvelle" (185-186). Thus even the creative power of Anna Liffey, her capacity to give new life to the fading HCE, has a sanction in the mythology of regeneration which Joyce discovered in Le Culte des Héros.

Joyce's personification of his principal characters and themes in the physical objects of the countryside, tree, stone, river and mountain, also receives some further significance from Le Culte des Héros. For Czarnowski, all these are connected with the funerary cult: sacred trees are associated with the Tree of Life which stands in the centre of Mag Mell, the Land of the Living: "Ses fruits assurent la vie et la jeunesse à celui qui les consomme" (173). The sacred stones are funerary stones, which mark the site of cults of gods, dead heroes or ancestors (211-212). Lakes, rivers and river sources are often associated with the mythological dead: "D'autres sources ont jailli des tombes où reposent les descendants de Partholon.... Au bord d'un grand nombre de lacs sont des tombeaux héroïques et c'est auprès d'eux qu'on célèbre le culte des eaux" (213). One also finds funerary monuments such as cairns on mountains and high places, and again cults were associated with these at one time (213-214). The theme of death and ritual and rebirth is thus connected by Czarnowski with Joyce's emblems for HCE and ALP, Shem and Shaun.

Czarnowski's study of the pagan festival rites led him to consider further implications of their significance. In many cases the death of the hero or god was followed by the arrival of a new champion or the birth of children: "Une naissance qui suit une mort équivaut universellement à une réincarnation ou à une résurrection. Il en est de même en Irlande.... La renaissance du dieu sous ses diverses formes est un élément constant des représentations que comportent les fêtes en

Irlande" (130-131). Furthermore, this succession of death and rebirth is seen by Czarnowski as rhythmic and cyclic: "La mythologie irlandaise est une représentation du cycle de l'année. Ses génies et ses dieux sont des génies de fêtes saisonnières et des génies de la nature" (138). To support this statement Czarnowski offers a unique interpretation of the myths of invasions, with their recurrent pattern of arrival, displacement of the previous possessors, occupation for a time and eventual decline as a result of plague or the arrival of new conquerors. Lebor Gabála Érenn or the "Book of the Taking of Ireland" is the principal source for the mythology connected with the Partholonians, Nemédians, Fomorians, Fir Bolg, Tuatha de Danaan and Milesians, which Czarnowski interprets as "des développements différents d'un thème général unique. Celui-ci est la lutte de deux tribus divines, qui sont en réalité deux générations d'une seule race.... Ce sont toujours des révoltes de jeunes dieux contre leurs propres anciens. Quant à la victoire des jeunes dieux elle est représentée comme une libération" (102-103). This provides an Irish version of the replacement of the parents by the children, and also a parallel for Bruno's idea of the conflict of opposites, since the struggle for dominance is seen as taking place between two opposing spiritual powers, represented as the powers of Light against Darkness.

It is the conflict between these forces, and the defeat of one of them, which is the basis of the death and revival motif of the festival myths: "Il y a donc une parfaite ressemblance, qui va jusqu'à l'identité, entre les envahisseurs mythiques et les acteurs du drame festival. Ils font partie des mêmes tribus divines, ils se comportent de la même manière et la fin tragique des uns et des autres est identique" (134). It follows therefore that "Les génies des fêtes sont identiques aux génies des invasions" (131). Czarnowski suggests that "les événements des mythes d'invasions qui se passent aux fêtes sont des batailles et des épidémies" (133), those decisive events which decide the fate not only of the individual combatants but of the societies which they represent. In Viconian terms, the festivals commemorated

the moment of recorso when an old cycle passed away and a new one began. These battles or plagues or other disasters were only temporarily decisive, therefore, since today's victors will be challenged and defeated with the inevitable arrival of new gods or invaders. This interpretation of Irish mythology and ancient customs provided Joyce with an appropriate link-up between the Bruno theme of conflict and Viconian cyclical structure: "c'est encore le sacrifice festival qui explique l'alternance des triomphes et des défaites dans la vie des envahisseurs mythiques. Le thème général de leurs mythes, qui est le retour continu de génies colonisateurs qui viennent remplacer à certaines dates leurs parents morts ou bien exterminés par eux, se ramène à la représentation de la mort périodique de dieu de la fête, mort qui est immédiatement suivie d'une résurrection" (136). Even Czarnowski's division of the different kinds of spirits who confront each other at the ritual festival battles provides parallels with the Viconian schema of Divine, yielding to Heroic, yielding to Human phases of society. For among the throngs of spirits "dont les Irlandais ont peuplé leur univers naturel et surnaturel" (155) can be distinguished Gods, Heroes, and the throng of unnamed dead ancestors who together make up the Human (155-156).

Aspects of the characterization of the principal actors in Joyce's version of the universal drama are also related to this schema. HCE and ALP as mountain and river, and Shem and Shaun as tree and stone, fit into the divine phase of the Viconian cycle through the Celtic veneration for high places and swift streams and the Celtic choice of striking physical objects such as old trees and unusual stones to mark the sites of significant events. Patrick is a later manifestation of a religious figure who brings renewal by the introduction of a new world view, and Czarnowski's study showed how Patrick had become identified with earlier heroic figures. HCE as Finn expresses the Celtic manifestation of the heroic phase, while his association with invaders from outside, particularly the Ostmen who founded Dublin, is thematically consistent with the vigorous action which characterizes this phase. The commemoration by successive generations of the activities of the

hero forms the human period, during which the hero himself is inactive, imprisoned in the state of provisional death, and powerless to influence events. Thus HCE sees the traditional funeral games of the festivals, their sporting contests and trials of strength, being transformed into the battles between his sons, as they struggle for the right to succession: "how these funeral games... massacred as the holiname rally round took place" (FW.515.23-25). These conflicts are representative of the battles of world-history, continually re-enacted in an attempt to reach a solution. The setting for these battles at the festivals coincides with the setting for commemoration of the past by remembering and retelling its events. Joyce selected details and people from the history and mythology of Ireland to build up the fabric of his view of the world, and found that Czarnowski's explanation of similar data strikingly confirmed his own intuitions, and was, at the same time, capable of being absorbed into the framework of his other theorists, Vico and Bruno. Through them he was able to explore history by re-enactment and re-telling as the prerequisite for the construction of the future, and this is the principal function of Joyce's use of history, Irish and universal, in Finnegans Wake.

Joyce's use of his theoretical sources as a basis for his novel was not fragmentary. Rather, it constituted a coherent attempt to discover patterns in the past of Ireland and the world which would suggest a meaning for the present and a basis for the future. In a world of easy communication and easy travel the old national consciousness is no longer adequate, since man is aware of the diverse nature of world culture, made up of so many nations, languages, philosophies and versions of history. Each individual, however, must begin from his own standpoint, from the basis of his own country and culture, in the attempt to understand the wider world, come to terms with it, and plan for the future. This Vico and Bruno, each in his own way and in his own time, tried to do, and Joyce appreciated and wished to emulate their efforts. Quinet's sentence expressed poetically the elements of which continuity consists, and opened the way for the imagination, as well as

reason and education, to participate. Czarnowski's work confirmed Joyce's own intuition, expressed in the themes and setting of the first six sketches which formed the embryo of Finnegans Wake, that Ireland's past and present could become the setting for the characters of the novel and the basis for a wider study. Perhaps after all Finnegans Wake is less a novel than a fable or allegory: a twentieth-century quest or pilgrimage in which the hero must fare forth in search of a meaning for his own existence, taking with him the armour and weapons, or in this case the national background, with which he has been endowed, and pledged not to return unless he accomplishes his mission of discovering the wider world and deciding how his own life and background should be interpreted in its new context. HCE, like the medieval Knight, is the reader's representative in this quest, the hero in Czarnowski's sense of "le représentant élu d'un groupe ou d'une chose"(329). Through his revisiting of the past, especially the past of Ireland, one can hope to come to a new understanding of what the world has become, and to emerge from the shadows of the dream-world reinvigorated to face the dawn of a new day.

CHAPTER III

IRISH HISTORY: A THEMATIC BASIS FOR

THE EVOLUTION OF FINNEGANS WAKE

"in whose words were the beginnings" (FW.597.10)

James Joyce's interest in Irish history began in his schooldays and remained with him throughout his life. The programme of study which he followed at Belvedere College from 1893 to 1898 took him chronologically through the history of England and Ireland from the legendary days of the early colonies and mythological heroes to 1837. The text prescribed by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland¹ was P.W. Joyce's A Concise History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1837 which was an abridgement of a larger work, A Short History of Ireland.² P.W. Joyce's emphasis helps to explain the way in which the novelist viewed the past. P.W. Joyce divided his book into sections, and headed each with a title characterising the period with which he was dealing. He began with "The Manners, Customs, and Institutions of the Ancient Irish",³ an account of the language, the surviving manuscripts, the ancient code of the Brehon Law, the music, art-work, buildings and social customs of ancient and early Christian Ireland. The other section headings divided Irish history into four periods: "Ireland under Native Rulers" (From the most ancient times to 1172); "The Period of the Invasion" (1172-1547); "The Period of Insurrection, Confiscation and Plantation" (1547-1695); and "The Period of the Penal

¹ Sullivan, Joyce among the Jesuits, p. 237.

² Joyce, A Concise History of Ireland (Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son, 1893). I have used the fifteenth edition, published in 1908. Also, A Short History of Ireland (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893).

³ Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, p. 1.

Laws" (1695-1829).⁴ This last section actually took the account up to the death of William IV in 1837. P.W. Joyce hoped that he had "written soberly and moderately, avoiding exaggeration and bitterness, and showing fair play all round."⁵ However, his titles suggest a general view of Ireland's past in which an initial period of "native" possession is succeeded by invasion, resistance to the invader, and the punishment of this resistance by dispossession and legal sanctions. He also adopted a procedure, more suited to the novelist than the historian, "of weaving the history round important events and leading personages" with the intention of infusing "some life and human interest into the story."⁶ This method had the advantage for students such as James Joyce of providing anecdotes, not always accurate, which remained in the memory as a kind of folklore long after the more mundane details of dates and names had been forgotten. In Finnegans Wake "Another great theme is the degeneration or absorption of history into folk myth Joyce used what he gleaned from books and what he simply remembered."⁷ The agents of this process are the four annalists, Mamalujo, who collect their data by eavesdropping and spying, "listening to the oceans of kissening, with their eyes glistening" (FW.384. 19-20).

P.W. Joyce's discussion of early Irish literature includes accounts of many texts which relate to the themes of Finnegans Wake. He describes, for example, the Cathach or battle-book of the O'Donnells: "They always brought it with them to battle; and it was their custom to have it carried three times round their army before fighting, in the belief that this would insure victory."⁸ Finnegans

⁴ Ibid., pp. 37, 79, 136, 226.

⁵ Joyce, Short History of Ireland, p. iv.

⁶ Ibid., pp. iii - iv.

⁷ John V. Kelleher, "Identifying the Irish printed sources for Finnegans Wake", Irish University Review, I,2 (Spring 1971), 169-165.

⁸ Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, p.7.

Wake is also a battle-book in the sense that it contains in microcosm all battles ever fought, while the faith in the power of a book to resolve conflict is also implicit, with the recurrent oscillations between the Penman who writes and the Postman who delivers a message of significance for the whole world. P.W. Joyce devotes a chapter to the recording of history in the form of annals, and names several of the more important collections and the chroniclers who compiled them,⁹ providing the basis for the suggestion that Finnegans Wake is the latest in the sequence of compilations which each made use of the work of earlier annalists: "annals of themselves timing the cycles of events grand and national" (FW.13. 31-32). He also described the Dinnshenchus, "a topographical tract giving the legendary history and the etymology of the names of remarkable hills, mounds, caves, cairns, cromlechs, raths, duns and so forth,"¹⁰ which gave a precedent in the Irish culture for James Joyce's own use of words to suggest layers of association stretching far beyond the basic denotation.¹¹ Furthermore, the variety of fictional tales listed by P.W. Joyce reflects the diversity and some of the themes which may be found in Finnegans Wake. They include Battles, Voyages, Military Expeditions, Courtships, Pursuits, Adventures, Visions, Feasts, Slaughters, Exiles and Lake eruptions.¹² "Some of the tales are historical, i.e. founded on historical events - history embellished with fiction; while others are entirely fictitious. But it is to be observed that even in the fictitious tales, the main characters are nearly always historical, or such as were considered so."¹³ This also provides an Irish model for

⁹ Ibid., pp. 9 - 11.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 11.

¹¹ See above, pp. 24-25.

¹² Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, p. 12.

¹³ Ibid., p. 12.

James Joyce's own procedure of using history as the background for his fiction, and making his own characters, like H.C. Earwicker, take on the role of historical figures such as Leary, Patrick, Roderick O'Connor, Parnell, Sitric, or Brian Boru.

To the Concise History may also be traced James Joyce's initial interest in the Irish style of pen ornamentation, as exemplified in the Book of Kells. Such books are praised for the density and complexity of their decoration:

The special style of pen ornamentation was quite peculiar to the Celtic people of Ireland. Its most marked characteristic is interlaced work formed by bands, ribbons, and cords, which are curved and twisted and interwoven in the most intricate way, something like basket work infinitely varied in pattern. These are intermingled and alternated with zigzags, waves, spirals, and lozenges; while here and there among the curves are seen the faces or forms of dragons, serpents, or other strange looking animals, their tails, or ears, or tongues elongated and woven till they become merged and lost in the general design.... The pattern is often so minute and complicated as to require the aid of a magnifying glass to examine it.¹⁴

Joyce felt an affinity with this kind of work, and compared it to his own in a conversation with Arthur Power: "In all the places I have been to, Rome, Zurich, Trieste, I have taken it about with me, and have pored over its workmanship for hours. It is the most purely Irish thing we have, and some of the big initial letters which swing right across a page have the essential quality of a chapter of Ulysses. Indeed, you can compare much of my work to the intricate illuminations."¹⁵ In fact, in Finnegans Wake Joyce suggests that the Book of Kells derived from his own novel: "plainly inspiring the tenebrous Tunc page of the Book of Kells" (FW.122. 22-23). He used Sir Edward Sullivan's partial facsimile of the original as a model,¹⁶ and parodied its introduction, turning a phrase like "Attention is drawn

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁵ Ellmann, James Joyce, pp. 558-559.

¹⁶ Sullivan, The Book of kells (London: The Studio, 1914).

to the errors by four obeli in red"¹⁷ to "all those red raddled obeli cayennepepper cast over the text, calling unnecessary attention to errors, omissions, repetitions and misalignments" (FW.120. 14-16). Details from the introduction and from the illumination of the Tunc and Quoniam pages of the manuscript were used by Joyce as ornamentation for his own text,¹⁸ justified by the theory that apparently irrelevant decoration can be effective if it is set in a framework designed to contain it. "It is this supererogatory piling of decoration upon decoration which is the common characteristic of The Book of Kells and Finnegans Wake. One example is never sufficient."¹⁹ For Joyce, both works may proceed in this way as it is an intrinsically Irish way of doing things.

This procedure also suggests a metaphor for the two ways in which Irish history is used in Finnegans Wake. The principal business of the Book of Kells is the account of the four Gospels which it contains. Important points in the gospel story are indicated by the presence of elaborate illumination of the letters that form the text. The illumination enhances the movement of the narrative and is thus a structural use of decoration, as is, for example, Joyce's use of the mythology of invasion to discuss the relationship between an insular society and the world outside. However, the tiny animals, birds, flowers, and heads which make up the detail are not directly connected with the narrative of the Book of Kells and are a non-structural use of decoration, similar to Joyce's use of the names of historians or places in Dublin, lines from ballads or quotations from the speeches of Parnell to intensify the tenor of a passage, or to contrast with it. This can be very successful when the detail contributes to the total effect, as

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁸ See Atherton, The Books at the Wake, pp. 62-67 and Sean V. Golden, "The Quoniam Page from the Book of Kells", A Wake Newslitter, xi, 5 (October 1974), 85-86.

¹⁹ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p.67.

in the passage where the courtship of ALP and HCE and the foundation of their family is described in terms of the river running beside the humped mound of her lover as bridges are thrown across her banks and a city rises to flank her (FW.546. 29-550. 2). Frequently, however, the effect is simply to distract, when the ornamentation takes over and obscures or contradicts the apparent significance of the basic sentence, as in the opening pages of the Butt and Taff dialogue (FW.338. 5-341.17).

It is, therefore, necessary to establish some criteria for the reading of a work whose original basis has been so overlaid with successive additions during the years of its composition, and where in theory every letter must be accounted for in order to establish verbal meaning. Finnegans Wake has been compared to the physical world, subject to the action of erosion with the passage of years. "Like the universe, Finnegans Wake has weathered... Some things were once there but are so no longer. Only an outline or an occasional fragment is left to witness to features which have been superceded."²⁰ One must accept it as it now lies, with the ambiguity that arises at points where successive layers of addition have obscured or changed the original intention. Faced with such a text, all potential meanings are possible, but one must endeavour to arrange them in a hierarchy of probability, based on the interpretations which allow one "to make some sense of every semantic unit and, where there are several possibilities, accept only so much as establishes the best sense."²¹ The tracing of any one theme, such as Joyce's use of Irish history, necessitates a process of selection which must ignore some of the connotations from other areas of experience with which Joyce has embellished every sentence.

The clearest expression of Joyce's interpretation of the events

²⁰ Clive Hart, "Finnegans Wake in perspective", in Thomas F. Staley, ed., James Joyce Today: Essays on the major works (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), p. 164.

²¹ Ibid., p. 158.

of Ireland's past occurs in a lecture on Irish political and cultural history which he delivered at the Università Popolare in Trieste in 1907.²² His title, "Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages", was not treated ironically; rather, he wished to contrast an early potential for civilization in the country with its actual state at the time of speaking. His account of the early Irish church emphasized the activities of men such as Cataldus, Pelagius and Columbanus whose influence extended throughout Europe through religious foundations or the dissemination of original ideas, often heretical, and of Finnian the Learned whose school of theology attracted students from many countries to study in Ireland. The Irish who remained insular, concerned only with the preservation of their own interests, were not so successful, however, but weakened themselves and the country by internecine feuds which culminated with Diarmaid MacMurrough's invitation to the Normans to help him settle a dispute with another chieftain. This inability to foresee consequences beyond the immediate necessity made the Irish their own worst enemy, and ensured that all those who have made a name for themselves have done so outside Ireland: "when the Irishman is found outside of Ireland in another environment, he very often becomes a respected man.... No one who has any self-respect stays in Ireland, but flees afar as though from a country that has undergone the visitation of an angered Jove."²³ The only loyalty that has ever united the country has been the loyalty to Rome, which responded when "by means of a papal bull and a ring, it gave Ireland to Henry II of England."²⁴

The attempt to regain a national consciousness by a revival of the Irish language and a nostalgic sentimentality for past glories is based on false premises. In the first place the claim to Celtic

²² Joyce, Critical Writings, pp. 153-174.

²³ Ibid., p. 171.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 170.

homogeneity is suspect in a country which has been settled by such a variety of races, and subject to so many outside influences:

Our civilization is a vast fabric, in which the most diverse elements are mingled In such a fabric, it is useless to look for a thread that may have remained pure and virgin without having undergone the influence of a neighbouring thread. What race, or what language... can boast of being pure today? And no race has less right to utter such a boast than the race now living in Ireland.²⁵

Before Ireland can hope to be revitalized, its people must recognize that "in Ireland the Danes, the Firbolgs, the Milesians from Spain, the Norman invaders, and the Anglo-Saxon settlers have united to form a new entity."²⁶ The injustices of English rule in Ireland were based on the necessity of the newcomer to achieve control, and this was achieved by the divisions among the Irish which allowed the economy to be directed from London and gradually enmeshed in bureaucracy; and by the Irish fidelity to Rome which caused the country to be weakened by a struggle dictated from abroad: "The soul of the country is weakened by centuries of useless struggle and broken treaties, and individual initiative is paralysed by the influence and admonitions of the church, while its body is manacled by the police, the tax office, and the garrison."²⁷

In an earlier essay on James Clarence Mangan, Joyce had castigated the self-deception of a romantic view of Ireland's past, calling it "a narrow and hysterical nationality," and looking forward to a period of renewed enlightenment in terms which anticipate the central theme of Finnegans Wake: "But the ancient gods... die and come to life many times, and... the miracle of light is renewed eternally in the imaginative soul."²⁸ He ended his lecture on "Ireland: Island

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 165-166.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 166.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 171.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 82, 83.

of Saints and Sages" with a question which applies this hope to Ireland: "Is this country destined to resume its ancient position as the Hellas of the north some day?"²⁹ It will not do so by invective against England or by an appeal to past glories: "Ancient Ireland is dead just as ancient Egypt is dead."³⁰ It was a question which could not then be answered: "Only our supermen know how to write the history of the future."³¹ It is time, however, for the attempt to be made, if it is ever to be done: "If she [Ireland] is truly capable of reviving, let her awake, or let her cover up her head and lie down decently in her grave forever."³² Joyce's interpretation of Ireland's history had not changed a great deal when he began to prepare for Finnegans Wake in 1921, the year that the treaty was signed. The establishment of a new state did not, however, seem to Joyce to be the answer he had hoped for. Instead, the old failings of insularity and submission were intensified by the introduction of the "devil era" (FW.473.8). HCE the invader, of mixed blood, was not roused from slumber by the battlecries which ushered in the independent Ireland. He must wait for a real liberation of the mind and a new confidence, which will allow the country to break through the protective shell of insularity and turn its attention once again to the world outside. Joyce believed that Ireland could never progress while it clung to "that petit-bourgeois parochialism of Irish nationalism which loves to cloak itself in Celtic myth.... Joyce was a European as well as a Dubliner."³³

²⁹ Ibid., p. 172.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 173.

³¹ Ibid., p. 173.

³² Ibid., p. 174.

³³ Frank Budgen, "Joyce's Chapters of Going Forth by Day", in Clive Hart, ed., James Joyce and the Making of "Ulysses" and Other Writings (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 332.

The desire to explore the apparent contradictions between a strong sense of Irishness and a consciousness that this could only have significance in a wider context, led Joyce to begin the tentative exploration of Ireland's past through the six brief sketches which formed the nucleus for Finnegans Wake.

Joyce's first reference to his proposed new work occurred in a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver, dated 11 March 1923: "Yesterday I wrote two pages - the first I have written since the final Yes of Ulysses. Having found a pen, with some difficulty I copied them out in a large handwriting on a double sheet of foolscap so that I could read them."³⁴ These two pages were a sketch about King Roderick O'Connor, and Joyce quickly followed them with a number of exploratory sketches, six in all, in the course of 1923. The progress of the work is charted in his letters, since he sent these passages to Miss Weaver as they were completed, and kept her constantly informed of his progress. The sketches dealing with Tristan and Isolde and Kevin had been drafted by July, when Joyce requested Miss Weaver's assistance in typing them, and by August she had also seen the Berkeley and Patrick fragment. When Joyce returned to Paris from a summer holiday in England, he began work on two more pieces, one of which contained a first impression of H.C. Earwicker, and the other an account of the four old men, Mamalujo. In these six sketches he had been flexing his literary muscles, exercising the new style that Finnegans Wake was to use, and exploring some of the major themes which were to form its complex superstructure. He makes his method clear to Miss Weaver in a letter of 17 September 1923: "I want to get as many sketches done or get as many boring parties at work as possible before removal somewhere or anywhere after which I suppose I shall do the same again till I am hauled off to the eye clinic."³⁵

Joyce had prepared himself for his new endeavour by re-reading notes made for Ulysses to which he referred in a letter of 6 February

³⁴ Joyce, Letters, I, 202. .

³⁵ Ibid., I, 204.

1923: "What can I say about the Odyssey ? I made heaps of notes about it (supposedly) which I could not fit in. I was trying lately to sort these out according to a brandnew system I have invented for the greater complication and torment of myself."³⁶ His first sketches were sufficiently varied in subject to allow him to explore the many directions his notes suggested to him. These notes and fragments were the germ from which Finnegans Wake developed. Joyce dated his book, when it was published, "Paris, 1922-1939,"³⁷ although the first pages had actually been written on 10 March 1923. Perhaps he wished to date the inception of his new work in the year in which the Irish Free State came into being, so that his view of Ireland might parallel and contrast with actual events in the new country. He explained the lack of apparent connection between his subjects in a letter of 9 October 1923: "I work as much as I can because these are not fragments but active elements and when they are more and a little older they will begin to fuse of themselves."³⁸ The fusion actually occurred very soon, and before the end of 1923 Joyce had a clear idea of his principal characters and situations and was able to launch into the main body of Finnegans Wake in 1924, leaving the development and inclusion of some of his early ideas until the eventual completion of the book in 1938.

The brief "Here Comes Everybody" sketch was the germinal piece from which the plan of Finnegans Wake began to develop. The jigsaw pieces of HCE, ALP, and their children Shem, Shaun and Isabelle began to take on their complex shape, although the positions into which they would eventually fit were still, at this stage, unclear. In writing about his work Joyce calls it "a nice intricate Mah Jongg puzzle"³⁹

³⁶ Ibid., I, 200.

³⁷ Joyce, Finnegans Wake, p. 628.

³⁸ Joyce, Letters, I, 205.

³⁹ Ibid., III, 82.

and speaks of making "jigsaw puzzle sketches in the penumbra of this room."⁴⁰ By December 1923 he had drafted versions of the eventual first four chapters of Finnegans Wake, which deal with HCE's guilt, fall from popularity, and incarceration by public demand in a tomb. These were followed by a new subject, the "mamafesta" (FW.104.4) or letter in which ALP defends her husband (now Book I, chapter 5), which was followed by drafts of Shem the Penman (Book I, chapter 7) and Anna Livia Plurabelle (Book I, chapter 8). "More important is the fact that while searching for a means of introducing the 'Letter', Joyce conceived of the subject matter for Book III, which deals with Shaun the post en route to HCE with his mother's 'Mamafesto'."⁴¹ By early 1924 Joyce had not only planned but had already written drafts which were to be incorporated into the main body of Finnegans Wake. Irish history was one of the initial "boring parties", an aspect of the universal history on which Joyce felt he had embarked. The technique of the novel is such, however, that the role of Ireland's history is not always strong and clearly defined. As one stratum among many strata, or as one thread in a tapestry, it becomes visible for a time, and then recedes into the background again. This pattern of prominence and recession is the subject of the present study, and we begin at a point where Irish history is prominent - in the early exploratory sketches.

Roderick O'Conor

"last pre-electric king of Ireland" (FW.380.12-13)

The early sketches are the starting point for the study of Irish history in Finnegans Wake. The first of these deals with King Roderick O'Conor, and was begun on 10 March 1923,⁴² passing through five drafts,

⁴⁰ Ibid., I, 206.

⁴¹ Hayman, First Draft Version, p. 6.

⁴² Joyce, Letters, I, 202.

ending with Miss Weaver's typescript of it in July 1923.⁴³ By November 1926 Joyce had decided that the fragment would form part of Book II;⁴⁴ it eventually became the conclusion of Book II, chapter 3. It was never published before its inclusion in the completed Finnegans Wake in 1939. The first version is no longer extant; therefore Hayman uses the second draft for his rendering in A First Draft Version of "Finnegans Wake" which I shall use for the examination of the development of this and the five other early sketches.

The earliest and most primitive version,⁴⁵ omitting all additions and even corrections, is a bare narrative in conventional prose, a description of the last High King of Ireland drinking the dregs from his guests' glasses after the party is over. The party in question seems to have been the rule of the High Kings or Ardri of Ireland, of whom Roderick was the last. The institution of Ardri had been in decline since the death of Brian Boru at the battle of Clontarf in 1014. There had been no obvious successor to Brian, and squabbles among the chiefs had prevented the recognition of any of them as Ardri, though some had claimed the title and received limited submission. As D'Alton says in his History of Ireland, "No prince of the Tirowen or Dalcassian race was strong enough to establish a supremacy over the whole island, nor indeed over his own province. It had become recognized that the rule of the stronger only should prevail, hereditary claims were ignored, and the example of Brian had pointed out to every ambitious adventurer that if he was sufficiently strong and sufficiently unscrupulous he might become supreme among the Irish Kings."⁴⁶ Roderick O'Connor's father, Turlogh, was just such an adventurer; he was recognized as Ardri from 1106 until his defeat by

⁴³ Ibid., I, 203.

⁴⁴ Ibid., I, 246.

⁴⁵ Hayman, First Draft Version, pp. 203-204, also simplified version in Appendix, pp. 299-300.

⁴⁶ D'Alton, History of Ireland, Half-Volume I, 161.

Aedh O'Loughlin in 1153, and he laid the foundation for his son's eventual succession to the position in 1166.

Roderick inaugurated his reign with the ritual celebration of Aonach Tailltinn in 1168. The holding of this extensive gathering was one of the traditional prerogatives of the Ardri. It was held every three years, at the time of the feast of Lughnasa (August) on the plain of Breg at Tailtiu. All chiefs owing allegiance to the Ardri were obliged to be present or to be represented. At these gatherings laws were enacted, disputes settled, allegiances renewed. Quarrelling or fighting was forbidden for the duration of the celebration. It was also an occasion for the display of the King's generosity: the nobles were richly entertained, and contests, races, tournaments and tests of skill provided entertainment for the participants and an opportunity to display prowess and win glory. The gatherings gradually became more and more infrequent; some Ardris did not hold them at all, and Roderick's assembly was the last ever held. The Annals of the Four Masters records the occasion, and notes that the horsemen present extended nearly seven miles.⁴⁷ The Annalists saw it as the dawn of a new era of prosperity, but Roderick's reign was one of unmitigated disaster for the Gaelic ruling order. He was faced with the consequences of Diarmaid MacMurrough's action in bringing the Normans to Ireland. These were soon followed by their liege lord, Henry II, who received the submission of the Irish chiefs (except those of Ulster), including O'Conor's. Roderick's inability to unite the chiefs under him, or to use his forces adequately on the few occasions that he did command support, led to his being eventually challenged for his position by his two sons and his own younger brother, and forced to retire to the Abbey of Cong, where he eventually died in 1198.

The occasion of this sketch seems to be the last Aonach Tailltinn, when Gaelic Ireland seemed to be concentrating its forces,

⁴⁷ Annals of the Four Masters, II, 1169.

but was actually ripe for invasion. This is for Joyce, "the socalled last supper he gave" (First Level Version, Appendix p.299). Roderick would have been in his fifties at this time,⁴⁸ "who was anything you like between fiftyfour and fiftyfive years of age at the time" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 299). Time-telescoped into the scene of triumph is the scene of humiliation, when his followers have all left him, and nothing remains of the joyous celebration of community but the bitter dregs of lost authority. The king's "right royal round rollicking table" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 299) suggests the comparable pattern of King Arthur's success in reconciling warring lords round a symbolic table to create a successful basis for government and culture, only to see it crumble into a renewal of rivalry and feuds at the end. Arthur's name may be intended as an element in "Art MacMurrough Kavanagh" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 299). The inevitable repetition of this pattern in history is later merged into the cyclism of Finnegans Wake through a parody of Tennyson's Morte d'Arthur: "The old order changeth and lasts like the first" (FW.486.10). The inevitable decline of all civilizations is also suggested by the contrast between the proverbial courage of all those who fight like Trojans, and Roderick who "sucked up sure enough like a Trojan" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 299) from the bottoms of his visitors' glasses. The fate of Troy, invaded and defeated by Greece, here parallels the fate of Gaelic Ireland, superseded by the Norman influence. Joyce does not develop the parallel to any great extent, though he does call Dublin "our sow muckloved d'lin, the Troia of towns and Carmen of citics" (FW.448.11-12). The thematic outline is here no more than a suggestion of the aftermath of defeat, when the humiliated leader consoles himself with alcohol and reminiscence about past glories.

The intended connotations of the names Joyce uses in this

⁴⁸ O Hehir, Gaelic Lexicon for "Finnegans Wake", p. 426.

passage are not entirely clear. Roderick, in Irish Ruaidhri or Rory, later came to include Rory O'Connor, who commanded the anti-treaty garrison in the Four Courts during the Civil War. The reference to "Art MacMurrough Kavanagh who was King of all Ireland before he was" (First Level Version, Appendix. p. 299) also spans the centuries. Art MacMurrough Kavanagh flourished in the fourteenth century, two hundred years after the reign of Roderick. Roderick himself submitted to Henry II in 1171 and again in 1175, while Art MacMurrough's guerilla tactics contributed to the failure of Richard II's campaign in Ireland in 1399. This could be an ironic reference to the success of Art as opposed to the failure of Roderick. Some sort of reference to the act of another MacMurrough, Diarmaid, King of Leinster, a contemporary of Roderick, who invited the Normans to help him in his quarrels with the other Leinster chiefs, seems also to be intended. Historically speaking, there is no reason why MacMurrough should be called "King of all Ireland before he was" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 299). In fact the MacMurrough family "were the only major provincial dynasty not to have tasted the high kingship"⁴⁹ but they were the instruments of its final extinction. In Finnegans Wake King Roderick, Rory O'Connor the garrison commander, and Art MacMurrough Kavanagh all combine: "Tried mark, Easterlings. Sign, Soideric O'Cunnuc, Rix. Adversed ord, Magtmorken, Kovenhow" (FW.378.12-14). King Arthur seems to be included in the original reference as "Art" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 299), and also perhaps Cormac MacArt, the legendary king of Ireland, during whose reign the Fianna and Finn MacCool flourished. Already Joyce is using an ambiguous reference to collate events from many centuries. The incidents of invasion, treachery, forced exile and conflict are revealing themselves as the crucial thematic pattern of Irish history, around which the new book might be formed from this brief and bare first sketch.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 425.

Further embellishments of this outline first version, added in 1923, are also available in Hayman's First Draft Version, and serve to illuminate Joyce's thematic concerns at this stage. Art MacMurrough Kavanagh is further described in an addition:

now of parts unknown God guard his generous soul, that put a
poached fowl in the poor man's pot before he took to his pallyass
for good or until he went and died nevertheless in the year the
sugar was scarce and himself down to three cows that was meat
drink and dogs and washing to him 'tis why we have cause to
remember it. 50

Whatever Art MacMurrough Kavanagh may stand for historically, here he seems to be the generous landlord being praised by the poor tenant for his concern for the poor man's plight when times were hard for all of them. The folk memory of the famine seems to be invoked here, or perhaps the obligation on the landlord of an Inn to provide hospitality for travellers. Under the Brehon law of ancient Ireland the brughfer or brugaid, "a public hospitaller, [was] bound to keep an open house for the reception of strangers,"⁵¹ and the "guests were lodged and entertained with bed and board, free of charge."⁵² The most numerous group of these open houses were run by the "brugaid cedach or 'hundred hospitaller', who should have at least one hundred of each kind of cattle, one hundred labourers, and corresponding provision for feeding and lodging guests."⁵³ Hospitality and generosity were also the traditional virtues which kings were bound to display, which explains why Joyce, in another early addition, places Roderick in charge of hospitality at the "house of the 100 bottles,"⁵⁴ and adopted an early

50 Hayman, First Draft Version, p. 203. Here I am taking the most advanced reading, omitting cancelled words, and accepting substitutions. This will be my practice throughout in discussing second-level additions.

51 Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, p. 18.

52 Joyce, Social History of Ancient Ireland, II, 171.

53 Ibid., II, 168-169.

54 Hayman, First Draft Version, p.203.

Irish model for the placing of a public house at the centre of Finnegans Wake. The loss of the province of Ulster to the Free State may also be implicit in the comment that Art was "down to three cows." The Irish chiefs and later the peasantry used to measure wealth in terms of cattle, and Ireland has been compared in Gaelic poetry to a pretty brown cow or Droimeann Donn Dilis, giving Joyce a traditional precedent for the comparison.

A short addition at the beginning of the sketch introduces a significant overtone which was to pervade Finnegans Wake. The opening sentence was emended to read: "So after that to wind up that long to be chronicled get together day the anniversary of his first coming...."⁵⁵ The analogy of the chronicle was taken up by Joyce, and the Four Masters, the most famous annalists of Irish history, are introduced eventually as choric commentary to the "long to be chronicled get together day" on which the action of Finnegans Wake takes place. They are also the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, collectively known as Mamalujo from the first two letters of each of their names, who form the basis of another early sketch called after them. This day of action, "the anniversary of his first coming," is the day of invasion, the day when the old order is faced with the challenge of the new, and when the creator of the old civilization must revitalize himself if he is also to be the father of the new.

The theme of past and future invasions is made explicit in another addition to the early sketch:

what did he do King Roderick O'Conor the auspicious monarch of all Ireland at the time after all the unimportant Parthalonians and united Firbolgs and Tuatha de Danaans and the rest of the not muchers googs and other slygrogger suburbanites he didn't care a spit out of his mouth for had gone off with themselves on footback down the switchbackward rd a tree's length from the longest way out when he was all alone by himself in the grand pile, the body, you'd pity him, that joky old man, poor he, the way the world is, the Heart of Mid-Leinster the King of them all overwhelmed with ruin.... 56

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 203

⁵⁶ Hayman, First Draft Version, pp. 203-204.

Here Joyce introduces the mythological invaders from Lebor Gabála Érenn or the "Book of the Taking of Ireland", a "collection of pseudo-historical poems by various authors of different periods, arranged in a pattern of invasions."⁵⁷ It comprises a "history" of the inhabitants of Ireland from the creation, with an appendix on the kings of Ireland up to 1166. An early version existed in the ninth century, but in its present form Lebor Gabála Érenn is not earlier than the later eleventh century.⁵⁸ The compilation is the product of inter-relation between the secular bardic schools which elaborated the mythology, and the monastic tradition which structured it. The intention is to provide a past for Ireland which can parallel the biblical history of the Jewish race: "The whole structure of the story is based on Old Testament history, for Gaedel is a descendant of Japhet, son of Noah. Like the children of Israel, the ancestors of the Irish set out from Egypt on their wanderings"⁵⁹ and Ireland becomes for them the Promised Land. The history pre-dates the flood, and it is available because Fintan, son of Labraid, survived for a year under the waters that submerged the earth, and later passed through several incarnations as eagle, hawk and salmon, eventually telling the tale of all he had seen to Patrick, Columcille, Comgall and Finnian, by whom it was said to have been written down. Fintan appears in Finnegans Wake as "Fintan fore flood" (FW.359.5). The composer of Lebor Gabála Érenn "had a mass of tradition and folklore which he had to fit into a Christian world-history and to synchronize into its time-sequence,"⁶⁰ so that the old persistent mythologies might be allowed to survive in harmony with the new Christianity. Joyce was aware of this process, which he mentions in a note prepared for inclusion in Work in Progress: "Eng. bible heroes = Irish

⁵⁷ Hughes, Early Christian Ireland: an Introduction to the Sources, p. 282.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 282.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 282.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 283.

chiefs."⁶¹ The basic poem was much elaborated in an attempt to unify the country by obliterating the memory of the different ethnic origins of the people and provide a common origin. Therefore the invasions were pushed back into the remote past, and some tribal names were retained as designations of the pre-invasion population of Ireland.⁶² The task of synchronization attempted in Lebor Gabála Érenn is akin to Joyce's attempt to harmonize the dichotomies of world culture and the divisions in Ireland through Finnegans Wake, by the construction of a fictional model in which opposing points of view might be accommodated.

The successive waves of invasions described in Lebor Gabála Érenn and the annals include the three mentioned by Joyce in his addition: "the unimportant Parthalonians and united Firbolgs and Tuatha de Danaans." A lady called Ceasair was said to have landed in Ireland with forty others before the flood, but the first successful colonisers were Parthalon and his people who thrived for three hundred years, but eventually perished in a plague. Their place was taken by Nemed and his followers, whose occupation was threatened by a race of sea-robbers called the Fomorians, and by a plague which killed many of them. The Firbolgs next gained control of the country. One of their kings married Tailtiu, daughter of the King of the Land of the Dead. The festival of Tailtinn was instituted in her honour. Their position in Ireland was challenged by the Tuatha de Danaan, who came from four mythical cities, Falias, Corias, Finias and Morias mentioned by Joyce in Finnegans Wake: "their Elderships the Oldens from the four coroners of Findrias, Murias, Gorias and Falias" (FW.219.10-11). The newcomers confronted the races already in occupation, the Firbolg at the first battle of Moytura and the Fomorians at the second battle of Moytura. The Tuatha de Danaan were successful and spread throughout Ireland, while the defeated Firbolg remained in Connaught. The last race of mythological invaders, the Milesians, came to Ireland after long

⁶¹ Joyce, Scribbledehobble, p. 64.

⁶² O'Rahilly, Early Irish History and Mythology, p. 194.

wanderings, and after a struggle they gained control of the country and forced the Tuatha de Danaan to retreat underground where they established the magical kingdom of the fairies. The military leaders of the Milesians were brothers, Heber and Heremon, who divided the country between them, but later quarrelled, and Heber was killed by his brother.⁶³ Later "the bouts of Hebear and Hairyman" (FW.14.35-36) became an Irish model for the brother battles which represent conflict in Finnegans Wake.

These invasions are the backdrop to the situation of Roderick, ruler of Connaught and of Ireland, left alone after these invaders "had gone off with themselves," but the imminence of another invasion is implied by the references to MacMurrough and the addition of the phrase "the Heart of Mid-~~leir~~ster", which describes the geographical situation of Diarmaid's own kingdom, to which he invited Strongbow and the Normans, starting a series of conquests that Roderick was powerless to stem. Though Joyce was probably aware that the invasion mythology could not be taken literally, such mythology did bear out his contention that Ireland was not homogeneous since even the early chroniclers were aware of many different arrivals. Furthermore, the repetitive nature of the mythological history was capable of cyclic interpretation, as each successive group conquered, established themselves, and then gradually lost its vigour, to be finally annihilated by a catastrophe represented either by disease or defeat, and replaced by a new group which brought its vitality from outside.

When Joyce revised the Roderick O'Connor episode for inclusion in Finnegans Wake, a series of complicated references were set up to link it to the rest of the book. Roderick's feasting hall became the bar of Earwicker's pub where he is clearing up after the departure of his customers. The historical content is no longer the main focus, but a mock-epic commentary which telescopes Ireland's time-scope so that we

⁶³ Joyce, Short History of Ireland, pp. 123-128.

view Roderick, inefficient, guilt-ridden, slovenly, in ironic juxtaposition to H.C. Earwicker, who retains many of these characteristics, though he belongs himself to the invaders, an outsider, never at home in the country he has occupied for hundreds of years. Subtleties in the relationship are emphasized through cross references to history, and to the action of the rest of Finnegans Wake.

HCE's connection with the invader is established through the parallel with Partholon, in whose time the first beer and ale were brewed and the first guesting house established in Ireland.⁶⁴ The confluence of Roderick, HCE and Partholon is strengthened through a reference in the Annals to Partholon's son Rory, who "was drowned in Loch Rudhruidhe, the lake having flowed over him; and from him the lake is called."⁶⁵ HCE endures a similar water burial in "a protom grave in Moyelta of the best Lough Neagh pattern" (FW.76.21-22), in which he awaits his reawakening. HCE, the builder of the city of Dublin, is further linked to Roderick by the tradition that "Roderick O'Connor, King of Connaught, is reported to have been the first person in Ireland, who erected a castle of lime and stone at Tuam, and that so late as the year 1161, which was looked upon as such a novelty then, that it got the name of the wonderful castle."⁶⁶ In recognition of this superior shelter against the elements, Joyce calls Roderick "the auspicious waterproof monarch of all Ireland" (FW.380.33-34), while the other chiefs lived in houses "built of twigs and hurdles and covered with sedge or straw."⁶⁷ He is nonetheless left isolated "in his grand old handwedown pile after all of them had gone off with themselves to their castles of mud" (FW.380.35-381.1). The eccentricity of Roderick in building himself such a structure links him with the Danish invaders

⁶⁴ MacCana, Celtic Mythology, p. 57.

⁶⁵ Annals of the Four Masters, 1, 7.

⁶⁶ Harris, History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin, pp.2 - 3.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.2.

who did build fortified cities of stone, and established Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, Wexford and Cork as the centres of an alternative civilization to the rural Celtic customs of the rest of the country.

The scene for the winding up of this "thanksbetogiving day" (FW.380.9) is "Glenfinnisk-en-la-Valle" (FW.380.9). O'Hehir translates this as "Gleann Finn-uisce" or Clear-water Valley, anglicised Phoenix.⁶⁸ Earwicker's pub is situated near the Phoenix Park, and is thus identified as the locus of the passage. The elaborate Gaelicization of the name changes the tone from the colloquialisms of the customers' chatter with their request "to tells of all befells after that to Mocked Majesty in the Malincurred Mansion" (FW.380.4-5), to the narrative, in the roundabout eulogizing style of the Gaelic storyteller, of the fate of "poor old hospitable corn and eggfactor, King Roderick O'Conor, the paramount chief polemarch and last pre-electric king of Ireland" (FW.380.11-13, my italics). HCE and Roderick are brought together by these descriptive initials and by the fact that their age is about the same: "between fiftyodd and fiftyeven years of age at the time" (FW.380.13-14). This was also Joyce's age at the time when he was engaged in the completion of Finnegans Wake, a hint perhaps that he was expressing the personal experience of aging through his depiction of HCE, in his own semi-dark "umbrageous house of the hundred bottles" (FW.380.15-16). For Joyce too "that same barbecue beanfeast was all over" (FW.380.10-11) as the novel neared its conclusion. Roderick pre-dates the twentieth century with its widespread use of electricity, and the establishment of Ireland's first radio station "with the radio beamer tower" (FW.380.16) at Athlone. HCE, however, must come to terms with such inventions and the changes they will bring to the people.

Brief references remind us of Roderick's kingly predecessors: "King Arth Mockmorrow Koughenough of the leathered leggions" (FW.380.22-23) now includes not only Arthur, Cormac MacArt, and the MacMurrough

⁶⁸ O'Hehir, Gaelic Lexicon for "Finnegans Wake", p. 210.

Chiefs of Leinster, but also Muircheartach, Ardri in the early tenth century: "Muircheartach was heir to the Ardri's throne, and, to ensure recognition of his rights, he had made a circuit of Ireland, taking hostages as he went along. His journey was made in winter, and to protect his troops from the cold he had them clothed in leather coats, whence he has been called Muircheartach of the Leather Coats."⁶⁹ Another Ardri seems to be invoked on p. 381. 12: "at a Lanty Leary cant on him," namely King Leary, high-king at Saint Patrick's arrival in Ireland, who later in Finnegans Wake presides over the debate of Patrick and the druid Berkeley which preludes the dawn of a new day (FW. 609. 24-613.7). Various other chieftains are also included. The head of the clann McCarthy, MacCárthaigh Mór, becomes "the leak of the McCarthy's mare" (FW.381.1-2), with a probable reference intended to Diarmaid MacCarthy, King of Desmond during Roderick's reign, who allowed Milo de Cogan, an opponent of Roderick, to settle on his lands without opposition.⁷⁰ Roderick saw this as treachery and betrayal, since De Cogan had entered his personal Kingdom of Connaught to assist Roderick's rebellious son Murrough in his bid to dethrone his father. Murrough failed, and was blinded as a punishment, linking him with the short sighted Shem, of Finnegans Wake. This marks another link between Roderick and HCL: both are the fathers of unruly and quarrelsome sons. Another son of Roderick's, Connor Moimoy, also openly opposed his father, but more effectively, forcing him into exile in Munster for a time. The model of opposing brothers, united only in opposition to a father, thus exists in Roderick as in HCE. A later Irish chieftain, Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne, is recalled in "Larry's on the focse and Faugh MacHugh O'Bawlar at the wheel" (FW.382.21-22). Larry may be Archbishop Lawrence O'Toole of Dublin, who had played a major part in defending Dublin against the Normans in 1170, when Roderick had proved ineffective. Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne defeated the army of the English under Lord Grey

⁶⁹ D'Alton, History of Ireland, half-volume I, 123.

⁷⁰ Ibid., half-volume I, 277.

de Wilton in 1580, and helped the hostage Red Hugh O'Donnell to escape from Dublin Castle in 1591.⁷¹ He is the hero of the ballad "Follow me up to Carlow" which Joyce echoes here in Finnegans Wake: "one to do and one to dare, par by par, a peerless pair, ever here and over there.... Now follow me out by Starloe!" (FW.382.22-30). Joyce sent the words of this ballad to Maurice James Craig in 1939, giving the chorus as follows:

Curse and swear, Lord Kildare!
 Feagh will do what Feagh will dare;
 Now Fitzwilliam, have a care -
 Fallen is your star, low!
 Up with halbert, out with sword,
 On we go; for by the Lord!
 Feagh MacHugh has given the word:
 Follow me up to Carlow!⁷²

An echo in Joyce's version of the name, Faugh MacHugh O'Bawlar, of the battle cry of the Irish Brigade, Fág a' bealach or "clear the way," emphasizes the way in which Fiach MacHugh cleared the countryside before him.

Larry and Faugh MacHugh O'Bawlar are the helmsmen who are steering the love-ship of Tristan and Isolde, which is the scene for the next chapter of Finnegans Wake. HCE also came to Ireland by ship, the "skibber breezed in" (FW.315.14) and "put into bierhiven" (FW.315.22) where he married a settled girl. Her "youngfree yoke stilling his wandercursus" (FW.318.9-10) encouraged him to set up shop, "his loud-ship was converted to a landshop" (FW.332.23-24), and build her a city. Now that his creation has come to the end of its cycle, he must retire and allow the brideship of the young couple to come to harbour, where they can set up a new family. Therefore, at the end of the segment, Roderick/HCE, overcome by drink and sleep, "just slumped to throne" (FW.382.26). The hint of recorso is strengthened by the aural similarity between "O'Bawlar" and Balor of the Evil Eye, King of the Fomorians.

⁷¹ Ibid., half-volume III, pp. 98, 121.

⁷² Joyce, Letters, III, 429.

In Celtic mythology the Fomorians represented the forces of Darkness, which were overthrown at the second battle of Moytura when Lug, champion of the Tuatha de Danaan, killed Balor and allowed the forces of Light to triumph. Balor's presence here undercuts the heroic connotations of Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne, but looks forward to the advent of dawn after darkness, when the old order gives way before new vitality. A cluster of morning images, the hen laying her egg, the stained-glass church window brightening, the priest arriving for early mass and the delivery of the morning paper, strengthen this hope of renewal after HCE's disintegration:

till that hen of Kaven's shows her beaconnegg,
and Chapwellswindows stain our horyhistoricold
and Father Macilichael stamps for aitch o'clerk mess
and the Litvian Neweastlatter is seen, sold and delivered
and all's set for restart after the silence (FW.382.10-14).

The renewal has to do with the publication of Finnegans Wake itself, the "Litvian Neweastlatter" which contains all the past within itself and thus frees the present for a new future. History teaches no clear-cut lessons about nobility and heroism; those have to be retrieved out of the litter of everyday lives and deaths.

Joyce was able to expand his original sketch to fit into the developed conception of the novel fifteen year later. The thematic basis existed already in the figure of Roderick O'Connor so that he could merge into the figure of HCE without any difficulty. References to Roderick are scattered throughout Finnegans Wake, but a sustained identification of Roderick and HCE does not occur anywhere else. The first sketch depicted a HCE-like figure woven through the centuries by the parallels with Balor, Cormac MacArt, King Arthur, Art MacMurrough Kavanagh, Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne and Rory O'Connor. As his conception developed, Joyce adopted Finn MacCool as the principal point of reference from the past, and link with the present-day Finnegan. The significance of Roderick derives from his importance at a time of transition for Ireland, as an established culture succumbs before a challenge that it is unable to resist, because the vigour of its

original impulse has wasted with the passage of time. Paradigms for this process from the invasion mythology emphasize the cyclic inevitability of such decline and replacement, though past cycles have not vanished without trace, but have all contributed something to the total picture of the present. Joyce's first study for Finnegans Wake was set at the moment of recorso, the formless moment of transition when the elements of society are regrouping themselves for a new phase of existence. Thus Finnegans Wake is cyclic in its composition as well as in its structure; the first piece written is an expression of the conclusion towards which the whole work tends; and the examination of the process of growth, vigour and decline which precedes transition is the subject of the next five early sketches as well as of the body of the novel.

Tristan and Isolde

"the twooned together" (FW.396.24)

This sketch was written early in 1923, between March and July, probably immediately after the Roderick O'Connor sketch. The conclusion of the first available draft of "Tristan and Isolde"⁷³ was actually written on the verso of the first available draft of the "Roderick O'Connor" sketch⁷⁴ and is referred to in a letter of 19 July 1923 to Harriet Shaw Weaver: "Pour commencer may I have recourse to your offered aid and ask you to type the enclosed (2 copies)?⁷⁵ I shall send you the original sheet⁷⁶ (now quite illegible) when I have

⁷³ Hayman, First Draft Version, p. 316, draft number II, iv, a [2].

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 316, draft number II, iii, f [2].

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 316, "Roderick O'Connor" sketch, draft numbers II, iii, f [3] and [4].

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 316, "Roderick O'Connor" sketch, draft number II, iii, f [2].

transcribed what is on the back of it.⁷⁷ I hope it is legible. I wrote it as well as I could."⁷⁸ At this point he had completed the revision of the "Roderick O'Connor" sketch and it was ready for typing. The first draft of the "Tristan and Isolde" passage was also complete.

"Tristan and Isolde" deals with the past also, but it is the past of romance and legend rather than the past of established record. It corresponds to Vico's imaginative reconstruction of what representative poetic characters must have done, in the context of the societies whose qualities they epitomized. This way of dealing with the past is suggested by the desire to create an ideal world from the unsatisfactory fragments of present experience and the cumulative residue of past events in the subconscious. It is the stuff of which a dream world is made, and can comprehend the nightmarish as well as the desirable elements of experience, combining all into a world view unified by the imagination. "Time and memory are the keys to both history and myth," but whereas historical time is linear, proceeding from creation to final extinction, mythic time "continually returns to its beginnings" and is, therefore, cyclic.⁷⁹ The dilemma of the linear progression of the individual life, from birth, to vigorous maturity, to loss of force, decline, and death, is placed in the context of a cyclical progression in an attempt to resolve the apparent futility of endeavour and achievement. The figure of HCE best expresses the basic dilemma: as Roderick, he experiences the despair of middle age, and in this sketch he is represented by the aging King Mark, contrasted with the virility of Tristan and the fertility of Isolde. Here he is "tiresome old King Mark, that tiresome old pantaloons in his tiresome old twenty-twoandsixpenny shepherd's plaid trousers ." Like Roderick and HCE, he

77 Ibid., p. 316, "Tristan and Isolde" sketch, draft number II, iv, a[2]. The manuscript page containing both sketches is B.M. Add. Ms. 47480, 287. b.

78 Joyce, Letters, I, 203.

79 Michael H. Begnal, "Love that Dares to Speak its Name: Book II, chapter iv", in A Conceptual Guide to "Finnegans Wake", p. 146.

is a has-been, seen as old-fashioned and out-of-date by the young who are to succeed him. A note in the Scribbledehobble workbook, in which Joyce arranged his early notes for Finnegans Wake, emphasizes the links which Joyce intended. He assembled his notes and ideas about the Tristan story under the heading "Exiles" and among them wrote: "M aged 56 years." This, of course, is also the age of Roderick and HCE.⁸⁰ Mark is the sexual side of HCE as Roderick is his political or public side. HCE's rebellious sons are to replace his political, historical self, his daughter Isolde and her lover Tristan are to replace his sexual, procreative self. Another note from the "Exiles" section of Scribbledehobble confirms this: "Mark and Trist change characters: Trist and Is change clothes."⁸¹

In the completed Finnegans Wake, King Mark remains a recurrent figure, although it is difficult at times to distinguish him from Mark the Evangelist, one of the Four Masters or Four Old Men. Adaline Glasheen lists fifty-two possible references to him.⁸² For instance, in the Prankquean episode (FW.21.5-23.15) Mark is identified with Jarl van Hootheer, who has his twin sons stolen from him because he refused to grant the repeated requests of the Prankquean. She asks him in turn:

"Mark the Wans, why do I am alook alike a poss of porterpease?"
(FW.21.18-19)

"Mark the Twy, why do I am alook alike two poss of porterpease?"
(FW.22.5-6)

"Mark the Tris, why do I am alook alike three poss of porterpease?"
(FW.22.29-30)

The Prankquean steals a child after the refusal of each of her first two questions, which are combinations of riddles and requests such as one often finds used as tests of wit in the Irish mythological cycles

⁸⁰ Joyce, Scribbledehobble, p. 32.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 79.

⁸² Glasheen, Second Census, p. 169.

and the medieval romances. When she returns for the third time, however, Jarl van Hoothe/Mark, overcome by rage, "clopped his rude hand to his eacy hitch and he ordurd and his thick spch spck for her to shut up shop, dappy" (FW.23.3-5). This action, which seems to include hitting, spitting, defecation and telling her to shut up, creates one of the hundred-letter thunderbolts of Finnegans Wake. When the thunder peal has faded, a compromise has been arrived at. "The prankquean was to hold her dummyship and the jimminies was to keep the peacewave and van Hoothe was to git the wind up." (FW.23.12-14). Mark has here been absorbed into the Wake world of twin boys and teasing females, and retains a link with the Tristan and Isolde tale only by being middle-aged and unsuccessful in love.

On most of his appearances, however, Mark is linked with HCF in being the victim of unkind gossip and rumour, which is also an aspect of Mark as depicted in the medieval Tristan and Isolde romances. Joyce was familiar with Joseph Bédier's research into the versions of the Tristan romances, and some of his notes in the Scribbledehobble notebook have been identified by David Hayman as originating in Bédier's scholarly introduction to Le Roman de Tristan et Iseut, which combines the several versions into a consecutive tale.⁸³ It was probably this latter book which Joyce recommended to Harriet Shaw Weaver to help her to understand his work in progress, in much the same way as he had earlier advised his Aunt Josephine to read Lamb's Adventures of Ulysses as a key to Ulysses.⁸⁴ On 7 June 1926 he wrote to Miss Weaver: "I shall send you Bédier's Tristan et Iseult as this too you ought to read."⁸⁵

83 David Hayman, "The Distribution of the Tristan and Isolde notes under 'Exiles' in the Scribbledehobble", A Wake Newslitter, II, 5 (October 1965), 3-14.

84 Joyce, Letters, I, 193, 198.

85 Ibid., I, 241.

Several episodes of the medieval romance are concerned with Mark's desire to find out the truth of the rumours that make him a cuckold. His efforts make him a spy or peeping Tom, and link him with HCE, who is accused of voyeurism in Phoenix Park, and with the four old men or Mamalujo. Though the lovers succeed in evading Mark's tests, they are still open to suspicion, and while they are suspect, so is Mark's honour. The following passages illustrate the theme of gossip in Bédier's Tristan par Thomas: "Tristan aimait Isolt d'amour immuable. Elle, pareillement. Ils menaient leur vie en même guise, courtoise et avenante, et leur amour était de telle force qu'ils ne semblaient avoir qu'un coeur, une âme: tant que plusieurs le remarquèrent, et il en fut parlé; mais personne ne savait les choses en toute assurance, et l'on n'en disait rien que par ouï-dire."⁸⁶ Mark is eventually told of the suspicions of the courtiers, and becomes envious and watchful: "Pourtant il porta ces choses en son coeur avec peine et douleur, et fut désormais aux aguets, à toute heure, pour voir s'il pourrait découvrir quelque preuve. Il épia les paroles et les actes de la reine sans cesse, mais ne put la surprendre en rien."⁸⁷ The lovers are forbidden each other's company and suffer accordingly: "Et d'être ainsi séparés, ils deviennent tous deux blêmes, à force de peines et de tourments, ayant perdu leur joie... Toute la cour remarqua leur angoisse. Elle devint aussi manifeste au roi."⁸⁸ Joyce was aware of this view of Mark in the medieval romance as is shown by his notes in the Scribbledehobble notebook, several of which can be traced directly to Bédier: "Mark gets anon letter: ... Ah if he catches her ... exemplary nephew: blanche Isolde: ... Mark on a calvary looks out:"⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Bédier, Tristan par Thomas, I, 175.

⁸⁷ Ibid., I, 182.

⁸⁸ Ibid., I, 192-193.

⁸⁹ David Hayman, "The Distribution of the Tristan and Isolde notes under 'Exiles' in the Scribbledehobble", A Wake Newslitter, II, 5 (October 1965), 6, note 10, emends this reading "out" from the Connolly edition to "on".

... M sombre hypocrite: ... Mark blind when he sees T and I do it:
 ... characters exhibit to terrified protagonist their dream malevolence."⁹⁰

In Thomas's Tristan, the King for the most part struggles with his suspicions alone. In the tale as retold by Bédier for the general reader, however, there is a further element in the development of the suspicions at court about Tristan. He is shown to have enemies from his first arrival at Tintagel, four barons who are jealous of the favour Mark shows him: "Il y avait à la cour du roi Marc quatre barons, les plus félons des hommes, qui haïssaient Tristan de male haine pour sa prouesse et pour le tendre amour que le roi lui portait."⁹¹ The four barons begin to spy on the queen and report her doings to Mark: "Déjà les quatre félons de la cour, qui haïssaient Tristan pour sa prouesse, rôdent autour de la reine. Déjà ils connaissent la vérité de ses belles amours. Ils brûlent de convoitise, de haine et de joie. Ils porteront au roi la nouvelle: ils verront la tendresse se muer en fureur."⁹² As a result of the suspicion planted in his mind by the barons, Mark himself becomes a spy: "Le roi Marc ne put secouer le maléfice. A son tour, contre son coeur, il épia son neveu, il épia la reine."⁹³

These four wicked barons who spy on Tristan and Isolde become for Joyce the four prying old men, the annalists Mamalujo, and provided a way of adapting this "Tristan and Isolde" sketch and the "Mamalujo" sketch, when Finnegans Wake was being prepared for the press in 1938. The action of the first draft version of "Tristan and Isolde" takes place on a ship and concerns the first kiss of the lovers. In this early version there are no witnesses; the lovers are concealed "in the

⁹⁰ Joyce, Scribbledehobble, pp. 79-85.

⁹¹ Bédier, Tristan et Isolt, p. 26.

⁹² Ibid., p.55.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 57.

dark behind the chief steward's cabin" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 300), and the narration is third person, with snatches of dialogue, parodying the style of a romantic novelette. In Finnegans Wake the lovers are no longer alone; they are being watched by Mamalujo, and their love is being incorporated by them into the annals of events great and trivial. The four first pass on what they see as gossip; only when it has been well discussed and distorted does it become history. Thus rumour is often indistinguishable from reality in Finnegans Wake as in the romance of Tristan et Iseut, and gossip becomes for Joyce an element of history, first developed in the "Mamalujo" sketch. History is not, however, degraded by being expressed through gossip, anymore than language is degraded by being mixed and presented in a new recipe. Both procedures are an attempt by Joyce to escape from the modes of thought implied in straightforward reporting. The alternative mode he developed expresses existence through the medium of a deeply felt reaction to events and people, and if the result is sometimes confusing, it reflects closely the ambiguity that pervades personal relationships past and present.

The gossip in Finnegans Wake focuses on HCE as the aging male, suspected of various improprieties, and Mark is linked with him in this. The gossipers usually, but not always, include the Four Old Men or annalists as in FW.96.3-9: "And contradrinking themselves about ... the old markiss their besterfar, and, arrah, sure there was never a marcus at all at all among the manlies and dear Sir Armory, queer Sir Rumoury, and the old house by the churpelizod, and all the goings on so very wrong long before when they were going on retreat." The "goings on" are only hinted at, but Tristan's own Kingdom of Armorica, coupled with the Dublin suburb of Chapelizod (Chapelle d'Iseut), where Le Fanu's novel The House by the Churchyard was set and where Earwicker has his pub, help us to identify "markiss" and "marcus" as the King himself, disguised for the purpose of spying on the lovers.

In another gossip passage, this time among the women who are discussing the marriage of HCE and ALP and who beg "Do tell us all

about. As we want to hear allabout. So tellus tellas allabouter" (FW.101.2-3), we find Thomas, the author of the romance, mentioned as a listener, with Mark present as an undertone: "Toemass, mark oom for yor ounckel" (FW.101.9). In FW.91.13 Mark is connected with Arthur, another king whose wife was unfaithful: "incidentalising that they might talk about Markarthy." When rumour eventually becomes mob violence and a public demand for punishment of crimes, Mark appears on the list of accused together with Roderick O'Connor and Art MacMurrough Kavanagh: "Tried mark, Easterlings. Sign, Soideric O'Cunnuc, Rix. Adversed ord, Magtmorken, Kovenhow" (FW.378.12-14).

At the beginning of Book II, chapter 4, which eventually absorbed the "Tristan and Isolde" material, is a poem which Joyce used as a conclusion to the first draft material. It is a song of mockery at the ineffectiveness of Mark who can do nothing to stop the stealing of his wife, as in the Prankquean episode the Jarl van Hoother/Mark figure could not stop the kidnapping of the twins:

Three quarks for Muster Mark!

Sure he hasn't got much of a bark

.....
You're the rummest old rooster ever flopped out of a Noah's ark
And you think you're cock of the wark (FW.383.1-2, 9-10).

During the Tristan and Isolde love voyage in Finnegans Wake, Mark is not named again after the taunting opening song. "Tristy the spry young spark" (FW.383.11) takes over to "tread her and wed her and bed her and red her" (FW.383.12). The first draft description of Mark, whom Isolde remembers briefly, only to dismiss him again, (First Level Version, Appendix p. 301) is incorporated into Finnegans Wake and expanded, but Mark's name has disappeared and only his impotence and tiresomeness and shabbiness remain: "With that so tiresome old milkless a ram, with his tiresome duty peck and his bronchial tubes, the tire-some old hairyg orangogran beaver, in his tirecome old twennysixandsix-penny sheopards plods crowsers and his thirtybobandninepenny tails plus toop!" (FW.396.14-18).

Tristan, on the other hand, is young and virile and handsome, a

typical hero of romance, though it is the style of the novelette rather than the medieval tale that Joyce chooses to describe him in the first draft version: "The handsome sixfoottwo rugger and soccer champion and the belle of Chapelized in her oceanblue brocade" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 300). The scene is an ocean liner, where Tristan is wooing his Isolde "in the dark behind the chief steward's cabin" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 300). Stages in the seduction, the kiss for example, are described in an elaborately periphrastic style: "lovingly she lovegulped his pulpous propeller ... after which before the traditional ten seconds were up Tristan considerately allowed his farfamed chokegrip to relax and precautiously withdrew the instrument of rational speech from the procathedral of amorous seductiveness" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 301). The sketch parodies a popular style of romantic tale while its subject creates the parallel with the romantic literature of the Middle Ages. There is a double time vision here, as in the "Roderick O'Conor" sketch: the great love story of the Irish princess Isolde recreated in the language of a lovestruck adolescent girl. The parody of style and attitude of the early sketch implies an ironic attitude towards both the original romance of Tristan and Isolde and its Joycean recreation, reminiscent of the "Nausicaa" episode of *Ulysses*, but this was entirely lost when the sketch was incorporated into *Finnegans Wake*. The four old men, with their vicarious participation in the love duo, and reminiscences of "raising hell while the sin was shining" (FW.385.10-11), add the pathos of old age to the contrast between egoistic young love and regretful middle age. The old men have seen their youthful coupling give way to the bitterness of separation, expressed through the hint that "they were all summarily divorced" (FW.390.19) and their elegy for their past: "It was so scalding sorry for all the whole twice two four of us" (FW.389.32-33). The medieval Tristan and Isolde must in time experience this bitterness, as must all those who innocently dream of the sentimental novel's promise that they shall live happy ever after. The man shall become aware that he must be succeeded by his sons, and

the woman's power shall give way to the attractiveness of her daughter, no matter what age they live in, or how well, or poorly, their love is expressed. In one sense "myth has become sordid, history has become garrulous,"⁹⁴ yet this does not imply a progressive degradation of emotion, but a desire to grasp the reality of experience at all stages.

In Finnegans Wake the Tristan figure is seduced by his young Isolde and is thereby converted to a family man whose adventuring days are over. As HCE in his prime, he is the "Bygmester" (FW.4.18), who turns his energies towards the creation of an inheritance, a gift-tribute for his wife and a patrimony for his sons. In middle age he finds his grip slackening, his citizens turning against him, his sexuality no longer satisfied by his wife but turning towards the seductiveness of youth, even towards his own daughter, resulting in his own sense of guilt, and a basis for the rumours that are circulated about him. At this stage HCE, or Mark, or Arthur, or Finn, is tormented by the fear of cuckoldry, which would confirm their loss of virility, and a cluster of faithless wives, Isolde, Guinevere, Grania, epitomizes this final shame. This represents failure in their most important role, that of pater familias, since "For Joyce the married man with a family was a type of divinity."⁹⁵

The women's relationships with the men are of two kinds. On the one hand they possess the seductiveness and coquetry of youth and can inspire men with the intoxication of first love. Or they can drive older men to folly, which is the role in which Joyce cast Kitty O'Shea, perhaps reflecting a popular belief in Ireland that she tempted Parnell to destruction, and with him the Irish, at the behest of the British Government.⁹⁶ This aspect of woman is embodied in Issy, the

⁹⁴ Michael H. Begnal, "Love that Dares to Speak its Name: Book II, chapter iv", in A Conceptual Guide to "Finnegans Wake", p. 145.

⁹⁵ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 157.

⁹⁶ Glasheen, Second Census, pp. 196-197.

nubile daughter of HCE and ALP, whose name identifies her closely with Isolde. ALP is the other aspect of woman, the maternal, sexually fulfilled, fertile source of new life. She sustains and defends her husband, and when she becomes aware that her life force is ebbing, she accepts reality without a struggle, and yields her place and her husband (renewed himself through the merging of their twin sons) to the new life of Issy, their daughter. The elegy of the River Liffey, as it approaches Dublin Bay at the end of Finnegans Wake, develops this theme. ALP remembers her youth and love with HCE, when he was Tristan the foreign prince, and she was Iseut the Irish princess. The details of Tristan's white horse and the love token of a peeled twig that he sent to her floating on a stream recreate the romance of the courtly tale. "I'll close me eyes. So not to see. Or see only a youth in his florizel, a boy in innocence, peeling a twig, a child beside a weenywhite steed" (FW.621.29-31). Leaving the memories of the past, ALP faces up to the present realities of approaching death, and being superceded by the young couple, her daughter and her renewed, reawakened husband: "But you're changing, acoolsha, you're changing from me, I can feel. Or is it me is? ... Yes, you're changing, son-husband, and you're turning, I can feel you, for a daughterwife from the hills again.... And she is coming. Swimming in my hindmoist.... I pity your oldself I was used to. Now a younger's there. Try not to part! Be happy, dear ones! May I be wrong! For she'll be sweet for you as I was sweet when I came down out of me mother" (FW.626.35-627.9).

The history recreated here is not the panorama of public events but the biological cycle of the birth, maturity and decline of individuals within the greater cycle of the survival of mankind. It is in relation to this greater cycle that Joyce views his history, and makes his annalists more interested in the "kiddling and cuddling and bunnyhugging" (FW.384.20-21) than in "how our seaborne isle came into exestuanee" (FW.387.12). The lovers' kiss has power to make the past live again: "It brought the dear prehistoric scenes all back again, as fresh as of yore" (FW.385.18-19). History is not something past in

Finnegans Wake, but something to be recreated, through the enduring female qualities, apparently as delicate as flowers, which survive the downfall of civilizations to bloom again among the ruins, to use the metaphor from Quinet which Joyce found so appropriate.

From Bédier Joyce took the figure of Mark, whose difficult situation was complicated by rumour, personified in the four barons, which forced him to become a peeping Tom. The courtship of the young HCE was also partly compounded from the Tristan model, while Isolde contributed elements to the figure of Issy. The love-story of Tristan and Isolde is not for Joyce an ideal towards which the failed relationships in Finnegans Wake are striving, for it is expressed in such a fashion that its naïvety and self-gratification are obvious. It is, however, the necessary preliminary to the more crucial long-term relationship of HCE and ALP, in which they will succeed only in proportion to their ability to pass beyond youth towards the responsibilities of maturity. Those who do not succeed in the challenging family situation, with its cross tensions between the sexes and the generations, are in danger of becoming barren old men, cut off from experience at first hand, and capable only of re-living an empty past. The means of avoiding this fate are not implicit in the Tristan and Isolde relationship, for Issy's coquetry has yet to develop into the maternal qualities of ALP, and the twin sons "instinct of combat ... [to] pass back to the spirit of appeasement" (FW.610.26-27). Then HCE and ALP can come to terms with their middle age, and yield their places to their children.

Kevin

"Procreated on the ultimate ysland of Yreland in
the encyclical yrish archipelago" (FW.605.4-5)

Joyce's sketch about Kevin of Glendalough was written between March and July 1923. On the day after he had sent the preceding two sketches to Harriet Shaw Weaver to be typed, he sent her a fair copy of the Kevin sketch, with a note at the bottom, dated 20 July 1923: "May I

trouble you to make three copies of this at your leisure? Please keep one for yourself for in moving today I have lost one of your typed sheets and I should like to have a complete set of these scattered passages when needed."⁹⁷ However, it was 1938 before Joyce felt he needed the Kevin passage in order to revise and expand it and insert it into Finnegans Wake (FW.604.27-606.12).

Joyce's first conception of Kevin describes him moving to the centre of a series of concentric alternating circles of land and water. He is "born on the island of Ireland in the Irish ocean goes to Lough Glendalough where pious Kevin lives alone on an isle in the lake on which isle is a pond in which is an islet whereon holy Kevin builds a beehive hut...." (First Level Version, Appendix p. 304). To emphasize the layers which surround Kevin Joyce numbers them, and I have included the numbers and a plan of the circles in the "First Level Version" (Appendix p. 306). Joyce placed his numbers in the margin of his text, as can be clearly seen in the facsimile which Hayman provides, and the first five numbers are fairly clearly associated with alternating circles of land and water. The positioning of the succeeding numbers is less positive, but Kevin appears himself as the centre of the concentric circles, number nine, sitting in his bathtub in his beehive shaped hermit's hut, meditating "with ardour the sacrament of baptism or the regeneration of man by water" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 304).

Following his sketch of a historical figure, and legendary romantic figures, Joyce was now turning to the consideration of the figures of the early Irish Church. Kevin's foundation of Glendalough near Dublin began as his own personal retreat where he lived, not on an island in the lake, but in a cave excavated from the mountainside called St. Kevin's bed. Ledwich, writing in the eighteenth century, describes it as follows: "a most horrid but holy wilderness, St.

⁹⁷ Hayman, First Draft Version, p. 327, draft number iv, b [4] .
Also see Joyce, Letters, III, 79.

Kevin's rock, invironed on every side with dark woods, besides a deep lake on one side inclosing a perpendicular precipice of sixty cubits; on the other, one of thirty. In that side of the rock that hangs over the lake is a hollow made by St. Kevin's own hands, which served him for an oratory to pray in, and a repository when he would sleep."⁹⁸ Another account says that "St. Kevin dwelt alone for seven years in a small cave at Glendalough.... A shepherd made known the retreat of St. Kevin and great numbers of holy men made their way to Glendalough attracted by his reputation for sanctity, so that Kevin became the father of many monks."⁹⁹

From these small beginnings Kevin founded an abbey and monastic school at Glendalough "which concentrated a great portion of the learning of the times and produced some of the most eminent men of that period. A city soon arose around this monastery, which became the seat of a diocese, including the present see of Dublin, and of which St. Kevin, who also held the abbacy of Glendalough, was the first bishop."¹⁰⁰ He was also the subject of many legends, some reverent, some satirical, which were particularly current in the nearby city of Dublin, to which Glendalough was an ecclesiastical rival. James Wills, writing in the nineteenth century, explains the proliferation of tales as follows: "The vicinity of this curious and striking scene to Dublin, has in some degree anticipated our legendary office, by not only diffusing the knowledge of the saint, but by also producing, for the edification of touring antiquaries, a yearly growth of marvels, which, for the most part, do more honour to the humour of the tellers, than to the sanctity of the saint."¹⁰¹ Joyce does not seem to have used any of the extant marvellous tales, but to have added his own account of Kevin to the number.

⁹⁸ Ledwich, Antiquities of Ireland, p. 48.

⁹⁹ Flood, Ireland, its Saints and Scholars, pp. 48-49.

¹⁰⁰ Lewis, Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, I, 660.

¹⁰¹ Wills, History of Ireland in the Lives of Irishmen, I, 105.

Kevin in this first sketch is a comic saint of the Irish Church, whose altar is also his bath, in which he sits to meditate, after an elaborate ritual preparation. He is dignified with all the titles which the church can bestow on him during the process of canonization, being described successively as "Kevin", "pious Kevin", "holy Kevin", "most holy Kevin", "venerable Kevin", "most venerable Kevin", "blessed Kevin", "most blessed Kevin", "Saint Kevin", "blessed S. Kevin", and finally a doctor of the church: "Doctor solidarius" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 304). His journey through the successive circles of land and water is paralleled by his increasing ecclesiastical dignity, and the procedure of digging an artificial pool in his beehive hut and filling it with water is described with liturgical solemnity. The hut itself was the usual home of the early Irish hermits: "Each had a little cell, commonly put up by his own hands, in which he spent his life, reflecting and praying, sleeping on the bare earthen floor, and living on herbs and water, or on an occasional alms from some visitor. These cells were sometimes of stone - what we now call a clochan, a beehive-shaped hut, of which many examples still remain."¹⁰² Joyce makes Kevin practise even greater austerity, by sitting in a tub of water to meditate, but he is merely elaborating an aspect of Irish eremitism, in which water became an instrument of penance: "Celtic monasticism in particular developed a special form of asceticism arising out of the idea of bathing, namely, the painful practice of standing for fairly long periods in water that was very cold or even icy."¹⁰³ Another work on the early Irish saints fills in the details of the exercise: "The Celts practised some peculiar mortifications of their own, like plunging into sea or lake and staying there while reciting a number of psalms or prayers."¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Joyce, Social History of Ancient Ireland, I, 348.

¹⁰³ M.R.P. McGuire, "Baths", New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), II, 166.

¹⁰⁴ Mould, Ireland of the Saints, p. 56.

The particular object of Kevin's penitential meditation is "the sacrament of baptism or the regeneration of man by water" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 304). Theologically he is very accurate, as the Roman Catechism defines baptism as "the sacrament of regeneration by water in the word... or that institution of Christ by which we are reborn to spiritual life."¹⁰⁵ Kevin is practising the oldest form of baptism, by immersion, and the pool in which he is sitting bears a strong resemblance to the earliest form of baptismal font: "In the East it took the form of a pool or cistern, similar to those of the baths, often larger, and deep enough to permit total immersion, whence it was called κολυμβηθρα (swimming-bath), a name which in its Latin equivalent, natatorium, was also used in the West.... These fonts were either circular or octagonal in shape... their average depth of less than three feet."¹⁰⁶ His beehive hut is circular like the earliest baptisteries, which were "ordinarily circular or polygonal, [and] contained in the centre the font... which was sunk below the level of the floor."¹⁰⁷ It seems probable that for the purposes of this sketch Ireland itself is a gigantic baptistery with its font at Glendalough and that the successive circles of land and water are projections of the circular form associated with the building and vessel used for baptism.

The next paragraph of the first draft version was never used directly in Finnegans Wake. It abandons the liturgical tone completely and is the beginning of a biographical account of St. Kevin, stressing his sanctity even in childhood and achieving a certain comic effect by the disparity between the solemn tone of the biographer and the ludicrous incidents he records: "As a growing boy he grew more & more pious and abstracted like the time God knows he sat down on the plate

¹⁰⁵ William H.W. Fanning, "Baptism", The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1907), II, 259.

¹⁰⁶ John B. Petersen, "Baptismal Font", The Catholic Encyclopedia, II, 274.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas H. Poole, "Baptistery", The Catholic Encyclopedia, II, 276-277.

of mutton broth" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 305). His later association with baths and water is foreshadowed in his "playing with the sponge on tubbing night" and the statement that "At the age of six he wrote a prize essay on kindness to fishes" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 305). This short paragraph is the basis for Kevin as he appears in most of Finnegans Wake: he becomes Kev, the infant son of H.C. Earwicker the publican, the twin brother of Jerry. In the broader archetypal world of the novel Kev is Shaun, to Earwicker's HCE and Jerry's Shem. As child in the pub in Lucalized he is "nicechild Kevin Mary" (FW.555.16) of whom the neighbours say: "Kevin's just a doat with his cherub cheek" (FW.27.5), while his twin is "badbrat Jerry Godolphing" (FW.555.20) of whom the neighbours say that "the devil does be in that knirps of a Jerry sometimes" (FW.27.8-9).

Joyce reserved the inclusion of the passage about Kevin the hermit to the end of the novel and to the end of his work on Finnegans Wake, and developed first the character of the good little boy whose elders can see no fault in him, though to his twin brother he is clearly a cheat and a hypocrite who gets away with everything. Joyce developed this side of Kevin in an early draft of Book I, chapter 5, which Hayman dates December 1923-January 1924:¹⁰⁸ "What child but little Kevin would cver in such a scene have found a motive for future sainthood by euchring the discovery of the Ardagh chalice by another innocent on the seasands near the scene of the massacre of most of the jacobiters."¹⁰⁹

This passage concerns the discovery of an old letter of Anna's in defence of her husband, and Kevin claims credit for Jerry's find and eventually sets out to deliver the letter himself in his capacity as Shaun the Post. This trick by one twin on the other is reflected in the names Joyce gives them at one point in Finnegans Wake: "Jeremy Trouvas or Kepin O'Keepers" (FW.370.8). The passage contains an error

108 Hayman, First Draft Version, p. 294, draft number 1, v [1] .

109 Ibid., p. 86.

about the Ardagh chalice which is interesting as it confirms Joyce's familiarity with P.W. Joyce's Short History of Ireland. This book was also issued in a shortened version for schools, called A Concise History of Ireland, which Joyce used at Belvedere College.¹¹⁰ In the Concise History, in the chapter called "Art", P.W. Joyce discusses early Irish metal work and says: "The three most remarkable as well as the most beautiful objects in the Museum are the Cross of Cong, the Ardagh chalice and the Tara brooch."¹¹¹ In the Short History he gives an account of their discovery, and says that the Ardagh chalice was found buried under a stone at Ardagh, County Limerick. However, he goes on to say that "the Tara brooch was found in 1850 by a child on the strand near Drogheda."¹¹² Drogheda was the scene of a massacre of Royalist supporters by Cromwell in 1649, so Joyce's mention of "the scene of the massacre of most of the jacobiters" indicates that he intended a clear reference to this find, but substituted the name of one artefact, memorised in school several years previously, for another.

As Joyce developed the figure of Kev in Finnegans Wake, and identified him more closely with Shaun, other associations of Kevin's bath of cold water became more useful than the baptismal ones. Underlying such penitential practices is the idea that cold baths would tame the passion of the hermits in times of temptation, and one of the better known legends about Kevin concerns his temptation by a girl called Kathleen and his resistance to her overtures, culminating when he throws her into the lake. Thomas Moore wrote a well known song on this subject beginning:

By that Lake, whose gloomy shore
 Sky-lark never warbles o'er,
 Where the cliff hangs high and steep
 Young Saint Kevin stole to sleep.

¹¹⁰ Sullivan, Joyce Among the Jesuits, p. 237.

¹¹¹ Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, p. 28.

¹¹² Joyce, Short History of Ireland, p. 107.

'Here, at least,' he calmly said,
 'Woman ne'er shall find my bed.'
 Ah! the good Saint little knew
 What that wily sex can do.

'Twas from Kathleen's eyes he flew, -
 Eyes of most unholy blue!
 She had lov'd him well and long,
 Wish'd him hers, nor thought it wrong.

Fearless she had track'd his feet
 To this rocky, wild retreat;
 And when morning met his view,
 Her mild glances met it too,
 Ah, your saints have cruel hearts!
 Sternly from his bed he starts,
 And with rude repulsive shock,
 Hurls her from the beetling rock.

Glendalough, thy gloomy wave
 Soon was gentle Kathleen's grave!
 Soon the Saint (yet ah! too late,)
 Felt her love, and mourn'd her fate. 113

In Finnegans Wake Kathleen is absorbed into Issy the temptress who claims Kevin saying: " 'Twas my lord of Glendalough benedixed the gape for me that time at Long Entry, commanding the approaches to my intimast innermost" (FW.248.30-32). The gossiping washerwomen tell of a hermit, whom they call Michael Arklow, whose experience parallels Kevin's:

Well, there once dwelt a local heremite... and one venerdsberg in junojuly, oso sweet and so cool and so limber she looked... in the silence, of the sycomores, all listening, the kindling curves you simply can't stop feeling, he plunged both of his newly anointed hands, the core of his cushlas, in her singimari saffron strumans of hair, parting them and soothing her and mingling it, that was deepdark and ample like this red bog at sundown (FW.203.17-26).

Later the girl's voice calls Kevin from sleep and says: "Ascend out of your bed, cavern of a trunk, and shrine! Kathlins is kitchin" (FW.601.31-32). Here we have hints of St. Kevin's bed at Glendalough and of

the "church, with a stone roof, of very remote antiquity, called St. Kevin's kitchen,"¹¹⁴ which the lovesick girl wishes to take over as her own.

Another Kevin, also the object of faithful love, is closely associated with the saint throughout Finnegans Wake. This is Kevin Izod O'Doherty, the Young Irishman and poet, who was tried for treason and transported to Van Dieman's land in 1849. O'Doherty's sweetheart, the poetess Mary Anne Kelly, promised him that she would wait for him, and married him on his release.¹¹⁵ "Isle wail for yews, O doherlynt! The poetesser" (FW.232.13) is Joyce's version of this promise from "the kerl he left behind him" (FW.234.7-8), and Kevin himself here is half-saint, half-revolutionary: "Candidatus, viridosus, aurilucens, sinelab? Of all the green heroes everwore coton breiches, the whitest, the goldenest! How he stud theirs with himself mookst kevinly, and that anterevolutionary, the churchman childfather..." (FW.234.8-11). Towards the end of Finnegans Wake, before introducing the passage about Kevin the hermit, Joyce is careful to draw together these strands of reference, and close to the mention of "Kathlins is kitchen" (FW.601.32) is the description of "The austrologer Wallaby by Tolan, who farshook our shows from Newer Aland, has signed the you and the now our mandate. Milenesia waits" (FW.601.34-36). "Milenesia" combines the country of Milesius or Ireland with the South Seas or Melanesia where Kevin the exile was confined. Kathleen and Mary Anne Kelly are both invoked together: "A virgin, the one, shall mourn thee" (FW.602.13). Apart from this theme of faithful love there is another reason why the two Kevins are so closely linked. O'Doherty was friendly in Australia with another Irish revolutionary, John Mitchell, the author of Jail Journal, and, as Atherton points out, "It seems likely that O'Doherty and St. Kevin are connected in the Wake because

¹¹⁴ Lewis, Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, I, 661.

¹¹⁵ Crone, Concise Dictionary of Irish Biography, p. 182.

of Mitchell's habit of referring to O'Doherty as 'St. Kevin'."¹¹⁶

This pursuit of Kevin by amorous girls is one of the connections between him and Shaun. In Finnegans Wake, Book III, chapter 2, Shaun preaches a sermon on chastity, well sprinkled with Freudian slips, to his sister Issy and her twenty-eight classmates. They all find their preacher extremely attractive, "rushing and making a tremendous girls-fuss over him pellmale... and feeling his full fat pouch for him so tactily and jingaling his jellybags for,... they could frole by his manhood that he was just the killingest ladykiller all by kindness" (FW.430.21-33). The Don Juan aspect of Shaun is emphasized by his name in this chapter, Jauu, but it soon becomes obvious that though he flirts readily with the other girls, it is his sister Issy whom he desires: "Jauu... made out through his croscope the apparition of his fond sister Izzy for he knowed his love by her waves of splabashing and she showed him proof by her way of blabushing nor could he forget her so tarnelly easy as all that since he was brotherbesides her benedict god-father" (FW.431.13-18). In the first version of the Kevin sketch Joyce says of Kevin: "He simply had no time for girls and often used to say that his dearest mother & his dear sisters were good enough for him" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 305). In Finnegans Wake, Issy of course is also being courted by Tristan/Shem, but she enjoys her life as a coquette too much to give it up for either of them; however, Joyce allows the chorus of maidens to herald the passage about Kevin the hermit with overtones of Kevin the prisoner towards the end of Finnegans Wake: "Hillsengals, the daughters of the cliffs, responsen... Sicut campanulae petalliferentes they coroll in caroll round Botany Bay. A dweam of dose innocent dirly dirls. Keavn! Keavn! And they all setton voicies about singsing music was Keavn! He. Only he. Ittle he. Ah! The whole clangalied. Oh!... The meidinogues have tingued togethering" (FW.601.10-31).

¹¹⁶ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 105.

The figure of Issy adds another dimension of meaning to Joyce's use of Kevin. Like her father HCE the mountain, and her mother ALP the river, Issy has an existence in the natural as well as the human world, as Nuvoletta, the little cloud. She appears in this guise during the long quarrel between her brothers, as the Mookse and the Gripes, which re-enacts the old controversy about the papal bull Laudabiliter, sent by Pope Adrian IV to King Henry II of England at the time of the Norman invasion, giving him authority to go to Ireland and regularize the peculiarities of the early Irish church. "Nuvoletta in her lightdress, spunn of sisteen shimmers, was looking down on them, leaning over the bannistars and listening all she childishly could" (FW.157.8-10). Once again Joyce puts an event from history into a setting from family life as "she tried all she tried to make the Mookse look up at her... and to make the Gripes hear how coy she could be... but it was all mild's vapour moist" (FW.157.19.23). The disputants ignore her, dusk falls, and they are changed so that "there were left now an only elmtree and but a stone... O! Yes! And Nuvoletta, a lass" (FW.159.3-5). The tree and the stone are the natural manifestations of Shem and Shaun, objects whose stillness reflects the futility of their arguments and battles. Nuvoletta offered an alternative which was ignored, but she still has a course of action open to her: "Then Nuvoletta reflected for the last time in her little long life and she made up all her myriads of drifting minds in one. She cancelled all her engauzements. She climbed over the bannistars; she gave a chily cloudy cry: Nuée! Nuée! A lightdress fluttered. She was gone. And into the river that had been a stream... there fell a tear, a singult tear, the loveliest of all tears... for it was a leaptear. But the river tripped on her by and by, lapping as though her heart was brook" (FW.159.6-17).

The infant cloud falls in rain into the stream and becomes part of the river her mother, who is already on the way to rejoin her father the sea. The principal river Joyce uses for this theme of cyclical recurrence is the Liffey, which rises in the Wicklow mountains, on the other side of the watershed from the several streams which flow down

and meet in Glendalough. It is close enough for Joyce to link the two, and to make Glendalough Issy's lake, calling it "our own midmost Glendalough-le-vert by archangelical guidance where amiddle of meeting waters of river Yssia and Essia river" (FW.605.11-13). Issy had to sacrifice her airy existence as a cloud to become the young Liffey, and her plunge is paralleled by that of Kathleen, hurled into the lake by Kevin. Joyce allows a brief moment of lament, but couples it with the vision of the city which will grow up on the banks of the river: "loke, our lake lemanted, that greyt lack, the citey of Is is issuant (atlanst!), urban and orbal, through seep forms umber under wasseres of Erie" (FW. 601.4-6). Kevin's meditation on the regeneration of man by water is thus given a special meaning; the new life will not be created by wallowing in cold baths accumulating ecclesiastical dignity, nor by arid debates about church management, but through the warm love of the maturing Issy, who has abandoned girlish coquetry and is ready to assume the responsibilities of her mother.

Joyce's development of the theme of cyclical recurrence makes the fourth and last book of Finnegans Wake a suitable position for the insertion of the Kevin sketch, as the baptismal theme of regeneration is an aspect of the general theme of renewal. In terms of the Viconian theory of cycles, Book IV represents the transition from the old era to the new, "just as the three long Books forming the cycle proper of Finnegans Wake are followed by the coda of Book IV, the Book of Waking,"¹¹⁷ or recorso. Kevin in this passage is a fully fledged Saint, the logical development of the young "woodtoogooder" (FW.602.9-10). His "saintity" (FW.110.34) connects him with the Stanislaus Joyce aspect of Shaun who is "dear sweet Stainusless, young confessor" (FW.237.11), and also with St. Stanislaus Kostka, the Jesuit Saint from Poland who is caricatured with Joyce's brother in this passage (FW.237.11-239.15).¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Hart, Structure and Motif, pp. 45-46.

¹¹⁸ Edward A. Kopper, Jr., "More Legends in Finnegans Wake", A Wake Newslitter, VI, 3(June 1969), 41.

In his Scribbledchobble Joyce noted: "Kevin's chapel pro-cathedral, vitandus, his advent, his stainless soul,"¹¹⁹ and the stainlessness and the idea of glass or vitrum ("vitandus") came together in "The standsglass efect, you could sugerly swear buttermilt would not melt down his dripping ducks" (FW.277, Note 5). Joyce had also noted the idea of stained glass in connection with Tristan: "Trist stained glass crusader attitude: gilly of Christ,"¹²⁰ probably influenced, as Hayman says, by the introduction to Bédier's Tristan et Iseut, "where the heroes are described as 'personnages d'un vieux vitrail,' figures from an old stained glass window, belonging to the period of the crusades."¹²¹ In Finnegans Wake it is Kevin not Tristan who is depicted in this way, as for example towards the end of the Roderick O'Connor section which looks forward to the dawn and the racorso: "till the rising of the morn, till that hen of Kaven's shows her beaconegg, and Chapwellswendows stain our horyhistoricold" (FW.382.10-12).

The images on a stained-glass window cannot be seen until they are illuminated by daylight, so the full revelation must wait until Book IV. Joyce explained his intention to Frank Budgen in a note preserved in the Slocum collection: "In Part IV there is in fact a triptych - though the central picture is scarcely illuminated. Namely the supposed windows of the village church gradually lit up by the dawn, the windows i.e., representing on one side the meeting of St. Patrick (Japanese) and the (Chinese) Archdruid Bulkely (this by the way is all about colour) and the legend of the progressive isolation of St. Kevin, the third being St. Lawrence O'Toole, patron saint of Dublin, buried in Eu in Normandie."¹²² These form in Finnegans Wake "a

119 Joyce, Scribbledchobble, p. 38.

120 Ibid., p. 80.

121 David Hayman, "The distribution of the Tristan and Isolde notes under 'Exiles' in the Scribbledchobble", A Wake Newslitter, II, 5(October 1965), 10.

122 Kenner, Dublin's Joyce, p. 353.

triptychal religious family" (FW.31.22) representing the impact of religion on history. Kevin is the saint most associated with the churchwindow motif and as the dawnlight increases he is gradually revealed: "But what does Coemghen, the fostard?... The novened iconostase of his blueygreyned vitroils but begins in feint to light his legend" (FW.603.34-36). Eventually Joyce inserted the account of his construction of a baptistery and font, much elaborated from the "First Draft Version", especially by the inclusion of ecclesiastical terminology: "with beached raft subdiaconal", "acolyte of cardinal virtues", "gregorian water sevenfold" etc. (FW.605-606).¹²³ Kevin's journey away from contact with the wider world and its people towards his hermitage is associated with the reading of the Divine Office and all the canonical hours for prayer are mentioned in the correct sequence:

Matins	:	"at matin chime arose"	(FW.605. 9-10)
Lauds	:	"lawding the triune trishagion"	(FW. " .34)
Prime	:	"by prime"	(FW. " .18)
Terce	:	"the third morn hour"	(FW. " .23)
Sext	:	"at sextnoon"	(FW. " .30)
None	:	"ninthly enthroned"	(FW.606. 3)
Vespers	:	"when violet vesper vailed"	(FW. " . 4)
Compline	:	"at solemn compline sat"	(FW. " . 6)

These hours are all that remain of the numbered circles of the "First Draft Version". By the ninth hour of the Office, or None, Kevin is "ninthly enthroned" (FW.606.3) in his "rubbathaltar" (FW.606.2), a saintly, stained glass, rigid figure.

The early sketch about St. Patrick and Berkeley, another part of the triptych, follows the insertion of the Kevin sketch, after an interval during which light grows and people pass from sleep towards

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See Grace Eckley, "Looking Forward to a Brightening Day, Book IV, chapter i", in A Conceptual Guide to "Finnegans Wake", pp. 215-220, and Jack P. Dalton, "Advertisement for the Restoration", in Twelve and a Tilly, pp. 119-120.

waking: "And house with heaven roof occupanters they are continuatigly attraverse of its milletestudinous windows, ricocoursing themselves, as staneglass on stonégloss.... Obning shotly. When the messenger of the risen sun, (see other oriel) shall give to every seeable a hue and to every hearable a cry and to each spectacle his spot and to each happening her houram" (FW.609.13-22).

The third figure in the triptych, "scarcely illuminated", is St. Lawrence O'Toole. Throughout Finnegans Wake he is referred to frequently, but is not developed in any extended passage as Kevin and Patrick are. We catch a brief glimpse of him in Book IV: "Lo, the laud of laurens now orielising benedictively when saint and sage have said their say" (FW. 613.15-16). There are many potential connections between this saint and the other historical characters of Joyce's scenario, but he makes only a scanty use of them. Lawrence O'Toole lived from 1132-1180 A.D., and belonged to that branch of the O'Toole family whose territory included Glendalough, where he attended the school founded by St. Kevin. These connections with Kevin's foundation are perhaps recalled in "the affianced dietcess of Gay O'Toole and Gloamy Gwenn du Lake" (FW.433.5-6). He became Archbishop of Dublin in 1162: "was dipped in Hoily Olives and chrysméd in Scent Otoolés" (FW.138.25-26). During the Norman invasion he helped to raise an army for Roderick O'Conor, in order to defend Dublin, and this may be referred to in FW.86.20-23: "The gathering, convened by the Irish Angricultural and Prepostoral Ouraganisations, to help the Irish muck to look his brother dane in the face and attended thanks to Larry by large numbers." The attempt to rouse resistance failed, however, largely due to mismanagement by Roderick O'Conor, and in 1175 Lawrence O'Toole went to England with two other ambassadors to make peace with King Henry II on Roderick's behalf, and a treaty was eventually signed at Windsor.¹²⁴ The majority of the references to Lawrence O'Toole, however, make no attempt to develop the connections with Glendalough or Roderick O'Conor and are

¹²⁴ Crone, Concise Dictionary of Irish Biography, p. 199.

often versions of his name: "Lorenzo Tooley street" (FW.53.29); "Lorencao Otulass" (FW.179.12); "Cardinal Lorientuli" (FW.180.14); "Beate Laurentie O'Tuli" (FW.228.25); "S. Lorenz-by-the-Toolechest" (FW.569.6), etc. In another group of references he is connected with his contemporary Thomas à Becket. Both opposed Henry II on the issue of state interference in Church affairs. "There is a small amount of evidence to suggest that Lorcan¹²⁵ was playing a parallel role to Becket in Ireland.... It is possible... that if he had gone on, he might have met a similar fate to Becket's."¹²⁶ Indeed, he almost did: "Once while preparing to celebrate Mass, the holy bishop of Dublin was attacked on the steps of the altar by a fanatic who desired to make of Lawrence another Thomas à Becket. Though beaten severely over the head with a club, Lawrence recovered from his 'fall' and became in the Wake one more resurrected personage."¹²⁷ Joyce refers to this incident when he says: "Saint Lawzenge of Toole's,... leave your clubs in the hall" (FW.405.24-25). In Finnegans Wake the joint appearances of O'Toole and Becket are not in a historical or ecclesiastical context; instead, they have strong connections with the building trade and seem to be fond of practical jokes: "lairking o'tootlers with tombours a'beggars" (FW.510.18-19); "with larrons o'toolers clittering up and tombles a'buckets clottering down" (FW.5.3-4); "the contractors Messrs T.A. Birkett and L.O. Tuohalls" (FW.77.1-2), etc. Fritz Senn has pointed out that Thom's Directory for 1905 lists among the Dublin builders James Beckett, William Beckett and Richard Toole.¹²⁸ The function of St. Lawrence O'Toole in Finnegans Wake appears to be purely incidental, to provide local colour or add to a pun or a joke. He is not absorbed into the structural tapestry of the novel by assuming a significance in relation to any of the archetypal figures. Since Kevin is an aspect of

¹²⁵ Lorcan ua Tuathail, Irish for Lawrence O'Toole.

¹²⁶ Mould, The Irish Saints, pp. 210, 212.

¹²⁷ Edward E. Kopper, "The Two Saint Lawrences in Finnegans Wake", A Wake Newslitter, Old Series No. 8 (December 1962), 6.

¹²⁸ Fritz Senn, "Bygmesters?", A Wake Newslitter, IV, 2 (April 1967), 45.

Shaun and Patrick of Shem, there is really no place in the "triptych" for Lawrence O'Toole, and he must remain "scarcely illuminated."

The Kevin sketch allowed Joyce to expand in two directions. On the one hand, he could explore the possibilities for his own "Work in Progress" of a figure from the early Irish Church; on the other hand, he was able to examine the saintly ideal of the Church in relation to his novel world. Within that context the ideal is found wanting: the stereotyped saint is a cheat, self-centred, personally ambitious, destructive of others, and unlikely to be touched himself by the water of regeneration about which he is meditating. Kevin's association with prison through Kevin Izod O'Doherty reinforces "the ironic suggestion that Shaun's ideal Heaven... may be spiritually as suffocating as Hell itself."¹²⁹ The historical aspect of Kevin is finally subordinated to the figure of Shaun; the details that link him to the Irish hermits, O'Doherty, Kathleen, Mary Anne Kelly, Lawrence O'Toole etc., fill out the picture but do not radically change it. The dawn of recorso illuminates the stained glass image of Kevin, but it is Issy, not her brother, who will give life to the new city and to its builder, HCE.

Berkeley and Patrick

"When the messenger of the risen sun... shall
give to every seeable a hue" (FW.609.19-20)

The early drafts of the sketch dealing with Berkeley and Patrick were completed by 2 August 1923, when Joyce sent Miss Weaver a fair copy accompanied by a note: "I send you this as promised - a piece describing the conversion of S. Patrick by Ireland."¹³⁰ In the earliest draft, however, Patrick is not present at all, and a lecture on illusion and reality is delivered by "The archdruid" to an undefined

¹²⁹ Hart, Structure and Motif, p. 122.

¹³⁰ Joyce, Letters, III, 79. See also Hayman, First Draft Version, p. 328, draft number IV, d [3].

audience. Joyce soon added "Barkeley" as the name of the Archdruid, and "Patrick" as the listener. With further additions he dressed the Archdruid "in his heptachromatic sevenhued roranyellowgreeblandigo" while Patrick is "silent"and"whiterobed". The passage is really concerned with the Archdruid, Patrick's reply was not added until the passage was included in the typescript for Finnegans Wake in 1938. By that time the figure of Patrick had developed its own importance in Finnegans Wake and his reply vanquishes the Archdruid, whereas in the original draft the Archdruid's argument teaches Patrick to see everything coloured green: his "conversion by Ireland." Miss Weaver, however, was unable to understand the passage, and Joyce tried to clarify his intentions in a letter of 9 October 1923: "I am sorry that Patrick and [?] Berkeley are unsuccessful in explaining themselves. The answer, I suppose, is that given by Paddy Dignam's apparition: metempsychosis. Or perhaps the theory of history so well set forth (after Hegel and Giambattista Vico) by the four eminent annalists who are even now treading the typepress in sorrow will explain part of my meaning."¹³¹ Metempsychosis, or "the passage of the soul of a human being or animal at or after death into a new body of the same or a different species,"¹³² is one of the theoretical justifications behind the merging of characters into one another in Finnegans Wake and Joyce's mention of it at this point marks the transition from the preliminary sketches into the mainstream of the novel. By October, of course, he had also completed the HCE and Mamalujo sketches.

The Berkeley passage contrasts thematically with the preceding Kevin sketch which develops Catholic topics in an Irish setting. The Archdruid's argument is set in pre-Christian Ireland, the occasion being Patrick's confrontation of the druids before King Leary, and Joyce was careful to include many authentic details in his description of the High

¹³¹ Joyce, Letters, I, 204-205.

¹³² Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (1967), p. 1242.

King. The Archdruid is ostensibly setting forth the tenets of the native Irish religious belief and how it affects their view of the world. However, he discusses illusion and reality not in terms of the old Druidic religion but in terms of speculations and scientific discoveries of the eighteenth century. Thus the Archdruid becomes George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, while the theory of light and colour that he expounds bears a striking resemblance to that of Newton.

Joyce seems to have been generally familiar with Berkeley's work, but not to have seriously studied his philosophical arguments. In fact, references to Berkeley's belief in the efficacy of tar-water against disease and as a refreshment which can "cheer but not inebriate" are the most frequent Berkeleian echoes throughout Finnegans Wake. It seems probable that Joyce makes "Berkeley" as the Archdruid discuss the nature of perception and the relationship between solar light and the colours of the spectrum because of the fact that Berkeley had published Essay Towards A New Theory of Vision in 1709 as a preliminary to the publication in 1710 of his principal work: A Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge. "In these works he attacked the existing theories of externality which to the unphilosophical mind is proved by visual evidence. He maintained that visual consciousness is merely a system of arbitrary signs which symbolize for us certain actual or possible tactual experience - in other words a purely conventional language."¹³³ Atherton has shown that Joyce frequently consulted the eleventh edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica for background material that he needed¹³⁴ and it seems likely that he consulted some general work such as this for his information on Berkeley.

The first half of the Archdruid's speech is an explanation of "the illusion of the colourful world" as it appears to "fallen men", followed by a demonstration of what it is really like for "the seer

¹³³ "Berkeley", Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, III (1910), 779.

¹³⁴ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 87. See also A Wake Newslitter, IV, 5 (October 1967) 102-103 and A Wake Newslitter, VI, 1 (February 1969), 12.

beholding reality". In broad terms this does echo Berkeley's Principles of Human Knowledge where he argued that the material universe does not exist independently of man's perception of it; things are therefore "collections of ideas"; and the direct will of God is responsible for ensuring the regularity and order with which these ideas occur. Berkeley's universe was thus theo-centric and non-material; it existed because it was perceived, and in it physical and scientific theories could be no more than predictive devices which God might set aside at any time. However, the actual course of everyday experience would be unaffected, and the assumptions of unphilosophical people undisturbed, since we are never actually aware of anything but our own ideas; therefore, to deny the existence of "external objects" is not to take away anything that has ever entered into our experience.¹³⁵ Thus Joyce's "fallen men" accept "the illusion of the colourful world, its furniture, animal, vegetable and mineral" and in particular accept that it is whatever colour it seems to be. The "seer beholding reality", however, has no such limitations and sees all colours as shades of green. In Berkeleian terms, there is no way of judging between the opposing perceptions of the man who sees red hair and the man who sees green hair, and Joyce appropriately does not try. The Archdruid and Patrick are opposed, but there is as yet no victory nor defeat.

In his Theory of Vision Berkeley attempts to define exactly what can be perceived by the eye and concludes: "All that is properly perceived by the visive faculty amounts to no more than colours, with their variations and different proportions of light and shade."¹³⁶ He does not, however, attempt any study of the relationship between light and colour, or the spectrum, which is central to Joyce's development of the Archdruid's argument. As A.A. Luce says in his introduction to the

¹³⁵ "Berkeley", Concise Encyclopaedia of Western Philosophy and Philosophers (1960), pp. 67-68.

¹³⁶ Berkeley, New Theory of Vision, ed. Luce, I, 234.

Theory of Vision: "The Essay is an account of the manner of vision, a psychological study of certain crucial features in visual perception. It is not a treatise on the eye, or on light and colour, or on optics generally; and though it is mentioned still in works on vision, its contribution to purely scientific theory is not outstanding. It is a work on the Philosophy of vision."¹³⁷ However, it is clear that Berkeley studied Newton's Optics (1704) as a preparation for his own work, as his preliminary notebooks contain a cluster of references to Newton's theory, especially as regards the middle colour of the spectrum, green:

Blew & yellow chequers still diminishing terminate in green.
 This may help to prove the composition of green [502].
 There is in green 2 foundations of 2 relations of likeness
 to blew and yellow. Therefore Green is compounded [503].
 Mem. to Consider Newton's two sorts of Green [505]. 138

Sir Isaac Newton's Optics laid the basis for modern theories of light and colour and it is on his work that Joyce, knowingly or unknowingly, is drawing when he says that the world appears "to fallen men under but one reflected of the several iridal gradations of solar light, that one which it had been unable to absorb while for the seer beholding reality, the thing as in itself it is, all objects showed themselves in their true colours, resplendent with sextuple glory of the light actually contained within them" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 307). This is almost a paraphrase of part of the article on "Colour" in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica:

Newton, however, showed that white light could be decomposed by a prism into the spectral colours red, orange, yellow, green, blue indigo and violet.... The colours of the various objects which we see around us are not due to any power possessed by these objects of creating the colours which they exhibit, but merely to the exercise of a selective action on the light of the sun, some of

137 A.A. Luce, "Editor's Introduction to An Essay towards a New Theory of Vision", The Works of George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne (1948), I, 147.

138 Berkeley, Philosophical Commentaries, ed. Luce, I, 63.

the constituent rays of the white light with which they are illuminated being absorbed, while the rest are reflected or scattered in all directions.... White light is thus the basis of all other colours, which are derived from it by the suppression of some one or more of its parts. 139

As an extension of his theory, Newton was able to explain the colours of the rainbow, which follow the order of the spectrum,¹⁴⁰ and the rainbow became an important image throughout Finnegans Wake.

On the basis of Newton's theory of colour, Joyce's "fallen men", who see the one colour that the object has been unable to absorb and reflects instead, is viewing the normal multicoloured world. As a test of vision the Archdruid uses the figure of King Leary: "fallen men" would see his "fiery locks... saffron kilt... golden breasttorc... verdant mantle... azure eyes... enamelled gem... violet contusions" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 307). These are the colours of the spectrum in perfect order except for the enamelled gem, whose position suggests that it is indigo. The Archdruid's robe is described in an addition as "heptachromatic sevenhued roranyellowgreeblandigo": this last word has elements of six colours of the spectrum omitting the last, violet. The fact that white light is composed of all the colours together is implicit in "iridal gradations of solar light" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 307), as "iridal" is a rare adjective meaning "of or belonging to the rainbow."¹⁴¹ To the ordinary mode of vision of "fallen men" Joyce opposes that of the "seer", who sees not the one reflected colour but the "sextuple glory of the light actually contained within them." To the "seer" King Leary is visible in shades of vegetable green: "the colour of sorrel green... the hue of brewed spinach... the tint of curly cabbage... the green of laurel boughs... a thyme and parsley aspect... as a rich lentil... as with an infusion of sennacassia" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 307).

139 "Colour", Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, VI (1910), 728.

140 "Rainbow", Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, XXII (1911), 861.

141 Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (1967), p. 1043.

Newton, as Berkeley mentioned in his notebook, had identified "two sorts of Green." The first is the pure green of the spectrum, revealed by the use of a prism. The second is the composite colour, created by mixing yellow and blue, which is physically quite different from the spectral green, since it can be resolved by a prism into yellow and blue again.¹⁴² Green is the central colour of the spectrum, it is also the colour of Patrick's shamrock, and more recently has become accepted as the national colour of Ireland. It thus provides a link between the work of Berkeley and Newton in the eighteenth century and the debate between the Archdruid and Patrick in the fifth century.

The best-known legend about St. Patrick in Ireland is his defiance of King Leary at Tara, his defeat of Leary's druids, and his subsequent success in converting the Irish to Christianity. P.W. Joyce's Concise History of Ireland, used by James Joyce at school, gives an account of the confrontation, and it is prominent in the first part of the ninth-century Tripartite Life of Patrick. In 1935 Joyce, writing in Italian, gave a brief summary of the story in a letter to his son and daughter-in-law, George and Helen Joyce. Ellmann's translation reads: "Tara was the Mecca and Jerusalem of the ancient Irish... the high king (ardri), was crowned at Tara. St. Patrick went there to confront the druid priests, just like Moses in Egypt. He did every kind of miracle, too. Every fire in Ireland was supposed to be extinguished except the royal fire at Slane, I think. Patrick roused the druids' ire by lighting the Paschal fire. It was Holy Saturday."¹⁴³ This is a fairly accurate brief version of the legend except that Leary's royal fire was lit on Tara, and Patrick's opposition Paschal fire was lit on Slane, about ten miles away. Several aspects of the legend make it a suitable background for Joyce's discussion of the nature of perception, and for the implied opposition between Christian

¹⁴² "Colour", Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, VI (1910), 728.

¹⁴³ Joyce, Letters, III, 346.

and non-Christian views of the world. The fire-ritual which Patrick disturbed was the celebration of Bealtaine, a spring fertility festival, connected with fire and sun worship. The Christian writers of Patrician legends were anxious to absorb the remnants of pagan customs into a Christian framework, and so Easter and Bealtaine are made to coincide with vivid symbolic effect: Patrick confronts the Druids, Christianity confronts Paganism, light and knowledge confront darkness and ignorance, and in the Joycean context native Ireland confronts a cultural invader from Europe. The conjunction of Bealtaine and Easter, however, disregards the calendar. As Bury has pointed out, the hagiographers' intention is "that Easter is to replace Beltane, the Christian to overcome the heathen fire; and it is a matter of no import that the day of Beltane was the first day of summer, which could never fall on Easter Eve."¹⁴⁴ The symbolism of the clash between light and darkness was also useful to Joyce, who situates his version of the encounter in Book IV of Finnegans Wake, at the moment of dawn, when the logic and language of night and dreams is about to yield to the reawakening of day.

Various aspects of druidism contribute to this contrast: druids were the exclusive possessors of all the knowledge and learning of the time.... They were skilled in magic - indeed they figure more conspicuously as magicians than in any other capacity - and were believed to be possessed of tremendous preternatural powers.... They could - as the legends tell - raise druidical clouds and mists and bring down showers of fire and blood; they could drive a man insane or into idiocy by flinging a magic wisp of straw in his face.... They were skilful in divination, and foretold future events from dreams and visions, from sneezing and casting lots, from the croaking of ravens and the chirping of wrens. ¹⁴⁵

In A Social History of Ancient Ireland, P.W. Joyce gives an account of one particular method of foretelling the future which seems especially relevant to Finnegans Wake: "In several of the tales we find mention

¹⁴⁴ Bury, Life of St. Patrick, p. 107.

¹⁴⁵ Joyce, Short History of Ireland, pp. 137-138.

of a druidic 'wheel divination', i.e. made by means of a wheel.... I have not the least notion of how the druidical divination wheel was made or how it was used: but it may be of interest to observe here that... the old Gaulish sun-god is represented with a wheel in his hand."¹⁴⁶ This Celtic prophetic wheel provides a native parallel for the Buddhist mandala, represented by the symbol @ , which Joyce used in the First Draft Version¹⁴⁷ "to designate a passage dealing with the structure of Finnegans Wake [suggesting] that in one structural sense the whole of the book forms a mandala."¹⁴⁸ Both the Celtic and the Buddhist wheels are symbols for the cyclical theory of history in Finnegans Wake, since by means of it the future could be brought into conjunction with the present and the nature of growth, fall and renewal understood. This possibility adds a new dimension to phrases like "Now by memory inspired, turn wheel again to the whole of the wall" (FW.69.5-6), and to the passage where the Archdruid seems to be lurking at a Catholic Ecumenical Council: "There wasn't an Archimandrite of Dane's Island and the townlands... on the whole wheel of his ecumenical conciliabulum" (FW.496.7-10).

According to the Tripartite Life of Patrick, the coming of Patrick to Ireland was foretold by King Leary's druids, who realized that it would mean the end of their power:

They foretold, then, that an evil-lawed prophet would come hither over sea to their land... and a multitude would receive him, and that he would find love and reverence with the men of Ireland, and that he would cast the kings and the lords out of their realm, and would destroy all the images of the idols, and that the usage which would come there would abide in Ireland for ever and ever. Two years or three years before Patrick's arrival, this is what they used to prophesy:

¹⁴⁶ Joyce, Social History of Ancient Ireland, I, 231.

¹⁴⁷ Hayman, First Draft Version, p. 96.

¹⁴⁸ Hart, Structure and Motif, p. 77.

Adzehead will come over a furious sea;
 His mantle head-holed, his staff crook-headed,
 His dish in the east of his house.
 All his household shall answer
Amen, Amen!
 Adzeheads will come, who will build cities,
 Who will consecrate churches, pinnacled music-houses,
 Many conical caps (for belfries), a realm round croziers. 149

This particular passage was familiar to Joyce, as he noted the word "adze" in the Scribbledehobble notebook¹⁵⁰ and uses it in a passage of Finnegans Wake. The coming of Patrick to Ireland is linked with Tristan's coming in a cluster of references to the Trinity (which Patrick is said to have explained by means of the shamrock), to the Tripartite Life itself, and to the well-known prayer called "St. Patrick's Breastplate": "Trothed today, trenned tomorrow. I invert the initial of your tripartite and sign it sternly, and adze to girdle, on your breast. What do you hear, breastplate?" (FW.486.27-29).

King Leary was present at the contest between Patrick and the druids and is also present at Joyce's version of it, at least insofar as the Archdruid uses him as an example of the two modes of perception. He was the son of Niall of the Nine Hostages and succeeded King Daithi in the highkingship in 428 A.D., four years before the arrival of Patrick on his mission in 432 A.D. Joyce's description of Leary's clothes and ornaments is detailed and accurate for the period. His principal garments are a mantle and a kilt. P.W. Joyce in his Social History of Ancient Ireland describes four kinds of outer garments for men which could be used in several combinations. The first of these is the mantle or long cloak: "Among the higher classes it was of fine cloth edged with silk or satin or other costly material. Sometimes the whole cloak was of silk or satin; and it was commonly dyed in some bright colour or... striped or spotted with several colours."¹⁵¹ The

149 Tripartite Life of Patrick, ed. Stokes, I, 33, 35.

150 Joyce, Scribbledehobble, p. 175.

151 Joyce, Social History of Ancient Ireland, II, 194.

fourth type of garment which P.W. Joyce describes is the kilt, "... commonly falling to the knees, [it] is very frequently met with on the figures of manuscripts, shrines and crosses, so that it must have been very much worn both by ecclesiastics and laymen. The kilt and the bratt [mantle] outside it are seen in some of the figures."¹⁵² Leary therefore is dressed in a distinctively Irish fashion and the details of his jewellery are equally authentic. He is wearing "the royal golden breasttorc" and "the enamelled gem of the ruler's ring" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 307). P.W. Joyce's Concise History of Ireland mentions the torque in the section on "Metal Work": "There are several torques, all pure gold, one of which - found at Tara - is 5 feet 7 inches in length and weighs 27½ ounces. The torques were worn round the neck..."¹⁵³ The Social History of Ancient Ireland gives many more details about the method of manufacture and references to torques in early Irish literature. They were especially associated with formal appearances of the King, and some of the surviving examples are so large that, when worn, they extended over the breast.¹⁵⁴ Rings were also the prerogative of the nobility: "Both men and women belonging to the highest and richest classes... had the arm adorned with rings of gold, partly for personal ornament and partly to have them ready to bestow on poets, musicians, story-tellers and ollaves of other arts who acquitted themselves satisfactorily."¹⁵⁵ The decoration of Leary's ring was also traditional in fifth-century Ireland: "On many of the specimens of metal-work preserved in the National Museum may be seen enamel patterns worked with exquisite skill, showing that the Irish artists were thoroughly masters of this branch of art."¹⁵⁶

There is a corresponding historical propriety in making King

152 Ibid., II, 203.

153 Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, p. 29.

154 Joyce, Social History of Ancient Ireland, II, 231.

155 Ibid., II, 225-226.

156 Ibid., I, 558.

Leary exhibit the colours of the spectrum, as brightly coloured clothes were much prized: "All, both men and women, loved bright colours and from head to foot every individual wore articles of varied hues."¹⁵⁷ This was not a universal privilege, however: "We are told in our legendary history that exact regulations for the wearing of colours by the different ranks of people were made by King Tighernmas and by his successor, Eochaid Edguthach, many centuries before the Christian era: a slave was to be dressed in clothes of one colour, a peasant or farmer in two; and so on up to a king and queen or an ollave of any sort; all of whom were privileged to wear six."¹⁵⁸ The King in fact was differentiated from his subjects by the varied colours of his dress, and only he could exhibit the spectral range that Joyce required. His ollave or adviser had the same privilege; thus the Archdruid is also "sevenhued" on this occasion, though the usual druid's dress was white.¹⁵⁹ Patrick, however, is "whiterobed", the colour of sunlight, which contains within itself all the colours of the spectrum. Once again Joyce may be remembering school history lessons, in which Patrick was described as follows: "The saint was robed in white, as were also his companions; he wore his mitre, and carried his crozier in his hand."¹⁶⁰ The contrasts are therefore carefully balanced in this sketch and Joyce has aimed at historical accuracy too.

The various greens of the alternative vision of Leary (First Level Version, Appendix p. 307) have come from the greengrocer: they are all edible except the "laurel boughs" and are essentially a running parody on the royal magnificence that they debunk. The vision of the "seer", whose eyes have been unsealed, is actually more prosaic and ludicrous than "fallen men" who see the technicolour splendours of royalty. Joyce's first green is the sorrel, the true colour of King Leary's

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., I, 30.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., II, 192.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., I, 235.

¹⁶⁰ Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, p. 49.

fiery hair, chosen probably for several pertinent connotations. The sorrel plant is a trefoil, similar to the shamrock, and often used as a synonym for it in ballads of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. T. Crofton Croker's Popular Songs of Ireland (1886) has a section devoted to songs about the shamrock, and in his introductory notes he refers to a controversy about the botanical classification of the shamrock, and quotes a "facetious essayist in the Dublin Penny Journal" who denies that the shamrock and the sorrel are the same: "I confess I have no patience with that impudent Englishman, who wants to make us believe that our darling plant, associated as it is with our religious and convivial partialities, was not the favourite of St. Patrick, and who would substitute in the place of that badge of our faith and our nationality, a little sour, puny plant of wood-sorrel."¹⁶¹ King Leary's hair colour therefore appears shamrock-like to some, while for others a secondary meaning of "sorrel" might restore it to its original reddish brown colour, like a sorrel or chestnut horse.

Joyce's first draft ended after the Archdruid's statement of his proposition and practical illustration of it. When the passage was revised in 1938 for insertion in Finnegans Wake, 611.4-612.15, it was greatly expanded and elaborated, and Patrick, who was silent in the early version, replies to the Archdruid and has his interpretation of reality accepted by the multitude. In the Finnegans Wake version Berkeley speaks in Chinese pidgin and Patrick replies in Japanese pidgin. Grace Eckley has pointed out that "The Chinese philosophers of the Han dynasty (202 B.C. - 220 A.D.) developed a system in which five colours corresponded to directions, seasons, virtues, gods and emperors, and sound (the Pentatonic scale),"¹⁶² and this information gives more point to Joyce's orientalizing of his interlocutors. After

¹⁶¹ Croker, Popular Songs of Ireland, p. 38.

¹⁶² Grace Eckley, "Looking forward to a Brightening Day: Book IV, chapter i", in A Conceptual Guide to "Finnegans Wake" p. 224.

the publication of Finnegans Wake, Frank Budgen wrote telling Joyce about an article he was writing on the novel, and Joyce's reply included a comment on this passage: "Much more is intended in the colloquy between Berkeley the arch druid and his pidgin speech and Patrick the arch priest and his Nippon English. It is also the defence and indictment of the book itself, B's theory of colours and Patrick's practical solution of the problem. Hence the phrase in the preceding Mutt and Jeff banter 'Dies is Dorminus master' = Deus est Dominus noster plus the day is Lord over sleep, i.e. when it days."¹⁶³ In the revision of the sketch, which parodied the contrast between the world as it appears to the speculative and non-speculative mind, it has developed into a debate about the nature and value of reality as it appears in Finnegans Wake. Patrick evidently wins, but there has been considerable critical discussion about the nature of this victory and Joyce's attitude towards it, because Patrick's victory involves banishing the dreamy darkness of the wakeworld and letting in the light of common day. Joyce's letter does not really clarify the situation since the order in which he discusses the "defence and indictment" suggests that Berkeley defends the book and Patrick indicts it and imposes his commonsense attitudes on the populace. Attempts to consider the debate in terms of Shem-Shaun conflicts have also been inconclusive since there is no general agreement on which of the two represents Shem and which Shaun.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Joyce, Letters, I, 406.

¹⁶⁴ Some discussions which consider Patrick as Shaun: Campbell and Robinson, Skeleton Key, p.349; Hart, Structure and Motif, p.121; Tindall, A Reader's Guide to "Finnegans Wake", pp.319-321; Grace Eckley, "Looking Forward to a Brightening Day: Book IV chapter i", in A Conceptual Guide to "Finnegans Wake", pp.222-226. Benstock, Joyce-Again's Wake, pp. 11-21, 95-98, concludes that both Shem and Shaun share aspects of Patrick. Some discussions which consider Patrick as Shem: Glesheen, Second Census, pp. 201-203; O Hehir, Gaelic Lexicon For "Finnegans Wake", pp. 409-410; Roland McHugh, "A Structural Theory of Finnegans Wake", A Wake Newslitter, V, 6 (December 1968), 86.

The text itself shows that "pidgin fella Balkelly" (FW.611.5) is an ideal reader of Finnegans Wake: "he drink up words, scilicet, tomorrow till recover will not, all too many much illusiones through photoprismic velamina of hueful panepiphanal world spectacurum" (FW.611.11-14) and appreciates its multilevel simultaneous connotations since only in this way have "all objects' (of panepiwor) allside showed themselves in trues coloribus resplendent with sextuple gloria of light actually retained, untisintus, inside them (obs of epiwo)" (FW.611.22-24). He expends much verbosity on the defence of this new way of expressing the many facets of reality: "with other words verbigratia-grading from murmurulentous till stridulocelerious in a hunghorangoan-goly tsinglontseng" (FW.611.28-30) so that in fact he defeats his own purpose, becomes monotonous and hoarse, and loses Patrick's attention completely: "Rumnant Patholic, stareotypopticus, no catch all that preachybook" (FW.611.24-25). In fact, while Berkeley's lecture is leading him further and further away from the reality that is its subject, Patrick "augmentationed himself in caloripeia to vision so throughsighty" (FW.611.31-32): he becomes clear sighted and recognizes that "High Thats Hight Uberking Leary" (FW.611.33), all green as he appears, is none other than the hero of Finnegans Wake himself, "Hump cumps Ebblybally!" (FW.612.15). HCE has been under attack throughout the novel, rumours have been circulating about him, he has been accused, tried, and defended. It is through him that the cycle will be renewed, if Humpty Dumpty, after his fall, can be put together again. Berkeley defends the book, but does not think that renewal is possible: "tomorrow till recover will not" (FW.611.12) and so is arguing for the preservation of the status quo, the continuation of night's dream world. Patrick's impetus, however, is towards renewal, "tomorrow recover thing even is not" (FW.611.25-26) even though at first he does not know how the thing which in the evening does not exist can be recreated in the morning. Realization comes with his recognition of HCE. Where Berkeley defended the book, Patrick defends the hero.

Joyce uses legends about St. Patrick as the basis for his defeat

of the druid, darkness and the status quo, and the reintroduction of HCE, the dawn of a new era, and cyclical progression. Patrick wastes few words, reflecting that it is "tripeness to call thing and to call if say is good" (FW.612.17). As St. Patrick is said to have picked the shamrock from the ground to demonstrate the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, Joyce's Patrick picks "a handcaughtscheaf of synthetic shammyrag" (FW.612.24-25) in order to "wipenmeselps gnosegates" (FW.612.24). In the Tripartite Life the contest between Patrick and the druids consists of opposing magic and miracles, rather than a verbal contest. One of these miracles is thematically very close to the banishing of night-darkness by daylight in Finnegans Wake, and it is related also to modes of seeing, as first the druid and then St. Patrick forced the people to see the world in a particular way: "Then at the wizard's incantation came darkness over the face of the earth. Thereat the hosts cried out. Said Patrick: 'Dispel the darkness'. The wizard said: 'I cannot today'. Patrick prayed to the Lord, and blessed the plain, and the darkness was banished and the sun shone, and all gave thanks."¹⁶⁵ In Joyce's version Patrick prays to Balenoarch, the God of Fire and Light, and is rewarded by the appearance of the sun: "the sound sense sympol in a weedwayedwold of the firethere the sun in his halo cast" (FW.612.29-30). The druid falls with a "Thud" (FW.612.36), and the rising sun is hailed by the onlookers: "Good safe firelamp! hailed the heliots, Goldselforelump! Halled they. Awed" (FW.613.1-2). The transmutation of "God save Ireland" into "Good safe firelamp" suggests that Ireland will benefit from Patrick's victory. Its effect is the transfiguration of the world, revealed in a new light: "'Tis gone infarover. So fore now, dayleash. Pour deday. To trancefixureashone.... Yet is no body present here which was not there before. Only is order othered. Nought is nulled. Fuitfiat!" (FW.613.8-14). At once there are hints of courtship and future generations: "And let every crisscouple be so crosscomplimentary, little eggons, youlk and meelk, in a farbiger pancosmos" (FW.613.10-12).

¹⁶⁵ Tripartite Life of Patrick, ed. Stokes, I, 57.

Many things appear differently by daylight, rumour is dispelled, and HCE appears as "Health, chalce, endnessnessessity!" (FW.613.27), the reawakened male ready for his new woman to join him. The pedantic druid, Shaun-like with his "preachybook" (FW.611.25), realized the value of the dreamlife, but Patrick is "the as yet unremuneranded national apostate" (FW.171.32-33), "Shem the Penman" (FW.125.23) who knows that the dawn of the new era must break and the new cycle begin.

The encounter of Patrick and the Archdruid in Finnegans Wake represented a moment of history that Joyce considered crucial, a turning point for Ireland of sufficient symbolic importance to represent the return of vigour to the world, through the re-awakening of its hero and father HCE. Its central concern with the operation of light, which reveals the colours of the daytime world, provides an alternative to the dream-world of the unconscious, peopled by dimly perceived shapes, struggling to achieve a recognisable pattern. The metaphor of the colours of the spectrum, arranged according to the laws of optics, is given an objective correlative in the confrontation of Darkness and Light when the Archdruid meets Patrick, while carefully selected detail situates the encounter unambiguously in the period at which it originally occurred. The definitive change which Patrick's coming meant for Celtic Ireland represents the changing of eras more fully for Joyce than any subsequent single event in Ireland's history. Its re-enactment in Finnegans Wake at the moment of dawn incorporates a hope that once again a response to external stimuli may activate the impetus towards regeneration that exists even in stagnation, or in the long death-like sleep of Ireland and of HCE.

Mamalujo

"four lovedroyd curdinals" (FW.282.20)

Joyce drafted two further preliminary sketches before seeing his way clear for concentrated work on Finnegans Wake proper. He began work on these when he returned to Paris after his brief summer holiday in England, as he mentioned to Miss Weaver in a letter of 23 August 1923:

"Of course I have broken my promise and have begun drafting other parts in spite of the heat, noise, confusion and suffocation."¹⁶⁶ The "Mamalujo" sketch took longer to complete initially, but I shall deal with it first, as the "Here Comes Everybody" sketch proved to be the key which unlocked the door to the development of Finnegans Wake proper. By 17 September 1923 the "Mamalujo" sketch had taken shape, and Joyce wrote of it as "my four evangelists' episode" and said, "It is finished but I am filing the edges off it."¹⁶⁷ This "filing" occupied Joyce until 9 October when he wrote to Miss Weaver: "I sent those four fellows out of the house yesterday and when they come back from the vast I shall send them on."¹⁶⁸ Joyce's earliest conception of the four was as evangelists, from whence he derived the collective name Mamalujo, from the first letters of the names of the gospellers: Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. When writing to Miss Weaver on this occasion, however, he calls them "the four eminent annalists who are even now treading the typepress in sorrow."¹⁶⁹ He reinforced this identification by writing next day to his typist, Lily Bollach, asking her to include an addition: "On the last page of the prose part (before the verse begins) after the words 'oremus prayer' and before the words 'for navigants etc' please insert these words: 'to Peregrine and Michael and Farfassa and Peregrine,'"¹⁷⁰ which were the first names of the compilers of the Annals of the Four Masters. Joyce did not find this sketch easy to write, saying "I am glad to get rid of them [the Four] as they gave me a lot of trouble."¹⁷¹ He did not find it seminal, as "Here Comes Everybody" was,

166 Joyce, Letters, III, 80.

167 Ibid., I, 204.

168 Ibid., I, 204.

169 Ibid., I, 205.

170 Ibid., III, 81.

171 Ibid., I, 204.

and, therefore, when pressed by Ford Madox Ford to contribute the Earwicker sketch to Transatlantic Review he at last gave him "Mamalujo" instead, saying it was "the only sidepiece I could detach."¹⁷² Mamalujo thus became the first piece of Work in Progress to be published, in April 1924. The four old men became a motif throughout Finnegans Wake, as purveyors of the gossip about HCE and self-appointed judges of his guilt. However, the original sketch did not find a place in the overall plan until the Tristan and Isolde set-piece of young love was developed, and Joyce juxtaposed the two fragments in 1938, to form one chapter of the finished novel, Book II, chapter 4. The combination allowed Joyce to explore the differences between the three generations which a man can expect to experience in a lifetime, and his changing attitudes to the expression of love through sex. As a young man he explores eagerly; in middle age he struggles to recapture his first experience; as one of the old he prys into the love of others, seeking the satisfaction of remembering his past, while condemning those who provide the touchstone for his memory.

The sketch develops around the Peeping-Tom activities of the four old men, long past their sexual prime, and vicariously reliving their own youth. In the First Level Version their attention is absorbed by nineteenth-century fictional romances, and the voyeuristic nature of their interest is disguised by the fact that their favourite lovers could be publicly observed on the stage, as characters in two popular melodramas by Dion Boucicault. The first of these to be mentioned is The Colleen Bawn, produced in London in 1860, which was Boucicault's first great success and made him a fortune.¹⁷³ The plot concerns Eily O'Connor, a poor but charming heroine, "and the efforts to part her from the hero, Hardress Cregan. At one time she is

¹⁷² Ibid., I, 210.

¹⁷³ "Dion Boucicault", Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th edition, IV (1910), 313.

believed dead, but is 'resurrected',"¹⁷⁴ a fact which later became thematically useful to Joyce. The second play Joyce mentions is Arrah-na-Pogue (1865), in which Boucicault himself played the part of a Wicklow carman, and began to build up his reputation as a stage-Irishman.¹⁷⁵ The play takes its name from its heroine, "Nora of the Kiss", who is "foster-sister to the high-born hero, and gets him out of jail by means of a message, hidden in her mouth, which she gives him with a kiss."¹⁷⁶ This gives significance to the comment in the First Level Version: "so pass the pogue for Christ sake" (pogue is Irish for kiss), and includes the notion of salvation through love, as well as the more sexual interpretation of the four: "there they were spraining their ears listening and listening to all the kissening with their eyes glistening all the four when he was cuddling his colleen" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 308). Boucicault adapted his melodrama The Colleen Bawn from a novel by Gerald Griffin (1808-1840) called The Collegians, and Joyce uses a reference to this to build up one aspect of his four old men, who remember "when they were all four collegians in the queen's colleges." In their youthful aspect, the four are students out for a night at the play, watching the stylised dramatic love-making on the stage, and engaging in their own kisses and cuddles with female companions in the privacy of the darkened theatre: "they all four used to be cuddling and kissing and listening in the good days" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 308). The theme of "Auld lang syne" runs through the sketch as a refrain which punctuates the memories of the four. Their shared experiences in the past are all they have in common in the present: "in days of yore of planxty Gregory they used to be always singing and so now they started their singing and old Luke for auld luke syne" (First

¹⁷⁴ Glasheen, Second Census, p. 54.

¹⁷⁵ "Dion Boucicault", Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th edition, IV (1910), 313.

¹⁷⁶ Glasheen, Second Census, p. 16.

Level Version, Appendix p. 310). It is not "a cup of kindness" that they love to remember, however, but "four big tumblers of woman squash." Like Roderick after his feast, drinking from his guests' glasses in memory of past authority, the four are left with the dregs of love in their tumblers.

Boucicault and his plays became part of the motif background to Finnegans Wake as the work progressed, and had become intrinsically part of its texture before Joyce decided to substitute Tristan and Isolde for Arrah and the Colleen Bawn when incorporating the sketch into the final draft. In fact, another Boucicault character became more important for Joyce than either of these: Sean the Post who eventually marries Arrah-na-Pogue.¹⁷⁷ In the play Sean is an Irish postman of the year 1798 and drives the post car. Joyce turns him into Shaun the Post and entrusts him with the delivery of Anna Livia's letter. James Atherton has pointed out that Joyce's description of Shaun's appearance closely parallels the directions for Sean the Post's costume in Seamus de Bourca's edition of Arrah-na-Pogue, and that Sean's speech at his wedding to Arrah sets the tone for Shaun's sermon to the Rainbow Girls in Finnegans Wake Book III, chapter 2. Tags from songs sung by Sean on stage are echoed frequently in Finnegans Wake, especially "The Wearing of the Green" which he sings at his wedding. Boucicault's play was used as the basis of an operatta called Shaun the Post, which was performed in Dublin as part of the Tailteann Games in the summer of 1924, a fact which Joyce must have considered fatefully coincidental, as he had begun work on his Shaun in January of that year.¹⁷⁸

The passing reference to the four as the "collegians" in turn evoked an extended reference to the universities in Ireland:

¹⁷⁷ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, pp. 159-161.

¹⁷⁸ Joyce, Letters, I, 208.

and there he was cuddling and pogueing her in Arranapogue behind the queen's colleges. And then they used to give the lectures in Roman history in all the four collegians in the four trinity colleges Killorcure and Killthemall and Killeachother and Killkelly-on-the-Flure those were the four great history colleges for auld lang syne all the Roman history past and present and present and absent and past and present and future arma virumque romano (First Level Version, Appendix p. 309).

Dublin had had a university since Queen Elizabeth I had granted a charter to Trinity College in 1591-1592. No other universities existed in Ireland until the mid-nineteenth century. Then the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, with the corresponding northern college at Belfast, were in 1850 constituted the Queen's University of Ireland. In 1907 new legislation made the Queen's College at Belfast into a unitary university, while Newman's College in Dublin and the Queen's Colleges at Cork and Galway became constituent colleges of a new federal university, the National University of Ireland.¹⁷⁹ There were, therefore, four university cities, one in each province, Belfast, Cork, Dublin and Galway, and the four old men may each represent a university city, just as they came to represent the four provinces. The tuition given to the four old men in the universities encouraged a backward-looking graduate, since the principal subject taught appears to have been history, with special emphasis on killing as a solution to difficulties: Kill-or-Cure, Kill-them-all, Kill-each-other, Kill-Kelly-on-the Flure. The history of Rome is linked to the history of Ireland here and in Finnegans Wake, on the one hand because these were the two avenues through which the past was explored in Joyce's schooldays, in a narrative whose crises centred round battles preceded by a list of causes and followed by a corresponding list of consequences, some of which became in their turn the "causes" of further warfare. On the other hand, the sentence from Quinet which proved seminal for Joyce used the decline of Rome as its principal point of reference and Vico also interpreted the Fall of Rome as the end of an era. Joyce came to see the collapse of the Roman

¹⁷⁹ Ollscoil na h-Eireann: The National University Handbook, pp. 13-17.

Empire as a catastrophic event which ended one cycle and began the cycle which was coming to an end as he was writing. This new cycle began in Ireland with the coming of Patrick, representative of the religion which had swept away the old pagan epoch, according to the view current among pious Catholics. As it too nears its decline, and the moment of a new recorso approaches, Ireland finds itself in symbolic conjunction with the Roman Empire as it disintegrated, and the histories of Ireland and Rome run parallel in the Viconian spiral.

Throughout Finnegans Wake Joyce multiplied the connotations of his four old men, whose number may have been selected originally to parallel the number of the Viconian ages which they chronicle as evangelists and historians. Their first names are taken from the writers of the four gospels; their surnames, though Irish in flavour, have not been satisfactorily explained, apart from the similarity of "Lyons" to the Lion by which Mark the Evangelist has traditionally been represented. They have also a geographical extension, representing "in the first place Space, being geographically the four points of the compass and literally the first four letters of the Hebrew alphabet - thus standing for all the other letters and so representing literary space.... They represent the four walls of the room and the four posts of the bed"¹⁸⁰ (Book III, chapter 4). Thus their order is usually north, south, east, west, or Ulster, Munster, Leinster, Connaught. In addition, their significance is enriched by making them "Four dimensions, including time; Four elements; Paracelsus's Four parts of the human body; Four classical ages; Four ages of man, and doubtless many another Four as well."¹⁸¹ In their Irish aspect they are primarily the four provinces, the four Waves of Erin (one for each point of the compass), and the four Master Annalists.

In the First Level Version the identification with the waves is made first: "they were the big four the four waves of Erin," the

¹⁸⁰ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 54.

¹⁸¹ Glasheen, Second Census, p. 87.

connection with the sea persists when Joyce calls them "the four salt-water widowers," and at the end of the passage describes how "they had their tentacles and they used to be all hanging around all the waists of the ships the steamships and peering in through the steaming windows into the honeymoon cabins... and rubbing off the cataract off the windows to see all the honeymooners..." (First Level Version, Appendix p. 310). O Hehir gives the Irish names of the four waves as Tonn Chlíodhna, Tonn Scéine, Tonn Rudhraighe, and Tonn Tuaithe: "the 'Four Waves' in the order listed above are respectively represented in the modern geography of Ireland by Glandore Bay (on the south coast of Co. Cork; the 'Wave' of the South), Kenmare Bay (chiefly in southwestern Co. Kerry; the 'Wave' of the West), Dundrum Bay (in Co. Down, the 'Wave' of the East), and the mouth of the Bann river (Co. Derry, the 'Wave' of the North)."¹⁸² Joyce does not use these Irish names here, giving his waves the names of men instead, but in the Scribbledehobble he noted three of them: "3 waves of I = Thoth, Ruri, Cleeva,"¹⁸³ and uses them elsewhere in Finnegans Wake: "by Rurie, Thoath and Cleaver" (FW.254.2). This naming of three waves instead of four may be due to AE, who named them as Toth, Rury and Cluna,¹⁸⁴ or to a passage in P.W. Joyce's Social History of Ancient Ireland where he named and described the same three waves:

In stormy weather, when the wind blows in certain directions, the sea at these places, as it tumbles over the sandbanks, or among the caves and fissures of the rocks, utters an unusually loud and solemn roar, which excited the imagination of our ancestors. They believed that these sounds had a supernatural origin, that they gave warning of the deadly danger, or foreboded the approaching death, of kings or chieftains, or bewailed a king's or a great chief's death.¹⁸⁵

182 O Hehir, Gaelic Lexicon for "Finnegans Wake", p. 386.

183 Joyce, Scribbledehobble, p. 6.

184 O Hehir, Gaelic Lexicon for "Finnegans Wake", p. 385.

185 Joyce, Social History of Ancient Ireland, II, 525.

As his novel progresses, this doom-laden aspect of the four waves becomes for Joyce the malevolence of the four old men, who pry into the affairs of Earwicker and become his accusers in the pub: prophets not of his physical demise but of his public exposure and disgrace (Book II, chapter 3).

The Four Master Annalists were mentioned in the First Level Version without being named, and, perhaps because of their claim to know about everything, they are bisexual, being "their four masters that were four beautiful sisters," or "four dear old heladies." Their experience of love has ended in divorce: "she was waitin backscratching all divorced by them four master," the result of a struggle for sexual supremacy which neither side has won. Their history is greatly concerned with sexuality, reinforcing Joyce's suggestion that sexual conflict is the microcosm of war, as family history is the microcosm of world history, and therefore that gossip and scandal is the basic material of all histories and annals. However, Joyce also makes use of the Irish annalists' approach to history, of which he would have been aware from his school text:

The Irish chroniclers were very careful to record in their annals remarkable occurrences of their own time, or past events as handed down to them by former chroniclers. The annals are among the most important of the ancient manuscript writings for the study of Irish history.... The Annals of the Four Masters, also called the Annals of Donegal, are the most important of all. They were compiled in the Franciscan monastery of Donegal, by three of the O'Clerys, Michael, Conary, and Cucogry, and by Ferfesa O'Mulconry, who are now commonly known as the Four Masters. They began in 1632, and completed the work in 1636. 186

These Annals (together with the Book of Kells) gradually became for Joyce an important Gaelic paradigm of his own work in Finnegans Wake, though there is little evidence that he used the readily available edition and translation by John O'Donovan for purposes of quotation or imitation.

186 Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, pp. 9-10.

Atherton, in fact, doubts whether Joyce had the mastery of the Irish language necessary to make use of Gaelic sources: "It seems unlikely that Joyce ever had much knowledge of Gaelic, and it is fairly certain that the references to Gaelic books and the Gaelic language in Finnegans Wake are intended chiefly as a decoration without any basic structural purpose."¹⁸⁷ Joyce did attend classes in Irish, given by Padraig Pearse, while at University,¹⁸⁸ although he did not persevere with them, and probably never achieved a grasp of its finer points of grammar and usage. However, he knew enough to explain the elements of the language to Valéry Larbaud, and to contrast it with Breton.¹⁸⁹ He also compiled lists of words from Gaelic and other Celtic languages, which, like his lists from other languages, were probably gleaned from dictionaries. He did, however, have a grasp of colloquial Irish, and phrases like "thigging thugs" (FW.15.13) (An dtuigeann tú, do you understand) or "Cead mealy faulty rices" (FW.16.34-35) (Céad míle fáilte romhat, a hundred thousand welcomes to you) are sprinkled throughout the novel. For the older and more difficult texts, however, he must either have relied on translations, or on accounts of the contents.

The relationship between the Annals and Joyce's work is principally an affinity of purpose: "When Brother Michael and his associates set to work, they were under the impression that they could write the history of Ireland, beginning with the Creation and finishing up with their own time. That was the common idea then, and it found expression in Keating's work and in many other treatises that date from about that period."¹⁹⁰ Joyce came to see Irish history as emblematic of world history, even of universal history, and later "suggested that history was also paronomastic, a jollying duplication of events with

187 Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 89.

188 Ellmann, James Joyce, p. 62.

189 Joyce, Letters, I, 217-218.

190 Walsh, The Four Masters and Their Work, p. 7.

slight variations."¹⁹¹ His encyclopedic approach to Finnegans Wake, his attempts to include as many languages, names, books, countries, rivers as possible, is not unlike the recopying into the Annals of the Four Masters of all entries from all available earlier annals of Ireland. This method of working made for great variety of style in the Annals as Dr. John O'Donovan pointed out in the Introduction to his edition:

With respect to the style of these Annals, it will be seen that it varies with the authorities from which the different entries have been extracted. In the first part the language is extremely simple, and few instances of inflation are observable; but in the second part the style varies a good deal: in the same page will be observed the extreme veracious simplicity of the Annals of Ulster, and the turgidly redundant style of the romantic tales of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁹²

Finnegans Wake shares this characteristic of stylistic plurality: though on the surface all seems uniform "Wakeese", underneath the rhythms of songs throb, the liturgy is intoned, the voice of Boucicault or George Berkeley speaks, or the style of a medieval romance or a nineteenth-century novelette is evoked. The history of Ireland which was written by the four old men exemplifies a narrow-minded view of the past, recreated for personal gratification and incapable of forming the basis for a new beginning. It came to be contrasted with the account of the past written by Shem whose critics suggest that his work would have been improved "If only he had listened better to the four masters that infanted him" (FW.184.33-34). The Penman, however, "winged away on a wildgroup's chase across the kathartic ocean and made synthetic ink and sensitive paper for his own end out of his wit's waste" (FW.185.5-8). It is he, not the four, who will reveal the cyclical nature of history, and provide the understanding of the past necessary before vitality can re-emerge.

¹⁹¹ Ellmann, James Joyce, p. 716.

¹⁹² John O'Donovan, "Editor's Introduction" to Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland (Dublin, 1851), I, xl.

In this First Level Version, however, Joyce actually includes some annals compiled by his four old men:

and all they could remember long long ago when my heart knew no care the landing of Sir Arthur Casement in 1132 and the coronation of Brian by the bishop and then there was the drowning of Pharoah and they were drowned in the sea the red sea and then poor Martin Cunningham out of the castle when he was drowned off Dunleary in the red sea and then there was the Flemish Armada all scattered and all drowned off the coast of Cunningham and Saint Patrick and all they remembered and then there was the French fleet in 1132 landing under general Boche and there he was cuddling and poguing her in Arranapogue... (First Level Version, Appendix p.309).

Like all oral and hearsay history, the facts of these annals are confused and erroneous. Events are presented without emphasis, giving equal importance to all, and the annalists speak as if they had personal memories of incidents as far apart as the drowning of Pharoah in the Red Sea and the drowning of Joyce's contemporary, Martin Cunningham. O'Donovan commented on this aspect of the compilation of annals in Ireland: "From these notices we have reason to believe that the ecclesiastical writers carried forward a continuous chronicle from age to age; each succeeding annalist transmitting the records which he found existing along with his own; thus giving to the whole series the force of contemporary evidence."¹⁹³ Throughout Finnegans Wake this time-scale without perspective persists, allowing incidents and persons from different ages to be viewed simultaneously and the principle of cyclic recurrence with minor variation to be graphically illustrated.

The mysterious events of the annals deserve some clarification. Incidents connected with the sea are of most interest to the annalists in the First Level Version, probably because they are also the four waves. "Sir Arthur Casement" seems to combine King Arthur with Sir Roger Casement, who went to Germany during the First World War to appeal for armed aid for the 1916 insurrection. He returned in a submarine, and was arrested on the beach where he had landed in Kerry,

¹⁹³ Ibid., I, xlvii.

and later executed for high treason. In Finnegans Wake Joyce expanded the reference: "and after that then there was the official landing of Lady Jales Casemate, in the year of the flood 1132" (FW.387.22-23). Julius Caesar's landing in Britain is included here, but Joyce has also carefully worked in a reference to the opening of the Annals of the Four Masters which begins: "The Age of the World, to this Year of the Deluge, 2242. Forty days before the Deluge, Ceasair came to Ireland with fifty girls and three men."¹⁹⁴ The Annals of Clonmacnoise confirm that the leader of this band was a woman: "This yeare of Lamech's age came the woman called Cesarea or Keassar accompanied onely with three men and 50 Women to this Land which was the first habitation of Ireland."¹⁹⁵ The female principle which ensures the continuity of life was thus present from the first habitation of Ireland, though Joyce does not make this a motif in Finnegans Wake.

The next item is "the coronation of Brian by the bishop." This is probably Brian Boru, though he did not have to go through any ceremony of recognition by the church in order to become Ardri. He gained that position by force, however, and after his journey north to subdue Ulster "he stopped at Armagh and laid an offering of twenty ounces of gold on the high altar of the church, a fact commemorated in the Book of Armagh. Perhaps... by this politic measure he wished to secure the goodwill of the clergy and obtain for his infant dynasty the prestige of the Church's support."¹⁹⁶ He seems to have succeeded, since after his death in the Battle of Clontarf in 1014 he was taken to Armagh and buried in the cathedral, with obsequies which lasted twelve days.¹⁹⁷

The annalists do not confine themselves to events in Ireland, however, but include a reference to the Biblical account of the drowning

¹⁹⁴ Annals of the Four Masters, I, 3.

¹⁹⁵ Annals of Clonmacnoise, ed. Denis Murphy (1896), p. 11.

¹⁹⁶ D'Alton, History of Ireland, Half-Volume I, 138.

¹⁹⁷ Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, p. 73.

of Pharoah and the Egyptian army in the Red Sea as he attempted to pursue the fleeing Israelites (Exodus, 14). For the old men this weighs equally with the drowning of Martin Cunningham, a character from Ulysses. The original of this character was a crony of Joyce's father called Matthew Kane, who died by drowning.¹⁹⁸ The four have a pronounced taste for sea disasters: they also recall "the Flemish Armada all scattered and all drowned," referring probably to the Spanish Armada sent against England by Philip II of Spain in 1588. The plan was that it should join with the forces of Parma waiting in Flanders. Freak storms scattered the fleet and "the wrecks of many Spanish vessels were strewn along the western coast of Ireland from Dingle to Innishowen."¹⁹⁹ Saint Patrick is next mentioned by the annalists, but without any details, since his coming lacked the human interest of shipwreck and loss of life. They pass on from him to "the French fleet in 1132 landing under general Boche." This may refer to the abortive efforts of Theobald Wolfe Tone to arrange help from revolutionary France for the insurrection of the United Irishmen with the object of making Ireland an independent republic. A French fleet was dispatched in December 1796 under General Hoche, but it was scattered by bad weather at sea before it reached Ireland. Sixteen ships eventually entered Bantry Bay, where they awaited the arrival of their general. The storms continued, however, and Hoche never arrived, so at the end of a week they returned to France.²⁰⁰ This is a kind of Irish Armada - a sea expedition that came to grief through stormy weather. General Hoche himself never came to Ireland, but Wolfe Tone's famous expedition to relieve the insurgents of 1798 was undertaken in a French gunship named the "Hoche" supported by eight frigates and three thousand men. The expedition was met by a British squadron off Lough Swilly, and after a six-hour battle the "Hoche" was obliged to

198 Glasheen, Second Census, p. 136.

199 D'Alton, History of Ireland, Half-Volume IV, 488.

200 Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, p. 276.

surrender, and Tone himself was captured, court-martialed, and condemned to death.²⁰¹ The failure of these two expeditions is combined in the annalists' recollections, and concludes their idiosyncratic history, all of whose events are dated 1132.

Joyce had already chosen this date as emblematic when he wrote this sketch, and it became a motif throughout Finnegans Wake. It appears early in Book I, chapter 1, in a summary of "the cycles of events grand and national" (FW.13.31-32). A table of dates appears:

1132 A.D.	
566 A.D.	
(Silent.)	
566 A.D.	
1132 A.D.	(FW.13.33-14.11)

and 1132 is the first and last in the sequence. Joseph Campbell and Henry Morton Robinson in A Skeleton Key to "Finnegans Wake" explicated the significance of the numbers and their comments have formed the basis for more recent explications: "Every reader of Ulysses will recall the 'thirty-two feet per second, per second. Law of falling bodies,' which ran through Bloom's thoughts of the entire day. The number is now to run through the entire night of Finnegans Wake, usually in combination with eleven, the number of restart after finish. (The old decade having run out with ten, eleven initiates the new....) In the present instance the two numbers combine to form a date."²⁰² They also point out that no historical events of significance, in Ireland or Europe, are associated with these years.²⁰³ However, Roland McHugh has pointed out one very significant fact that explains the importance of this sequence of dates for Finnegans Wake. In the Annals of the Four Masters the death of Finn MacCool is recorded at the year 283 A.D.: "The Age of Christ, 283. The sixteenth year of Cairbre. Finn, grandson of Baisgne, fell by

201 Ibid., p. 284.

202 Campbell and Robinson, Skeleton Key, p. 46.

203 Ibid., p. 45.

Aichleach, son of Duibdreann, and the sons of Uirgreann of the Luaighni Teamhrach, at Ath-Brea, upon the Boinn...."²⁰⁴ This date is never quoted in the text. However, it is one half of 566 or one quarter of 1132, and so fits into the centre of the table of dates, where Joyce has written "(Silent.)" Roland McHugh concludes: "I suggest this as an explanation of the mystery numbers 1132 and 566 which occur throughout Finnegans Wake. I think that the entry '(Silent)' means the temporary suspension of communication where HCE 'dies'."²⁰⁵

Annals were also compiled in chronicle form in England, and one of these, the Peterborough Chronicle, gives linguistic significance to the year 1132. This chronicle is continuous until the end of the entry for 1131, when unsettled conditions in the country caused it to be laid aside. It was resumed in 1154, when the record of the intervening years was brought up to date by the insertion of a few events scattered between the dates 1132 and 1154. The linguistic importance of the text is that

Up to and including the annal for 1131 the Peterborough Chronicle is written in what is, in the main, the West Saxon literary language.... But during the interval this particular literary language appears to have fallen into disuse.... The result of this is that, while the earlier annals provide some of the latest examples of the use of the West Saxon literary language, those from 1132 to 1154 are the earliest examples of Middle English.²⁰⁶

Thus Joyce refers to this text as "Twoways Peterborough" (FW.442.11), a manuscript which exemplifies as well as records a crucial change in the society it describes, as he himself hoped to do with the complicated language and intricate narrative of Finnegans Wake.

Joyce allowed his quartet of annalists to incorporate the Evangelists as well as the Irish annalists and the four waves, giving

²⁰⁴ Annals of the Four Masters, I, 119-121.

²⁰⁵ Roland McHugh, "283 A.D.", Joycenotes, 1 (June 1969), 19.

²⁰⁶ J. Mitchell Morse, "1132", James Joyce Quarterly, III, 4 (Summer 1966), 273.

them a religious, a secular, and a natural dimension. They also came to include several other quadripartite sets, including the points of the compass, the Irish university cities, the four provinces, and the four wicked barons. The technique of the Four Masters as historians has some affinity with the immediacy of the past in Finnegans Wake. Though the old mens' account of history is selective and fragmentary, lacking the appreciation of cyclic continuity which Joyce attributes to Shem's account of the past, it does at least have the value of immediacy which is achieved by the parallel with the methodology of the Irish annals, and the attribution by the four of all events to one symbolic year, 1132. Having passed through all experience themselves, they now enjoy the freedom to observe and speculate without personal involvement in human joy or sorrow. The process which Joyce associates with them is a retrospective cycle of sentiment, recalling the birth of young love between students or adolescents, the expression of such love through the medium of melodrama, the consummation of love on a honeymoon cruise, and the death of love in the divorce court. It is this cycle of sentiment which eventually allowed Joyce to link up his old men with the parody of romance based on Tristan and Isolde. His expanded versions of both sketches are broken into many jigsaw pieces and then fitted together again to form not two separate pictures but one large integrated one. Joyce succeeded in allowing two early ideas, by 1938 thematically inherent in Finnegans Wake, to come together as "a collideorscape" (FW. 143. 28). Though the form of words in each often remains the same, the effect of the juxtaposition is to give a new impression of significance. The role of the four old men as annalists is enhanced by choosing a romance from the past, in which they can be identified as the four barons, for them to spy upon, while the implied identification of history with domestic trivia is maintained. The play-acting inherent in Tristan and Isolde's lovemaking, their self-dramatisation and casting of themselves in the role of sentimental hero and heroine, also benefits from the addition of an audience, especially an audience that is not very impressed by the performance because they have experienced

it all before. As Michael Begnal has pointed out, one effect of the combination of these two sketches is to explore the interplay and relationship between history and myth while both are apparently undermined: "Just as myth has become sordid, history has become garrulous."²⁰⁷ Nevertheless, both have a certain vitality, because they are not abstractions enshrined in ritual or chronology but expressed as events with immediate impact since they are still taking place in the simultaneous-time-sphere of Finnegans Wake.

Here Comes Everybody - Earwicker

"magnificently well worthy of any and all
such universalisation" (FW.32.20-21)

Joyce began to draft this sketch at the same time as the "Mamalujo" piece, in mid-August 1923.²⁰⁸ His first depiction of Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker, the central character and hero of Finnegans Wake, was quickly completed, and Miss Weaver had commented on it in a letter to which Joyce replied on 17 September 1923: "I was glad to hear that the Earwicker absurdity did not make you worse."²⁰⁹ Although Joyce considered that this work was preliminary, he was already being pressed to allow some of it to be published, and the Earwicker sketch was the first to be requested: "Mr. Hueffer is very insistent I should give him the Earwicker episode" (23 October 1923).²¹⁰ At this stage, however, Joyce was determined not to allow publication: "I have declined again to let any of the pieces be printed but have allowed my name to go on the contributors' list" of Ford Madox Ford's Transatlantic Review.²¹¹ These sketches were, however, the first pieces of Work in Progress to be published, as Joyce eventually allowed Ford's Review to

²⁰⁷ Michael H. Begnal, "Love that Dares to Speak its Name: Book II, chapter iv", in A Conceptual Guide to "Finnegans Wake", p. 145.

²⁰⁸ Joyce, Letters, III, 80.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., I, 203.

²¹⁰ Ibid., I, 206.

²¹¹ Ibid., III, 82.

publish "Mamalujo" in April 1924, and he gave "Here Comes Everybody" to Robert McAlmon for Contact Collection of Contemporary Writers which appeared in June 1925. When Joyce had completed the first draft of the Earwicker sketch he resumed work on the last preliminary sketch, called "Mamalujo", about the four annalists of Ireland. When that was completed, in October 1923, he returned to the "Earwicker" piece and began to develop and expand it. It very soon found its place in the structure of Finnegans Wake as the beginning of Book I, chapter 2, pp. 30-34; and before the end of 1923 Joyce had written the continuation of that chapter, and also first drafts of Book I, chapters 3 and 4, which deal with the trial of HCE, his fall and resurrection.

The First Level Version of "Here Comes Everybody" is short and uncomplicated. It falls into two sections: the first concerns the way in which HCE got his name; the second deals with gossip about him and includes a defence of HCE against the crimes that rumour attributes to him. The whole is set in a shifting scale of time and place, far more complex than anything Joyce had attempted in the earlier sketches. The narrator's viewpoint is further on in time than the events he is dealing with; he is looking back on the past and attempting to find the truth about incidents and people now remote. In other words, Joyce has introduced a historian's perspective. In the first part of the sketch the tone is that of a lecture, which we enter rather late, as the introduction is missing and the dissertation is in full swing. It concerns the "most authentic version" of "the genesis of his agnomen", and this takes the form of an anecdote. We learn that HCE got his name as the result of an encounter with royalty, and a joke made at his expense by the passing monarch (First Level Version, Appendix p. 311). The outline of the story is clear enough, and persists with very little alteration through two publications and many revisions to its definitive version in Finnegans Wake. The basic unchanging details are that Humphrey was at work on his land when royalty was announced on the high-road, and that he rushed out to greet the King, carrying "a long perch atop of which a flowerpot was affixed" (First Level Version, Appendix

p. 311), which became in the final version "a high perch atop of which a flowerpot was fixed" (FW.31.2-3). The King enquired whether he had been lobstertrapping, and Humphrey answered "No, my liege, I was only a cotching of them bluggy earwigs" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 311), or as it later became: "Naw, yer magggers, aw war jist a cotchin on thon bluggy earwuggers" (FW.31.10-11). The King's reply, indulging his "none too genial humour" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 311), also FW.31.14), was responsible for Humphrey's agnomen: "How our brother of Burgundy would fume did he know that he have this trusty vassal who is a turnpiker who is also an earwicker" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 311), or as it finally became: "Holybones of Saint Hubert how our red brother of Pouringrainia would audibly fume did he know that we have for surtrusty bailiwick a turnpiker who is by turns a pikebailer no seldomer than an earwigger" (FW.31.25-28).

The anecdote is clear enough, but the details which would help the historian to place the event in space and time are absent or contradictory, and Joyce's elaborations of the passage increased the difficulty. What, for instance, is Humphrey's occupation? He is said to have been at his plough, but, when asked, says he was catching earwigs, while the King says he is a turnpiker. In Finnegans Wake there are also references to his "olde marine hotel" (FW.30.16) and to his being by turns a "pikebailer" (FW.31.27). His nationality is also unclear: at first the language suggests a nineteenth-century view of medieval England, peopled by "trusty vassals" mindful of their "fealty", yet the King's retinue is composed of Irish, not English, lords. In Finnegans Wake the lecturer/narrator makes the uncertainty explicit by enumerating the possible alternative origins of H.C. Earwicker's agnomen: "discarding once for all those theories from older sources which would link him back with such pivotal ancestors as the Glues, the Gravys, the Northeasts, the Ankers and the Earwickers of Sidlesham in the Hundred of Manhood or proclaim him offsprout of vikings who had founded wapentake and seddled hem in Herrick or Eric" (FW.30.5-10). Even in this early sketch, Joyce has discovered the possibilities of

multiple levels of time and space, linked thematically rather than logically or historically, and this breakthrough enabled him to proceed with further chapters dealing with HCE. The special process which links all these chapters has been well analysed by Roland McHugh:

The progression of I. ii-iv is less a time sequence than an ascent through portraits of increasing remoteness and unfamiliarity, the initial one being from "the best authenticated version" (30.10). Here we are close to Earwicker; as we proceed his name, his person, his memorials and the stories about him are all subjected to attack and distortion, so that he becomes less and less accessible. A complementary progression occupying book I is the attempt of investigators to reach back to the inception of I, 2, but as their research becomes more meaningful and they treat their material more objectively, the evidence diminishes because of the first progression.²¹²

Once one has accepted the nature of Joyce's sketch of Earwicker, it is possible to examine the historical hints and ideas that are scattered everywhere, with a view to exploring their thematic coherence. The king is the most obvious connection with history. Does Joyce intend him to be a general symbol of royalty, or has he some particular king in mind? In the First Level Version he is unnamed, but in a Second Level addition Joyce inserts a title, "William the Conk". Adaline Glasheen has suggested that in the Finnegans Wake version all the English Kings named William are mentioned:

William I : "William the Conk" (FW.31.14)
 William II or Rufus : "our red brother" (FW.31.25)
 William III, Prince of Orange : included in "William the Conk"
 (FW.31.14), since he did conquer Ireland
 William IV : "Our sailor King" (FW.31.11).²¹³

It is the king in his role of conqueror that interests Joyce in this passage, and the relationship between the new ruler and his subjects in his new territory. William I is thus placed in the foreground and named,

²¹² Roland McHugh, "Recipis for the Price of the Coffin: Book I, chapters ii-iv", in A Conceptual Guide to "Finnegans Wake", p. 19.

²¹³ Glasheen, Second Census, p. 280.

while other kings contribute connotations and developments from later periods, and Earwicker himself is glimpsed in several different centuries. Though the time scale does shift in this way, the point of departure is fixed in relation to William I: it is 1066, the year of the Norman conquest of England, when Harold II, last of the Saxons, was defeated and slain at the battle of Hastings. In the First Level Version, the "trustworthy vassal", like the king, is unnamed, but in a Second Level addition Joyce called him "Harold or Humphrey Coxon," which became in Finnegans Wake "Harold or Humphrey Chimpden" (FW.30.2-3). Earwicker is not literally Harold of England, however, but an everyman who represents what is left of Harold's race, trying to adapt to a new situation. He is not yet himself the invader, but the descendant of former invasions, whose initial vigour has been dissipated, leaving the way open for a new takeover, as exemplified earlier in Roderick O'Connor and King Mark of Cornwall. This process is part of the Viconian identification of corruption and generation, "since the flowers of corruption in Scipio and Caesar are the seeds of vitality in Caesar and Tiberius."²¹⁴ The encounter between the "earwicker" and the king represents the meeting between the new master and his subject, and the relationship of ridicule on the one hand, and servility on the other, that exists between them. Insofar as it has a geographical location at all, it is equally situated in England and Ireland, as Joyce suggests that both countries have experienced similar cycles of experience, though neither might want to admit it.

The king's reference in the First Level Version to "our brother of Burgundy" strengthens the connotations of William the Conqueror, and is thematically linked with the brother-conflicts that develop later in Finnegans Wake. At the time of William's developing power in Normandy, Henry I was King of France. He succeeded to the throne in 1031, at which

²¹⁴ Beckett, "Dante... Bruno. Vico... Joyce", in Our Exagmination, p. 6. See also above, pp. 14-15.

time he was himself Duke of Burgundy, though he later bestowed the duchy upon his brother. Henry I had to defend his kingdom against the attacks of his own nobles early in his reign. "Henry's success in these wars was largely due to the help given him by Robert of Normandy, but upon the accession of Robert's son William (the Conqueror), Normandy itself became the chief danger. From 1047 to the year of his death, Henry was almost constantly at war with William, who held his own against the King's formidable leagues, and beat back two royal invasions, in 1055 and 1058."²¹⁵ William's joke at Harold's expense is also directed against his lifelong enemy in the country from which he has come: the friendship of their fathers has become the hostility of the sons.

The particular event in Earwicker's history that Joyce develops in connection with William the Conqueror is the acquisition of a surname. Patrick Woulfe, in the introduction to his book on Irish names and surnames called Sloinnte Gaedheal is Gall: Irish Names and Surnames (1923), gives an account of the development of surnames throughout Europe. Irish surnames arose almost exclusively from patronymics, which became fixed as family names during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but the development in Normandy and England is more pertinent to Earwicker's case. Woulfe quotes Freeman's History of the Norman Conquest on the situation in these countries:

At the time of the Norman invasion of England, the practice of hereditary surnames seems still to have been a novelty in Normandy, but a novelty that was fast taking root. The members of the great Norman houses already bore surnames, sometimes territorial, sometimes patronymic, of which the former class easily became hereditary.... In England before the Conquest there is no ascertained case of a strictly hereditary surname.... If the Norman Conquest had never happened, it is almost certain we should have formed for ourselves a system of hereditary surnames. Still, as a matter of fact, the use of hereditary surnames begins in England with the Conquest, and it may be set down as one of its results. ²¹⁶

²¹⁵ "Henry I (1008-1060) King of France", Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, XIII (1910), 290.

²¹⁶ Woulfe, Sloinnte Gaedheal is Gall: Irish Names and Surnames, pp.xx-xxi. Though this work has an Irish title, it is written in English.

Surnames therefore were among the significant cultural changes introduced by the Normans to England; before this "we are back in the presurnames prodromarith period" (FW.30.3-4). In England, surnames grew out of descriptive appellations "indicative of the bearer's calling, or descriptive of his person,"²¹⁷ so that Joyce calls Harold's surname an "occupational agnomen" (FW.30.3). His encounter with the king, or contact with Norman culture, results in his acquiring the surname Earwicker, which will recall, as long as he bears it, the humble origin of his family, the royal joke at the founder's expense, and the subjugation of the people from which he came.

The king's visit to Ireland probably includes also the later visitation by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in 1849. According to Joyce the people of Dublin "had the wicked idea of mocking the Queen's Consort as though he were an abdicated German prince... greeting him exuberantly with a cabbage stalk just at the moment when he set foot on Irish soil."²¹⁸ Thus HCE is "like cabbaging Cincinnatus" (FW.30.12-13), and in a more extended reconstruction of the occasion he becomes "the wise gravelceek in cabbuchin garden" (FW.568.27-28). It was customary for the mayor and his corporation to greet the sovereign with a loyal address on behalf of the citizens, for which expression of fealty the mayor was usually knighted. Thus HCE, representative of his city, greets the sovereign saying: "Me amble dooty to your grace's majers!" (FW.568.25), and is rewarded by the response: "Arise, sir Pompkey Dompkey! Ear! Ear! Weakear!" (FW.568.25-26). Joyce disparaged the whole proceedings, remarking that "when an English monarch wants to go to Ireland, for political reasons, there is always a lively flurry to persuade the mayor to receive him at the gates of the city. But, in fact, the last monarch who entered had to be content with an informal reception by the sheriff, since the mayor had refused the honour."²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Ibid., p. xxx.

²¹⁸ Joyce, Critical Writings, p. 164.

²¹⁹ Joyce, Critical Writings, p. 163. Mason and Ellmann, editors, point out that this last incident occurred when Edward VII and Queen Alexandra visited Ireland, from 21 July to 1 August 1903.

HCE, however, did not refuse the title which marked him as a subject, either in his capacity as mayor, or as the humble "turnpiker" (FW.31.27).

The parallel in Irish history to William I's Conquest of England is the conquest carried out, in the name of Henry II of England, by Strongbow and the Anglo-Normans, a hundred years later. A parallel has been drawn between them by D'Alton, in his History of Ireland: "Henry II was the first English king who came to Ireland; but he was not the first English king who had intended to come, for it has been said that William the Conqueror himself seriously proposed the conquest of Ireland, and that if he had lived but two years longer he would have conquered it; and it is added, that he would have done so without any armament."²²⁰ This explains why the conqueror's retinue includes Irish lords, "the lord of Offaly and the mayor of Waterford (the syndic of Drogheda according to a later version)." Unfortunately it is not clear who precisely Joyce intended to designate by these titles, and his later elaboration of them in Finnegans Wake adds to the complications: "Michael, etheling lord of Leix and Offaly and the jubilee mayor of Drogheda, Elcock, (the two scatterguns being Michael M. Manning, protosyndic of Waterford and an Italian excellency named Giubilei...)" (FW.31.17-20). None of these have been identified positively, though Roland McHugh makes a suggestion: "As Leix and Offaly were devastated by Mountjoy and Drogheda was devastated by Cromwell, they may include those two figures, who are paired elsewhere in I.2 (at 39.08, Blount being the family name of Mountjoy...)." ²²¹ My suggestion is that "the lord of Offaly and the mayor of Waterford" in the First Level Version refer to the Anglo-Norman lords who did the actual conquering of Ireland for Henry, namely Raymond le Gros Fitzgerald and Strongbow.

Waterford was the port through which the Normans entered Ireland,

²²⁰ D'Alton, History of Ireland, Half-Volume I, 236.

²²¹ Roland McHugh, "Recipis For the Price of the Coffin: Book I, chapters ii - iv", in A Conceptual Guide to "Finnegans Wake", p.26.

and in particular it became the seat of Strongbow's authority: "on the 23rd of August 1170, Strongbow landed near Waterford with an army of 3,000 men; and being joined by the others, they captured the city of Waterford, slaughtering great numbers of the inhabitants. Then Dermot carried out his promise: and the marriage of Strongbow and Eva was solemnized."²²² By this marriage to the daughter of the King of Leinster, Strongbow acquired a title to the Irish succession, and after Dermot's death in 1171 he had himself proclaimed as the new king. Meanwhile, Henry II, fearing that his nobles were becoming too independent and powerful, came himself to Ireland in October 1171, landing near Waterford, and making it his first base. Having satisfied himself about the Anglo-Norman lords' loyalty, and having received the submission of many Irish lords, Henry granted land to several of them, and confirmed Strongbow in the lordship of Leinster, later appointing him viceroy as well.²²³ Lewis, in his account of Waterford, says that Strongbow, "agreeably to the king's instructions, took upon himself the government of this city, as well as that of Dublin. In all the predatory expeditions which the English made into the territories of the natives, this city was always the centre of action in the south, the general rendezvous of the invaders, and the place in which all their spoils were deposited."²²⁴ Waterford thus became Strongbow's special base and retreat in time of danger, so that the title "mayor of Waterford" could appropriately apply to him.

Raymond le Gros actually preceded Strongbow to Ireland by a few months, being sent ahead of him in May 1170. He became very popular with the Norman soldiers, and his military expeditions were generally successful; on one occasion he himself rescued Strongbow who was besieged in Waterford. Strongbow had also suffered a humiliating defeat

²²² Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, p. 83.

²²³ Ibid., pp. 84-89.

²²⁴ Lewis, Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, II, 682.

in Offaly at the hands of its chief O'Dempsey, and a great number of his men, including his son-in-law, were killed. In the following year Raymond revenged this defeat, ravaging Offaly and the country around Lismore, carrying off immense spoils, and ensuring Norman control over the area. As a reward for these successes, Strongbow allowed Raymond to marry his sister Basilea, and made him constable or commander of Leinster. Though he was not literally called "lord of Offaly," he was its lord in effect, having subjected the territory and being responsible for its continuing subjection.²²⁵ There is no definitive proof that Joyce intended to include these two lords, or even indeed to refer to the Norman Conquest of Ireland; there is only a strong thematic probability. Incidentally, HCE as Harold at the time of the Norman Conquest of England is paralleled at this period in Ireland by "poor old King Roderick O'Conor the last King of all Ireland," about whom Joyce had been writing such a short time before.

The expanded Finnegans Wake version of "Here Comes Everybody" contains many additional details such as the inclusion of the four King Williams of England, though William IV (1765-1837), nicknamed "the sailor King" because of his Navy career, would seem to have little to contribute except his name. William II, or Rufus, had one characteristic which links him with HCE, and strengthens the presumption that he may be "our red brother" (FW.31.25): "he stuttered violently, and in moments of passion was almost inarticulate."²²⁶ It is William III, Prince of Orange, however, who lurks most persistently in the background. It was necessary for him to dissuade Ireland from its Stuart sympathies: his success in the Irish campaign helped his acceptance as monarch in England; and the Williamite wars symbolized divided national loyalties in Ireland that persist in a different form to this day. Joyce usually

225 Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, pp. 83-89.

226 "William II or Rufus", Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, XXVIII (1911), 662.

refers to him in Finnegans Wake by a pun on "King Billy" or a play on "Orange." Here, however, the references are less direct. The First Level Version, having named the two Irish lords in the King's retinue, gives an alternative in brackets: "(the syndic of Drogheda according to a later version)." Guided by the theme of conquest throughout, this suggests a later conquest and a later king. Cromwell's siege of Drogheda and massacre of its citizens in 1649, the first engagement of his Irish campaign, make him a possible "syndic of Drogheda." However, William III's connections with the city are also worth noting, since it was the scene of his first and most significant Irish encounter, the battle of the Boyne. The forces of James II had a magazine of military stores and ammunition in Drogheda, and the banks of the Boyne river, within sight of the town, became the scene of confrontation between the rival claimants for the throne of England in July 1690. William gained a decisive victory, James retreated to Dublin, and the city of Drogheda surrendered,²²⁷ a symbol of the reconquest of Ireland by England. Strongbow's city Waterford, incidentally, surrendered soon afterwards.²²⁸

As early as the First Level Version of the "Here Comes Everybody" sketch, Joyce had chosen the situation for his central character's home: "Lucalizod," a name made up of two actual towns situated on the River Liffey, Lucan and Chapelizod. It is interesting to note that geographically Humphrey and William might well have met, as in the Topographical Dictionary under "Chapelizod" Lewis notes: "In 1690, Gen. Douglas, on his march to Athlone, encamped for one night at this place; and soon after, King William himself, subsequently to his expedition to the south, passed several days here in issuing various orders and redressing grievances."²²⁹ William may also partly explain the reference to "great

227 Lewis, Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, I, 499.

228 Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, p. 218.

229 Lewis, Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, I, 321.

aunt Sophy," as Sophia, electress of Hanover, and grand-daughter of James I of England, assumed considerable importance for him in 1701: "William III was ill and childless; William Duke of Gloucester, only surviving child of the Princess Anne, had just died... the electress was the nearest heir who was a Protestant. Accordingly by the Act of Settlement of 1701 the English crown, in default of issue from either William or Anne, was settled upon 'the most excellent Princess Sophia, electress and duchess-dowager of Hanover' and 'the heirs of her body, being Protestant'."²³⁰ She died on the 8 June 1714, and less than two months later her son became King of Great Britain and Ireland as George I, on the death of Anne. The question of succession and continuity, with which kings must be concerned, as Finnegans Wake is, is thus linked to the idea of conquest through the figure of William III.

Though the HCE of "Here Comes Everybody" is primarily an Irishman in the period of English supremacy, and has also connections with Harold of England, there are a couple of details in the Finnegans Wake version which link him with an earlier Celtic way of life. For instance, he is clearly the keeper of a public house, "ye olde marine hotel" (FW.30.16), and rushes out to greet the King and his retinue, and offer the refreshment that they had evidently stopped for: the King "was draining a gugglet of obvious adamale, gift both and gorban" (FW. 31.11-12). The duties of hospitality were provided for in detail by the Brehon laws:

This universal admiration for hospitality found its outward expression in the establishment, all over the country, of public hostels for the free lodging and entertainment of all who chose to claim them. There was an officer called a brugh fer or brugaid, or bruga, who was a public hospitaller or hosteller, and was held in high honour. He was bound to keep an open house for the reception of certain functionaries - king, bishop, poet, judge, etc. - who were privileged to claim for themselves and their attendants free entertainment when on their circuits: and also for the reception of strangers. ²³¹

²³⁰ "Sophia (1630-1714) electress of Hanover", Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, XXV (1911), 417.

²³¹ Joyce, Social History of Ancient Ireland, II, 168.

HCE the publican is also in a sense HCE the "brewy," the provider of the King's entertainment.

Another obligation under the Brehon laws is touched on when we learn that the King "had been meaning to enquire what, in effect, had caused yon causeway to be thus potholed" (FW.31.5-6). As turnpiker, under English law, Earwicker's duties would have consisted in the collection of tolls for the upkeep of the highway, though kings and their retinues were exempt from payment. These roads were notoriously bad and "the establishment of turnpike trusts and the maintenance of roads by tolls do not appear to have effected any great improvement.... The turnpike roads were generally managed by ignorant and incompetent men."²³² It is probably in this light that the King regards Earwicker, as he is evidently not devoting all his attention to the care of the roadway. In Ireland, on the contrary, roadwork was regarded as an honour: "the roads seem to have been very well looked after, and the regulations for making them and keeping them in repair are set forth with much detail in the Brehon Laws.... If any person injured a road, he had to pay compensation to the king or chief, or both, of the territory or district.... Care was taken that the roads were kept clean. According to Cormac's Glossary, a road of whatever class had to be cleaned on at least three occasions - the time of horse-racing, time of winter, and time of war."²³³ However, "the roads through the country were often interrupted by bogs and morasses which were made passable by causeways."²³⁴ This seems to be the type of road under Earwicker's care, rather than an English highway, though he is just as responsible for preventing potholes, and even more in disgrace when he fails to do so because of the value which the community places upon proper maintenance. Lucan and Chapelizod,

²³² "Roads and Streets", Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, XXIII (1911), 389.

²³³ Joyce, Social History of Ancient Ireland, II, 397.

²³⁴ Ibid., II, 400.

and therefore also Lucalizod, where Earwicker has his pub and turnpike, are situated on the Esker Riada "a long, natural, wavy ridge formed of gravel, running almost across the whole country from Dublin to Galway.... The Irish eiscir means a sand hill, and riad travelling by chariot, horse or boat: Eiscir-Riada, the 'sand-hill of chariot-driving'."²³⁵ One of the five great roads from Tara in Celtic times, that which was called "Slige Mór ('great highway') led south-west from Tara till it joined the Esker-Riada somewhere near Clonard, along which it mostly continued till it reached Galway."²³⁶ This glacial gravel ridge raised the roadway above the bogs of the central plain, and thus acted as a natural causeway. It is at the eastern end of this roadway that Earwicker lives, at the point where travellers from the west meet the valley of Anna Liffey and the city of Dublin for the first time.

The second section of the "Here Comes Everybody" sketch develops the history of Earwicker after his naming. The lecturer/narrator first attempts to assess the historical value of the anecdote, and establishes the fact that "from that date all documents initialled by Humphrey bear the sigla. H.C.E.... it was certainly a pleasant turn of the populace which gave him as sense of these initials the nickname of 'Here Comes Everybody' " (First Level Version, Appendix p. 311). With the title comes an increase of dignity. He is "good duke Humphrey for the ragged tiny folk of Lucalizod," and there are hints that he even aspires to regal status "as he sat on gala nights in the royal booth" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 311). His imposing appearance becomes suspect, however, when his costume is described in terms of furniture: "with wardropanelled coat thrown back from a shirt wellnamed a swallow wall far outstarching the laundered lordies and marbletopped highboys of the pit" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 311). Hints of scandal quickly follow: "A baser meaning has been read into these letters

²³⁵ Ibid., II, 396.

²³⁶ Ibid., II, 395.

It has been suggested that he suffered from a vile disease... he was at one time under the imputation of annoying soldiers in the park... an incautious exposure in the presence of certain nursemaid" (First Level Version, Appendix p. 312). A spirited defence of the great man parallels the accusations: "To such a suggestion the only selfrespecting answer is to affirm that there are certain statements which ought not to be, and one would like to be able to add, ought not to be allowed to be made.... To anyone who knew and loved H-C-E- this suggestion is preposterous. Slander, let it do its worst, has never been able to convict that good and great man of any greater misdemeanour..." (First Level Version, Appendix p. 312). Already the outline of HCE is taking shape: the entanglement with the soldiers and the girls, echoes perhaps of Bloom's similar struggles in the "Circe" episode of Ulysses, will become motifs throughout Finnegans Wake, symbols of undefined wrongdoings of a vaguely sexual nature, of which HCE is guilty. The place where this took place is "in the park", probably the Phoenix Park which stretches out to Lucan; the time, judging by the rhetoric of HCE's defender, is the nineteenth century.

Joyce's expansion of the First Level Version includes a play on Earwicker's sigla, "Here Comes Everybody," and many names and personages are connected with him in one way or another, emphasizing the everyman quality of the all-inclusive hero. He begins as "Cincinnatus" in both the First Level Version and Finnegans Wake (FW.30.13), apparently because he was called from his plough to serve his king as Cincinnatus was called from his fields to fight for Rome. He is also called "the grand old gardener" (FW.30.13) not only because of his ploughing, but also to link him with Adam. Hugh B. Staples has pointed out a note by Tennyson to "Lady Clara Vere de Vere" in which he says: " 'The grand old Gardener' in my original MS, was altered to 'the gardener Adam' because of frequent letters from friends asking me for explanation."²³⁷ The

²³⁷ Hugh B. Staples, "Some Notes on Book I, chapter 2", A Wake Newslitter, II, 6 (December 1965), 12.

drink which Earwicker later offers the King is called "adamale" (FW.31.12), emphasizing the strong thematic link between these two founders of families who both fell, but were later promised "Array! Surrection!" (FW.593.2). Swift also figures in Earwicker's pedigree, as "The mother of Jonathan Swift had for her family name 'Herrick or Erick'," ²³⁸ and this is one of the proposed scholarly derivations of the Earwicker family "seddled hem in Herrick or Eric" (FW.30.9-10). Joyce actually founded his family on a solid basis of fact, calling them "the Earwickers of Sidlesham in the Hundred of Manhood" (FW.30.7-8), as the village of Sidlesham (close to Bognor where Joyce was staying at the time that he began to draft this section) is situated in the county division of Sussex called Manhood Hundred. Furthermore, a family of Earwickers have lived there since the eighteenth century, and several of them are buried in the churchyard, where Joyce may have noticed the name.²³⁹ Not surprisingly St. Patrick also lurks about these pages of Finnegans Wake, in his capacity as snake catcher. According to legend St. Patrick was given the privilege of clearing all Ireland of reptiles, and the verb which Joyce uses to describe this is "cotchin": "See the snake wurrums everyside! Our durlbin is swarming in sneaks... but along landed Paddy Wippingham and the his garbagecans cotched the creeps of them..." (FW.19.12-16). Earwicker, of course, tells the King that he "war jist a cotchin on thon bluggy earwuggers" (FW.31.10-11).²⁴⁰

The connotations of Earwicker's first name Humphrey also become motifs throughout Finnegans Wake. Woulfe, in his book on Irish names, glosses as follows: "Amhlaoibh... Auliffe, Olave (Humphrey); Norsc, Olafr, ancestral relic; also written Onlaf and Anlaf; a name introduced

238 Ibid., p. 12.

239 Clive Hart, "Note (on FW.30.1-8)", A Wake Newslitter, Old Series No. 4 (July 1962), 1-2. See also "The Earwickers of Sidlesham", in Clive Hart and Fritz Senn, eds., A Wake Digest, pp. 21-22.

240 Edward A. Kopper, Jr., "Saint Patrick in Finnegans Wake", A Wake Newslitter, IV, 5 (October 1967), 89.

by the Norsemen and adopted by the Irish; it first occurs in the Annals at the year 851; still common in West Munster, but absurdly anglicised Humphrey."²⁴¹ This Aulaf, first mentioned in the Annals, was in fact the founder of the City of Dublin, for which, in Finnegans Wake, HCE is responsible. Brendan O Hehir has followed the name through its Norse, Latin, French and Irish versions and suggested many interesting connections, though Joyce did not make use of all of them: "Several Danes prominent in the medieval history of Ireland were named Olaf or / Olafr, including the father of Sitric of Dublin and first husband of the notorious Gormfhlaith. The name in fact was introduced into Ireland so early and so prominently that relatively quickly it was adopted and used by the Irish themselves."²⁴² As a patronymic it became a prominent surname, MacAmhlaoibh, sometimes anglicised as MacCooley, which links up Humphrey and Finn MacCool. Furthermore, the name Olaf entered Latin through an adaptation of the Irish form Amhlaoibh, which Saxo Grammaticus transcribed as "Amlethus" in his Historica Danica: one of the sources of Shakespeare's Hamlet. In Finnegans Wake, however, Hamlet is associated with the sons of HCE who wish to kill their father, not with HCE himself. "Humphrey" also suggests the physical appearance of HCE, whose back is crooked, and his association with Humpty Dumpty who "had a great fall."²⁴³ Adaline Glasheen has pointed out that "Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1341-1447), was called 'Good' because he patronized letters," and that " 'to dine with Duke Humphrey' means to go without dinner,"²⁴⁴ which explains why HCE was "always good Dook Umphrey for the hunger-lean spalpeens of Lucalized" (FW.32.15-16).

A further cluster of names surrounds the mention of HCE at the

²⁴¹ Woulfe, Sloinnte Gaedheal is Gall: Irish Names and Surnames, pp. 169-170.

²⁴² O Hehir, Gaelic Lexicon for "Finnegans Wake", p. 387. For a detailed discussion of "Humphrey" see also pp. 388-390.

²⁴³ Glasheen, Second Census, p. 110.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 120.

theatre. The particular establishment in question seems to be the Gaiety Theatre in King's Street, Dublin: "that king's treat house" (FW.32.26), whose manager was Michael Gunn. His wife, Bessie Sudlow, was an actress in the theatre, and appears here as "Madame Sudlow" (FW.32.10).²⁴⁵ The play which HCE is watching is "Mr. Wallenstein Washington Semperkelly's immergreen tourers in a command performance by special request... of the problem passion play of the millentury, running strong since creation, A Royal Divorce" (FW.32.29-33). The producer's name combines the brilliant seventeenth-century German statesman and general, Albrecht Eusebius von Wallenstein, with George Washington, first president of the United States of America, and W.W. Kelly, "manager of the Evergreen Touring Company of Liverpool which toured the British Isles before 1914 with A Royal Divorce."²⁴⁶ This combination suggests that HCE is himself the producer of the play as well as a spectator. The subject matter concerns Josephine and Marie Louise, Napoleon's first and second wives,²⁴⁷ and thus HCE also becomes the hero of the play as "a veritable Napoleon the Nth" (FW.33.2). In his capacity as Everybody, HCE takes on all roles, is able to play all parts, as the history of the world is unfolded throughout Finnegans Wake. As spectator perhaps he is Abraham Lincoln, watching from "his viceregal booth" (FW.32.36). There is no king in America, so he is "viceregal", and he was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth at Ford's Theatre in Washington (FW.32.29), the name both of America's first president and of her capital city.

Several references throughout these pages suggest a connection between HCE and Parnell; a connection that was probably intended as early as the First Level Version: "In making the first attack the king indulges 'that none too genial humor' which originated with greataunt

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 102.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 270, 271, 137.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 133.

Sophy. Parnell had a greataunt, Mrs. Sophia Evens, who was a practical joker, so the king would appear to incorporate Parnell ('uncrowned king of Ireland') as well as several English kings."²⁴⁸ William Gladstone, the British Prime Minister whose Liberal government was supported by the Irish Nationalists in 1886 in return for reforms in Land Legislation and action on Home Rule, and who later put pressure on the Irish party to drop Parnell as leader after the O'Shea divorce case,²⁴⁹ appears in Finnegans Wake in the same passage: "and still one feels the amossive silence of the cladstone allegibelling" (FW.31.31-32). Adeline Glasheen mentions that Gladstone was nicknamed William the Conqueror, which would associate him with the oppressive English Kings throughout the passage, and she also notes that he had only nine fingers, which may explain why William inherited "some shortfingeredness from his greataunt Sophy" (FW.31.16).²⁵⁰

Parnell is not named in this passage, the whole structure of which is the partisan defence of a great man against the equally partisan attacks of his enemies. Nevertheless, Parnell was the subject of many such attacks throughout his career. On one occasion Gladstone had him jailed under the Coercion Act for encouraging land agitation. During this period in Kilmainham Jail in 1881-1882, Parnell corresponded with Katherine O'Shea, pregnant with his first child, calling her his "Queen" while she called him her "King." In May 1882, Gladstone was forced to concede further land reforms and to free the men held under the Coercion Act in return for Parnell's influence in stopping the increasing violence in Ireland. He was released from Kilmainham in May, with popular support which justified Healy's earlier description of him as "the uncrowned king of Ireland."²⁵¹ When HCE is Parnell he is "viceregal" (FW.32.36), an unofficial king, pitting his strength against

²⁴⁸ Roland McHugh, "Recipis for the Price of the Coffin: Book I, chapters ii-iv", in A Conceptual Guide to "Finnegans Wake", p. 26.

²⁴⁹ Ervine, Parnell, pp. 221, 276.

²⁵⁰ Glasheen, Second Census, p. 95.

²⁵¹ Ervine, Parnell, pp. 180-194.

Gladstone, the nineteenth-century conqueror of Ireland, in an unequal struggle.

In the same month that Parnell was released from jail the Phoenix Park murders took place in Dublin. Lord Cavendish, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Thomas Henry Burke, the permanent under-secretary, were stabbed to death in broad daylight in the Park. The murderers were arrested, tried and convicted early in 1883.²⁵² The Superintendent of the Dublin police at the time was called John Mallon,²⁵³ mentioned here by Joyce: "posted at Mallon's at the instance of watch warriors" (FW.34.3-4). It was also Mallon who had arrested Parnell in 1881 when he was to be jailed in Kilmainham.²⁵⁴ Several years later, in 1887, The Times published a series of articles called "Parnellism and Crime" alleging that Parnell had approved of the Phoenix Park murders, and that he had even been involved in planning them. The principal evidence in the possession of The Times was a letter beginning "Dear E" and apparently signed by Parnell. It was dated January 9, 1882, and read: "what are these fellows waiting for? This inaction is inexcusable; our best men are in prison, and nothing is being done. Let there be an end of this hesitancy. Prompt action is called for. You promised to make it hot for old Forster and Co. Let us have some evidence of your power to do so. My health is good thanks."²⁵⁵ At Parnell's request a government commission was set up to enquire into the allegations. The letters were eventually found to have been forged by Mr. Richard Pigott, who was trapped by his misspelling of "hesitancy," and Parnell was completely cleared.²⁵⁶

252 Ibid., pp. 198-214.

253 Glasheen, Second Census, p. 165.

254 Ervine, Parnell, p. 183.

255 Ibid., p. 246.

256 Ibid., pp. 216-266.

Earwicker, however, is always under a cloud. His surname begins with the letter E, a connection between him and the "Dear E" of Pigott's forgery. Throughout Finnegans Wake, whenever he feels insecure, the dreaded misspelling "hesitency" returns to haunt him, and remind him of his "partial exposure with such attenuating circumstances" (FW.34.26-27). His guilt is triggered whenever anybody asks him the time, as for instance in the passage of Finnegans Wake immediately following the "Here Comes Everybody" sketch: "to ask could he tell him how much a clock it was that the clock struck had he any idea by cock's luck as his watch was bradys. Hesitency was clearly to be evitated" (FW.35.18-20). Joyce has included a further reference to the murders here, as Joe Brady was the leader of the group who performed the murder in Phoenix Park, and "bradys" also puns on the Greek word for slow.²⁵⁷ It is through such earlier battles of Parnell's that Joyce first links him with Earwicker, only hinting at the infamous divorce scandal which ruined him politically through the title of the play A Royal Divorce. Throughout Finnegans Wake, as in Joyce's earlier work, the theme of Parnell is worked on and explored through the figure of HCE.

The growth in richness and connotation from the First Level Version of "Here Comes Everybody" to the final version is a measure of how seminal this sketch was for Joyce. It became the seed of the whole new novel, the nucleus to which other thematic concerns could be linked and from which they could be expanded. A general interest, in incidents and characters from Ireland's past, and from the past of other countries connected with it, had developed into a technique for juxtaposing the past and the present so as to exhibit similarities. Eventually the recognition of similarities became a conviction about recurrences, and the exploration of philosophical views of man's history and development through the ideas of Vico, Bruno, Hegel and Czarnowski, which are a hidden skeletal structure bearing the weight of their own

²⁵⁷ Glasheen, Second Census, p. 34.

exposition throughout Finnegans Wake. The result is not abstraction and generalization, however, but a weight of carefully organised detail which brings Joyce's time into relationship with past centuries. The day on which Humphrey went out to catch earwigs is made significant by juxtaposition: it suggests conquest and submission; aspects of the mingled histories of France, England and Ireland; the clash of cultures, old against new, of which one must give way. As a sequel to this day we see the same Humphrey, centuries later, at the theatre: the struggle for conquest still goes on; there are echoes of the revolutions in France and America and hints that the same revolution may occur in Ireland; we glimpse a great leader and a bloody murder. More important even than these historical themes is the vivid human dimension of ambition, role-playing, taking of sides, adventure and guilt that are a part of all ventures, public or private. With the recognition that Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker, a private citizen, can also be Here Comes Everybody, a public figure, and that he can exist in the present, but has also existed in the past, and will come to life again in the future, we are on the threshold of Joyce's exploration of human life and human history in Finnegans Wake.

CHAPTER IV

IRISH HISTORY: A SIGNIFICANT THREAD

IN THE TAPESTRY OF FINNEGANS WAKE

Annals Of Ireland

"annals of themselves timing the cycle of events
grand and national..." (FW.13.31-32)

In the first chapter of Finnegans Wake, begun in 1926 when the thematic interests of the novel were already well developed, Joyce enunciated the historical motifs that form an important substratum of the work, and integrated them into the familial context which he saw as the microcosm of all "events grand and national" (FW.13.21-23). The four annalists, their book of history, the stories of HCE, ALP, and their children, the city of Dublin and its founders, Ireland itself and her people with their varied ancestry and mixture of languages, the feuds and battles that have taken place and are still occurring not only between enemies strange to each other, the invader and the invaded, but also between those bound by ties of blood and friendship - these are the threads which Joyce will weave into the tapestry of his "moodmoulded cyclewheeling history" (FW.186.2). Events from Ireland's past are not always to the fore in the completed novel, since the very nature of Finnegans Wake is a protest against the insularity and narrowness that would elevate one country to a position above all others. The background of reference which Joyce chose to embellish his family tale ranges world-wide, but it has a still centre, a basis for comparison, and that is Ireland. Joyce has framed the universal concerns of his novel with a sequence at the outset and at the conclusion to remind us that the history of Ireland is a suitable exemplar of the themes to which he wished to give a more general application. In Book I, chapter 1 he includes a series of annals leading to the introduction of a pair of

observers, Mutt and Jute, who comment upon the battle of Clontarf. In Book IV these observers reappear as Muta and Juva to introduce the dialogue of the Archdruid with Patrick which ushers in the new day. Both occasions are grounded in detail related to Ireland, but they are also rich with connotations which Joyce expands throughout Finnegans Wake.

The four old men, Mamalujo, introduce these themes in a fourfold chorus: "Four things therefore, saith our herodotary Mammon Lujus in his grand old historiorum, wrote near Boriorum, bluest book in baile's annals, f.t. in Dyfflinarsky ne'er sall fail til heathersmoke and cloudweed Eire's ile sall pall" (FW.13.20-23). The territory known in the sagas as the Dyflinarskiri, from Dyflin, the Scandinavian name of the city, "extended from Arklow on the south to the small river Delvin, above Skeries on the north, and comformable with the Norwegian law extended inwards along the Liffey, 'as far as the salmon swims up the stream', that is to the Salmon Leap at Leixlip."¹ Here the past of Dublin (Baile Atha Cliath), expressed in "baile's annals," becomes itself a microcosm of Ireland's history. The annalists are associated with the Greek historian Herodotus, while Joyce makes "herodotary" also bear the sense hereditary, since historians have enabled man to be aware of the past to which he is heir, by the compilation and preservation of records. The "Four things" which the annalists introduce turn out to be the Earwicker family: first HCE with his hump or burden of guilt, who is also the mountain Ben Bulbin, "A bulbenboss surmounted upon an alderman" (FW.13.24-25); then ALP as the poor old woman, hinting at the sean bhean bhocht which the Gaelic poets used to symbolize Ireland, oppressed by the cruel laws of foreign masters, "A shoe on a puir old wobban" (FW.13.25-26); followed by their daughter Iseult whose love for Tristan will result in misery, "An auburn mayde, o'brine a' bride, to be desarted" (FW.13.26-27); and lastly their sons, the penman and the postman whose

¹ Haliday, Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin, p. 138.

battles are emblematic of all conflict, "A penn no weightier nor a pole-post" (FW.13.27-28). This very briefly synopsisizes the cast of the universal drama, with one further character hinted at in parenthesis: "(Succoth)" (FW.13.28) suggests Saint Patrick, who had four names according to the Tripartite Life, the first of them being " 'Sucat', his name from his parents."²

St. Patrick may also be mentioned here by Mamalujo because of his second name, which he was given during his captivity in Ireland: "Now, it was four persons that bought him; one of them was Miliuc: it is thence that he got the name 'Cothraige', because he served four households."³ He is thus, through the association with the number four, the sum of the four old men, a patriarchal figure who initiated the Christian era that absorbed and eventually superceded the old Celtic way of life. The abbeys and monasteries for which Ireland later became famous were the direct result of his intervention, and it was the industry of their monks which preserved written records in Ireland, accounts of secular as well as religious events, culminating in the seventeenth-century amalgamation of former annals by the monks of Donegal, which became known as the Annals of the Four Masters. The events recorded by the annalists are arranged chronologically year by year, and all events, major or minor, great battles or the deaths of petty chiefs, receive the same enumerative treatment. Finnegans Wake resembles its paradigm in its apparent lack of distinction between the trivial and the significant, but it is selective none the less, incorporating or omitting incidents and individuals on the basis of their relevance to its thematic concerns. On the level of a universal history Joyce describes it as "the leaves of the living in the boke of the deeds, annals of themselves timing the cycle of events grand and national" (FW.13.30-32). Those who

² Tripartite Life of Patrick, ed. Stokes, I, 17.

³ Ibid., I, 17.

are living can learn about themselves from the account of the past, and the account itself can become sacred through being perused and interpreted by succeeding generations, as the Bible is. In time, not only the contents but the very copies of the book may become sacred, like the Egyptian Book of the Dead ("boke of the deeds"). This "provides a dead person with the information about procedure and words of power which ensure his immortality. A copy was provided for all Egyptians who could afford it, sometimes carved or painted on the rock of the tomb, sometimes written on the coffin or on a roll of papyrus."⁴ It is also an appropriate association for a work which is concerned to find a meaning for the cycle of growth, decay and death which each man must experience and with which he must come to terms, and whose hero Finn spends a considerable portion of the book buried in "a protom grave in Moyelta of the best Lough Neagh pattern" (FW.76.21-22) awaiting the call to come again.

Joyce further reinforced the connection between Finnegans Wake and the work of the Four Masters by constructing his own version of the annals. He used, however, only two dates, 1132 A.D. and 566 A.D., followed by a gap marked by "(Silent.)" (FW.14.6), and the same dates reversed. For each date he provided events which are connected with the Earwickers, and which echo the "four things" that "Mammon Lujius" has enumerated. The first of these is again HCE: "1132 A.D. Men like to ants or emmets wondern upon a groot hwide Whallfisk which lay in a Runnel" (FW.13.33-34). He appears as a great whale stranded in a river, marvelled at by the populace who are dwarfed by his bulk. He is a kind of Gulliver, a giant among tiny men, who incorporates all their best and worst features. Walter Harris, in The History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin, which Joyce is known to have used,⁵ mentions an incident which may be behind this appearance of HCE as a whale:

⁴ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 192.

⁵ Ibid., p. 92.

A.D. 1331. A great famine afflicted all Ireland in this and the foregoing year, and the city of Dublin suffered miserably. But the people in their distress met with an unexpected and providential relief. For about the 24th of June a prodigious number of large sea fish, called Turlehydes were brought into the bay of Dublin, and cast on shore at the mouth of the river Dodder. They were from 30 to 40 feet long, and so bulky, that two tall men placed one on each side of the fish could not see one another. The lord justice, sir Anthony Lucy, with his servants, and many of the citizens of Dublin, killed above 200 of them, and gave leave to the poor to carry them away at their pleasure.⁶

Joyce also uses the name of the fish later on in Finnegans Wake: "her turlyhyde I plumped with potatums" (FW.549.30).

Under 566 A.D. ALP appears, again as the sean bhean bhocht: "On Baalfire's night of this year after a deluge a crone that hadde a wickered Kish for to hale dead turves from the bog lookit under the blay of her Kish as she ran for to sothisfeige her cowrieosity..." (FW.13.36-14.3). Her appearance occurs on the first of May, the feast of Bealtaine, when " 'a fire was always kindled in Biel's or Bial's name at the beginning of summer (i.e. on May Day), and cattle were driven between the two fires.' "⁷ The old woman is specifically associated with Dublin through the "wickered Kish" which she carries. A kish, or cis is an Irish word for a wickerwork basket; cis can also refer to a wickerwork hurdle such as those which were used to construct the causeway river-crossing from which Dublin took its Irish name, Baile Atha Cliath, or the Town of the Hurdle-ford. A warning light in Dublin Bay is also called The Kish, perhaps because it was once supported on a base made of wickerwork.⁸ The "blay of her kish," therefore, suggests the light by which the old woman hoped "to sothisfeige her cowrieosity," and also the name of the city founded by HCE, "an alderman" (FW.13.25).

The interval of silence which divides these dates from their

⁶ Harris, History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin, pp. 264-265.

⁷ Joyce, Social History of Ancient Ireland, I, 279.

⁸ For a discussion of the derivations see O Hehir, Gaelic Lexicon for "Finnegans Wake", p. 382.

subsequent reversal has been discussed before:⁹ it represents 283 A.D., the year which the annals give for the death of Finn MacCool. The second appearance of 566 A.D., which first gave an account of ALP, now introduces her daughter Issy in her Iseult role, suggested by a mock medieval turn of phrase and vocabulary: "At this time it fell out that a brazen-lockt damsel grieved (sobralasolas!) because that Puppette her minion was ravisht of her by the ogre Puropeus Pious" (FW.14.7-9). Iseult is still a child, grieving for a lost doll, taken from her by a wicked giant, perhaps her father in disguise. The triangle of the young lovers defying the ageing King and his secret incestuous love for his daughter is hinted at already; later this theme will become explicit. 1132 A.D., which was HCE's date at the beginning of the annals, reappears as the date of his twin sons: "Two sons at an hour were born until a goodman and his hag. These sons called themselves Caddy and Primas. Primas was a santryman and drilled all decent people. Caddy went to Winehouse and wrote o peace a farce" (FW.14.11-14). The opposed characters of the sons are already evident. The first-born, or Primas, has military ambitions, which are accepted by the respectable members of society, or "all decent people." The younger son Caddy, or cadet, develops disreputable habits such as a love of wine and writing. In contrast with the expansionist tendencies of his brother he writes "o peace a farce," seeking to exclude violence from his world. In this he parallels Joyce's attempt to reconcile the conflicts in society, past and present, through the creative expression of the inevitable return of peace and renewal of life after wars and decline and death.

At the end of each of the annal dates is a version of the statement "Bloody wars in Dublin." All family affairs can result in conflict, which frequently is not confined within the family but extends to involve interested outsiders. In the case of a representative hero such as Here Comes Everybody, Dublin, the city which he founded, is readily involved, followed by Ireland, the country of which Dublin is

⁹ "Mamalujo", pp. 139-140.

the capital; Europe, the continent to which Ireland belongs; and the world, of which Dublin is the microcosm. The development of Dublin as a city is implicit in the changing forms which Joyce gives to its name in his basic sentence. It first appears as "Blubby wares upat Ublanium" (FW.13.34-35). This suggests "the earliest account we meet of Dublin, in any authentick writer, [which] is in Ptolemy, who flourished in the reign of Antoninus Pius, about the year of Christ 140, and calls it Eblana Civitas."¹⁰ The sentence next appears as "Blurry works at Hurdlesford" (FW.14.5), and "Bloody wars in Ballyaughacleeagh-bally" (FW.14.9-10). This represents an English and an Irish version of the "Town of the Hurdle-Ford" or Baile Atha Claith. Finally, Joyce uses the modern name for the city "Blotty words for Dublin, (FW.14.14-15) which combines Scandinavian and Irish elements to complete the cultural mix: "The Scandinavians called it 'Dyflin', a corruption of the Irish name for that inlet at the confluence of the Poddle and the Liffey, which formed a harbour where ships were moored, and which the Irish called 'Dubhlinn' or 'the Black pool', from the dark colour given to the water by the bog which extends under the river."¹¹ The development of Dublin later becomes the means by which HCE celebrates the establishment of his family through his marriage. At the moment of the mating of HCE and ALP an interval of "peace, perfect peace" (FW.549.11) was established: "for days there was no night for nights were days and our folk had rest from Blackheathen and the pagans from the prince of pacis" (FW.549.5-6). This could not remain a constant state of things, however; the passage of time ensures that even the satisfied love of parents must yield eventually to their children's search for their own fulfilment and succession. HCE, "dizzed and dazed by the lumpty thumpty of our interloopings, fell clocksure off [his] ballast" (FW.550.35-36), and fell at the silent moment when the cycles turn, and the place of the parents is taken by their sons and daughter.

¹⁰ Harris, History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin, p.4.

¹¹ Haliday, Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin, p. 23.

The sons must learn the value of the moment of peace which the daughter can offer through their re-enactment of old battles. For the moment the "peace a farce" (FW.14.14), which might prevent the recurrence of the bloody wars, has been lost "Somewhere, parently, in the ginnandgo gap between antediluvius and annadominant the copyist must have fled with his scroll" (FW.14.16-18). The parents are somehow to blame for this. HCE is antediluvian in the sense that he disappears during the deluge, for which ALP as water is responsible, and is buried by the water in a Lough Neagh grave: "And that after this most nooning-less knockturn the young reine came down desperate and the old liffo-potamus started ploring all over the plains, as mud as she cud be, ruining all the bouchers' shurts" (FW.64.15-18). The peace is lost between "antediluvius" HCE and "annadominant" ALP. This losing of the way has its parallel in the interruption of the Peterborough Chronicle during the years of transition between one language and another. Joyce has, to some extent, reproduced this transition stylistically in his annal sequence:

Here the first entry dated 1132 is written in literary or writer's English as pure as it is simple; the first entry dated 566 begins in the same way, but after the opening prepositional phrases it lapses or rather rises into rich colloquial English; the second entry dated 566 is written in courtly literary language much like Malory's; and the second entry dated 1132 is half literary and half colloquial.¹²

The disaster which disposed of the copyist and his scroll is uncertain: "The billy flood rose or an elk charged him or the sultrup worldwright from the excelsissimost empyrean... earthspake or the Dannamen gallous banged pan the bliddy duran" (FW.14.18-21). A crime has been committed to dispose of the copyist, a "scribicide" (FW.14.21), which was atoned for under the old law or "old's code" (FW.14.21) by payment of "some fine covered by six marks or ninepins in metalmen for the sake of his labour's dross" (FW.14.22-23). According to the Brehon

¹² J. Mitchell Morse, "1132", James Joyce Quarterly, III, 4 (Summer 1966), 274.

Laws of ancient Ireland,

Homicide or bodily injury of any kind was atoned for by a fine called Eric, corresponding with the Teutonic weregild For homicide, and for most injuries to person, property, or dignity, the eric or fine consisted of two parts - first, the payment for the mere injury, which was determined by the severity of the injury and by other circumstances; second, a sum, called Log-enech or Eneclann, 'honour-price', which varied according to the rank of the parties: the higher the rank the greater the honour-price. ¹³

In the case of the scribe his writings would be assessed to discover his honour-price. Evidently his "peace a farce" was not highly valued, being described by the assessors as "his labour's dross," or worthless rubbish. This suggests the reason why the manuscript is later dug up from a rubbish dump in the form of ALP's letter in defence of HCE. Nowadays the perpetrator of a scribicide might be punished not by a fine but by "the scuffold" (FW.14.25). The development of a new legal system has also led to the establishment of courts to enforce the law, and HCE is more than once to find himself before judges (usually the four old men) and a jury in the course of Finnegans Wake.

The next paragraph, however, leaves the realm of book history, of "farfatch'd and peragraine or dingnant or clere" (FW.14.28), who are the Four Masters in disguise; one of them was named Farfassa O Mulconry, two shared the first name Peregrine, including Peregrine O Duignan ("dingnant"), and several members of the O Clery family contributed help, especially Michael O Clery who was principally responsible for the organisation of the annals.¹⁴ Instead of perusing past records "lift we our ears, eyes of the darkness, from the tome of Liber Lividus" (FW.14.29-30), to look upon the reality of present existence and people and places as they are now: "how paisibly eirenical, all dimmering dunes and gloamering glades, selfstretches afore us our fredeland's plain!" (FW.14.30-31).

¹³ Joyce, Social History of Ancient Ireland, I, 207-208.

¹⁴ O Hehir, Gaelic Lexicon for "Finnegans Wake", pp. 383-385.

This plain is apparently the great central plain of Ireland, surrounded by the mountain chains of the north, west and south. Only on the east coast does the plain touch the sea, in the stretch from the Mourne mountains to Wicklow, where the Boyne and the Liffey, both key rivers in Finnegans Wake, run to the sea, forming convenient waterways for the exploration of the interior. Here nothing has changed "for donkey's years" (FW.14.35) and so traces of past events are easily recognizable. It was at Tara, on this plain, that Patrick "the pastor... with his crook" (FW.14.32), was said to have explained the nature of the Trinity by means of a shamrock:and still today "amaid her rocking grasses the herb trinity shams lowliness" (FW.14.33-34).

This continuity of vegetation leads Joyce to the introduction of the first version of Quinet's sentence on the persistence of the same flowers among the ruins of a fallen civilization as blossomed when the civilization was at its height. Joyce translates the quotation into Dublin and Irish terms, and substitutes the legendary invasions of Ireland for the Roman events with which Quinet was dealing. His starting point is "the bouts of Hebear and Hairyman" (FW.14.35-36), or Heber and Hereman, two of the sons of Milesius, who led the last of the "invasions" by which Ireland was said to have been populated. The brothers divided Ireland between them, but a dispute developed about the division, leading to a battle in which Hereman killed Heber, providing Joyce with an early Irish version of his warring brothers theme. Other invaders described in Lebor Gabála Éirenn (the Book of the Taking of Ireland) and in the early sections of the various Annals, the Fomorians, the Tuatha de Danaan and the Fir Bolg, are also mentioned by Joyce: "the Formoreans have brittled the tooath of the Danes and the Oxman has been pestered by the Firebugs" (FW.15.5-7). With these mythological figures Joyce includes "the Oxman," meaning the Ostmen or Scandinavians who occupied the ports of the east coast of Ireland and the territory around them from the ninth to the twelfth century. The district of Dublin now called Oxmantown was originally Ostmantown, and the city itself was founded in 852 A.D. by Aulaf the White, after a battle in which he

defeated another group of Scandinavians who had settled in the area before him. These rival groups of invaders were distinguished in the Irish annals by the names Finngheall and Dubhghheall, or "white foreigners" and "black foreigners," forming another of those contrasting, conflicting pairs of brotherly enemies. The mythological invasions represent successive cyclical eras stretching back into the dim past, but with the Ostmen Joyce comes forward to the era of HCE the Scandinavian city builder who created a civilization on a marshy bog.

The flowers of continuity took root there: "the cornflowers have been staying at Ballymun, the duskrose has choosed out Goatstown's hedges, twolips have pressed together them by sweet Rush ... the white-thorn and the redthorn have fairygeyed the mayvalleys of Knockmaroon" (FW.14.36-15.4). These places are the names of districts in Dublin (except Rush, which is a village nearby), and the flowers bloomed there before Heber and Heremon came to quarrel on Irish soil, were still there when the Ostmen fought among themselves, and are blooming peacefully now when the battles between Jerry and Kevin, twin sons of HCE are about to begin: "these paxsealing buttonholes have quadrilled across the centuries and whiff now whafft to us, fresh and made-of-all-smiles as, on the eve of Killallwho" (FW.15.9-11). The colourful flowers have the same qualities of apparent frivolous fragility and actual durability as the leap-year girls, who are Issy's playmates, and of Issy herself. They can dance and enjoy themselves even on the brink of danger as happened at the famous ball which took place in Brussels on the night before the battle of Waterloo, which is suggested through the title often given to the section of Byron's Childe Harold which deals with it, "The Eve of Waterloo," or as Joyce puts it "the eve of Killallwho" (FW.15.11). Their apparent irresponsibility becomes the truly justifiable attitude once militancy and belligerence is questioned. For Joyce it is also the key to survival: it is through the girls, grown to womanhood, that the quarrelling brothers will be persuaded to leave their battles, found new families, and begin a new cycle.

The next paragraph elaborates this theme, introducing "The

babblers with their thangas vain" (FW.15.12), the multiplicity of languages which have created barriers of understanding between different peoples, and marked off one warring group from another. The Irish babel combines Gaelic, Scandinavian, Norman-French and English, and Joyce illustrates them here: "Menn have thawed [Gaelic verb to be, tá], clerks have surssurhummed, the blond has sought of the brune: Elsekiss thou may, mean Kerry piggy?: [Danish: Do you love me, my dear girl?¹⁵] and the duncledames have countered with the hellish fellows: who ails tongue coddeau, aspace of dumbillsilly? [French: Où est ton cadeau, espèce d'imbécile?¹⁶] " (FW.15.15-18). Love and courtship can reach across barriers of language, but so can the rivalry that ensues, and the resulting warfare destroys both love and lovers: "And they fell upong one another: and themselves they have fallen" (FW.15.18-19). The rivalry of Joyce's love triangles (Mark, Tristan and Iseut; Arthur, Lancelot and Guinevere; Finn, Dermot and Grania), where a young man wins an older man's bride, combines love rivalry with the rivalry between generations. However, as Joyce reminds us, while men wage these battles in the name of love or honour, and create nothing but destruction, "still nowanights and by nights or yore do all bold florals of the field to their shy faun lovers say only: Cull me ere I wilt to thee!:and, but a little later: Pluck me whilst I blush!" (FW.15.20-22). It is after all the flirtatious and seductive girls who will survive.

At this point Joyce's pair of observers, called Mutt and Jute, make their appearance. They "take their names from Mutt and Jeff, American comic-strip characters."¹⁷ As "Fintan fore flood" (FW.359.5) survived for centuries in various forms, watching the panorama of the invasions and giving his account of them to Patrick, representative of

¹⁵ Tindall, A Reader's Guide to "Finnegans Wake", p. 42.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 42.

¹⁷ Glasheen, Second Census, p. 183.

the new era, so Joyce uses the idea of observers who watch the process of history and the comings and goings on Irish soil, from the beginning of Wake history to the end. These observers are generally the four old men, but at the outset and at the conclusion the two ill-matched onlookers become an aspect of Shem and Shaun, who must observe, and come to understand, the panorama of their past before they coalesce to recreate the life force of their father, HCE. On both their appearances they are witnesses to confrontations. In Book I, chapter 1, they observe the Battle of Clontarf, fought on the plain near Dublin between Brian Boru with his native army and the Scandinavians of the city. In Book IV, as Muta and Juva, they reappear on the plain to watch another encounter between Ireland and the outside world, represented by the archdruid and Patrick. In terms of Irish history, this opposition of an inward-looking nationalism to any influence from outside is the form taken by the conflict of opposites.

Jute is described in some detail when he appears: "Forshapen his pigmaid hoagshead, shroonk his plodsfoot..He hath locktoes, this shortshins, and, Obeold that's pectoral, his mammamuscles most moustorious"(FW.15. 30-33). He seems to be a primitive man of the Mousterian or Neanderthal type. Mutt attempts to communicate with the "quhare soort of a mahan" (FW.16.1) that he has encountered, but the babel of languages impedes their mutual understanding, suggesting, perhaps, the difficulty of transmitting accurate accounts of events to posterity, and the resulting unreliable nature of history, as well as the racial mix that has made Ireland what it is. When Mutt and Jute do succeed in understanding each other, they find they are talking "Aput the buttle" (FW.16.19). Jute asks "Whose poddle? Wherein?" (FW.16.21) and Mutt replies "The Inns of Dungtarf where Used awe to be he" (FW.16.22). The site of Brian's great battle was "the spacious plain of Moynealta, or rather on that part of it called Clontarf... at the mouth of the Tolka or Tulcainn, where Ballybough bridge now stands."¹⁸ Joyce includes

¹⁸ Haverty, History of Ireland, p. 144.

many references to this battle location, beginning with "You tolkatiff scowegian?" (FW.16.6). As well as being a query about Jute's ability to converse in Scandinavian, this is also a reminder that "the principal destruction of the Danes took place when in their flight they endeavoured to cross the Tolka, no doubt at the moment of high water, when numbers of them were drowned."¹⁹ The anglicization Clontarf represents Cluain Tarbh or Bull Meadow, so Mutt remarks that a norseman is "Somular with a bull on a clompturf" (FW.17.9). The neighbouring areas of modern Dublin are also recalled, North Bull Island lies just off Clontarf in Dublin Bay, Raheny and Baldoyle lie between Clontarf and Howth, and Sutton Neck is the narrow passage of land that links Howth to the area north of Clontarf. In the garbled language of Mutt and Jute these become "by the neck I am sutton on" (FW.17.11-12) and "Boildoyle and rawhoney" (FW.17.13). What Mutt calls "olde ye plaine of my Elters" (FW.17.18-19) is Sean-Mhagh-Ealta-Edair, or the old plain of the Flocks of Edair, where Parthalon's people were said to have died of the plague. It extended from Howth to the base of the Dublin mountains, and along the banks of the Liffey,²⁰ and the battlefield of Clontarf formed part of it, the site of a new attempt to repel intruders from the world outside.

Brian Boru, the hero of the encounter, is of course present: "Urp, Boohooru! Booru Usuep!" (FW.16.26-27). Also mentioned is his brother Mahon, "mahan" (FW.16.1), Brian's predecessor in the kingdom of Munster, who was killed in an ambush by a rival chieftain Molloy, in association with the Danes of Munster. When Brian succeeded him, his vengeance for the murder was his first major effort against the Danes. Here Mutt seems to be taking his side and urging him on against the outsiders, but a closer look indicates that other exploits of Brian's are not to be forgotten, specifically the alliance he formed to depose Malachy, the High King of Ireland. Mutt's association of the key word "Hasatency?" (FW.16.26) with his call to Brian links him with the

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 144.

²⁰ Ibid., p.2.

attempt to discredit Parnell by means of the Pigott forgeries, which is for Joyce the very symbol of treachery. Brian in fact was not always the implacable enemy of the Danes that the battle of Clontarf makes him appear. About the year 999 A.D.

Brian came to the determination to depose Malachi; and the better to strengthen himself he made alliance with those who had lately been his enemies. He married Gormlaith mother of the king of the Dublin Danes (Sitric of the Silken Beard) and sister of Mailmora King of Leinster; he gave his own daughter in marriage to Sitric; and he took Mailmora into favour and friendship. His next proceeding was to invade Malachi's territory, in 1002, in violation of the treaty of four years before; and he sent to him to demand submission or battle. And Malachi finding he was not strong enough to resist, rode into Brian's encampment... and telling him plainly he would fight if he had been strong enough, he made his submission.²¹

HCE is the Malachy figure, constantly threatened with usurpation, "poached on in that egg-tentical spot" (FW.16.36). Brian's stepson is also referred to by Mutt, "the intellible greyt-cloak of Cedric Silkyshag!" (FW.16.33-34). Their co-operation did not last long, and Gormlaith, Sitric and Mailmora were the chief opponents of Brian when forming the alliances that opposed him at Clontarf.

The remembrance of treachery is reinforced by the suggestion of bribery from Jute: "Let me fore all your hasitancy cross your qualm with trink gilt. Here have sylvan coyne, a piece of oak. Ghinees hies good for you" (FW.16.29-32). The currency of the bribe could be guineas or Guinness as at Parliamentary elections in the nineteenth century, or the issue in 1723 of currency for Ireland called Wood's ha'pence which Jonathan Swift attacked as an inferior currency likely to undermine commerce in the country and which he succeeded in having withdrawn. The spelling "coyne" and the expression "Here where the liveries" (FW.16.36-17.1) recalls one of the obligations of bond tenants under the Brehon Laws: they "were bound to give the chief refecton on visitation, called

²¹ Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, p. 67.

coinmed (coiney); that is, the chief was entitled to go with his followers to the house of the tenant, who had to supply the company with food and drink.... The Anglo Irish lords imitated and abused this regulation by what was called Coyne and Livery. A military leader when he had no money to pay his soldiers, turned them out with arms in their hands among the colonists to pay themselves in money and food."²² Around the theme of bribery Joyce has gathered a cluster of references to the better known abuses of money in the course of Irish history.

As always, however, such echoes from the past become part of a new tissue of significance in Finnegans Wake, and Clontarf is the place where HCE "dumtied the wholeborrow of rubbages on to soil here" (FW. 17.4-5). This rubbish dump, mound or midden is one of the important motifs in the novel. On one level it is created when HCE the giant defecates. There is a hint that this was also what he was about in his vegetable garden when he heard that the king had halted on the highway: "contemplating of myself, wiz my naked I, for relieving purposes in our trurally virvir vergitabale (garden)" (FW.357.33-34). His ordure is thus associated with fertile manure which helps the crops to grow. It also links him with the Russian General who relieves himself similarly on the battlefield at Balaclava, wiping himself clean with a sod of turf: "beheaving up that sob of tunf for to claimhis, for to wollpimsolff, puddywhuck" (FW.353.16-17). Patrick, of whom we are reminded by "puddywhuck," later gets himself out of difficulty by pulling something from the ground also, in his case a shamrock: "Me wipenmeselps gnosegates a handcaughtscheaf of synthetic shammyrag" (FW.612.24-25). The native Irishman sees this interference with his country's soil as an "instullt to Igorladns" (FW.353.18-19). J.S. Atherton has pointed out that in Joyce's private theology the responsibility for original sin and the fall rests with God, and includes indecent exposure.²³ This

²² Ibid., pp. 22-23.

²³ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 143.

aspect of the fall is also included in the story of the Russian General, whose "backsights to his bared" (FW.352.32) is the necessary preliminary to his defecation, in full view of the enemy.

The giant HCE could create quite a mound when "he dumptied the wholeborrow of rubbages on to soil here" (FW.17.4-5). This becomes the midden or rubbish heap from which interesting scraps of manuscript, such as the scribe's "peace a farce" (FW.14.14), will later be extricated. It also may be the hill-like grave or barrow used to bury chiefs and heroes in neolithic times, of which several examples remain in Ireland: it "was made of clay, or of a mixture of clay and small pebbles, having usually, at the present time, a smooth carpet of grass growing on it.... [it] has a cist or chamber in the centre, in which the urn or body was placed: sometimes there is a passage to the outside, sometimes not."²⁴ As the living HCE can take on many forms, so his grave is sometimes a watery one, at other times it is "This wastohavebeen underground heaven, or mole's paradise" (FW.76.33-34) with its "chambered cairns" (FW.73.29). One aspect of the cult of the dead was the "feeling of fear that the dead person might return to take revenge on those who had succeeded to his property"²⁵ so the survivors attempt to placate him by giving him a good wake party. To make doubly sure that he is secure in the underworld the grave entrance "was triplepatlockt on him on purpose by his faithful poorters to keep him inside probably and possibly enaunter he felt like sticking out his chest too far and tempting gracious providence by a stroll on the peoplade's eggday, unused as he was yet to being freely clodded" (FW.69.25-29). This is also one of the reasons given by Butt for shooting the Russian General: "He'll umbozzle no more graves nor horne nor haunder, lou garou, for gayl geselles in dead men's hills!" (FW.352.30-32).

²⁴ Joyce, Social History of Ancient Ireland, II, 564-565.

²⁵ O Súilleabháin, Irish Wake Amusements, p. 171.

Joyce uses the tissue of detail and thematic cross reference here to make two major points about Ireland and her history. The first is implicit in the babel of languages and in the mixed ancestry of HCE: the fighting of battles on grounds of differences of race or length of possession is ridiculous, because in the end the races tend to merge, the newcomers marry among the longer inhabitants, customs and languages are exchanged and adapted, religions are shared. Consequently the invaders "become Hiberniores Hibernicis ipsis, more Irish than the Irish themselves,"²⁶ or as Joyce puts it in the mouth of Mutt: "Mearmerge two races, swete and brack" (FW.17.24). The second point is that the fighting of battles is intrinsically ridiculous, since gains are at best transitory, and thousands of men, a potential well of talent and creativity, must die in the absurd struggle, leaving only the battlefield itself as their collective memorial: "Countlessness of livestories have netherfallen by this plage, flick as flowflakes, litters from aloft, like a waast wizzard all of whirlworlds. Now are all tombed to the mound, isges to isges, erde from erde. Pride, O pride, thy prize!" (FW. 17.26-30). HCE does not inhabit the Clontarf grave-mound alone; it is composed of all the wasted human potential of all useless battles. Mutt sings their elegy: "Despond's sung. And thanacestross mound have swollup them all. This ourth of years is not save brickdust and being humus the same roturns" (FW.18.2-5). However, the conventional consolation found at the end of the elegy is also here in the promise of recorso: "the same roturns."

In order to discover some meaning in life's "middenhide hoard of objects" (FW.19.8) we are invited to examine Finnegans Wake itself: "(Stoop) if you are abcedminded, to this claybook, what curios of signs (please stoop), in this allaphbed! Can you rede ... its world? It is the same told of all" (FW.18.17-20). The subject matter of Finnegans Wake is the very substance of life, a "meanderthalltale" (FW.19.25)

²⁶ Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, p. 103.

about people who "lived und laughed ant loved end left" (FW.18.21). It is worth reading because "the world, mind, is, was and will be writing its own wrunes for ever, man, on all matters that fall under the ban of our infrarational senses" (FW.19.35-20.1). It is worth writing because it is only the creative interpretation of multiple experience, past and present and maybe even future, that can even suggest an order within the apparent confusion. It is this creative perspective on history "that implies impression that knits knowledge that finds the nameform that whets the wits that convey contacts that sweeten sensation that drives desire that adheres to attachment that dogs death that bitches birth that entails the ensuance of existentiality" (FW.18.24-28). For Joyce this book cannot be written without reference to the past, and in particular without reference to the past of which he is conscious, the history of his own country. The present is the sum of events which formed the past, a vast and formless mass of miscellaneous detail stored in the subconscious. When the world of dreams allows access to this past experience there is a possibility of discovering its significant patterns, and making them available to others through such an undertaking as Finnegans Wake.

This question of the author and his book is still an issue when the two watchers appear again as Muta and Juva in the final chapter. "Ut vivat volumen sic pereat pouradosus" (FW.610.16) says Juva, a pidgin Latin rendering of the writer's renunciation of Paradise as the price for the survival of his book. The pair are once more on the plain waiting for something to happen; this time it is the arrival of Patrick and his argument with the Archdruid Berkeley before the High King Leary. The encounter is heralded by a cloud of smoke: "Old Head of Kettle puffing off the top of the mornin" (FW.609.25). This refers to the famous incident when Patrick lit the Paschal fire on the hill of Slane in defiance of an order of the High King Leary "that no fire should be kindled in Ireland before the fire of Tara,"²⁷ which was a festival fire

²⁷ Tripartite Life of Patrick, ed. Stokes, I, 43.

associated with a druidic ceremony. This is emphasized by Muta's comment: "He odda be thorly well ashamed of himself for smoking before the high host" (FW.609.26-27). However, Juva's rejoinder suggests that the dawn and recorso is heralded by Patrick's fire which is dispersing the shadows of the night of Finnegans Wake, as his original fire is commonly said to have dispersed the shadows of druidic paganism and introduced the light of Christianity to Ireland: "Dies is Dorminus master and commandant illy tonobrass" (FW.609.28-29). Joyce glossed this phrase in a letter to Frank Budgen in 1939: "'Dies is Dorminus master' = Deus est Dominus noster plus the day is Lord over sleep."²⁸ The sense of the complete Latin phrase is "God is our Lord and commands the shadows to disperse," a phrase which recalls the Tenebrae ceremony, formerly performed in the Catholic Church on the vigil of Easter. The church is in total darkness while new fire is struck from a flint and used to light the Paschal Candle, from which all the other candles in the church are lighted. This light is intended to symbolize Christ, the light of the world, coming to show men the way to salvation, and this symbolism enhances the significance of Patrick's fire for the Irish Church. Thor, the Scandinavian god of thunder, is also suggested here by "thorly": perhaps he is intended as a complement to Patrick's light; certainly he is also a reminder that it is thunder which instigates each new Viconian cycle after the recorso which we are now approaching. At any rate his presence provides a verbal link with the earlier conversation of Mutt and Jute, which ends with Jute's comment: "Oye am thonthorstrok, thing mud" (FW.18.16).²⁹

Muta and Juva next observe the arrival of the protagonists, "the Chrystanthemlander with his porters of bonzos" (FW.609.32-33) and

²⁸ Joyce, Letters, I, 406.

²⁹ "Thing mud" refers to the Thingmote, an artificial mound raised by the Scandinavians to serve as a site for judicial proceedings. The Dublin Thingmote was at Hoggen Green, now College Green.

the druid "Bulkily" (FW.610.1). They are "moveyovering the cabrattle-field of slaine" (FW.609.34), which is the new battlefield of ideologies on the hill of Slane, rather than on the plain below. One might deduce that Patrick will be the victor, as his success in banishing snakes from Ireland, including presumably the cobra and the rattlesnake, is hinted at by "cabrattlefield" which also recalls the battle of Gabhra at which the Fianna were defeated, and most of them killed. Patrick's expulsion of the snakes is also remembered in the survey of history in the first chapter: "See the snake wurrums everyside! Our durlbin in sworming in sneaks... but along landed Paddy Wippingham and the his garbagecans cotched the creeps of them" (FW.19.12-16). A third figure now "rearrexes from underneath the memorialorum" (FW.610.4). This person is hailed by Juva as "Fing Fing! King King!" (FW.610.5). It is Finn, who was thought in popular mythology not to be dead but merely sleeping, awaiting a call from Ireland to rise again. He thus appears from beneath the "memorialorum," probably a stone pillar such as was commonly used to mark the burial places of chieftains and heroes. Though the site of this grave is a matter of conjecture, it is probably worth noting that "Finn had his chief residence on the top of the Hill of Allen, a remarkable flat-topped hill... rendered more conspicuous of late years by a tall pillar erected on the top, on the very site of Finn's house."³⁰ It soon becomes clear that this figure is also HCE the citybuilder, founder of Dublin, by the inclusion of a parody of the motto of the city: "And the ubideintia of the savium is our ervics fenicitas" (FW.610.7-8), for "Obedientia civium urbis felicitas." This heraldic symbol of Dublin at the height of its importance, is prophetic in the timescale of the present encounter, taking place four hundred years before the city's foundation, and perhaps reflects Joyce's awareness of a prophecy attributed to Patrick, as he looked down on its small beginnings from a hill nearby: "That small village shall hereafter be

³⁰ Joyce, Social History of Ancient Ireland, I, 88.

an eminent city; it shall increase in riches and dignities, until at length it shall be lifted up into the throne of the Kingdom."³¹ By one of those coincidences which delighted Joyce, this prophecy incorporates HCE's initials at the beginning of three words in the phrase "hereafter be an eminent city" [my italics]. HCE's grave, like Finn's, has a pillar stone as "the mark of your manument" (FW.25.16), and within, HCE has been buried standing up: "buried upright like the Osbornes, kozydozy" (FW.429.21-22). This helps the identification of Leary and HCE, since in ancient Ireland "sometimes the body of a King or warrior was placed standing up in the grave, fully accoutred and armed: King Laeghaire was buried in this manner in the rampart of his rath at Tara, with his face turned towards his foes the Leinstermen."³² Muta soon identifies him also: "Why soly smiles the supremest with such for a leary on his rugular lips?" (FW.610.9-10).

This smile on the face of HCE anticipates his resurrection from his pillar-marked grave after the encounter between Patrick and the Archdruid, when his qualities as Finn the hero, Leary the king and the Scandinavian city-builder will be renewed, obliterating the memory of his fall. In the word-battle about to take place he is neutral, or rather he has an equal interest in both the combatants since he has backed both of them to win: "He has help his crewn on the burkeley buy but he has holf his crown on the Eurasian Generalissimo" (FW.610.11-13). Neither can be entirely defeated, since the qualities of both are necessary for recorso, but the metaphysical world of Berkeley is to be eclipsed by the active world of Patrick, until decline once more demands reappraisal of its achievements. The comparison of the contest with racing is continued with a discussion on the odds available, and eventually the Muta and Juva dialogue merges into a description of a race-meeting, such as might be given by a sports commentator, with an account of the atmosphere, the likely winners, the mounting tension,

³¹ Harris, History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin, p.6.

³² Joyce, Short History of Ireland, p. 119.

and finally the introduction of the runners "Paddock and bookley" (FW. 610.34- 611.2). The race is appropriately the Grand National, or "Grand Natural" (FW.610.35) which was also mentioned in the annals of the first chapter: "events grand and national" (FW.13.31-32). The French for race is "course" which for Joyce links racing with the recorso, or "course by recourse" (FW.49.35). One race or cycle has already been run, the new race is about to begin.

Joyce carefully drew his threads of history together at the beginning and end of Finnegans Wake, and gave them a wider significance through association with his archetypal family. His annals synopsise the succession of generations, which is the rhythm that also underlies the succession of historical ages, as the achievements of each generation are assessed and adapted by the next. The city of Dublin is the memorial to the mating of HCE and ALP, but it left unresolved the question of the relationship of its new way of life to the other Celtic way of life outside, an opposition embodied in the battle of Clontarf. A new system of belief confronted the Celtic system with the coming of Patrick. Has it been absorbed, or does it still engender hidden conflicts? Such oppositions are expressed through the battles of the brothers who must resolve the questions left unanswered by their parents and achieve their own equilibrium or "spirit of appeasement" (FW.610.27), before they have the understanding necessary for succession. Joyce's "middenhide hoard of objects" (FW.19.8) contains the unsorted debris of such unresolved oppositions, which may gradually reveal the logic of their significance through finding their equivalent in the pattern of family tension. Within the structure of Finnegans Wake Irish history found its equivalent particularly in the activities of the men: the opposite expressions of nationality in the Irish associations of Shem and Shaun, their re-enactment of past conflict, and the many historical associations of HCE, each of which were embellished with a tissue of reference which Joyce used to explore the significance of his own past and that of Ireland.

Battling Brothers

"Mounting and arming bellicose figurines
see here" (FW.18.33-34)

Conflict is an essential ingredient of Finnegans Wake since it creates the dynamic force which keeps the cycles turning. As the representative hero responsible for the initiation of each cycle declines, he becomes prey to opposition which causes him to fall and his place is taken by a younger representative who in turn begins a new era of achievement. The tension of this process, however, is not stated in terms of a struggle between HCE and his sons. Instead, the sons seem to represent warring elements within HCE himself, and the resolution of this polarity in a moment of peace, rather than victory for one side or the other, is the prerequisite for the passing of authority from the old, divided HCE to the united and reinvigorated HCE. As long as the conflict remains unresolved, it provides the framework for the depiction of war in Finnegans Wake, translated into the human terms of actual battles. This provided Joyce with a solution for the necessity he felt to recreate conflict in his novel, and the difficulty he felt in doing so: "His aversion to aggressiveness, turbulence, violence of any kind was quite deeply felt. 'Birth and death are sufficiently violent for me,' he said. He was not only dismayed at the thought of crime, he had no interest in it, and said he found this a handicap in writing Work in Progress"³³ He relied on Bruno's theory of the reconciliation of antitheses to justify his depiction of conflict as the clash of diametrically opposed interests. It is true, however, that Finnegans Wake does not seek to examine the variety of viewpoints which complicated the great historical confrontations such as Waterloo or the Crimean War, but focuses instead on a pair of antagonists involved in single combat and representing the extremes of opposition.³⁴

³³ Colum, Our Friend James Joyce, p. 120.

³⁴ See the discussion of Joyce's use of Bruno above, pp. 27-35.

The expression of conflict in Finnegans Wake through the differences of Shem and Shaun, and the many pairs of adversaries such as Wellington and Napoleon, Cain and Abel, Jacob and Esau, Horus and Set, Mick and Nick, resolves itself at several points throughout the novel into set-piece confrontations. Three of these take the form of dialogues, the conversations of Mutt with Jute, and Muta with Juva, which have already been discussed, and in which the pair are non-active witnesses, and Butt with Taff. The verbal combat of Berkeley the Arch-druid with Patrick has also been considered as an example of the same kind of confrontation, though its significance is enhanced by the definitive nature of Patrick's victory. The classical literary dialogue form, which uses nominal characters to deliver extensive speeches developing opposing points of view, usually on a philosophical subject, is the basis for the speech of Justius which is answered by a speech from Mercius in Book I, chapter 7. In the context of the Earwicker family the twins are called Jerry and Kevin, and are contrasted by their bad and good behaviour, their intelligence and stupidity at lesson time, and their failure and success in playing childrens' games. As children they prepare for more adult conflicts by enacting them in the Mime of Mick, Nick and the Maggies (Book II, chapter 1), where the twins are called Glugg and Chuff, and play the game called Angels and Devils for the stake of a girl's kiss. On three occasions the twins' battles are developed by Joyce in fable form. These are the tales of the Mookse and the Gripes, Burrus and Caseous, and the Ondt and the Gracehoper, and each has a historical allegory as one level of meaning, to remind us of Joyce's persistent thematic concern with the existence of conflict in all ages and at all levels of existence.

The fables of the Mookse and the Gripes and of Burrus and Caseous are incorporated into Book I, chapter 6, the "riddles" chapter, in which twelve questions are asked, the answer to each of which is a character from the Earwicker scenario. The eleventh question is asked by Shem of Shaun, "about his attitude to helping out "a poor acheseyeld from Ailing (FW.148.33), down on his luck. Shaun considers this a

"begging question" (FW.149.15), and he would certainly not help the questioner, but he feels obliged to give a long justification of his attitude, which he illustrates by means of the fables, which are an examination of the relationship between the brothers, on several levels. The principal themes of the Mookse and the Gripes include "a silly story about the mouse and the grapes"³⁵ based on Aesop's fable "The Fox and the Grapes" with elements of "The Mock Turtle and the Griffon" from Alice in Wonderland; the Norman invasion of Ireland with its abuse of the link between church and state; the split on points of doctrine and procedure between the Irish church and Rome; and the philosophical differentiation of time and space. For our purposes the interesting strands are the element of Church involvement in the Norman invasion, which Joyce expresses by making the Mookse represent the Papacy and the Gripes the Irish church; and the more general question of Papal authority over Ireland.

The Papacy became involved in the annexation of Ireland through the desire of Henry II to acquire some legal justification for his intention to gain jurisdiction over Ireland:

In the very year that he became king (1154) Nicholas Breakspear, an Englishman, had been elected Pope, with the title of Adrian IV; and Henry sent an embassy to him to congratulate him on his election. In the following year he sent John of Salisbury to Rome with a cunning and designing message. This envoy represented to the Pope that Ireland was in a most deplorable condition, that religion had almost disappeared, and that the people were sunk in ignorance and vice. He said moreover that his master was very much concerned at the condition of the country; and he asked the Pope's permission for King Henry to take possession of it in order to bring back the people to a state of order and religion.... The Pope, yielding to Henry's solicitations issued a bull or letter [known as the bull Laudibiliter] making over to him the Kingdom of Ireland, enjoining him to preserve inviolate the rights of the church, and stipulating that a penny should be paid annually to the chair of St. Peter from every house in Ireland. 36

35 Joyce, Letters, I, 251.

36 Joyce, Short History of Ireland, pp. 246-247.

Joyce surrounds the Mookse with vocabulary suggestive of the Pope, the Papacy and the church, for instance in preparation for a walk he "flabelled his eyes, pilleoled his nostrils, vacticanated his ears and palliumed his throats" (FW.152.23-24), with references to the Papal fans used on ceremonial occasions, the Vatican itself, and the palliums which the Papacy conferred on episcopal sees as a recognition of their authority. Joyce may also intend to refer to the fact that the Irish sees lacked this recognition, and that one of the abuses to which Henry called attention was the custom of creating chorepiscopi or rural bishops at will, resulting in a multiplicity of ill-defined dioceses and the holding of bishoprics by laymen, often married, who passed on the succession from father to son. Henry's concern, however, had been anticipated by St. Malachy, Bishop of Down and Connor, who himself had had to contend with the claims of laymen upon his see, and went to Rome to ask for the conferring of palliums upon the principal Irish dioceses. In 1152 Cardinal John Paparo conferred the palliums on the archbishoprics of Armagh, Cashel, Tuam and Dublin at the council of Kells.³⁷

Joyce clearly identifies the Mookse as "our once in only Bragspear" (FW.152.33) and "Adrian (that was the Mookse now's assumptinome)" (FW.153.20). He is the lawful successor to St. Peter: "Hic sor a stone, singularly illud, and on hoc stone Seter satt huc sate which it filled quite poposterously and by acclammitation" (FW.153.23-25). If the Mookse is associated with the stone theme in Finnegans Wake, the Gripes is connected with the tree, literally, since as grapes he hangs from it, by the side of the Liffey: "what was there on the yonder bank of the stream that would be a river, parched on a limb of the olum, bolt downright, but the Gripes?" (FW.153.9-11). His growth is not vigorous, however: "no doubt he was fit to be dried for why had he not been having the juice of his times? His pips had been neatly all drowned on him; his polps were charging odours every older minute" (FW.153.11-14). The reason for his dessication is apparently his opposition to the Pope,

³⁷ Haverty, History of Ireland, pp. 172-174.

which has cut him off from the possibility of renewal, through "giving the bailiff's distraint on to the bulkside of his cul de Pompe" (FW.153.16-17).

The Mookse attempts by argument to bring "his Dubville brooder-on-low" (FW.153.18-19) to a better frame of mind, telling him that his object in coming to visit him was "what I came on my missions with my intentions laudibiliter to settle with you, barbarousse" (FW.154.21-23). In assuming the authority to challenge the independence of the Irish church the Mookse identifies the Gripes with Frederick Barbarossa who defied Pope Celestine III. He himself assumes the roles of several earlier popes "rapidly by turning clement, urban, eugenious and celestian in the formose of good grogory humours" (FW.154.19-21). As Joseph M. Phillips has pointed out "the popes mentioned almost all had to resist challenges to their authority."³⁸

The issue of heresy does in fact arise between the Mookse and the Gripes, and Joyce chose for this purpose a question that divided the Eastern and Western churches, the "filioque" controversy or Monophysite heresy. Joyce pointed out in a letter to Frank Budgen, written for him by his daughter Lucia, that the "Old Catholic" sect also adopted the Monophysite heresy:

The old catholics Augustiner Kirche are a good example of a Mooks gone Gripes. They separated from Rome in 71 when the infallibility of the pope was proclaimed a Dogma but they have since gone much more apart.... But most important of all they have abolished the Filoque clause in the creed concerning which there has been a schism between western and eastern christendom for over a thousand years, Rome saying that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the father and the son. Greece and Russia and the East Orthodox churches that the procession is from the father alone, ex patre without Filoque. ³⁹

³⁸ "Clement I, third successor to Peter was martyred by Trajan (100); Urban I was martyred (230); Eugenius IV (1431-47) fought to retain his primacy over the councils; Celestine I (d.432) fought Pelagian and Nestorian heresies; Celestine III (1191-98) battled Henry VI and Frederic Barbarossa; and Gregory VII (1073-85) triumphed over Henry IV at Canossa in January, 1077." See Joseph M. Phillips, "Time, Pace", A Wake Newslitter, V, 5 (October 1968), 68.

³⁹ Joyce, Letters, III, 284.

The Irish Church in fact was never at issue with Rome on the question of the Trinity, but for more than a century they were at variance about the correct date for the celebration of Easter. A method of computation based on the Jewish system of calculation was introduced to Ireland by St. Patrick, and persisted even when the Alexandrian system had been adopted in the rest of the western church. Various attempts were made by the Papacy to bring Ireland into conformity, beginning with a letter from Honorius I in 630 A.D. However, it was not until 716 A.D. that Iona, the last community to persist in the Irish system, at last agreed to adopt the Roman system. Some of the eastern churches, particularly in Mesopotamia, had also been in dispute with Rome on this and other issues and were subsequently declared heretical, leading some historians to speculate on an eastern origin for the Irish church.⁴⁰ This is apparently the basis for Joyce's identification of the Gripes with the eastern side of the filioque controversy: "this raskolly Gripos he had allbust seceded in monophysicking his illsobordunates" (FW.156.10-11). Their argument, as is always the case in Finnegans Wake, is inconclusive, though the Mookse appears to get the upper hand: "So you see the Mookse he had reason as I knew and you knew and he knew all along" (FW.158.30-31) while "the poor Gripes got wrong; for that is always how a Gripes is, always was and always will be" (FW.159.1-2). Their fate, however, is identical: both are picked up by a woman, carried away, "And there were left now an only elmtree and but a stone" (FW.159.3-4).

Joyce uses the opportunity of this discussion about the Irish Church and the Church of Rome to use the famous "Prophecies of Malachy" concerning the Papacy. This is the same Malachy who petitioned the Pope to grant palliums to the Irish bishoprics. As J.S. Atherton has pointed out, "The work is a forgery, now believed to have been made about 1590, consisting of 111 Latin phrases which are supposed to apply to the popes from Celestine II, who became pope in 1143, to the last pope, Peter II

⁴⁰ Haverty, History of Ireland, pp. 97-99, and Joyce, Short History of Ireland, pp. 169-172.

who will rule at the end of the world."⁴¹ Joyce indicates the presence of the prophecies by the phrase: "secunding to the one one oneth of the prophecies" (FW.153.1-2) and incorporates about a dozen of them into the fable, several in the original Latin, including the motto said to refer to Adrian IV, "De Rure Albo" (FW.152.26).⁴²

The part played by the Church in the Norman invasion, and the dispute between Ireland and Rome over the date of Easter are, however, inseparable from the other elements of the fable which Joyce moulded into a totality where each contributes to the overall context. The Mookse does not succeed in convincing the Gripes that he ought to give up his point of view or his independent position. In spite of the Mookse's arguments as to the disadvantages of hanging withering from a tree the Gripes remains suspended, refusing to join the Mookse upon the stone where he has taken his stand. This stone also represents Church authority, through the pun upon the name of Peter, the rock, which provided the basis for the hierarchical church organization with the Pope, as Peter's successor, at its head. In this context, the Gripes upon his tree represents the Irish church, maintaining his right to be different. The sanction given to Henry II by Pope Adrian for his annexation of Ireland becomes the specific expression of this opposition, fortified by the controversy over the date of Easter, and the prophecies of Malachy which are frequently used to predict the date when the Papcy will end, and with it the world. The Mookse, moreover, is the champion of space, while the Gripes is fascinated by the question of time, and the exploration of its mysterious cyclical rhythm. The tale does not end with a victory for either side, but reaches a position of stasis. Both Mookse and Gripes, clinging resolutely to their positions, are eventually immobilized in

⁴¹ J.S. Atherton, "Sus in Cribro and other Prophecies of Malachy", A Wake Newslitter, IX, 6 (December 1972), 111-112.

⁴² For a list of these references and explications see J.S. Atherton above, and Danis Rose, "On the use of the Prophetia de Summis Pontificibus ascribed popularly to S. Malachy in the fable of the Mookse and the Gripes", A Wake Newslitter, X, 2 (April 1973), 27-28.

their opposition, as a stone and a tree on the banks of the Liffey.

The discussion of the opposition of the battling brothers does not end with the disappearance of the Mookse and the Gripes, however, as they soon reappear as Burrus and Caseous, "mutuearly polarised the incom-patabilily of any delusional acting as ambivalent to the fixation of his pivotism" (FW.164.2-3). The relationship of time to space which divided the Mookse and the Gripes is still being discussed: "the unskilled singer continues to pervert our wiser ears by subordinating the space-element, that is to sing, the aria, to the time-factor, which ought to be killed, ill tempor" (FW.164.32-35). The brothers appear as Brutus versus Cassius and butter versus cheese, with a supporting tissue of references to Roman history and food. The opposition of the two becomes an element in a triumvirate, through the appearance of "an elusive Antonius, a wop who would appear to hug a personal interest in refined chees of all chades" (FW.167.1-2), and all of them are rivals for the affection of Margareena, "A cleopatrician in her own right" (FW.166.34-35). Neither Burrus nor Caseous is successful on this occasion, because the addition of Antonius forms a connection between the opposing poles and creates a satisfactory three-dimensional figure from the unsatisfactory extremes: "This Antonius-Burrus-Caseous grouptriad may be said to equate the qualis equivalent with the older socalled talis on talis one" (FW.167.3-5). This is the type of connection which is necessary before a figure capable of succeeding HCE can be formed out of his sons' polarity.

The idea that internal strife can cause the decline of a civilization is implicit in the rivalry of Burrus and Caseous. Joyce saw it as one of the factors which destroyed Rome, helped the Norman invasion to succeed, and ruined Parnell's chance of getting Home Rule for Ireland. A further parallel in the background of this rivalry of Romans and dairy products is the English Civil War of 1642-1649: "Caseous may bethink himself a thought of a caviller but Burrus has the reachly rounded head that goes best with thofthinking defensive fideism" (FW.162.21-23). Burrus the roundhead "has the lac of wisdom under every dent in his lofter" (FW.162.23-24) which suggests on the one hand that, like Finn

MacCool, he has access to the knowledge of the Salmon of Wisdom by putting a finger to his tooth, and on the other that he lacks wisdom. He is "A king off duty and a jaw for ever!" (FW.162.35). By this parody of the opening line of Keats's Endymion, "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever," Joyce combines the Roundheads' distrust of Royalty, the pedantic aspect of their deliberations on morality, and Shaun's insensitivity to the continuity that apparently fragile beauty, like Quinet's flowers, can achieve. Caseous the Cavalier spends his time "Laughing over the linnuts and weeping off the uniun" (FW.162.25-26). He is opposed to the power of Parliament and therefore deplores the union of the Irish Parliament with Westminster in 1800. On the other hand "his seeingscraft was that clarety as were the wholeborough of Poutresbourg to be aver-launched over him pitchbatch he could still make out with his augstritch the green moat in Ireland's Eye" (FW.162.29-32). He is not blind to Ireland's failings, and in fact, as Shem the Penman with his "acheseyeld" (FW.148.33), he devotes himself to exposing them in his writings.

The Ondt and the Gracehoper in Book III, chapter 1 is another version of the tale of the thrifty and spendthrift brothers, based on La Fontaine's fable of the Grasshopper and the Ant. Joyce embellished his fable with words in many languages denoting insects, and terms from natural history relating to bees and butterflies and with references to ideas and names from the Egyptian Book of the Dead.⁴³ However, he stuck closely to the outlines of the original tale, describing the summer pleasures of the Gracehoper who was "always jigging ajog, hoppy on akkant of his joyicity" (FW.414.22-23), while the serious Ondt "not being a sommerfool" (FW.415.27) concentrated on preparations for the winter to come. When the Gracehoper, cold and hungry, comes to the Ondt for help, repeating the situation which Shaun was forced to consider in question eleven of Book I, chapter 6, he finds the prudent Ondt with plenty to eat,

⁴³ See Fritz Senn, "Insects Appalling", in Twelve and a Tilly, pp.36-39. Also Clive Hart "His good smetterling of entymology", A Wake News-litter, IV, 1 (February 1967), 14-24.

drink and smoke and enjoying the attentions of the girls who flattered the Gracehoper during the summer. The Ondt has succeeded materially, as is made clear in the song which concludes the fable when the Gracehoper says "As I once played the piper I must now pay the count" (FW.418.16), but he still has no answer to the problem of time, its passing and constant renewal:

"Your genus its worldwide, your spacest sublime!
But, Holy Saltmartin, why can't you beat time?" (FW.419.7-8).

The moral victory, at least, is the Gracehoper's.

Several Shaun-type persons have gone into the making of the Ondt, including Stanislaus Joyce, Oliver Gogarty, John McCormack, Sir Horace Rumbolt, and Wyndham Lewis.⁴⁴ Contemporary events in Ireland provided Joyce with another model in the person of Eamon de Valera. In fact they shared the same birthyear, 1882, as did Wyndham Lewis. De Valera seems to represent an alter-ego for Joyce: starting from the same point in time, they progressed to totally different views of their country, an insular, provincial, Sinn Fein view being opposed to a European, cosmopolitan, world-embracing view. The Ondt fable follows a passage heavy with references to the Irish Civil War in which Shaun speaks with the voice of Dev, crying "Down with the Saozon" (FW.411.30) and "New worlds for all!" (FW.412.2). The Ondt is tall and thin and serious like de Valera: "The Ondt was a weltall fellow, raumybult and abelboobied.... He was sair sair sullemn and chairmanlooking" (FW.416.3-4). This may refer to de Valera's role in the Sinn Fein government formed in 1918 after the British general election which followed the armistice:

In accordance with the principles long ago laid down by Arthur Griffith, the Sinn Fein members ignored Westminster. Instead they met in Dublin in January 1919, proclaimed themselves the parliament of the Irish Republic...re-affirmed the declaration of independence

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See especially Benstock, Joyce - Again's Wake, pp. 217-218, 229; Tindall, A Reader's Guide to "Finnegans Wake", p. 226; William F. Dohmen, " 'Chilly Spaces' : Wyndham Lewis as Ondt", James Joyce Quarterly, XI, 4 (Summer 1974), 368-386.

of 1916, adopted a provisional constitution, and appointed delegates to attend the peace conference of the Allied powers in Paris.... De Valera, who had escaped from prison in England in February, was elected president of the Dail in April,⁴⁵

a position he held at the time of the negotiation of the settlement treaty between Britain and Ireland in 1921. His reputation for personal frugality and scholarship is reflected in the comment "for he was a conformed aceticist and aristotaller" (FW.417.16). The Gracehoper is described as "blind as batflea" (FW.417.3), which links him with the sore-eyed Shem and Joyce himself. De Valera, however, also suffered from eye disease, and was, like Joyce, a patient of Professor Alfred Vogt, who never allowed Joyce to pay for treatment, though he did not extend the same favour to De Valera.⁴⁶ This was another parallel in their lives which appealed to Joyce, and probably explains the terms in which he foretells the eventual unification of the opposing brothers:

"Ere those gidflirts now gadding you quit your mocks for my gropes" (FW.418.32).

De Valera had been trained as a teacher of mathematics and was popularly credited with being one of the few people to understand the Theory of Relativity; here he is shown as interested in the mathematics of space rather than theories of time: "when he wore making spaces on his ikey" (FW.416.6). Perhaps Joyce sees him as hypocritical rather than a misguided idealist, because the Ondt readily abandons his summer prudery and is "boundlessly blissfilled in an allallahbath of houris" (FW.417.27-28), or as Joyce also puts it, with more direct reference to De Valera's name: "Never did Dorsan from Dunshanagan dance it with more devilry!" (FW.417.31-32).

The brothers' meeting as Butt and Taff (FW.338-355) occupies a central position in Finnegans Wake, midway between the conversations of Mutt and Jute in the first chapter and Muta and Juva in the last. Clive Hart has argued convincingly that Joyce intended these meetings to form

⁴⁵ Beckett, The Making of Modern Ireland, p. 445.

⁴⁶ Ellmann, James Joyce, p. 636.

a variation on the basic cyclic pattern, appropriately tracing two circles rather than one: "'Mutt and Jeff' [sic] and 'Muta and Juva' are the same event looked at from opposite sides; the book begins and ends at one of the two nodal points, while, when Joyce has cut the circles and stretched them out flat, the other nodal point falls exactly in the centre of the fabric. Represented in this way, the basic structure of Finnegans Wake thus looks rather like a figure 8 on its side, which forms the 'zeroic couplet' (284.11) ∞ , or the symbol for 'infinity.'" ⁴⁷

The basic occasion of the encounter is the Crimean war, which becomes the appropriate background for the murder of HCE by his sons, and the inevitable succession of youth to age, a prospect which HCE forsees with terror throughout Finnegans Wake. The Crimean background is established through a tissue of references woven into Butt's account of how he killed the Russian General and his justification to Taff of his long deliberation before doing so. The debacle of "the charge of a light barricade" (FW.349.10), however, reminds us of the basic attitude to war throughout: it is a futile and unnecessary waste. As Edward A. Kopper, Jr. has pointed out: "The British army was placed under Lord Raglan; and the Light Brigade under Cardigan, whose supervisor was Lord Lucan, Cardigan's brother-in-law and bitter enemy. Their opposition, which helped to occasion the travesty of the celebrated Charge, becomes one of the brother battles in the Wake."⁴⁸ Raglan and Cardigan were remembered by many who knew nothing of their part in the war for the type of wide sleeve ("wide sleever" : FW.352.15) described as "raglan" and the warm woollen jacket called "cardigan." The Russian General's downfall is associated with the lowering of his trousers and resulting self-exposure. Joyce first describes him clothed in these Crimean garments which are both generals and clothes, and elaborates the

⁴⁷ Hart, Structure and Motif, p. 130.

⁴⁸ Edward A. Kopper, Jr., " '... but where he is eaten': Earwicker's Tavern Feast' ", in A Conceptual Guide to "Finnegans Wake", p. 127.

description by including further Crimean details: the storming of the Malakhov, the Russian commander Mensikov, and Lord Scarlett who commanded the Heavy Brigade: "In his raglanrock and his malakoiffed bulbsbyg and his varnashed roscians and his cardigans blousejagged and his scarlett manchokuffs and his tree-coloured camiflag and his perikopendolous gaelstorms" (FW.339.10-13). Lucan appears later as "Look at Lokman" (FW.367.1), a reminder that his indecision or "hissindensity" (FW.350.12), though partly the result of unclear orders from Lord Raglan, was directly responsible for the massacre.

From the outset it is clear that Irish events are intended to parallel this quarrel of England and Russia and to reach their apotheosis on the battlefield of "Sea vaast a pool" (FW.338.14). Joyce introduces the dialogue with the title: "How Burghley shuck the racku-shant Germanon. For Ehren, boys, gobrawl!" (FW.338.2-3) with a reminder of the injustices of absentee landlords (such as Lucan) who extorted rack rent, and the battle-cry of opposition to such a system: "Eirinn go bráth," or "Ireland forever." Appropriately there were elements of religious warfare in the Crimean encounter, "with the winner earning the right to custody of the Key to the main door of the Holy Sepulcher."⁴⁹ Perhaps this is why, as the fateful moment draws near, Butt is moved to foretell the coming of Patrick which will herald the dawn of a new era, in a passage which includes another Irish saint, Columcille, and the Bog of Allen (in the central plain of Ireland) disguised as yet another early Irish book: "the great day and the druidful day come San Patrisky and the grand day ... that's told in the Bok of Alam to columnkill all the prefacies of Erin gone brugk " (FW.347.16-21). The texture of the episode is enriched with numerous scattered references which link Butt and Taff with an Irish past. Butt or Buckley, preparing to shoot, is called "a niallist of the ninth homestages" (FW.346.32), recalling Niall of the Nine Hostages whose name records his ability in organising raids

on the coast of Britain for the purpose of gathering slaves, one of whom was St. Patrick. The long Irish memory invokes "the sons of Nuad" (FW.344.36), or the legendary Tuatha de Danaan whose leader when they arrived in Ireland was Nuadhat - Airgetlámh, or Nuad of the Silver Hand. The hero of Clontarf is also called upon: "Rassamble the glowrings of Bruyant the Bref" (FW.338.27-28), and becomes identified with the Russian bear as "Bruinoboroff" (FW.340.20), since both opposed the invader. Dublin as much as Sevastopol is the battlefield now as then: "They are at the turn of the fourth of the hurdles" (FW.342.17-18).

The famous rivalry of Connacht and Ulster over the possession of a bull, the subject of the epic Táin Bó Cuailgne or the "Cattleraid of Cooley" is an intrinsic concern of the Butt and Taff episode. Both share aspects of Cuchulain, the Ulster champion of the tale. Taff's "stargapers razzledazzlingly full of eyes" (FW.339.19) are reminiscent of Cuchulain's eyes with seven pupils, while Butt experiences the battle-frenzy called riastra, increasing in size and changing in appearance and colour as Cuchulain did before the combat with his foster-brother Ferdia which was the climax of the Táin: "he changecors induniforms as he is lefting the gat out of the big: his face glows green, his hair greys white, his bleyes bcome broon to suite his cultic twalette" (FW.344.10-12).⁵⁰ If the "broon" in question is interpreted as golden-brown, he may also be seen as the representative of the Irish, physically resembling the "treecoloured camiflag" (FW.339.12-13). Joyce refers explicitly to the Táin and Ferdia's defeat in "Take the cawraidd's blow! Yia! Your partridge's last!" (FW.344.7) and also when the defecation of the Russian General is seen as "manurevring in open ordure to renew-murature with the cowruads in their airish pleasantry" (FW.344.17-18). The fertility that may result from such manure is suggested by "renew-murature." Though the Russian General must be killed, he has already prepared the ground for succession.

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John V. Kelleher, "Identifying the Irish Printed Sources for Finnegans Wake", Irish University Review, I, 2 (Spring 1971), 170-174.

More recent bloody events in Ireland have also their place, the activities of the Irish Republican Army, "an army of guerrillas, operating in flying columns, fifteen to thirty strong, and conducting a war of raids and ambushes,"⁵¹ as in the words of Taff: "Shinfine deed in the myrtle of the bog tway fainmain stod op to slog, free bond men lay lurkin on" (FW.346.27-28). The bitterness of the Treaty debate in 1921 when De Valera's supporters renounced the terms of settlement negotiated by Arthur Griffith becomes for Joyce the sound of "Da Valorem's Dominical Brayers. Why coif that weird hood? Because among nosoever circusdances is to be apprehended the dustungwashed poltronage of the lost Gabbarnaur-Jaggarnath" (FW.342.11-14).

The actual tale of the shooting of the Russian General has its basis not in history but in a story told by Joyce's father, John Stanislaus Joyce:

Buckley... was an Irish soldier in the Crimean War who drew a bead on a Russian general, but when he observed his splendid epaulettes and decorations, he could not bring himself to shoot. After a moment, alive to his duty, he raised his rifle again, but just then the general let down his pants to defecate. The sight of his enemy in so helpless and human a plight was too much for Buckley, who again lowered his gun. But when the general prepared to finish the operation with a piece of grassy turf, Buckley lost all respect for him and fired.... Joyce had some difficulty working the story into Finnegans Wake, and in Paris said to Samuel Beckett, 'If somebody could tell me what to do, I would do it.' He then narrated the story of Buckley; when he came to the piece of turf, Beckett remarked, 'Another insult to Ireland.' This was the hint Joyce needed; it enabled him to nationalize the story fully....⁵²

The incident has no historical basis, no Irishman shot a Russian General under these or any circumstances, but for Joyce it came to represent the defiance of one individual or tiny country against the might of the father or of imperial power. But it is avenging an insult to his country "that instult to Igorladns" (FW.353.18-19) and also, by defeating the

⁵¹ Beckett, The Making of Modern Ireland, p. 446.

⁵² Ellmann, James Joyce, p. 411.

established authority, he is laying the basis for a new situation. The 1916 rising, referred to by the British at the time as an insurrection, thus becomes interwoven with Buckley's act: "We insurrectioned and, be the procuratress of the hory synnots, before he could tell pullyirragun to parrylewis, I shuttm, missus, like a wide sleever! Hump to dump! Tumbleheaver!" (FW.352.13-15). It is as decisive a day as the battle of Clontarf ('Bull Meadow' in Irish), and its hero is "As bold and as mad-house a bull in a meadows" (FW.353.13). His act qualified him for membership of the select band of Irish heroes, a deed of daring such as potential members of Finn MacCool's troop had to perform to "pugnate the pledge of fiannaship" (FW.354.19). The shooting of the Russian General, however, is set in the context of a night's drinking in Earwicker's pub, a story told in the traditional Irish manner to entertain the visitors who have gathered in his house, and who have heard and enjoyed it before: "We've heard it sinse sung thousandtimes" (FW.338.1-2). The story tellers, Butt and Taff, re-enact the incident, as the play-acting of children teaches them to adopt the roles that adult society demands of them through the make-belief world of "let's pretend." The story foreshadows the supplanting of HCE; it does not actually achieve it, as the last sentence of the episode, spoken jointly by Butt and Taff, makes clear: "So till butagain budly shoots thon rising germinal let bodley chow the fatt of his anger and badley bide the toil of his tubb" (FW.354.34-36). When the young bud has grown to maturity it will struggle for position against the "rising germinal." The process of growth and its correspondence with cyclical progression is suggested by Joyce's version of the vowel changes which characterized the development of the English language: "budley" becomes "bodley," then "badley." The attitude of bellicose Shaun, meanwhile, makes him "chow the fatt of his anger," while Shem, who like Swift in his Tale of A Tub prefers to use the pen as a weapon, must "bide the toil of his tubb."

Education plays an important part in the way children view their future roles as adults, and in the way they interpret their past, so that in the "children's lessons" section, Book II, chapter 2, considerable

attention is devoted to the study of history. The children apply the lessons they learn to their own situation within the family, to create "the seemsame home and histry" (FW.161.22). Their formal lessons in history are concerned with the past of Ireland and of Rome, a reflection of the actual curriculum which Joyce followed in school,⁵³ and part of the parallel between the cycle of Roman achievement and the cycle of later European achievement suggested to Joyce by Quinet. It is in the course of this chapter, in fact, that Joyce quotes in French the passage from Quinet on the transitory nature of civilization and empire (FW.281.4-13).


The school history curriculum, as shown by such texts as P.W. Joyce's Concise History of Ireland or Smith's A Smaller History of Rome, was strongly incident-based, dwelling on the occurrence of events rather than on an exploration of the way of life of past peoples, their assumptions about themselves and their relations to others which caused these events to happen. As a result the progress of history was presented rather like a series of mountain peaks, each high point representing a battle, preceded by an accumulation of "causes", and followed by the corresponding "results"; what Joyce called "Hireling's puny wars" (FW.270.30-31). In Ireland the "causes" were principally the rivalries between clans, "The O'Brien, The O'Connor, The Mac Loughlin and the Mac Namara" (FW.270. 31-271.2), while in Rome they were power struggles such as that within the "tryonforit of Oxthievius, Lapidous and Malthouse Anthemy" (FW.271.5-6). The comment of the children reflects Joyce's scorn for the bellicose attitude: "As they warred in their big innings ease now we never shall know" (FW.271.22-23). The lesson is a "PANOPTICAL PURVIEW OF POLITICAL PROGRESS AND THE FUTURE PRESENTATION OF THE PAST" (FW.272. right margin). The teacher urges the children to pay attention to the details and date; "Stop, if you are a sally of the allies, hot off Minnowaurs and naval actiums, picked

53 Sullivan, Joyce Among the Jesuits, pp. 237-240.

engagements and banks of rowers. Please stop if you're a B.C. minding missy, please do. But should you prefer A.D. stepplease" (FW.272.9-14). The causes of warfare are summarized as "Rents and rates and tithes and taxes, wages, saves and spends" (FW.273.3-4) while the results are "Impoverment of the booble by the bauble for the bubble" (FW.273.6-7). The children are gradually being led to the realisation "That that is allruddy with us, ahead of schedule, which already is plan accomplished from and syne" (FW.274.3-5). The account of the past called history is totally lacking in significance until it is related to life as it is lived, within the family. The only history of real concern to the children is the past of their parents, of "Airyanna and Blowyhart topsirturvy, that royal pair in their palace of quicken boughts hight The Goat and Compasses ... his seaarm stronground her, her velivole eyne ashipwracked, [who] have discusst their things of the past, crime and fable with shame, home and profit, why lui lied to lei and hun tried to kill ham..." (FW.275.14-22).

The true history lesson now begins, telling of the courtship of HCE and Anna, "His sevencoloured's soot ... and his imponence one heap lumpblock And rivers burst out like weeming racesround joydrinks for the fewnrally, where every feaster's a foster's other, fiannians all. The willingbreast, he willing giant, the mountain mourning his duggedy dew" (FW.277.1-7). The theme is recorso, the renewal for which the children will eventually be responsible and which will re-enact the creativity of their parents. The tensions which history has expressed as battles represent an adolescent phase in the progress towards renewal. The conflicts of the opposing twins are a flexing of the muscles, a stretching and testing of powers which must eventually find their true direction. The hope of renewal is persistent, even in times of greatest darkness and danger while "still here is noctules" (FW.276.23), for dreams survive of a better time in the past and in the future: "We will not say it shall not be, this passing of order and order's coming, but in the herbest country and in the country around Blath as in that city self of legionds they look for its being ever yet" (FW.277.18-22).

Before that can happen the children must waken to sexual consciousness, the boys must become aware of the power of the female, of "Margaritomancy! Hyacinthinous pervinciveness! Flowers. A cloud" (FW.281.14-15). That time has not yet come, the children do not yet understand the significance of what they learn by rote, so past mistakes must be repeated, the quarrels of Mookse and Gripes, of Burrus and Caseous, of Ondt and Gracehoper, of Butt and Taff must take place, before the definitive opposition of Patrick and Berkeley can lead to "trancefixureashone" (FW.613.9). For the moment "Bruto and Cassio are ware only of trifid tongues the whispered wilfulness, ... and shadows shadows multiplying ..., totients quotients, they tackle their quarrel" (FW.281.15-20).

The device of polarised opposition allowed Joyce to relegate wars and battles to the domain of the children: as they must outgrow such things so must the countries from which he has selected his examples. The children had first to learn the basis on which social organization depends - the most difficult lesson with which they were faced in their schoolroom. Their difficulty in understanding their own family situation, which is the microcosm of the society in which they must eventually take their places, is reflected in the continuous quarrels of the sons. These arise both from rivalry over success at lessons, and in the need for children to enact among themselves the adult battles which they observe or learn about. In order to grasp the implications of the history lesson, the twins must master the geometry problem posed by the diagram on p.293. It proves to be the , representative of the sexuality of ALP, constructed as the link between two circles, or cycles. Thus female sexuality can provide the transition between generations, and the sexual union of a couple can also represent the end of rivalry and the beginning of a mature social order in which the sibling oppositions of adolescence have no longer any place. When this family solution is applied to Ireland's situation a similar pattern emerges. The divisions which plagued Ireland in the past and facilitated invasion, subjugation and economic decline were the expression of the country's adolescence. On the other hand, the periods

of national self-sufficiency were achieved under the unifying guidance of the mature figures who are associated with HCE in his prime: Finn, or Patrick, or Aulaf the founder of Dublin. Through the microcosm of family life Joyce was able to place the warfare within or between nations firmly in its place - and that place is the nursery.

Shaun the Post

"I heard a voice, the voce of Shaun, vote of
the Irish, voise from afar" (FW.407.13-14)

The Battling Brothers each receive individual treatment as well as their joint appearances as antagonists, and of the two Shaun is most closely identified with Ireland. His theme is developed in the first three chapters of Book III, when, as Shaun the Post, he sets out to deliver a letter, encouraged by the interest of the people of Ireland. On one level, this is the letter written by Shem the Penman for his mother ALP in defence of his father HCE. On another level it is the letter written by the people of Ireland and delivered to Saint Patrick in a dream, urging him to return to Ireland.

The context of this mission has been set as early as Book II, chapter 3, when the pub owner HCE, tired after his day's work and also somewhat drunk with the "feels of the fumes in the wakes of his ears our wineman from Barleyhome he just slumped to throne" (FW.382.25-26). Lying in this deep sleep he dreams first of the honeymoon cruise of Tristan and Isolde, a re-enactment of his own virile youth, in which he now figures as the aged and impotent "moulty Mark" (FW.383.8) "that so tiresome old milkless a ram" (FW.396.15). As this dream fades another comes to take its place, heralded by the last sentence of the Tristan chapter: "So, to john for a john, johnajcams, led it be! (FW.399.34). He dreams of vicarious fulfilment through the more worldly and successful of his sons, success in love, politics and war, and popularity with the people. Thus Shaun the Post materializes at the beginning of Book III from the dream world of his father: "And as I was jogging along in a dream as dozing I was dawdling, arrah, methought broadtone was heard

and the creepers and the gliders and flivvers of the earth breath and the dancetongues of the woodfires and the hummers in their ground all vociferated echoing: Shaun! Shaun! Post the post!" (FW.404.3-7). After a hearty breakfast Shaun prepares to set out, but first, sitting "upon the native heath he loved covered kneehigh with virgin bush" (FW.408.7-8), he speaks to the people of Ireland about his family and especially his penman brother. Like the traditional caricature of the postman, he does not scruple to read aloud to his audience the letter he is carrying and to explain it to them. His whole speech is laced with justification of such actions on his part and of his hatred for his brother. When his speech is over, he falls, as his father did before him, and rolls backwards in time: "collaspsed in ensemble and rolled buoyantly backwards in less than a twinkling... out of farther earshot... and vanessed, like a popo down a papa, from circular circulatio" (FW.426.33-427.8). His course, like his father's, is a circular one, destined to bring him to the point of recorso.

In Book III, chapter 2, Shaun reappears as Jaunty Jaun, a version of Don Juan, ready to display his sexual prowess. He meets a group of twenty-nine schoolgirls resting under a tree and begins to flirt with them, until he recognises his sister Issy among them. His amorous overtures then give way to a sermon on chastity for the girls, through which his lascivious desires keep expressing themselves in a series of Freudian slips. At last he tells them that he must leave them in order to deliver his letter, and warns them to beware of his brother Dave who would not hesitate to ruin any of them. Regretfully he takes his leave of them and "away with him at the double, the hulk of a garron, pelting after the road, on Shanks's mare, let off like a wind hound loose ... with a posse of tossing hankerwaves to his windward..." (FW.471.20-24).

Jaun had led the girls to believe that his destination was a very distant one: "Somewhere I must get far away from Banbashore ..." (FW.469.6-7) and "I'm dreaming of ye, azores" (FW.468.34). However, at the opening of the next chapter, Book III, chapter 3, he has been

transformed into Yawn and is lying fast asleep in the centre of Ireland with his mission unfinished and his letter undelivered. He is visited by the four old men, the representatives of the four provinces, and interrogated by them about his lack of achievement and unfulfilled promises. The questions and answers are a vehicle for exploration of the past. From the subconscious, liberated by sleep, comes a tissue of references to Patrick, Tristan, the invasions, the foundation and development of Dublin, battles of the past and the civil war of the present; all the themes and details from Irish history which are scattered throughout the novel reach their highest concentration and are provided with their most explicit expression here. This is the point at which HCE, the newcomer and invader, dreams of the acceptance of his son by the people of Ireland, his assimilation and acquisition of an identity. The distinction between newcomer and old inhabitant has to be blurred and forgotten before a new society can arise from the ashes of the old, and a new era begin. As the interrogation proceeds, Yawn gradually becomes less and less distinct until at last his voice fades away and a period of "SILENCE" (FW.501.6) intervenes, a recurrence of the "(Silent)" (FW.14.6) with which Joyce marked the midpoint of his "annals of themselves" (FW.13.31) in the opening chapter of Finnegans Wake. At that point the annals reversed themselves, and the children took the places of the parents. Here, as befits Shaun's backwards motion, HCE returns to take the place of Yawn, and the story of the children reverts to the story of the parents. This is the changeover point of the cycles, but it represents the desired, not the achieved, change, for, as Clive Hart has argued, "We have dropped to the second dream-level and begun the second dream-cycle: the Dreamer's dream about Earwicker's dream. Joyce has projected us into the old man's mind, causing us to leave a comparatively objective world for a wholly subjective one."⁵⁴ The actual realization of the dream desire must await the recorso of the coming dawn in Book IV.

⁵⁴ Hart, Structure and Motif, p. 86.

Throughout the Shaun chapters runs a strong tissue of references to Patrick, which gain much of their significance from the passage in Patrick's Confessio where he describes the motives which impelled him to return to Ireland:

And there indeed I saw in the night visions a man whose name was Victoricus coming as it were from Ireland with countless letters. And he gave me one of them, and I read the beginning of the letter, which was entitled, The Voice of the Irish; and while I was reading aloud the beginning of the letter I thought that at that very moment I heard the voice of them who lived beside the wood of Foclut, which is nigh unto the Western Sea. And thus they cried, as with one mouth, 'We beseech thee, holy youth, to come hither and walk among us.'⁵⁵

Shaun can be identified with Victoricus. The girls, mourning his departure, call him "victimisedly victorihoarse, dearest Haun of all" (FW.472.20-21), and "Our Victory!" (FW.454.17). Earlier, the four old men, recalling the past scandals of the Earwicker family, associate him with the Archangel Michael and call him "Michael Victory, the sheemen's preester, before he caught his paper dispillsation from the poke" (FW.94.36-95.1). In the context of this passage from the Confessio, HCE asleep and dreaming is in the same position as Patrick was, listening to the voices of the Irish nominating Shaun to be their spokesman: "all vociferated echoating: Shaun! Shaun! Post the post!" (FW.404.7). The identification of Shaun with the Irish is soon made explicit as the dreamer describes his experience in more detail, in a sentence which parallels Patrick's dream: "When lo (whish, O whish!) mesaw mestreamed, as the green to the gred was flew, was flown, through deafths of durkness greengrown deeper I heard a voice, the voce of Shaun, vote of the Irish, voise from afar" (FW.407.11-14). Shaun the messenger would like the people to believe that he is inspired by the highest motives to undertake their mission, calling himself "a mere mailman of peace" (FW.408.10) and adopting already the attitudes which he imagines Patrick will

⁵⁵ The Latin Writings of St. Patrick, ed. White, p. 265.

bring to Ireland, in his sermon to the girls and his mannerisms: "a good catlick tug at his cocomoss candylock" (FW.409.12-13). In reality, curiosity is a good part of his motivation: "he was dying to know what old Madre Patriack does be up to" (FW.408.32-33). He appears to hope that the people may accept him as their apostle instead of Patrick, but they recognize eventually that "The voice is the voice of jokeup, I fear. Are you imitation Roma now or Amor now. You have all our empathies, eh, Mr. Trickpat, if you don't mind, that is, aside from sings and mush, answering to my straight question?" (FW.487.21-25).

Shaun, however, has worked hard at his imitation, emulating the evangelical progress of Patrick who travelled throughout Ireland in lengthy journeys described in the Tripartite Life: "There's no sabbath for nomads and I mostly was able to walk, being too soft for work proper, sixty odd eilish mires a week between three masses a morn and two chaplets at eve" (FW.410.32-35). He says of himself without undue modesty: "I'm as afterdusk nobly Roman as pope and water could christen me" (FW.419.22-23), refuting in advance the accusation that the method of computating Easter introduced by Patrick to Ireland could ever become a matter of dispute between Ireland and Rome. Before dealing with the inquiries of those who doubted his authority, "he blessed himself devotionally like a crawsbomb" (FW.424.18), using the signs of devotion to convince when success has been denied him through argument. When he says of himself "I am no helotwashipper but I revere her" (FW.408.35), he is recalling a passage in St. Patrick's Confessio where he describes a night of temptation by Satan and his method of overcoming it:

But whence did it come into my mind to call upon Helias? And on this I saw the sun rise in the heaven, and while I was shouting 'Helias, Helias,' with all my might, lo, the splendour of that sun fell upon me, and straightway shook all weight from off me. And I believe that I was helped by Christ my Lord, and that His Spirit was even then calling aloud on my behalf.⁵⁶

In spite of these protestations of faith in the Christian god, the element of sun-worship in this incident is surely one of the reasons

why Joyce associates Patrick with the dawn of the new era, and calls his followers "heliots" (FW.613.1). Shaun is equally careful to dissociate himself from the suspicion of heathenism. By the end of his discussion with the people he has secured their support for his mission, and they regret the departure of such a one from their country: "it is hardly we in the country of the old, Sean Moy, can part you for, oleypoe, [cf. holy youth], you were the walking saint" (FW.427.26-28). They look forward to the new age which will begin on his return "when the natural morning of your nocturne blankmerges into the national morning of golden sunup" (FW.428.17-18).

Shaun is not the only false Patrick to appear, however, as Shem has also associations with the saint. As Jaun regretfully prepares to leave the twenty-nine girls, he tells them that he will leave behind his proxy, called Dave the Dancekerl. Dave has many of the characteristics of Shem, being described by Shaun as full of "novel ideas" (FW.463.12) and wearing "semicoloured stainedglasses" (FW.463.14). Shaun tries to exhibit the brotherly affection that is expected of him towards his twin, but, in attempting to praise him, his dislike reveals itself again and again. He is forced to admit that Dave possesses some of the characteristics of Patrick: that he was educated in France, understands the significance of the cycles, and arrived in Ireland at the same time, in 432 A.D. : " [he came] on quinquiseular cycles after his French evolution and a blindfold passage by the 4.32..." (FW.462.34-35). However, he also describes him as "a home cured emigrant in Paddyouare far below on our sealevel" (FW.463.4-5) and describes him as "showing the three white feathers" (FW.463.3-4), since Shem adopts an anti-militarist line throughout. He is also described as "blushing like Pat's pig, begob" (FW.463.1) which refers to two incidents related in the Tripartite Life. In the course of his travels, Patrick met and converted a swineherd called Mochae, who eventually became a bishop. As a symbol of gratitude, "Mochae promised a shaven pig every year to Patrick; and this is still offered."⁵⁷ A complementary story is told of

⁵⁷ Tripartite Life of Patrick, ed. Stokes, I, 41.

Patrick himself: "Martin, it is he that conferred a monk's tonsure on Patrick: wherefore Patrick gave a pig for every monk and every nun to Martin on the eve of Martin's Feast, and killing it in honour of Martin and giving it to his community if they should come for it. And from that to this, on the eve of Martin's Feast, every one kills a pig though he be not a monk of Patrick's."⁵⁸ Thus Dave comes "with the pork's pate in his suicide paw" (FW.462.35-36) and signs himself "Figura Porca, Lictor Magnaffica" (FW.463.5-6). Jaun continues to belittle the Patrician aspects of Dave, pointing to his fake shamrock, "the scham-looking leaf greeping ghastly down his blousyfrook" (FW.467.10-11) and publicising the fact that he is a graduate of the wrong university, Trinity College, to which Catholics were denied admission: "Twas the quadra sent him and Trinity too" (FW.467.30). It is, of course, ironical that Saint Patrick used the shamrock to explain the doctrine of the Trinity. After Jaun's exposure, Dave/Shem can never be accepted in the role of apostle by the people, he alone will not be the agent of revival.

Each son attempts to create recorso by adopting aspects of Patrick, a successful initiator of an earlier cycle. The Christian era which Patrick established in Ireland may be seen to correspond with the Divine phase of the Viconian process, as the mythologies of pre-Christian and medieval Ireland both contribute elements to the Heroic phase, and the development of cities, particularly Dublin, is characteristic of the Human phase. Now, however, the whole process must begin anew, and its initiators must search for different values, not attempt to imitate the qualities of significant figures from the past. Czarnowski defined the hero as embodying the spirit of his society, of which "il personifie la valeur sociale fondamentale."⁵⁹ Patrick, Finn, HCE the citybuilder each achieved this representative function in his own period, but now lie in the state of sleep, or provisional death,

⁵⁸ Ibid., II, 561.

⁵⁹ Czarnowski, Le Culte des Héros, p. 27.

until their vitality can be recreated in a new figurehead. Joyce's insight in his 1907 essay, "Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages," still holds good in the context of Finnegans Wake:

The old national soul that spoke during the centuries through the mouths of fabulous seers, wandering minstrels, and Jacobite poets disappeared from the world with the death of James Clarence Mangan. With him, the long tradition of the triple order of the old Celtic bards ended; and today other bards, animated by other ideals, have the cry. 60

Shaun the Post was sent by the people of Ireland to seek out their representative, as they once sent Victoricus to urge Patrick to return. In spite of Shaun's grandiose plans for his journey and many elaborate farewells, he gets only as far as the central plain of Ireland, where, as Yawn, he falls into a deep sleep similar to that of Patrick, of Finn, and of the giant HCE. In Book III, chapter 3 the four old men assume his quest, and seek the new hero through questions designed to penetrate the subconscious of the sleeper and the equivocations of his role-playing, so that the true identity of the next initiator may be revealed.

As Yawn is questioned by the four old men, he answers with the many voices of the Irish, and among them is the voice of Patrick, the apostle of Ireland. The questioners ask Yawn why his language, which is rich in terms relating to human monarchy and chiefship, "hace not one pronouncable teerm... to signify majestate" (FW.478.11-12), or spiritual kingship, nor no "mooners' plankgang there to lead us to hopenhaven" (FW.478.15-16). Yawn replies in French, signifying the European origin of the Christianity that Patrick brought to Ireland, and the fact that Patrick received his ecclesiastical training in France: "Moy jay trovay la clee dang les champs" (FW.478.21). This reply, translated, says: "I have found the key in the fields," as Patrick found the useful shamrock to illustrate his theological points. The questioners reply in French, "Commong, sa na pa de valure?" (FW.478.23),

60 Joyce, Critical Writings, pp. 173-174.

or "that is useless," and proceed to ask further questions in an attempt to find out what Yawn really means: "Whur's that inclining and talkin about the messiah so cloover? A true's to your trefling! Whure yu!" (FW.478.24-25). Throughout this dialogue shamrock references abound, varied by calling it a trefoil or a clover, which is a more common plant than the shamrock and often substituted for it on St. Patrick's Day. The four wish to discover what right Yawn has to speak about salvation, whether he is a true or a false messiah, and so they have asked for his name. Yawn replies, "Trinathan partnick dieudonnay" (FW. 478.26), combining the Trinity, his God-given mission (Dieu donné), Dean Jonathan Swift, and the name of Patrick, who is also part - Nick: the devil has his finger in the pie after all. The four adopt the role of inquisitors and proceed to put theological questions in an attempt to discover if Yawn is an imposter, whether his god is a single, unitarian god: "Are you in your fatherick, lonely one?" (FW.478.28). Yawn is ready for this, however, and his answer can be interpreted as a correct one, that there are three Persons in one Godhead: "The same. Three persons" (FW.478.29). The heretical interpretation is also possible, however: that there are three persons in the Trinity but that only the Father is God, and this cleverly concealed belief of Yawn's is the reason why he wishes to cease being a son and to usurp the father's place.

Throughout this inquisition he is unable to give the questioners his full attention, since he is more interested in discovering the whereabouts of his girl, "Typette, my tactile O!" (FW.478.27). The sharp-eyed four spot his excitement and correctly interpret the two probable causes for his shivering: the heretic's fear of discovery, or sexual arousal: "What are yu shevering about, ultramontane, like a houn? Is there cold on ye, doraphobian? Or do yu want yur primafairy school-mam?" (FW.478.31-33). They also accuse him of being ultramontane, or belonging to that party in the Catholic Church which put a strong emphasis on papal authority and on centralized organization. Yawn's response is an appeal to the people of the woods of Foclut who sent for

Patrick, or in Irish, Padraig: "The woods of foglout! O mis padredges!" (FW.478.34). This appeal, and the suggestion, implicit in "padredges," that Yawn enjoys the pursuit of game-birds such as partridges, wins the support of Johnny MacDougal, the Connacht representative, who proceeds to swap hunting stories with Yawn: "I used to be always overthere on the fourth day at my grand-mother's place, Tear-nan-Ogre, my little grey home in the west, in or about Mayo when the long dog gave tongue and they coursing the marches and they straining at the leash" (FW.479.1-4). These are the pastimes of the legendary Tir na n-Og or Land of Youth, and also of the Fianna, when they were not engaged in battle, so that the right of Yawn to evangelize in Ireland is established through his connections with the life-style of pre-Christian Ireland, as Patrick's own success was achieved through his experience of the country gained in his years spent as a captive on Sliabh Mis in Mayo. Further confirmation is necessary, however; mutual acquaintances must be sought for; and Johnny asks Yawn if he knows his cousin, Mr. Jasper Dougal, an innkeeper. Yawn replies that he does, and is therefore well on the way to being accepted. His name, however, is still in doubt; Johnny calls him "Pat Whateveryournameis?" (FW.479.12). The confusion arises from Patrick's four names, associated with the different phases of his life: Sucat, which was the name his parents gave him; Cothraige, which was his name in captivity in Ireland; Magonius, as he was called by Germanus; and Patricius, or pater civium as Pope Celestine called him when sending him to Ireland.⁶¹

Yawn, however, is still not sure of his acceptance and appeals to the four "Do not flingamejig to the twolves" (FW.479.14). This appeal is connected with the Irish word for wolf, which is "faolchú" and the word for burial which is "folchadh,"⁶² both sufficiently similar to Foclut for Joyce to associate them in phrases such as "The wolves of Fochlut" (FW.479.13) and "Folchu! Folchu!" (FW.480.4-5).

⁶¹ Tripartite Life of Patrick, ed. Stokes, I, 17.

⁶² O'Hehir, Gaelic Lexicon for "Finnegans Wake", p. 256.

These hunting and animal associations also account for Yawn's cry "Fia! Fia!" (FW.481.9) the Irish word for deer, which recalls another incident associated with Patrick. King Leary sent a message asking Patrick to come to him at Tara, intending to ambush and kill him along the way. However, Patrick and his party were protected by a "cloak of darkness [that] went over them so that not a man of them appeared. Howbeit, the heathen who were biding in the snares saw eight deer going past them under the mountain, and behind them a fawn with a bundle on its shoulder: (that was) Patrick with his eight, and Benen behind them with his tablets on his back."⁶³ The prayer which Patrick was said to have composed on this occasion is printed in the Tripartite Life under the title "Fáed Fíada" or "Deer's Cry."⁶⁴ It is also known as "St. Patrick's Breastplate." Its style is incantatory and repetitive, as in the well-known passage:

"Christ with me, Christ before me, Christ behind me,
Christ in me, Christ below me, Christ above me,
Christ at my right, Christ at my left" etc. ⁶⁵

Joyce parodies this "cry of the roedeer" (FW.500.12) by invoking a similar blessing on the four Dublin morning dailies, The Irish Times, The Independent, The Freeman's Journal, and The Daily Express: "Christ in our irish times! Christ on the airs independence! Christ hold the freedman's chareman! Christ light the dully expressed!" (FW.500.14-16).

Patrick's voyage to Ireland is linked by the questioner with the arrival of the Scandinavian invaders in Ireland: "From Daneland sailed the oxeyed man, now mark well what I say" (FW.480.10-11). Yawn's reply is properly scornful of the invader: "A destroyer in our port.... Laid bare his breastpaps to give suck, to suckle me" (FW.480.13-14).

⁶³ Tripartite Life of Patrick, ed. Stokes, I, 47.

⁶⁴ Ibid., I, 48-53.

⁶⁵ Ibid., I, 51-53.

This echoes Patrick's account of his experiences with the sailors on board the boat which rescued him from captivity in Ireland: "And they began to say to me: 'Come, for we receive thee in good faith; make friends with us in any way thou desirest.' And so on that day I refused to suck their breasts, on account of the fear of God; but nevertheless I hoped that some of them would come into the faith of Jesus Christ, for they were heathen, and on this account I continued with them."⁶⁶ The significance of this incident has given rise to some speculation; Joyce may have been aware of J.B. Bury's theory, quoted by White: "I take sugere mammellas to be an interesting piece of evidence for a primitive ceremony of adoption. It is the custom among some people, in adopting children, to go through the form of a mock birth.... The existence of such ceremonies justifies us in supposing that the phrase sug. mamm. arose out of a make-believe suckling, and meant, 'to be adopted by'."⁶⁷ Yawn has been invited to enter into such a bond by the Danish invader, a bond which would contribute to the merging of races which may eventually make internecine warfare irrelevant.

Yawn appears to be passing through the period of preparation which Patrick had before coming to Ireland as a bishop. His studies on the continent and taking of orders are suggested: "I received the habit... was verted embracing a palegrim, circumcised my hairs, Oh laud, and removed my clothes from patristic motives" (FW.483.32-34), with references to the ceremonies of tonsure and investiture. "Palegrim" is not just any pilgrim, but a combination of Palladius (who was sent by Pope Celstime to Ireland before Patrick but was largely unsuccessful) and Pelagius (a monk of Irish parentage born in Britain, and a contemporary of Patrick's, whose ideas on the primacy of human freewill were condemned as heretical). Ailbe, Declan and Ciaran, who were said to be bishops in areas converted before Patrick's coming, and at first opposed him, but were later reconciled, are also mentioned: "you, Ailbey and Ciardeclan, I learn, episcoping me

⁶⁶ The Latin Writings of St. Patrick, ed. White, p. 264.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 321.

altogether, circumditioned me" (FW.484.23-24).⁶⁸ Yawn also proposes to write an autobiographical book, as Patrick did, "the leabhour of my generations" (FW.484.29-30) ("leabhar" means "book" in Irish), which would have ecclesiastical sanction or a nihil obstat: "Sagart can self laud nilobstant to Lowman Catlick's patrician morning coat of arms" (FW. 485.1-2). This approved book ought to replace the scurrilous one written by his brother; a censored book of life, it would contain only what people ought to read, not the whole spectrum of experience. Elsewhere Shaun says of it: "my trifolium librotto, the authordux Book of Lief, would, if given to daylight, ... far exceed what that bogus bolshy of a shame, my soamheis brother, Gaoy Fecks, is conversant with in audible black and prink" (FW.425.20-24).

At last the inquisitors, unable to determine from Yawn's answers if he is who he says he is, the everyman they are searching for, ask him directly: "Are you roman cawthrick 432?" (FW.486.2). This mention of Patrick's arrival in Ireland evokes a riddle version of the same date:

"Quadrigue my yoke.

Triple my tryst.

Tandem my sire." (FW.486.3-5)

It also includes the four old men and Patrick's four names, the love triangle exemplified by Tristan-Mark-Iseult, and the eventual success of the father-figure in pairing himself fruitfully with a woman. At this point the themes of Patrick and Tristan, often suggested together by such phrases as "our tripertight photos as the lyonised mails" (FW.465.14-15) run parallel. Both are connected with France through spending some time there. Both originally came to Ireland from across the water in circumstances of danger and without wishing to do so - Patrick through the accident of abduction, and Tristan through the chance movements of the tides, when, mortally wounded by the Irish giant Morholt, he had

⁶⁸ Glasheen, Second Census, p. 5. See also Bury, Life of St. Patrick, p. 351.

himself placed in a boat to drift at random till he should be released by death. Both were known by new names in Ireland. Patrick was given the name Cothraige while serving four masters; Tristan too changed his name when he realized that the sea had brought him to the shores of Ireland, where all men regarded him as an enemy since he had slain their champion Morholt. According to Thomas's version of the Tristan story the place where he touched land was Dublin:

Enfin, ils virent une terre. Le vent les y poussait. Des marinières qui voguaient au large du port accostèrent leur nef. Ils apprirent d'eux que cette terre était l'Irlande, et ce port Duveline. Et quand Tristan sut où la mer l'avait poussé, il trembla que le roi d'Irlande et ses ennemis n'apprirent qui il était. Comme les Irlandais le saluaient et lui demandaient de leur conter son aventure, il changea son nom et leur dit: 'Je m'appelle Tantris.' 69

In the Scribbledehobble notebook, Joyce noted that "Tantris is shadow of Tristan,"⁷⁰ and this mirror-image effect of opposition, even within the same personality, became crucial for the development of HCE and for the personification of these conflicts in his two sons. When Joyce first introduced Shem in Book I, chapter 7, he described him as having "an adze of a skull" (FW.169.11), like Patrick, whom the Druids called "adzehead."⁷¹ He is also associated with Tristan through possessing "a bladder tristended" (FW.169.19-20). Yawn is trying to usurp these two aspects of his brother and is a shadow of both, as the questioner suggests with "Tantris, hattrick, tryst and parting" (FW.486.7). Eventually the question is asked directly: "I feel called upon to ask did it ever occur to you... that you might, bar accidens, be very largely substituted in potential secession from your next life by a complementary character, voices apart?" (FW.486.35-487.4). Yawn admits to being aware

69 Bédier, Tristan par Thomas, I, 93.

70 Joyce, Scribbledehobble, p. 81

71 Tripartite Life of Patrick, ed. Stokes, I, 35.

of his shadow: "A few times, so to shape, I chanced to be stretching, in the shadow as I thought, the liferight out of myself in my ericulous imagining" (FW.487.13-15). We are listening, in fact, not only to one sibling who sees his twin as his rival in everything, but also to the son who is a shadow of the father, and through whom the father's voice is gradually making itself felt and will shortly replace the voice of Yawn.

The sons are mirror-images of each other in every role which they adopt: each possesses half the qualities of the unified initiator, their father HCE. As the questioners approach an understanding of "History as her is harped" (FW.486.6), they come to realize that the father, not either of the divided sons, is the hero whom they are seeking, once his continuity is assured through union with ALP the mother. This double unity, of the sons with each other, and of father with mother, creates the conditions under which "The old order changeth and lasts like the first" (FW.486.10). Campbell and Robinson have pointed out the relevance here of the Tantric philosophy of medieval India, which "is best known for its sexual symbolism; the whole universe is generated by the embrace of the god Shiva and his consort. This is precisely the embrace of HCE and ALP, stressed, in all its implications, in the Tristan theme."⁷² This embrace is necessary to recreate vitality and recommence the cycle, and it is also implicit in the cultural renewal initiated by Patrick and the young love of Tristan and Iseult.

Using the initial T, which stands both for Tristan and for Patrick in the Tripartite Life, the questioner holds it upright and asks "Do you see anything, templar?" (FW.486.16). A vague figure appears, "a blackfrinch pliestrycook" (FW.486.17) who resembles HCE. When the initial is turned on its side it evokes the female image of ALP in her youth, like Issy: "I feel a fine lady... floating on a stillstream of

⁷² Campbell and Robinson, Skeleton Key, p. 297.

isisglass... with gold hair to the bed... and white arms to the twinklers" (FW.486.23-25). When the initial is turned upside down, with echoes of the Tripartite Life and Patrick the adzehead, it evokes the sound of rebellious youth, "Bellax, acting like a bellax" (FW.486.32). The three positions of the initial mark three periods of human history, as Campbell and Robinson have also noted.⁷³ The upright T suggests the Christian cross, a suggestion which is reinforced by the reference to the cathedral, that medieval symbol of the permanence and majesty of the Church, which becomes for Joyce the "cathedral of lovejelly" (FW.486.18). This represents Vico's divine age. The next position, —|, called a "serpe with ramshead" (FW.486.21), suggests the snake-like motifs of Celtic art and the mythology of pre-Christian Ireland, like the Fenian and the Red Branch story cycles. Here we have Vico's heroic age. The initial in its inverted position, |_, looks like a phallic monolith from the pre-Celtic period, when men's lives were determined by the rhythm of the seasons, and fertility of men, animals and crops was sought for through ritual. This represents Vico's human age. These three positions of T are a synopsis of the entire process through which men must pass again and again. It is a "triptych vision" (FW.486.32-33) which allows the process to be stopped for a moment, to be observed and understood. It is, however, only a reflection or mirror-image of the cycle, chronologically back-to-front, Christian, pre-Christian, pre-Celtic, instead of vice-versa. In order to recognize the phases of the present cycle, one must wait until it is completed, at the end of Finnegans Wake; this, after all, is still HCE's dream about the form that renewal will take.

At last, in the dream, the sleeping mound begins to stir, and the four old men who climbed up to it at the beginning of the chapter can feel the movement: "Is the strays world moving mound or what static babel is this, tell us?" (FW.499.33-34). They think they recognize the "Cloudy Father!" (FW.500.19). After the moment of "SILENCE" (FW.501.6) he begins to speak and to describe the night when "our lord of the

73 Ibid., p. 298.

heights [was] nigh our lady of the valley" (FW.501.30). It was the night when the love-making of the parents initiated the present cycle. It was also the night when Patrick lit his symbolic fire: "There were fires on every bald hill in holy Ireland that night" (FW.501.22-23). These are the circumstances which must be recreated to initiate the new cycle and which will exist when the recorso of Book IV is reached. However, the father Finn, who has been lying in death-sleep awaiting the summons from his people to return, has at last begun to stir. The sleeping Patrick has likewise received the message entrusted to Shaun the Post by the children of Foclut to come and walk among them once again. The scene for renewal is being set, but other aspects of the "lifesnight" (FW.100.22) have yet to be explored before the curtain can rise on a new day.

Shaun and Ireland

"Did any orangepeelers or greengoaters appear
periodically up your sylvan family tree?" (FW.522.16-17)

Paralleling Shaun's projection of himself as the model of an Irish Catholic, "as afterdusk nobly Roman as pope and water could christen me" (FW.419.22-23), is his identification with the nationalistic aspirations of Ireland, symbolized by the colour green, and placed in opposition to the aspirations of the north of Ireland, symbolized by the colour orange. Phrases based on these colours abound in the Shaun chapters, but do not receive any really concentrated exposition, nor does Joyce make much use of the details of the conflict between North and South in the period before the Treaty, nor of the conflict between pro- and anti-treaty forces in the 1920s. His interest appears to lie in the attitudes of both sides which brought them into opposition, and in particular in the simple-minded outlook which led each side to believe unswervingly that they were right in everything they thought and did. It is this narrow way of regarding Ireland which allows the symbolic green and orange to have some meaning; the colours can be accepted bright and glowing without the necessity for shading or gradation. Irony is achieved by the context in which the catch-phrases

are placed, as when Shaun, preparing to set out on his mission on behalf of the Irish people, eats first a "blood and thirstly orange" (FW.405.33) followed by a "green free state a clister of peas" (FW.406.19). Though Shaun may wish to support the side of the green, it is impossible to detach it from the influence of the orange, since both cultural strands have been inextricably knitted into the tapestry of mixed races, languages and cultures which Joyce's Ireland had inherited from the past.

Before Shaun sets out to waken the slumbering heroes for Ireland, he is questioned by the Irish people about his beliefs and intentions. They point out how he has "painted our town a wearing greenridinghued" (FW.411.24), with a reference to the popular song "The Wearing of the Green" which describes the penalties imposed for adopting the national colour, and the singer's determination to defy them. The song begins:

O Paddy dear, and did you hear
The news that's going round

which is the basis for Shaun's reply, distorted to suggest his careless attitude to the loss of life that may ensue: "O murder mere, how did you hear?" (FW.411.25). He adds: "And I will confess to have, yes" (FW.411.28). It is not clear what precisely he is confessing to, but his enemy is clearly identified in the slogan "Down with the Saozon Ruze!" (FW.411.30); and arson, like the burning of the General Post Office during the 1916 Rising, and the burning of the Four Courts by the anti-Treaty forces in 1922 which began the Civil War, are clearly part of his methods: "See! blazing on the focoal. As see! blazing upon the foe" (FW.411.32-33). Such events are "grandiose by my ways of thinking from the prophecies. New worlds for all!" (FW.412.1-2). For Shaun the creation of a new world justifies any destruction of the old which may have to precede it. His trade of postman associates him with the capture and holding of the General Post Office, though his remarks about "the past purcell's office" (FW.412.22) and its "poachmistress" (FW.412.23) are about the waste of money on stationery in the service and his proposed reforms. To help him in this, he calls on "pease Pod pluse

- murders of gout" (FW.412.31) where, under the guise of God and his mother, one may also detect the same green peas that he had dined on earlier, and possibly also Padraig Pearse, the commander of the Volunteer Forces in the GPO during Easter Week 1916. When, at the end of Book III, chapter 1, the Irish people confidently expect Shaun to deliver their message to Patrick and initiate "the national morning of golden sunup" (FW.428.18), they expect not only a religious and moral renewal but also that the Irish, represented by Leary, will triumph over the English, represented by George IV; when "Don Leary gets his own back from old grog Georges Quartos" (FW.428.18-19).

The Gaelic poetic convention which referred to Ireland as a woman beset by enemies provided Joyce with the thematic justification for the inclusion of insurrection motifs in Book II, chapter 2, which deals primarily with Jaun's advice to Issy and her girl-friends. In these poems Ireland was given a girl's name, such as Caitlín Ní hUallacháin (Cathleen Ni Houlihan), and the sufferings of the country were described metaphorically as the girl's sufferings. In the same vein, Yeats's play, The Countess Cathleen, produced in Dublin in 1899, developed the theme of a woman's sacrifice for her country, and associated Cathleen's sufferings with those of Ireland. It aroused a storm of protest among orthodox Catholics who objected to the idea of the heroine selling her soul in order to save her country. Joyce attended the first performance and afterwards, as a gesture against the narrowness of their attitudes, refused to sign a letter of protest which some of his fellow students at University College wished to send to the Freeman's Journal.⁷⁴ Here Jaun leaps to the defence of the "Comtesse Cantilene" (FW.441.11), promising to defend her against all who may assault her virtue, even if they should belong to the police like "the goattanned saxopeeler" (FW.441.33) or the army like the "volunteers to trifle with your roundlings" (FW.441.34-35). If the girl's or Ireland's troubles arise from belief in broken promises, made to her by foreigners

⁷⁴ Ellman, James Joyce, pp. 68-69.

who wished to gain her favours without the formality of marriage or valid treaty, Shaun will be back "from the land of breach of promise with Brendan's mantle whitening the Kerribrasilian sea" (FW.442.13-15) and "we'll go a long way towards breaking his outsider's face for him" (FW.442.22-23). Shaun's principal suspect for this probable rape is his turncoat brother, who, having refused to leap to the defence of Cathleen, is likely to be himself the cause of her ruin, so he is thinking "about giving the brotherkeeper into custody to the first police bubbly cunstabless of Dora's Diehards in the field I might chance to follopon" (FW.443.3-6). The police bobbies in question are not the law enforcing agents of the British but of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, whose anti-Treaty forces were known as the Diehards.

Shaun's own amorous desires are linked with his nationalist ambitions as he looks forward to his return to Ireland and to the girl he left behind him "in that united I.R.U. stade, when I come ... into my own greengeese again" (FW.446.17-19). Shaun seems to have created his own republican initials for the Ireland of his dreams, where the fallacy of the homogeneous Irish nation can be perpetuated, and "us, the real Us" (FW.446.36) will be free to rule. The reformist aims of organisations like the Gaelic League and the Gaelic Athletic Association, which attempted to re-Gaelicize the country, are reflected in Shaun's own programme of "post purification" (FW.446.28), as together they'll "circumcivicise all Dublin country" (FW.446.35).

His call to action seems to invoke the nineteenth-century Fenian heroes, the Manchester martyrs, executed for the murder of a police sergeant during the escape of two other Fenian leaders: "Up Murphy, Henson and O'Dwyer, the Warchester Warders!" (FW.446.30-31). These names are not those of the executed men, Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, nor did any trio called by these names distinguish themselves in Sinn Féin action, but for Joyce they seem to represent the movement, and he also refers to them later: "Where were the doughboys, three by nombres, won in ziel, cavehill exers or hearts of steel, Hansen, Morfydd and O'Dyar, V.D., with their glenagearries directing their steps according

to the R.U.C.'s liaison officer, with their trench ulcers open and their hands in their pockets, contrary to military rules" (FW.529.23-28). Here Murphy, Henson and O'Dwyer have become members of the special Auxiliary Division of the Royal Irish Constabulary, often referred to under the blanket-title "Black and Tans," which originally described only the new recruits into the regular RIC, who were often partly dressed in khaki because of the shortage of the regular dark uniform. Joyce's trio are identified as Auxiliaries by their wearing of Glengarry caps, and military dress, their direction by the constabulary (here anachronistically called the RUC or Royal Ulster Constabulary, a force which was not formed until after the treaty, and the separation of the six northern counties from the new Irish Free State), and their disregard for proper military discipline. "In some ways this Auxiliary Division, which permitted its members to wear either the traditional dark RIC uniform or army officers' service dress without badges of rank, with dark Glengarry caps, and which was to hunt rebels in motorized packs across the Irish countryside, qualified even more aptly for the term Black and Tans."⁷⁵ The turn which Joyce gives to their names, "Hansen, Morfydd and O'Dyar," also seems to connect them with the traditional trio of music-hall jokes, Paddy Englishman, Paddy Welshman and Paddy Irishman. The phrase "cavehill exers" (FW.529.24-25) also paradoxically links them with the "united Irishmen" (FW.489.33) and Wolfe Tone who, before setting out to seek help for the Irish revolution in America in 1795, "Passing on his way through Belfast... took three leading members to MacArt's Fort on the very summit of Cave Hill overlooking the town... and got them to swear to work to the last for Irish independence."⁷⁶

This trio appears in many military guises throughout Finnegans Wake, usually in the company of two girls. As Adaline Glasheen

⁷⁵ Kee, The Green Flag, p. 671.

⁷⁶ Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, p. 274.

suggests, "The three of them and the two girls are always about when HCE did whatever he did do in Phoenix Park,"⁷⁷ and are willing to give evidence, usually conflicting, when HCE is "called up before the triad of precocious scaremakers" (FW.52.13-14). They seem to have served in many military capacities, as "Missiers the Refuseleers" (FW.58.23-24), as "three tommix, soldiers free, cockaleak and cappapee, of the Coldstream Guards..." (FW.58.24-25), as "three drummers" (FW.61.27), as "three longly lurking lobstarts [redcoats]" (FW.337.20-21), as "Grenadiers" (FW.526.11), as "a terce of lanciers" (FW.546.8-9) and even as "three desertions" (FW.129.3). In Finnegans Wake they are off-duty, and as evening falls and the children prepare to go home for supper, we catch a glimpse of what young women and the soldiers will be up to later: "Soon tempt-in-twos will stroll at venture and hunt-by-threes strut musketeering" (FW.245.19-20). This three and two motif remains static throughout Finnegans Wake, the soldiers are perpetually courting, the girls flirting. They are never absorbed into the wider theme of renewal through love towards which Shaun, Shem and Issy are progressing. They are outside the family circle, passers-by who catch glimpses of the important family action and who misrepresent what they have seen because they know only a part of it.

The members of the Auxiliary Division of the RIC were officially called "Cadets,"⁷⁸ which adds a level of meaning to the incident when "a cad with a pipe" (FW.35.11) accosted HCE in the Phoenix Park, and asked him the correct time. The question was put in Irish, and HCE is clearly uncertain what sort of answer is required. Is the questioner a nationalist who would appreciate a response in Irish which would show that HCE is on the right side? The Cad's remark that he needed to know "as his watch was bradys" (FW.35.19-20), as well as the site of the

⁷⁷ Glasheen, Second Census, p. 254.

⁷⁸ Kee, The Green Flag, p. 671.

encounter, suggests the Phoenix Park murders of 1882 when Lord Cavendish and Mr. Thomas Henry Burke were stabbed there by a group of Fenians calling themselves the Invincibles, one of whom was called Brady. On the other hand, this could be a trap set for HCE by his enemies, as Parnell would have been defeated by forged letters which suggested that he had known about and condoned this crime, had not the forger Richard Piggot been trapped by his misspelling of the word "hesitancy." Here HCE reminds himself that "Hesitency was clearly to be evitated" (FW.35.20) since "the nearest help relay being pingping K.O. Sempatrick's Day and the fenian rising" (FW.35.23-24). He tries to cover himself with both the British authorities and the rebels, saying that whoever has informed on him "was quite beneath parr and several degrees lower than yore triplehydrad snake" (FW.36.6-7) and that he has made "my hoath to my sinnfinners" (FW.36.26) or Sinn Feiners. The difficulty of many Irishmen, "unwishful... of being hurled into eternity right then" (FW.35.24-25), when caught between two conflicting authorities, is exemplified by this incident, which suggests the cry of a woman who was confronted in her home by masked raiders searching for ammunition: "'Don't shoot! ... I am a Sinn Feiner, don't shoot for mercy's sake!'"⁷⁹

Joyce has included a parody of Sinn Fein attitudes in Jaun's speech to the girls: "The racist to the racy, rossy. The soil is for the self alone. Be ownkind. Be kithkinish. Be bloddysibby. Be irish. Be inish." (FW.465.30-32). The notion of the pure Irish race, separate and distinct from other peoples, particularly the British, is the first tenet of this creed, and includes a reference to Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, who had once written: "I am ever ready to do my utmost to promote the cause and acquire the reality of nationality... but ... I don't believe the Saxon will ever relax his grip except by the persuasion of cold lead and steel..."⁸⁰ He was also once involved in an incident which parallels

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 638.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 300.

HCE's encounter with the Cad:

When a soldier whom he attempted to suborn declared that 'he was a Queen's man,' Rossa replied, so the soldier said, that there was no harm in that, and 'that there was many a Queen's man joining, that no one would know it till the hop of the ball was up, and everyone could turn to whatever side he liked then.'⁸¹

The second statement, "The soil is for the self alone," suggests the objectives of the Land League which attempted, from 1879 onwards, to secure land reform and the abolition of injustices under the old system of land tenure. The first president of the League was Charles Stewart Parnell, and their demands became known as the three F's, Fixity of Tenure, Free Sale and Fair Rents. Their ultimate objective was, however, a system of land purchase, " 'to enable every tenant to become the owner of his holding by paying a fair rent for a limited number of years'."⁸² Considerable agitation was necessary before these objectives became a reality, and the energies of many Fenians and Fenian sympathizers were directed into the campaign until the passing of the Land Purchase Acts of 1885 and 1886. Jaun's exhortation to "Be ownkind. Be kithkinish. Be bloddysibby. Be irish. Be inish" (FW.465.31-32) is the call to introversion which was partly the response of intellectual connoisseurs of the Irish language and culture, like Douglas Hyde, to the decline of the old way of life in Ireland under the pressure of famine, eviction and emigration in the nineteenth century. With Yeats, Hyde founded the National Literary Society to revive interest in the old literature and to develop a new literary consciousness that would be typically Irish, and preserve the best of the old way of life. Organisations such as this, the Gaelic League, and Gaelic Athletic Association, were part of a general trend: "a study, and attempted revival of Gaelic, the 'national' language, and Gaelic sports... and interest in being Irish and culturally different for its own sake, as an escape from the

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 301.

⁸² Ibid., p. 373.

monolithic advance of European materialist culture."⁸³

This kind of spiritual Irish nationalism paralleled the development of political nationalism, and reached its apotheosis in Padraig Pearse's conviction that "a blood sacrifice, however hopeless its chance of military success, was necessary to redeem Ireland from her loss of true national pride, much as Jesus Christ by his blood sacrifice had redeemed mankind from its sins."⁸⁴ It was probably for this reason that Easter was chosen as the time for the insurrection of 1916, which in Finnegans Wake parallels the Easter date of Patrick's triumph over the druids. Shaun looks forward equally to both events when he says "Out with lent! Clap hands postilium! Fastintide is by." (FW.453.36). His vision of the "suburrs of the heavenly gardens" (FW.454.30) includes "The seanad and pobbel queue's remainder" (FW.454.35), which combines the motto of the city of Rome, Senatus Populusque Romanus, with the Irish legislature after the treaty consisting of a Seanad (Irish for Senate) and Dáil or lower house representing the pobal (Irish for people). There will be "Iereny allover irelands" (FW.455.8), as Ireland changes its name to Eire, and presumably attempts to Gaelicize itself at the same time. The people too will be renewed: "You will hardly reconnoitre the old wife in the new bustle and the farmer shinner in his latterday paint" (FW.455.3-5), especially those like the sean bhean bhocht and the Sinn Fein supporter or "Shinner." He also foresees a return to the simple life advocated by the Gaelic League with "home cooking everytime" (FW.455.31-32). The menu includes the green peas again, but also those who might be presumed to disagree with the new regime, like "Tenderest bully ever I ate with the boiled protestants" (FW.456.3) or "a variety of Huguenot ligooms" (FW.456.14-15).

The people of Ireland share Shaun's ambitions, as they declare in their speech of praise after he has departed on the next stage of his journey, when they look forward to the time when "he retourneys

⁸³ Ibid., p. 405.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 531.

postexilic, on that day that belongs to joyful Ireland" (FW.472.34-35). The past history of the country, its hard times and intermittent insurrections is for them "decades of long suffering and decennia of brief glory" (FW.472.36-473.1). They invoke the image of the phoenix, from whose ashes the new bird will rise, an image which inspired the name of the nationalist-minded Phoenix Societies of the nineteenth century which formulated the ideas behind the development of the Fenian movement:⁸⁵ "Eftsoon so too will our own sphoenix spark spirt his spyre and sunward stride the rampante flambe" (FW.473.18-19). However, a hint is implicit in their vision that all may not be so glorious in the means necessary to achieve this ideal, and that the ideal itself may prove illusory when "Molochy wars bring the devil era" (FW.473.7-8). Perhaps the struggle may have the blessing not of God but of Moloch, and the state presided over by de Valera may not be the Utopia that they imagine. P.S. O'Hegarty, who was a member of Sinn Féin during this period, and was greatly horrified by the Civil War, published a book in 1924 about his experiences which Joyce seems to have been aware of.⁸⁶ The ironic title of the book is The Victory of Sinn Féin, and chapter 23 is called "Devil Era (1922)." O'Hegarty quotes de Valera's message to Ireland on St. Patrick's Day, 1922, which made clear that he had no illusions about the bloody civil war which would follow his rejection of the Treaty:

'If they accepted the Treaty, and if the Volunteers of the future tried to complete the work the Volunteers of the last four years had been attempting, they would have to complete it, not over the bodies of foreign soldiers, but over the dead bodies of their own countrymen. They would have to wade through Irish blood, through the blood of the soldiers of the Irish Government, and through, perhaps, the blood of some of the members of the Government, in order to get Irish freedom.'⁸⁷

85 Ibid., p. 300.

86 Atherton, The Books at the Wake, pp. 92, 127.

87 O'Hegarty, The Victory of Sinn Féin, p. 119.

O'Hegarty's comment on this speech shows why he thought that 1922 was the opening of the "devil era":

All the irresponsibles, all the slanderers, all the poison tongues, all the uprooters, who had gathered round the Great Anarch [de Valera] were now loosed and spurred on, and through Ireland they went like so many devils, doing the devil's work everywhere. ⁸⁸

This bitter version of the brothers' battles can never achieve a genuine recorso within the context of Finnegans Wake. From Joyce's viewpoint the new era cannot begin until such attitudes have been outgrown and forgotten.

In the Yawn chapter, Book III, chapter 3, the theme of nationalism and its battles is continued through the interrogation of the four old men. They belong to the Seanad, or upper house of the new legislature, being described as "senators four" (FW.474.21). They are also judges of the circuit court on their rounds from one legislative centre to another: "the travelling court on its findings circuiting that personer in his fallen" (FW.476.12-13). One at least of them is intended to be a member of the Boundary Commission, set up by the Treaty to examine the exact territory which should remain with the North of Ireland and the Free State as a result of the partition of the country. As the four make their way up the hilly ridge which divided Ireland into northern and southern kingdoms in the second century, "Shanater Lyons, [is] trailing the wavy line of his partition footsteps" (FW.475.24-25), reflecting the proposed wavy line of the new border which would weave its way in and out between pockets of nationalist and unionist supporters. In the event, the Boundary Commission proved unworkable and was revoked by agreement in 1925, both Britain and the Free State accepting the status quo, and leaving the six northern counties intact. During the treaty debate in the Dail, de Valera circulated a proposed alternative, known as "Document No. 2," "decumans numbered too" (FW.369.24-25), for

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 120.

consideration by the members. Another version was also circulated during the first week of the debate, but was withdrawn by de Valera by the end of the week. P.S. O'Hegarty published this version as an appendix to his book, under the heading "Mr. de Valera's First Thoughts"⁸⁹ and it is to this that Joyce is referring when he mentions "the dogumen number one, I would suggest, an illegible downfumbed by an unelgible" (FW.482.20-21).

The north-south conflict over remaining loyal to the Crown is also mentioned by the four old men, and Matthew (or Ulster) is accused of being "too farfar a cock of the north there, Matty Armagh" (FW.482.27) and "up-in-Leal-Ulster" (FW.482.29). They suspect that Shaun has been giving "gold tidings to all that are in the bonze age of anteproresurrectionism to entrust their easter neappearance" (FW.483.9-10): encouraging the people to look forward both to the coming of Patrick and the Easter Rising, with the corresponding conflicts between Ireland and Rome over the date of Easter, and Ireland and Britain over independence. As the moment of Yawn's eclipse and his replacement by HCE approaches, crowds of "panhibernskers" (FW.497.6) or pan-Hibernians, supporters of All-Ireland, begin to assemble in HCE's pub: "at and in the licensed boosiness primises of his delightful bazar and reunited magazine hall" (FW.497.24-25) to celebrate "his five hundredth and sixtysixth borthday" (FW.497.26-27). This is the annal date of ALP and her daughter Issy (FW.13.36-14.10), and the approaching "Bloody wars in Ballyaughacleeagh-bally" (FW.14.9-10) are suggested by the miscellaneous gathering of the "houses of Orange and Betters M.P, permeated by Druids D.P, Brehons B.P, and Flawhoolags ["Flaitheamhlach" means generous in Irish] F.P, and Agiapommenites A.P, and Antepummelites [includes Anti-Parnelites] P.P, and Ulster Kong and Munster's Herald with Athclee Ensigning and Athlone Poursuivant and his Imperial Catcherling" (FW.498.8-13). The occasion is the wake laid on for the dead king with the celebration

appropriate for the succession of a new one: "The keyn has passed. Lung lift the keying" (FW.499.13-14). Unfortunately the succession is not clear-cut, and the decision between the twins will remain unresolved until they give up quarreling and merge to create the new HCE in Book IV.

Meanwhile, Shaun sees Shem as an orangeman and foreigner quite opposed to himself, the native supporter of the green. When he calls on his brother, as Dave the Dancekerl, to introduce him to Issy and her girlfriends, he refers to him as "that foreigner" (FW.463.15). To Shaun, Dave is a turncoat, adopting the customs of whatever country he happens to be living in: "making friends with everybody red in Rossya, white in Alba" (FW.463.23-24). Worst of all he is untrustworthy in Ireland, since "To camiflag he turned his shirt" (FW.463.22). In the Butt and Taff episode, the Russian General attempted to ingratiate himself with the Irish by wearing a "tree-coloured camiflag" (FW.339.12-13). Obviously Dave hopes that the same camouflage will work for him, as he tries to beg from both our side and your side: "touching every distinguished Ourishman he could ever distinguish before or behind from a Yourishman for the customary halp of a crown and peace" (FW.463.24-27). Dave is too European to appeal to Shaun: indeed, he no longer lives in Ireland, "with his Paris addresse" (FW.464.17). No wonder Shaun says of him "Begob, there's not so much green in his Ireland's eye!" (FW.466.34-35), and that the green shamrock, when worn by Dave, is a "schamlooking leaf" (FW.467.10). Joyce's own attitude to the troubles in Ireland, taking place even while he was writing, seems to parallel Shem's and he appears to think that he, living abroad, and with an international rather than a national outlook on Irish events, would be distrusted in Ireland as Shem is.

He describes Shem's reaction to the events "on that surprisingly bludgeony Unity Sunday" (FW.176.19-20), evidently referring to the events that became known as Bloody Sunday, 21 November 1920. That morning Michael Collins

had twelve British officers, all but one of them members of a counter-terrorist network, shot dead in bedrooms and on landings,

some of them in front of their wives. Only one 'mistake' seems to have been made, on a harmless veterinary officer sitting up in bed reading his newspaper in the Gresham. All the gunmen except one escaped. Two Auxiliaries who had happened to be passing one of the houses where the bloodshed was in progress and had stopped to investigate were also seized and shot out of hand - the first casualties the Division had suffered. 90

That afternoon the authorities surrounded the Croke Park football ground where a match was due to be played between Dublin and Tipperary, intending to search for IRA gunmen in the crowd.

Whether or not shots at Croke Park were first fired from the crowd cannot now be ascertained with certainty, but in the light of contemporary evidence it seems unlikely... What is certain is that Auxiliaries and RIC opened fire on the crowd, killing twelve civilians including a woman, a child, and a Tipperary forward. 91

This football match becomes for Joyce "the grand germogall allstar bout... [when] the grim white and cold bet the black fighting tans" (FW.176.20-25). Shem took no action on either side, but "kuskykorked himself up tight in his inkbattle house... there to stay in afar for the life, where... he collapsed carefully under a bedtick from Schwitzer's (FW.176.30-35). The mattress under which Shem hides his head has been bought in the Dublin department store called Switzers, and it includes also a reference to the neutrality of Switzerland where Joyce found a haven from the equal horror of First World War fighting. He may also have been thinking of the occasion in 1922 when Nora and the children were in the Dublin train in the station at Galway during a gunbattle between pro- and anti-Treaty troops: "Nora and Lucia dove [sic] to the floor, while Giorgio, prouder but less reasonable, steadfastly kept his seat." 92 Though Joyce was never

90 Kee, The Green Flag, p. 693.

91 Ibid., p. 693.

92 Ellman, James Joyce, p. 549.

personally involved in any such incident, the absurdity of such situations and the futility of the fighting was obviously brought home to him, as it is treated with such irony throughout Finnegans Wake, and is praised in such a dubious fashion through the mouth of Shaun.

Once HCE has emerged from his grave-mound, he is also interrogated about his position in relation to contemporary Ireland: "Did any orangepeelers or greengoaters appear periodically up your sylvan family tree?" (FW.522.16-17). He is called "Shivering William" (FW.507.35), after King William of Orange, and shivering now presumably because he is confronted by "shinners true" (FW.465.18) who suspect that he is "of none Eryen blood" (FW.508.2). The inherent racism behind the notion of the pure Irish, and the witch-hunt mentality that this gives rise to, is a myth which Joyce wishes to dispel with his emphasis on the many groups of people who have contributed in the past to the making of what Ireland is in the present. Narrow nationalism is in danger of poisoning the country, of making it "gan greyne Eireann" (FW.503.23), gradually dying from the spreading gangrene which refused to allow the wound, created by the amputation of the six northern counties, to heal. HCE warns that misinterpretation of the meaning of nationality can make the tricolour not a symbol of a new healthy nation, but a wreath for a dead one: "A tricolour ribbon that spells a caution. The old flag, the cold flag. The flagstone. By tombs, deep and heavy. To the unaveiling memory of. Peacer the grave" (FW.503.24-27). The Irishmen who are killing and wounding each other are ignorant of the fact that petty differences of politics, religion and culture are by this time irrelevant in Ireland, but continue to re-enact old struggles which go back to the early invaders: "They did not know the war was over and were only berebelling or bereppelling one another by chance or necessity with sham bottles... like their caractacurs in an Irish Ruman to sorowbrate the expeltsion of the Danos" (FW.518.19-23).

Earwicker's dream that one of his sons will become a national messiah is thus basically frustrated. Popular appeal and the adulation of the masses are the rewards of the demagogue, and Shaun is certainly

vocal enough. However, his vision of a supremely self-satisfied Ireland, pleased with its own brand of nationality, is essentially unsatisfactory, because it ignores the diversity of the tradition which it has inherited, and the unsavoury means which have been used to bring it about. HCE is forced to rise from slumber to criticize the proposed "New worlds for all!" (FW.412.2), and to face himself the barrage of criticism of the four old men, in order to justify the validity of a civilization which is outward-looking and international in emphasis. The alternative world created by the Penman is based on a series of parallels, through which the links between Ireland and the rest of the world are emphasized. Thus Irish battles are incorporated into European battles, the English language is twisted to include hundreds of other languages, and Christianity is only one of many religious philosophies which may give meaning to life. The battlecry of those who look forward to the new era can at least be found in one slogan of Shaun's: "Oh Kosmos! Ah Ireland!" (FW. 456.7).

CHAPTER V

HCE AND IRELAND: A PARALLEL PROGRESS

"All ears did wag, old Eire wake..."
(FW.496.15)

Insofar as the cyclical movement of Finnegans Wake has an object towards which it tends, that object is embodied in HCE. His is the ideal life to which his children aspire and which is an endless subject of discussion for all Wake characters. HCE is the object of envy, of spite, of enmity, of fear and of love. His actions are petty, cowardly, guilty, sex-oriented and somehow magnificent. He inspires such attention and so many different reactions because he is the only all-inclusive figure in the panorama of human history: a symbol of the inherent variety of man and the world. He is not, however, complete in himself but requires the catalyst of the female for the fulfilment of his potential. While HCE is the sum of the past, every event of which has contributed a nuance to his make-up, his female counterparts ALP and Issy exist only in the present, concerned with the arousal of energy in the male and its release in the moment of sexual and cosmic creativity. The passages in Finnegans Wake which deal with the female side of life are almost entirely free of historical reference. Where reminiscence does occur, it is oriented towards the time of courtship, or marshalled in the defence of the man who is accused, for whom the woman is eternally ready to provide an alibi: "a Woman of the World who only can Tell Naked Truths about a Dear Man and all his Conspirators how they all Tried to Fall him Putting it all around Lucalized about Privates Earwicker and a pair of Sloppy Sluts plainly Showing all the Unmentionability falsely Accusing..." (FW.107.3-7). The female awareness of the past is not sensitive to historical events but to understanding the motivations of her loved ones and attempting to dissuade them from the self-destruction of war. She is perpetually at the ball "on the eve of Killallwho"

(FW.15.11), hoping that her charms will cause the belligerent boys to forget to turn up at the battle of the morrow, trying to wean them from warfare "with a Christmas box apiece for aisch and iveryone of her childer" (FW.209.27-28).

The history of her "sonhusband" (FW.627.1), while following the cyclical curve of Finnegans Wake, has several clearly marked themes based on the relationship between past and present, with the central intention of discovering what is important and what is irrelevant in life. On one level HCE is alive and active throughout the novel, and on another level he is dead and buried, vital only insofar as he is recreated by the reminiscences and speculations of the people for whom he has become the chosen representative. Finnegans Wake is essentially a celebration of a dead hero, with a "week of wakes" (FW.608.30), and HCE's mode of existence throughout is what Czarnowski defined as the state of provisional or ritual death where the essence of the hero is preserved through the communal celebration of his achievements.¹ There is always the possibility, accepted by the people, that this provisional death will not become definitive, but that the hero will revive, aided by the communal ritual of mourning, and re-enact the achievements of his first life. HCE, however, does not clearly stand in the relationship of revered hero to the people who remember him, and their discussion frequently adopts the tone of judicial enquiry into actions of which they disapprove. The four judges even find it necessary to interrogate his corpse, and visit his burial mound for the purpose, encountering Yawn before they finally gain access to the voice of HCE. A gap evidently exists between the people's expectations of a hero and what HCE actually achieved, and this puts his revival in jeopardy, since the hero, whether he be Finn or Patrick, must depend on the strength of the people's will to accomplish his reawakening. We have seen that they are ready to accept the new Ireland which Shaun has offered, but which is a seriously flawed "devil era" (FW.473.8); this puts HCE's outward-

¹ Czarnowski, Le Culte des Héros, pp. 181-190. See also above, pp.46-48.

looking cosmic Ireland in jeopardy. The prospect of recorso is by no means certain throughout Finnegans Wake; it is seriously threatened by popular misconceptions about the nature of past history and the kind of future which can be achieved.

In this context it is significant that the death of HCE is expressed as a fall throughout the novel, whether it be the fall of "Père Adam" (FW.124.34) or of Finnegan the hod-carrier. "The fall ... of a once wallstrait oldparr" (FW.3.15-17) occurs on the first page of Finnegans Wake, and is re-enacted in various ways throughout: "retaled early in bed and later on life down through all christian minstrelsy" (FW.3.17-18). At the outset HCE has "been laid to rust upon the green" (FW.3.23), but his grave, which takes many forms, will frequently be visited by mourners who want to make sure he is still in it, and from their conversations we can discover how he is regarded by those whom he has left behind him. Through them we become aware of the multiplicity of historical roles which he has played, and of the many possible ways of interpreting them.

These roles fall into three main categories. First, there is HCE the outsider, the stranger who sails one day into port and exerts such an influence on those he finds there that the date of his arrival is remembered as a turning point in their history. HCE in this capacity is a foreigner from any country, but particularly from those lands which have contributed to Ireland's past: Spain, the supposed home of the mythological invaders; Scandinavia, which sent its Norsemen to the Irish coast; France, particularly Normandy, the country of Henry II and his nobles; and finally England, ruling the country for seven hundred years. To these might be added Italy, or rather Rome, whose spiritual influence was also in a sense an invasion, though in Finnegans Wake this is expressed through Shaun rather than HCE. There is no birth for HCE; his history begins when he arrives by ship from a country and past that are remote and obscure, and this is partly responsible for the camouflage of gossip and rumour with which the gap of his origin is filled. The second role is HCE the master-builder, an aspect of Finnegan the hod-

carrier, who, having courted and married ALP, builds for her not just a home but a whole city, "building supra building pon the banks for the livers by the Soangso" (FW.4.27-28). This is HCE in his prime, the phase of varied achievements when a whole civilization was created between the river, the mountain and the sea. The third role is the guilty HCE who has fallen from the height of his creation because he is not divine after all, but subject to temptations and misdeeds of which his citizens have become aware, resulting in "that tragoady thurdersday this municipal sin business" (FW.5.13-14). Through this he is linked with all great achievers who have made a mistake, and all those more ordinary men whose achievements have never existed except in their imaginations and who realize in middle life that the objectives they set themselves in youth will never, after all, be realized. This reflective and recriminative mood is the prevalent one in Finnegans Wake, lightened at times by the possibility of renewal, which remains uncertain and even unlikely till the full cycle of growth, vigour and decline has run its course.

HCE the Outsider

"the shadow of the huge outlander" (FW.57.32)

Throughout the early part of Finnegans Wake, while the mourners at HCE's wake remember him and try to piece together what is known of him, the vague recollection of his arrival on a ship persists: he "came at this timecoloured place where we live in our paroqial fermament one tide on another" (FW.29.20-21) in "The Bey for Dybbling, this archipelago's first visiting schooner, with a wicklowpattern waxenwench at her prow for a figurehead" (FW.29.22-24). His figurehead is made in the likeness of ALP, who, as the River Liffey, rises in the Wicklow hills, and it may be that it is her homing instinct which has led him to Ireland. Dublin, his port of arrival, is described as "his citadear of refuge" (FW.62.1) to which he has fled because of crimes committed in another country, and in which he will succeed in starting again and making a new life and home and family for himself: "to forget in expiating manslaughter and, reberthing in remarriment out of dead

seekness to devine previdence, ... to league his lot, palm and patte, with a papishee" (FW.62.6-9). He is here linked to Tristan, arriving in Ireland after killing Morholt, almost dead from his wounds, but surviving to fall in love with Iseult. Joyce may also wish to refer to Partholon, the leader of the first wave of invaders in Lebor Gabála Érenn who was forced to flee from his own country after killing his father, making HCE guilty of the act of parricide which marks the end of one era and the creation of a new kingdom and reign. HCE also has strong associations with Nuad of the Silver Hand, the leader of the Tuatha de Danaan: he "was born with a nuasilver tongue in his mouth and went round the coast of Iron with his lift hand to the scene" (FW.138.20-21). The voyage, like the period spent in a tomb, symbolizes the interval between cycles.

The new cycle, however, cannot be established merely by conquest; also necessary is the kind of consent which is achieved by marriage with one of the native women, as Strongbow the Norman married Eva, daughter of the King of Leinster. Even after such an alliance there is still the possibility that the newcomer may be rejected by the people over whom he has come to rule, and the scene is set for the struggle between the old and the new which has characterized Irish history for centuries. Here ALP appears as the Catholic Irish girl, or "papishee" (FW.62.9) while on the previous page HCE is called "so staunch a covenanter" (FW.61.32), making him an adherent of the non-conformist churches and also a signatory of the Ulster "Solemn League and Covenant" to resist Home Rule which was signed throughout Ulster on 28 September 1912.² Thus, the union of foreigner and native, symbolized by the marriage of HCE and ALP, is also symbolic of the differences of religion and origin in the people of Ireland, and of the resulting tensions which cannot long be held at bay. One result of the marriage is HCE's rejection by the people who had formerly identified with him, so that

² Kee, The Green Flag, pp. 476-477.

later he is called "Unworthy of the Homely Protestant Religion" (FW.71.21-22). In the riddle to which the answer is "Finn MacCool!" (FW.139.14) HCE is described as attempting to belong to both sides of the Irish Question being "unhesitant in his unionism and yet a pigotted nationalist" (FW.133.14-15), though his uncertain loyalty to both sides is implicit in the reference to Richard Pigott and his misspelling "hesitency." The probable unhappy results of his coming are foretold in the elegiac comment, also incorporated into the riddle, "O sorrow the sail and woe the rudder that were set for Mairie Quai!" (FW.135.22-23).

Even the marriage, however, is not easily achieved, as the seafarer's thirst for adventure remains strong and he may even decide to leave the country when things get too much for him: "He had fled again... this country of exile, sloughed off, sidleshomed via the subterranean shored with bedboards, stowed away and ankered in a dutch bottom tank" (FW.98.4-7), and is quite ready to justify himself, "telling how by his selfdenying ordnance he had left Hyland on the dissenting table" (FW.73.1-3). The parallels for this exist in Patrick's and Tristan's escapes from the dangers to which they were exposed during their first stays in Ireland, and their unwillingness to return until urged by the call from the people of Ireland and the attractions of Iseult respectively. Shem, too, parallels this escape aspect of his father. He first "settled and stratified in the capital city" (FW.181.6-7) and began to write there, using as his material the lives and doings of his fellow citizens, and presenting them not as "those model households plain wholesome pothooks" (FW.181.12-13) but, instead, setting himself "cutely to copy all their various styles of signature so as one day to utter an epical forged cheque on the public for his own private profit" (FW.181.15-17). This work, known to the rest of the world as Ulysses, resulted in the opposition of the citizens thus exposed, who "turned him down and assisted nature by unitedly shoeing the source of annoyance out of the place altogether" (FW.181.19-20). Shem is responsible for his own expulsion, "self exiled in upon his

ego" (FW.184.6-7), and he has so offended the citizens that he does not feel he can return, nor is he likely to be called upon. This expresses Joyce's own reluctance to return to Ireland, rationalized in many ways when invitations were extended to him to come on visits, but basically founded on the conviction that the man who had written so frankly about the lives of his fellow Dubliners could no longer be welcomed among them. His own departure and several brief returns in the earlier years are expressed in the attraction which causes HCE, through several of his roles, to return again and again to Ireland, and to become eventually the means of injecting new life into a community that had atrophied. In a strange way he is also Joyce's own representative, sent back to the country at a time of transition to subdue the parochial introverted tendencies which might hold it imprisoned in its own small cocoon, and to bring about instead the cataclysm which would destroy the old and allow the new to develop. For this, exile and return are both necessary: only from a distance can a world view be developed, but it must then be brought back to invigorate those who were left behind. Shem is called "an Irish emigrant the wrong way out" (FW.190.36), but this is what HCE himself must also be.

HCE's children must learn the same lessons if they are to succeed him eventually. They do so at first through the formal medium of their lessons when the objects of their study, disguised as history, or mathematics, are really their parents. They are already becoming aware of the nature of recurrence, expressed for them by the cycle of leave-taking, departure, and eventual homecoming: "His hume. Hencetaking tides we haply return, trumpeted by prawns and ensigned with sea-kale, to befinding ourself when old is said in one and maker mates with made" (FW.261.5-8). The object of the return is already recognized as mating and the establishment of the basis for succession through children. Dolph, the Shem-figure while the twins are at school, uses the historical parallels for this coming and going as the basis for a lecture on the parents that he delivers at "Backlane University" (FW.287.30), an institution opened in 1622 in Back Lane for the education of Catholics,

but which was closed and incorporated into Trinity College in 1632. The father "landed in ourland's leinster of saved and solomnonnes for the twicedhecame time, off Lipton's strongbowed launch, the Lady Eva, in a tan soute of sails he converted its nataves" (FW.288.13-16). This reinforces the identification of HCE with Strongbow, the most successful leader of the Norman invasion, whose landing place on the Wexford side of Waterford was just within the limits of Leinster, and who had been promised the succession to that kingdom by its deposed king, Dermot MacMurrough. Strongbow strengthened his claim to Leinster by marrying Eva, the daughter of Dermot. However, it is in his capacity as Patrick, the Apostle of the Irish, sent by Pope Celestine that he "converted its nataves," setting himself to influence and change them or as Dolph puts it, he "showed em the celestine way to by his tristar and his flop hattrick" (FW.288.21-22). Tristan is also hinted at in "tristar". Dolph is aware that this traveller has in the past changed the nature of Irish civilization, but this is as yet purely academic information. The children are still unaware of the role they are to play in the creation of the future.

Scattered passages such as these suggest the significance of the sea, ships and the men who come ashore from them in developing the dual theme of invasion and emigration in Finnegans Wake. The most extended and explicit statement, however, occurs in Book II, chapter 3, when the contrast between the wandering and the domestic aspects of HCE are embodied in the Norwegian ship's captain and the pubkeeper. The narrative thread on which the contrast is based is not easy to follow, a "baffling yarn sailed in circles" (FW.320.35), but it concerns the voyages of the Norwegian captain and his adventures on shore between journeys, when he seems to occupy himself in drinking bouts. He also orders a suit of clothes, to be made in his absence and collected on his return. A dispute arises over the payment for this suit, which proves to be a poor fit, because, as the tailor asserts, the captain is hunchbacked, while the captain blames the tailor for being unable to sew. In any case the suit seems to represent the land life, for which the captain is unfitted,

but to which he becomes more and more committed by his courtship and eventual marriage with a land girl, the pubkeeper's daughter. The suit is in fact his wedding-suit, a "sayle of clothse for his lady" (FW.311.28), and the consequences of donning it are the abandonment of his wandering sea-life and commitment to shop-keeping in the city, the girl's "youngfree yoke stilling his wandercursus" (FW.318.9-10).

The "Norweegee's capstan" (FW.311.9) is evidently a foreigner, regarded with suspicion by his fellow customers in the pub, and by his "host of a bottlefilled" (FW.310.26) who has known him to leave without paying the bill. Yet the host also bears a striking resemblance to the captain, having himself the eyes and head of an Ostman, or Scandinavian: "oyne of an oustman in skull of skand" (FW.310.30). Neither is a native, both came from the north, one more recently than the other. The pubkeeper is now accepted, more or less, by his customers, at least at the jovial stage of the evening when "Group drinkards maaks grope thinkards or how reads rotary, jewr of a chrestend, respecting the otherdogs churchees..." (FW.312.31-32). The absorption of the foreigner is possible, though it is a long slow process, "hiberniating after seven oak ages" (FW.316.15-16).

The conflict between invader and native is not to the fore as a theme in this section, though as the Norwegian captain enters port, Sutton and the Tolka River, scenes of skirmishes during the battle of Clontarf, are recalled by "suttonly" (FW.315.29) and "talka" (FW.315.31), and the customers' toast to the newcomer invokes Brian Boru, who got the better of the Dublin Danes there: "Heirs at you, Brewinbaroon" (FW.316.9). Instead, the emphasis is on the process of assimilation itself, on the symbolic union between the seafarer and "anny livving plusquebelle" (FW.327.6). She gives herself up to his pleasure, and he commits himself to work for her, "for the two breasts of Banba are her soilers and her toilers" (FW.325.24). The hope is that she can "work her mireiclles and give Norgeyborgey good airish timers" (FW.327.30-31), when the captain is "Cawcaught. Coocaged" (FW.329.13). However, the fact remains that marriage bring changes for both of them, "his loudship

was converted to a landshop" (FW.332.23-24) while "her faiths is altared" (FW.331.3). The resulting tensions are felt first within the family when "some family fewd felt a nick in their name" (FW.330.12-13), and later extend to involve the city and then the whole country in "the-litest civille row faction" (FW.320.7), between "two deathdealing allied divisions" (FW.333.10-11). These battles will be fought between the opposing forces of the descendants of this couple, whose marriage has led to the mingling of races, but who have not succeeded in wiping out the memory of their incompatible origins. Over HCE's dead body the funeral games celebrated in his honour become the "sham bottles" (FW.518.21) of the sons, which "sorowbrate the expeltsion of the Danos" (FW.518.22-23). The futile re-enactment of Clontarf becomes in the twentieth century "the fiounaregal gaames of those oathmassed fenians" (FW.332.26-27) who, after the "swearing threaties" (FW.329.32), took sides as "Freestouters and publicranks" (FW.329.31) incorporating those customers who want the pub-keepers to dispense free drink, and the bitter opposition of Free-Staters and Republicans after the Treaty of 1921. The joining of male and female does not automatically ensure renewal: there must also be recognition of the possibilities presented by the linking of new and old before anything can be achieved.

At the end of the chapter in which the Norwegian captain made his appearance, which also represents a night's drinking in Earwicker's pub, the retired wanderer now in middle age "between fiftyodd and fifty-even years of age" (FW.380.13-14), falls exhausted to the floor and dreams of his seafaring days: "So sailed the stout ship Nansy Hans. From Liff away. For Nattenlaender. As who has come returns. Farvel, farerne! Goodbark, goodbye!" (FW.382.27-29). The sleeping HCE recalls in his dream the consummation of the love of Tristan and Isolde, on board ship, in their "honeymoon cabins" (FW.395.9), watched by "the four waves" (FW.384.8). They too are reminded of their youth, and of the invaders whom the sea brought to Ireland in years past, "the Flemish armada" (FW.388.10-11) and "Saint Patrick, the anabaptist" (FW.388.13-14), and General Hoche with his French army (FW.388.21), and now Tristan

himself, a new lover, who may bring back "the dear prehistoric scenes" (FW.385.18-19). HCE came to Ireland with the shadow of guilt upon him from a former existence, and encountered the suspicion of an inward-looking people unable to generate a new life-force themselves. He is representative of all those outsiders who have contributed to the heterogeneity of twentieth-century Ireland. Joyce expressed the assimilation of past invaders through the metaphor of marriage between a seafarer and a landgirl, without ignoring the deep-seated consciousness of disparate origins which will continue to generate tension and feuds through successive generations. Thus, HCE's twin sons first learned about and later experienced internecine hostility, which they must learn to understand and accept before the strong basis of a new family can be laid. In terms of Ireland, the division which generated a civil war as soon as the new state was founded must give way to tolerance of differences and a broad conception of Irishness before a mature and self-reliant country can emerge.

ALP herself, recalling her courtship at the end of Finnegans Wake, remembers her lover both as Tristan, "a youth in his florizel" (FW.621.30), and as a Viking and barbarian Goth: "the pantymammy's Vulking Corsergoth" (FW.626.27-28). ALP loved both sides of HCE, "a boy in innocence" (FW.621.30) and the terrible Norseman, responsible for "The invision of Indelond. And, by Thorrer, you looked it! My lips went livid for from the joy of fear" (FW.626.28-30). The movements of HCE and ALP are here reversed; she is about to go and become part of the sea, while he is once more coming from it to begin a new cycle on land. It is only at the time of vigour and youth that the "inwader and uitlander" (FW.581.3) can join with the freshwater Liffey girl so that together they may create a city. For that was the achievement of the young HCE, and also of the Scandinavians in Ireland, and it is the second role in which HCE relates to Irish history.

HCE the Citybuilder: Haveth Childers Everywhere

"This seat of our city it is of all sides pleasant,
comfortable and wholesome" (FW.540.3-4)

The development of a city culture in Ireland was almost entirely due to the influence of outsiders. The Irish pastoral way of life was unsuited to the development of cities, as Charles Haliday suggested in an important study, The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin (1881), of which Joyce may well have been aware:

... it is almost certain that before the Scandinavian invasion the Irish had no cities or walled towns in any degree resembling those spread over England, France, Germany, and wherever the Romans had penetrated. There were large ecclesiastical establishments at Armagh, Clonmacnoise, &c. At Emania, Aileach, Tara, &c., there were cashels, duns, or raths, in which the kings and chieftains, with their attendants, resided, the bulk of the population being scattered over the territory inherited by each tribe, moving with their cattle from pasture to pasture, having little tillage, and ever ready to assemble at the call of their chief, either to repel invasion or to invade the territory of their neighbours. But cities they had none.³

In a letter to Ferdinand Prior, the Danish Consul-General in Paris, Joyce wrote [translation]: "Our Dubliners are rather impertinent and even today they consider the Danes and Norwegians to be just barbarians, plunderers of monasteries, etc., but the 'black-haired foreigners' (as we call them, 'Dubhgall') founded the first city civilization on the green island,"⁴ which perhaps explains why the city became the target of the native Irish who regarded it as the symbol of outside jurisdiction over them.

At any rate, this was the importance of HCE the Scandinavian's impact on the Irish way of life, and Joyce reinforced it by associating him also with Solness, the central character of Ibsen's play Bygmester

³ Haliday, Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin, p.2.

⁴ Joyce, Letters, III, 422.

Solness or The Masterbuilder. J.S. Atherton has pointed out the many parallels that exist between this account of a builder of towers who falls to his death from one of them, and the details of Finnegans Wake. Solness fears that he will be supplanted by the younger generation; he is also the father of twin sons, and is loved by two young girls. There is, however, a fundamental difference of attitude in the two writers: "Ibsen seems to have seen the married man, and woman, as weighed down by intolerable restraints. For Joyce the married man with a family was a type of divinity."⁵ This difference is exemplified also in the fates of the heroes: "For Bygmester Solness fell from the tower to his destruction, lured on by a woman's praise; Joyce's multi-personed hero succeeds. If he falls it is only to rise again."⁶ HCE the builder is, however, introduced as "Bygmester Finnegan, of the Stuttering Hand" (FW. 4.18), and the first construction of his that we see is "a waalworth of a skyerscape of most eyeful hoyth entowerly, erigenating from next to nothing" (FW.4.35-5.1). The principal account of HCE's city occurs in Book III, chapter 3, when the voice of Yawn is drowned by that of HCE, identified by his initials in "Eternest cittas, heil" (FW.532.6). He is under interrogation by the four, forced to justify himself and his "Scandalknivery" (FW.510.28), which he does in the form of a long monologue, published separately in 1930 as Haveth Childers Everywhere.

Here are presented all the many aspects of Dublin, though the city forms the backdrop to the whole of Finnegans Wake and references to its streets and people occur on every page. HCE, the Dubliner par excellence, speaks of himself as "brought up under a camel act of dynasties long out of print, the first of Shitric Shilkanbeard (or is it Owl1augh MacAusculphth the Thord?" (FW.532.7-9). These founders of a dynasty are Sitric Silkenbeard, the King of the Danes of Dublin at the time of the battle of Clontarf, and Aulaf the White, who founded

⁵ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 157.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 156-157.

the city in 852 A.D.⁷ The name Aulaf was anglicised Humphrey, a direct connection with Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker.⁸ HCE wishes to claim the development of the city in extenuation of his offences, reminding the court of his return "over the deep drowner Athacleeath to seek again Irrrlanding" (FW.539.17-18). The transformation from a marsh-land to a city he recalls as "then-on-sea, hole of Serbonian bog, now city of magnificent distances, goodwalldabout, with talus and counter-scarp and pale of palisades" (FW.539.24-26), at least until "yon slauchterday of cleantarriiffs" (FW.539.27-28) when the Danes and the Irish clashed and the Irish established a claim to the city.

HCE says that he is responsible for the establishment of civil order, as expressed through the Dublin motto: Obedientia civium urbis felicitas, or "Obeyance from the townsmen spills felicity by the town" (FW.540.25-26). The methods of establishing this order, casually mentioned by HCE, render it rather suspect, however, and perhaps justify the opposition of the populace, for they include public hanging: "Here Tyeburn throttled, massed murmurs march" (FW.540.15) and the use of distrusted police like the Black and Tans: "Redu Negru may be black in tawn" (FW.540.21). This passage also contains a sentence stuffed with echoes of the titles of Ibsen's plays (FW.540.22-25), as Atherton has noticed, and Ibsen's championship of individual freedom against the claims of established institutions such as a narrow municipal authority, also undercuts the intended picture of civic order and obedience.⁹ HCE, however, is associated with Patrick (who banished snakes, symbols of the devil, from Ireland) through his success against a plague of worms, described by Walter Harris in his annals of Dublin for the year 897 A.D. (from the account of Caradocus of Llancarvan):

⁷ Haliday, Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin, p. 19.

⁸ See above, pp. 157-158.

⁹ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 154.

'That in the year 897 it [Ireland] was destroyed by strange worms, having two teeth, which consumed all that was green in the land. These (proceeds he) seem to have been locusts, a rare plague in those countries, but often seen in Africa, Italy, and other hot regions'. Other writers add, 'That these devourers left neither corn nor grass, nor food for man or beast, but consumed all that was green in the land', so that of consequence a miserable famine ensued.¹⁰

HCE is able to boast that now "famine with English sweat and oppedemics, the two-toothed dragon worms with allsort serpents, has compolitely seceded from this landleague of many nations and open and notorious naughty livers are found not on our rolls" (FW.539.36-540.3).

HCE's northern antecedents are constantly recalled throughout this Dublin passage by a tissue of Scandinavian references, such as "Thor-stan's" (FW.543.16-17), the Thor Stein, or centre of worship which in Dublin was situated near the Thingmote in Hoggen Green, now College Green,¹¹ and which Joyce positions in "my fief of the villa of the Ostmanorum" (FW.543.16). The establishment of HCE's city is "helphelped of Kettil Flashnose" (FW.549.12), a Norseman properly called Ketill Flatnef or Flatnose, who conquered the Scottish islands for Harold Haarfagr of Norway, and made himself king of them with the support of Aulaf the White of Dublin.¹² Harold himself appears elsewhere as "Horrild Hairwire" (FW.169.4) and "horild haraflare" (FW.610.3). L.O. Mink has noted the inclusion of an account of the sack of Dublin by the Ostmen in 836 A.D.: " 'the city is said to have been taken by the unlikely strategem of snaring a number of swallows and releasing them, each with a lighted sponge fastened under its wings, which speedily ignited the thatched roofs of the Irish town'."¹³ This becomes "my

¹⁰ Harris, History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin, p. 177.

¹¹ Haliday, Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin, p. 159.

¹² Ibid., p. 114.

¹³ L.O. Mink, "Schwalby Words", A Wake Newslitter, IX, 6 (December 1972), 110.

schwalby words with litted spongelets set their soakye pokeys and botchbons afume" (FW.542.21-22): Schwalbe is German for swallow.

Dublin remained essentially a Scandinavian city for three hundred years, from its foundation until the Norman Conquest, despite occasional attacks and temporary occupation by the native Irish. It remained Scandinavian in character after the Battle of Clontarf, though its importance as a capital in the Scandinavian empire diminished. The Ostmen who remained were purely civilian, merchants and traders, who intermarried with the surrounding Irish so that they became practically indistinguishable within the city. The Danish cities in Ireland, however, became the targets of the Norman lords, who took first Wicklow, then Waterford and Dublin in 1169 and 1170. A great number of the remaining Ostmen in the city left and returned to other Scandinavian territories, while those who stayed on were expelled from the city proper and formed the community of Ostmantown. King Henry II, to whom the Norman lords owed allegiance, came to Ireland to claim their loyalty in 1171 and, in an attempt to curb their growing power and independence, granted Dublin as a colony to the citizens of Bristol.¹⁴ The text of this first charter for Dublin is quoted in Harris:

'Wherefore I will and firmly command that they do inhabit it, and hold it for me and of my heirs, well and in peace, freely and quietly, fully and amply, and honourably, with all the liberties and free customs, which the men of Bristol have at Bristol, and through my whole land.' ¹⁵

Joyce renders it almost word for word in Finnegans Wake, though with some additions:

Wherfor I will and firmly command, as I willed and firmly commanded, upon my royal word and cause the great seal now to be affixed, that from the farthest of the farther of their fathers to their children's children's children they do inhabit it and hold it

¹⁴ Baile Atha Cliath: Dublin: Official Guide, pp. 21-24.

¹⁵ Harris, History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin, p. 241.

for me unencumbered and my heirs, firmly and quietly, amply and honestly, and with all the liberties and free customs which the men of Tolbris, a city of Tolbris, have at Tolbris, in the county of their city and through whole my land. Hereto my vouchers, knife and snuffbuchs. Fee for farm: (FW.545.14-23).

The signature on the charter, Henricus Rex, Joyce gives as "Enwreak us wrecks" (FW.545.23), which is an accurate assessment of the effect that London policy was to have on the commercial and legislative development of the city. It became sufficiently important to rival London as a trading and manufacturing centre, particularly in the eighteenth century, and even in the nineteenth was described thus: " 'In population and size, Dublin is the second city of the British empire, and ranks as the seventh of Europe.' " ¹⁶ Joyce echoes this ranking, calling Dublin "the second imperial" (FW.133.33-34).

The Dublin coat of arms is also incorporated into HCE's account of his city. It is described in the Book of Public Arms as: " 'Azure, three castles argent, flammant proper. Supporters: On either side a female figure proper, vested gules...' " ¹⁷ Atherton has pointed out that the two seductive girls in Finnegans Wake are probably derived from the supporters in the coat of arms. ¹⁸ The three soldiers may derive from the castles in the same way, since Dublin Castle was the centre of military and government authority in Ireland, and also the centre of the intelligence network, to which spies reported any data they might have discovered, hence "the spy of three castles" (FW.101.22-23). HCE, formally introducing his arms, varies the details. The two girls are there, also himself as a coleopter, or beetle, and, instead of the three castles, the three soldiers, or "lanciers": "These be my genteelician arms. At the crest, two young frish, etoiled, flappant, devoiled of

¹⁶ Leo Knuth, "Seventh City," A Wake Newslitter, XII, 1 (February 1975), 15.

¹⁷ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 33.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.33.

their habiliments, vested sable, withdrewers argent. For the boss a coleopter, pondant, partifesswise, blazoned sinister, at the slough, proper. In the lower field a terce of lancers, shaking unsheathed shafts, their arms crossed in saltire, embusked, sinople" (FW.546.5-10). The castles, however, appear later: "triscastellated" (FW.551.30). Elsewhere in Finnegans Wake, girls and castles are combined: "shot two queans and shook three caskles" (FW.128.17).

At one point HCE introduces the testimony of a foreigner to the delights of his city, by quoting a passage from Richard Stanihurst's sixteenth-century Treatise containing a plane and perfect Description of Ireland. Stanihurst's praises were used as the epigraph for D.A. Chart's Story of Dublin, which Joyce probably used, rather than the original:

The seat of this citie is of all sides pleasant, comfortable and wholesome. If you would traverse hills, they are not far off. If champaign ground, it lieth of all parts. If you be delited with fresh water, the famous river called the Liffie, named of Ptolome Lybnum, runneth fast by. If you will take the view of the sea, it is at hand. 19

In Finnegans Wake, this, like the Dublin chanter, is quoted almost verbatim:

This seat of our city it is of all sides pleasant, comfortable and wholesome. If you would traverse hills, they are not far off. If champain land, it lieth of all parts. If you would be delited with fresh water, the famous river, called of Ptolemy the Libnia Labia, runneth fast by. If you will take the view of the sea, it is at hand. (FW.540.3-8).

The medieval city is also represented by a display of "crafty-gild pageantries" (FW.549.31-32), the mystery play sequence which in Dublin, as in several English cities, was performed annually by the guilds. Walter Harris devotes a chapter to the "Interludes and Plays antiently represented on the stage by the several corporations of the city of Dublin,"²⁰ from which we learn that the plays were not confined

19 Chart, Story of Dublin, p. iv. See also Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 91.

20 Harris, History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin, pp.142-149.

to religious subjects, since "Vulcan, and what related to him, was acted by the smiths, and the comedy of Ceres, the goddess of corn, by the bakers." However, "the taylors acted the part of Adam and Eve"²¹ so Joyce has "loftust Adam, duffed our cousterclother" (FW.549.32). The sequence was given the general title of the Nine Worthies, a shorter version, the Six Worthies, was also available. Harris quotes a manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin, describing the Parliament of 1541, and that on Corpus Christi the lords "rode about the streets with the procession in their parliament robes and the Nine Worthies was played."²² This was the Parliament which altered the Irish title of Lord of Ireland, which the English Kings had used since the time of John, and conferred on Henry VIII the title of King of Ireland, or as HCE puts it: "I screwed the Emperor down with ninepins gaelic with sixpenny-hapennies for his hanger on: my worthies were bissed and trissed from Joshua to Godfrey" (FW.549.35-550.1). In the following year, 1542, a general submission of the Irish lords to the English crown took place. They gave up their Irish titles and accepted the English style of earl or baron instead,²³ an event to which Joyce refers when he says: "You've grabbed the capital and you've had the lion's shire since 1542" (FW.528.29-30).

The description of Dublin through all its ages at times allows for comparison with other cities, for HCE would like to present his bride not just with one city, but with many. Thus New York, destination of many expatriate Irishmen, is evoked by "minhatton" (FW.539.2), or "bowery nooks and greenwished villas" (FW.553.19-20), versions of Manhattan, the Bowery and Greenwich Village. Another Irish city is also evoked, however: Galway, which was the subject of a newspaper article

²¹ Ibid., p. 143.

²² Ibid., p. 145.

²³ Joyce, Short History of Ireland, pp. 386-387.

written by Joyce in Trieste in 1912. In this article he mentions "a curious document, left by an Italian traveller of the sixteenth century, in which the writer says that, although he had travelled throughout the world, he had never seen in a single glance what he saw in Galway - a priest elevating the Host, a pack chasing a deer, a ship entering the harbour under full sail, and a salmon being killed with a spear."²⁴ In Finnegans Wake this watcher becomes HCE, "who could see at one blick a saumon taken with a lance, hunters pursuing a doe, a swallowship in full sail, a whyterobe lifting a host" (FW.139.2-4). Joyce also gives an account in his article of the incident, reputed to have given the word "lynching" to the English language, when in 1493 the chief magistrate of the city, James Lynch FitzStephen, personally tried and executed his son Walter Lynch for the murder of a young Spaniard called Gomez who had been a guest in their house.²⁵ The incident is recalled by HCE the "staidy lavgiver" (FW.545.32) of his own city: "the game for a Gomez, the loy for a lynch" (FW.545.31-32). L.O. Mink has mentioned an edict of 1518 designed to keep Galway for the burghers by excluding the native Irish: " 'Neither "O" nor "Mac" shall strutte ne swagger thro' the streets of Galway'. "²⁶ HCE, far from excluding the Irish from his city, includes them in a list of inhabitants: "strutting oges and swaggering macks" (FW.543.19-20).

The physical development of Dublin is described through the mouth of HCE with a wealth of detailed reference to streets and buildings, and some of Dublin's more celebrated or infamous personalities. HCE's part in it is dual: the growth of the city represents both "my tenenure of office and my toils of domestication" (FW.539.33-34). In Finnegans Wake the growth of the city becomes the visible geographical representation of the vitality and human achievement which follows the inception

²⁴ Joyce, Critical Writings, p. 230.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 231-232.

²⁶ L.O. Mink, "O's and Mac's", A Wake Newslitter, X, 2 (April 1973), 25.

of a new era once the necessary mating of male and female, mountain and river, has taken place. The fullest description of the courtship of HCE and ALP is achieved through the use of this geographical metaphor as "faithful Fulvia, following the wiening courses of this world, turned her back on her ways to gon on uphill upon search of louvers" (FW.546.30-32). The river, Latin fluvia, is wooed by the mountain: "Even so, for I waged love on her: and spoiled her undines. And she wept: O my lors!" (FW.547.7-8). The city builder here is not the stern lawgiver demanding obedience, but the lover whose demands may be even more pressing. The courtship follows the river's course from a stream in Wicklow, to the riverside houses of Dublin, until she reaches the harbour at Ringsend: "whimpering by Kevin's creek and Hurdlesford ... to Ringsend Flott and Ferry" (FW.547.17-19). The river, meeting the sea "began to bump a little bit" (FW.547.19-20) so HCE "upreized my magicianer's puntpole... and I bade those polyfizzyboisterous seas to retire with hemselves from os" (FW.547.22-24). HCE's commands to the sea to retire were more successful than Canute's since he reinforced them by the building of the South Wall from Ringsend to Poolbeg, a project undertaken in the eighteenth century, which was the first step towards the embankment of Dublin Harbour.²⁷ HCE's "magicianer's puntpole" has thus a geographical equivalent in the South Wall. The next step in the taming of the Liffey was the construction of bridges: "I abridged with domfine norsemanship till I had done abate her maidan race, my baresark bride" (FW.547.25-26) until "I cast my tenspan joys on her, arsched overtupped, from bank of call to echobank" (FW.547.29-30). From Islandbridge beside the Phoenix Park to the sea there are ten bridges, with most of Dublin stretching north and south of the river. ALP's recollections in her final monologue of this meeting and first mating recall that it took place at Islandbridge where there is a weir in the river, and that their lovemaking lasted till she reached the sea: "Sea, sea! Here, weir, reach, island, bridge. Where you meet I. The

²⁷ Haliday, Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin, pp. 232-243.

day. Remember!" (FW.626.7-8).

In the context of this lovemaking the city arose as HCE "sate me and settled with the little crither of my hearth" (FW.549.28-29) and many landmarks of the Dublin scene are reconstructed in the words of HCE. The city churches, whose bells, "tingued together" (FW.601.31), will announce the arrival of dawn, rise prominently on the city skyline. The Franciscan church on Merchant's Quay, dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi, but known familiarly as Adam and Eve's, has its place in the first line of Finnegans Wake, as the Liffey flows past it: "riverrun, past Eve and Adam's" (FW.3.1). It got its popular name, appropriately enough, from a pub, in the days when the Franciscan Friars, about the year 1615, "rented a small back house at the rere of an old tavern in Cook Street, then known as the sign of Adam and Eve.... Some confidential person [was] placed at the entrance door, who would not allow any person to pass into the private chapel except those whom he knew to be Roman Catholics, and all such persons had, as a pass or countersign, to use the expression, 'I am going to Adam and Eve'." ²⁸

Among the other churches mentioned are St. Michan's, "a seventeenth-century structure erected on the site of a Danish church which was founded about A.D. 1096. The square battlemented tower is much older than the rest of the building and is believed to date from the Danish period. It is 120 feet high and commands an extensive view of the city." ²⁹ HCE combines the church with Woolworth's: "I raised a dome on the wherewithouts of Michan: by awful tors my wellworth building sprang sky spearing spires, cloud cupoled campaniles" (FW.541.5-7). Dublin's two cathedrals, Christ Church and St. Patrick's, also have their place: "And I sept up twinminsters, the pro and the con, my stavekirks wove so norcelly of peeled wands and attachatouchy floodmud, now all loosebrick and stonefest, freely masoned" (FW.552.2-4). The cathedrals date from Norman times, not Scandinavian as "norcelly" might suggest,

²⁸ Collins, Life in Old Dublin, pp. 111-112.

²⁹ Baile Átha Cliath: Dublin: Official Guide, p. 66.

Christ Church having been started in 1172 and St. Patrick's in 1190, although a Danish church once occupied the site of Christ Church. Both had become dilapidated by the nineteenth century and were restored by Dublin businessmen, Christ Church by Mr. Henry Roe, a distiller, and St. Patrick's by Sir Benjamin Lee Guinness, the brewer. HCE associates himself with the latter, describing how "I did reform and restore for my smuggy piggiesknees... her paddypalace on the crossknoll" (FW.552.20-22). The difficult situation of St. Patrick's, on a low-lying site, and with a subterranean river, the Poddle, flowing underneath, means that it has often been flooded, a fact which Joyce acknowledges by referring to "floodmud" (FW.552.4). The stained-glass in the Lady Chapel becomes a special tribute to ALP: "posied windows for her oriel house" (FW.552.26). Its fine peal of bells, cast in the seventeenth century, ring sonorously for ALP also: "massgo bell, sixton clashcoshant... doom adimdim adoom adimadim" (FW.552.22-24), and its organ, made by Telford & Telford of Dublin, organ builders to Queen Victoria, plays "the oragel of the lauds to tellforth's glory" (FW.552.24-25).³⁰ ALP is being tamed by this abundance of gifts, however; the cathedral font becomes "a shallow laver to slub out her hellfire" (FW.552.25-26).

The architects and artisans who, under HCE's guidance, worked on the city's important buildings, are listed on page 552: "all rubbeling gnomes I pushed, gowgow" (FW.552.9-10). Among them are Richard Cassels, a German who came to Dublin in 1727, and designed several buildings, including Tyrone House, the dining hall and printing house of Trinity College, Leinster House, and the Rotunda Hospital, said to be the first designed especially for maternity care. "In my bethel of Solyman's I accouched their rotundaties" (FW.542.27-28) combines the name of the hospital with Dr. Bethel Solomon, one of its directors. James Gandon designed the Custom House, the east front of the Parliament House and the Four Courts. Thomas Deane was an architect who worked in Dublin in

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 61-65. See also Fritz Senn, "Tellforth's Glory", A Wake Newslitter, IV, 2 (April 1967), 42.

the eighteenth century. Edward Smyth did the sculptures at the Custom House. John Henry Foley made the Goldsmith and Burke Statues for Trinity College and the O'Connell monument. John Van Nost made the equestrian statue of George II which used to stand in Stephen's Green. William Hamo Thorneycroft was also a sculptor, as was John Hogan, who made the statue of O'Connell which stands in the City Hall.³¹ The Tholsel, "thollstall" (FW.539.22), built in 1683 to serve as a toll or custom house, civil court, and exchange for merchants has its place in the city, as have the terminals for the four railway companies which flourished at one time in Ireland: "the Geenar, the Greasouwea, the Debwickweck, the Mifgreawis" (FW.552.1-2). These represent respectively the Great Northern Railway Company, the Great Southern and Western Railway Company, the Dublin Wicklow and Wexford Railway Company, and the Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland Company.³² The development of Dublin parks, especially Joyce's favourite, the Phoenix Park, said to be the largest enclosed public park in the world, is more generally described: "I planted for my own hot lisbing lass a quickset vineyard and I fenced it about with huge Chesterfield elms... for a Queen's garden of her phoenix" (FW.553.17-24). The park took its name from a clear spring, called in Irish Fionn-Uisge (fair water), the sound of which suggests both its anglicization, Phoenix, and whiskey, which also derives from uisge. Finn MacCool's name, of course, is also an element here. HCE offers ALP a tribute of another kind when he "brewed for my alpine plurabelle... my granvilled brandold Dublin lindub, the free, the froh, the frothy freshener" (FW.553.24-26). Lionn dubh is the Irish word for black ale, the traditional Irish drink of Guinness.

The Dublin streets and districts are all-pervasive, starting with the streets of the old Scandinavian city, such as Stonybatter, "stony

³¹ See Glasheen, Second Census for details of these architects and sculptors.

³² Fritz Senn, "Terminals Four", A Wake Newslitter, VIII, 3(June 1971), 46.

battered waggonways" (FW.553.28-29) and Thomas Street, "Thorstan's, recte Thomars Sraid" (FW.543.16-17), which appears in both a Norse and a Gaelic version since sraid is Irish for street. The practice of giving street signs both English and Irish versions is mocked gently as HCE gives translations of some of them: Rathfarnham becomes "Farnum's rath" (rath means fort), Drumcondra, "Condra's ridge" (drom means ridge), and Clondalkin, "the meadows of Dalkin" (cluain means meadow), (FW.532.12-13).³³ The newer suburbs of Fairview, north of the Liffey, and Rathmines and Rathgar to the south, are mentioned: "I let faireviews in on slobodens but ranked rothgardes round wrathminders" (FW.541.25-26); as are Richmond and Ranelagh: "I richmounded the rainelag" (FW.542.4-5). This sort of passing reference is frequent throughout Finnegans Wake; whenever possible Joyce works in the physical structure of his favourite city.

Several disreputable characters who used to live there also find their place - for instance, Billy in the Bowl and Scaldbrother. Billy was a beggar who

used to ply his calling between the quiet streets of Stoneybatter and the Green Lanes of Grangegorman. He was nicknamed 'Billy in the Bowl' having been introduced into the world with only a head, body and arms. When he grew up he conveyed himself along in a large bowl fortified by iron, in which he was embedded.... Nature had compensated for his curtailment by giving him fine dark eyes, an aquiline nose, and a well formed mouth, with dark curling locks, and a body and arms of Herculean power.³⁴

He was said to inveigle passers-by into unfrequented alleys where he would rob them of their valuables and kill them, until two ladies escaped his attack and he was sent to prison for life.³⁵ In Finnegans Wake he is named as "Billi with the Boule" (FW.82.29) and his ill-deeds

33 O Hehir, Gaelic Lexicon for "Finnegans Wake", p. 284.

34 Collins, Life in Old Dublin, p. 77.

35 Ibid., pp. 78-79.

are commemorated when HCE says: "I beggered about the amnibushes like belly in a bowle" (FW.542.35). Several references to Bill and Bowl also include him.³⁶ Scaldbrother was also a robber who "inhabited a labyrinthine cavern on this hill [Arbour Hill], a most intricate maze (as Standihurst [sic] terms it) extending two miles under ground, where he deposited the plunder he snatched from the people of Oxmantown,"³⁷ thus Joyce has "Scaldbrothar's Hole" (FW.99.13) and "Arrest thee, scald-brother" (FW.223.19). With a similar desire for local colour Joyce has worked in the names of eighteenth-century Dublin taverns: "the Rose and Bottle or Phoenix Tavern or Power's Inn or Jude's Hotel" (FW.205.24-25).³⁸

As if to balance the spectacular nature of the lives of Dublin robbers, the vast majority, living in slums and tenements, have their abodes described in catalogue form on pages 543-545, the word "respectable" recurring throughout as a refrain. J.S. Atherton has demonstrated that these pages consist almost entirely of quotations, loosely adapted, from B. Seebohm Rowntree's Poverty, a Study of Town Life, published in 1902. The author is even acknowledged in the text coupled with Rowntrees, the sweet manufacturers: "calories exclusively from Rowntrees and dumplings" (FW.544.34-35). As an example of the way in which Joyce used the book, the comments on one family "Respectable. Tidy. Nine young children. Had parish relief stopped for illegitimate child. Query - how they live?" becomes "has a tenth illegitimate coming, partly respectable" (FW.543.35) and "queery how they live" (FW.545.6).³⁹ Rowntree's investigation was carried out in the north of England, but its transposition to Dublin still seems very authentic. HCE welcomes all these citizens, rich or poor, respectable or lawless, Irish or foreign,

³⁶ L.O. Mink, "Bowlbeggar Bill", A Wake Newslitter, X, 3(June 1973), 38.

³⁷ Collins, Life in Old Dublin, p. 69.

³⁸ L.O. Mink, "Taverns", A Wake Newslitter, XII, 2(April 1975), 27.

³⁹ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, pp. 75-79.

into his city: "all, let them all come, they are my villeins" (FW.545.13-14).

Joyce's verbal perambulation through Dublin may owe something to the custom, which Harris describes, of riding the franchises. This ceremony originally took place annually, later at three yearly intervals, and was a method of surveying and confirming the city limits, defined by Royal charter. The mayor and leading citizens rode in procession to all the boundaries named in the charters, "well horsed, armed and in good array."⁴⁰ HCE concludes his account of the development of the city with a similar display, in which ALP takes part: "whereon, in mantram of truemen... claudesdales withe arabinstreeds... others giggling gaily, some sedated in sedans: my priccoping gents, aroger, aroger, my damsells softsidesaddled... the mule and the hinny and the jennet and the mustard nag and piebald shjelties and skewbald awknees steppit lively... for her pleashadure" (FW.553.31-554.6).

Such a concentration on Dublin detail in a work which has the universe as its ostensible field of action is at first inexplicable and certainly tends to make Finnegans Wake inaccessible to many who do not know the city. The details selected above as illustrations do no more than scratch the surface of allusion. Joyce's friend Frank Budgen, with whom Joyce discussed his work more freely perhaps than with any other friend said of him:

For Joyce, like a true exile, is fast moored to his native earth with the cable of his memory. He becomes the more at one with his city in that it lives in him not he in it. It is an experience universal and personal like a dream... for whatever the colour and legend of London, Paris, Trieste, Zurich, Rome, they must be baptised in the Liffey and acclimatised in Dublin before they become available for his art.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Harris, The History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin, p. 127. See also Chapter VI: "Of the manner how the citizens of Dublin rode their franchises in antient and modern times", pp.114-141.

⁴¹ Budgen, James Joyce and the making of "Ulysses", pp. 282-283.

What is true for foreign cities is also strangely true for Ireland and its history, for the majority of incidents recalled or referred to took place in or near Dublin, and the volume of references to places in Dublin is far greater than similar references for the rest of the country. Again Frank Budgen had access to a valuable insight:

Joyce is more a Dubliner than an Irishman. His form of patriotism is that of a citizen of a free town in the middle ages. He has told me that he would rather be burgomaster of a city like Amsterdam than emperor of any empire; for a burgomaster is somebody among people he knows, while an emperor rules over unknowable people in unknown territories. His interest in Ireland is intense from Howth Head to the far side of Phoenix Park, and from Glasnevin to Rathmines (conterminous, therefore, with the old Scandinavian kingdom of Dyfflinarsky), but begins to fade before it reaches Leitrim, and hardly exists at all at the Atlantic seaboard. In Work in Progress Ireland features only as the estate of the Lord of Dublin and is populated with his quarrelsome and troublesome tenants. ⁴²

That is the role of HCE, creator and ruler of Dublin with his consort ALP: together they preside over a city-state which gives its tone to the entire countryside and the whole of Finnegans Wake. Dublin, the focal point of Ireland, experienced all the vicissitudes of fortune which the country endured, and recorded its past not only in written accounts, but also in the survival of buildings and street names. Events which took place there provided Joyce with a useful shorthand for national experiences: thus Clontarf evokes the clash of the Irish and the Norseman, while the co-existence of Norse and Irish names expresses the inter-relationship of races which developed in spite of such conflicts. It is in Dublin that HCE exists as a creative force whose vigour can enliven all the rest of Ireland. As for the Irish countryside, he is present there only when he is dead and buried underneath it.

42 Ibid., p. 151.

HCE and the People: a Man for All Seasons

"It was put in the newses what he did" (FW.196.20)

The city, HCE's greatest creation, is barely a reality when his own citizens call on him to justify himself and his actions: "Eher the following winter had overed the pages of nature's book and till Ceadurbar-atta-Cleath became Dablerna Tertia, the shadow of the huge outlander, maladik, multvult, magnoperous, had bulked at the bar of a rota of tribunals" (FW.57.30-33). In one sense the whole of Finnegans Wake is concerned with accusations against HCE and defences put up by himself and his family, as he is called upon to justify what he has created in the past before he can be permitted to embark on new creativity. Like God, he made a world from nothing, "erigenating from next to nothing" (FW.4.36-5.1), a kind of creativity with which Don Scotus Erigena (from Ireland) was concerned in De Divisione Naturae. HCE, however, is not divine, but all too human, and occasionally confused as to his own identity and value, "human, erring and condonable" (FW.58.19). Through his ill-defined guilt he becomes more interesting than he ever was through his divine creativity, so that "we hear also through successive ages that shebby choruysh... that would blackguardise the whitestone ever hurtleturtled out of heaven" (FW.5.15-18). The refrain of the gossiping washerwomen is echoed throughout by juries, judges, inquisitors and citizens: "O, tell me all I want to hear" (FW.198.14). The constant talkers depict HCE in many ways but never as he presents himself, building a city for love. Throughout Finnegans Wake, HCE appears in many centuries and mutates through different historical roles, as he is examined from all angles of space and time by the populace. Some of the more extensive roles such as Patrick, Leary, Roderick O'Connor, Mark, Arthur and the Russian General have already been discussed. HCE is associated briefly with many other personages when the context of a passage suggested a parallel to Joyce. However, Finn, Parnell, the Duke of Wellington and Swift are also figures which provide HCE with an important dimension connected to Ireland's past, and deserve to be placed within the context of this study, although

many aspects of their significance have already been explicated by other scholars.

The most pervasive role of HCE is that of Finn MacCool, the hero of the Fenian or Ossianic cycle of epic tales. It is the role of which the populace most approve: they never attack HCE as Finn, since in that guise he is their hero, representing an idealized Celtic past. There may have been some historical basis for the tales told about Finn, as he is mentioned in the annals along with Cormac MacArt, King of Ireland, whose army was the Fianna. However, the method of recording early events of Irish history militates against the clear distinction of fact and fiction: "the Romans thought of their myths historically but the Irish thought of their history and geography mythologically."⁴³ The same is true of Finnegans Wake, where history is transmuted to archetypal myth.

The Finn legends, surprisingly, do not form any strong narrative support for the structure of the novel, although scattered references abound. The popular belief that Finn is not dead but sleeping, and that he will come again in the time of Ireland's need, which accords with the recorso theme, is the most pervasive reason for reference: "Mister Finn, you're going to be Mister Finnagain!" (FW.5.9-10). Many of the traditions about Finn's life are incorporated into the texture of Finnegans Wake. He was said to have been reared by two women-warriors, Bodball, and the Grey One of Luachar, to whom Joyce adds a third of his own, Skerry: "The same three that nursed you, Skerry, Badbols and the Grey One" (FW.376.26-27). The marking of a man's progress by changes of name, which Joyce used in connection with Tristan and Patrick, and also to suggest stages in the development of the city of Dublin,⁴⁴ is also a feature of his depiction of Finn. As a boy he was known as Demne, "it

⁴³ Hughes, Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources, p. 190.

⁴⁴ See above, pp.219-220 , also p.170.

scurves you right, demnye!" (FW.376.15-16), but when he had been accepted into the Fianna he became known as Finn, the fair one, because of his fair skin and hair. .

Finn became possessed of the wisdom of the salmon of knowledge, through an accident in cooking it for Finneces the poet, according to one version, or for a giant according to another. He had been told not to eat any of the salmon, for the first to eat it would gain the wisdom. Finn, however, burned his thumb and sucked it to relieve the pain, and this was sufficient to make him the recipient of the salmon's wisdom. In order to find the answer to difficult questions Finn had only to suck his thumb. Finneces appears in Finnegans Wake as "The finnecies of poetry wed music" (FW.377.16-17), while Finn's thumbsucking is also included: "And you'll sing thumb a bit and then wise your selmon on it" (FW.625.15-16). In fact, the aftertaste of the salmon was always with him: "the salmon he was coming up in him all life long" (FW.132.35-36).

Finn became the leader of the Fianna, and their name derives from his. The troop prided itself on its fitness and on the prowess of all those admitted to membership, so Finn is described as "mountun mighty, faunonfleetfoot" (FW.128.3-4), and they held themselves always ready for battle: "firm look in readiness, forward spear" (FW.131.25). Their favourite pastime, when not fighting, was hunting as in "his hunt for the boar" (FW.132.4-5), though in Finnegans Wake HCE himself becomes the quarry, "hounded become haunter, hunter become fox" (FW.132.16-17), and twice is pursued by "Gundogs of all breeds" through the townlands of county Meath" (FW.96.36-97.18 and 622.25-35).⁴⁵ Finn's hunting-dog Bran does, however, join him from time to time as "A bran new, speedhount" (FW.232.28) and as an advertisement doggie: "Buy bran

⁴⁵ For the routes followed by the hunt see L.O. Mink, "Townlands", A Wake Newslitter, XII, 4(August 1975), 64-65.

biscuits and you'll never say dog" (FW.376.29).⁴⁶

The River Boyne, where Finn caught the Salmon of Knowledge, is recalled by "Will ate everadayde saumone like a boyne alive O" (FW.538.20-21), or "foyneboyne salmon alive" (FW.41.26-27). Finn also met his death at Ath Fhirdia, on the banks of the Boyne. In the annals 283 A.D. is given as the year of his death, together with a poem of lament:

Finn was killed, it was with darts,
With a lamentable wound;
Aichleach, son of Duibhdream, cut off
The head of the son of Mochtamuin.

Were it not that Caeilti took revenge,
It would have been a victory after all his true battles;
The three were cut off by him,
Exulting over the head of the Royal champion. ⁴⁷

The link which the Boyne provided between the place where Finn gained his magic power and where he lost it in death makes it a useful motif of decline for Joyce, accentuated in the two Boyne phrases mentioned above by the repetition of "alive" and the contrast with "everadayde". Its association with turning points in the story of Finn is reinforced by its significance in later Irish history, when it was the scene of the decisive clash between the forces of William of Orange and James II in 1690, "the battle of the Boyne" (FW.114.36), which has since become symbolic of the divisions created in the country by the seventeenth-century policy of plantation. The Boyne, therefore, expresses both the vigour and decline of HCE as Finn, and the battles of his sons, in the context of Finnegans Wake.

A considerable amount of the material connected with Finn comes not from Irish sources but from the Ossianic forgeries of James

46 For a general description of the Fenian cycle in Finnegans Wake see Beechold, Early Irish History and Mythology in "Finnegans Wake", Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1956.

47 Annals of the Four Masters, I, 121.

Macpherson, which is named as "MacPerson's Oshean" (FW.123.25) and "Makefearsome's Ocean" (FW.294.13). Joyce may have been struck by the parallel between Macpherson's work and Shem's, who is accused of uttering "an epical forged cheque on the public for his own private profit" (FW.181.16-17). A review of Stuart Gilbert's book James Joyce's Ulysses: A Study, written in 1931, quoted a letter from Oliver St. John Gogarty, in which he said " 'for Joyce is a joke', " ⁴⁸ an attitude which Joyce may have taken as typical of what Irishmen thought of him, and which made Ossian a rather bitter analogy for his own Finnegans Wake. With one of those coincidences which delighted Joyce, Gogarty himself clinched the analogy in a review of Finnegans Wake written soon after publication in 1939: "This is the most colossal leg-pull in literature since McPherson's Ossian." ⁴⁹ Fritz Senn has compiled an extensive list of the Ossian material which Joyce used, and notes that "Most of the Ossianic material, and in particular the more specific quotations, was added fairly late on the Faber galleys." ⁵⁰ Its contribution is thus ornamental rather than organic, consisting of names of the Ossianic poems themselves and the names of characters and places mentioned in them, and echoes of the actual wording, inserted throughout the text, occasionally in clusters.

These are the most interesting passages, as their original material was especially suitable for such insertions. The names which are used, usually without alteration, are easily traced to their sources in Ossian. The riddle, to which the answer is Finn MacCool, has several insertions: the names of two hills, "Mora and Lora had a hill of a high time" (FW.131.23-24): of a lake, "the lakemist of Lego" (FW.131.26): and, perhaps most interesting, a reference to Fingal's standard which

⁴⁸ Anon., " 'A Fellow Dubliner', The Veritable James Joyce according to Stuart Gilbert and Oliver St. John Gogarty" International Forum, No. 1 (July 1931), 13-17, reprinted in James Joyce: The Critical Heritage, II, 559.

⁴⁹ Oliver St. John Gogarty, "Review of Finnegans Wake", Observer, 7 May 1939, p.4, reprinted in James Joyce: The Critical Heritage, II, 675.

⁵⁰ Fritz Senn, "Ossianic Echoes", A Wake Newslitter, III, 2 (April 1966), 35. This article, pp. 25-36, is the source for the examples used in this paragraph.

Macpherson describes in a footnote: " 'Fingal's standard was distinguished by the name of sunbeam.... To begin a battle is expressed, in old composition, by lifting of the sunbeam'." ⁵¹ This becomes "When the streamy morvenlight calls up the sunbeam" (FW.131.28-29), with a further reference to Morven, Fingal's Kingdom. The association of Fingal with dawn and the effort of battle at daybreak blends well with the associations of HCE, especially since the more bellicose connotations are played down. Macpherson also supplies a female sun-figure in Dagrena or Deo-gréna, which means a sunbeam. ⁵² Joyce associates her too with the coming of new day in "come first dagrene day" (FW.228.8) and "Dayagreening" (FW.607.24). Similarly, in the chapter on Shem, Book I, chapter 7, a pair of warring brothers Cathmor and Cairbar, whom Macpherson describes in a footnote " 'The brothers form a contrast: we do not detest the mean soul of Cairbar more than we admire the disinterested and generous mind of Cathmor' " ⁵³ appear as "Cathmon-Carbery" (FW.194.2).

Joyce uses Ossianic echoes also to confirm the identification of the Norwegian Captain with Finn, which is suggested by ALP's reminiscence: "Captain Finsen makes cumhulments [MacCumhail is the Irish version of MacCool] and was mayit pressing for his suit" (FW.624.28-29). The captain's bride is at one point identified with Roscrana, who in Temora is the daughter of Cormac and the mother of Ossian: "Roscranna's bolgaboyo begirlified the daughter of Cormac" (FW. 329.17-18). Macpherson glosses her name as "Ros-crana, the beam of the rising sun," ⁵⁴ confirming the association with dawn which characterizes several of Joyce's borrowings from the Ossianic material. In the Irish stories it is Gráinne or Grania who was the daughter of Cormac, and escaped with Diarmaid from marriage with Finn, who was then old enough to be her father, "Miss MacCormack Ni Lacarthy who made off with Darly

51 Ibid., p. 27.

52 Ibid., p. 30.

53 Ibid., p. 29.

54 Ibid., p. 33.

Dermod" (FW.137.2-3), leading to the famous chase by Finn which forms the subject of Toraíocht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne or The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne, which Joyce surprisingly uses only for brief references, since it forms an Irish parallel to the central Tristan and Isolde tale. These few examples are fairly representative of the contribution made to the book by the Ossianic additions: though extensive they do not alter its underlying tone and intentions, and in fact they appear to have been selected to blend and intensify the texture. It is a tribute to the skill with which they were inserted that they do not proclaim themselves, and fulfil the ornamental function for which they were chosen.

The framework for the Irish cycle of tales of the Fianna is provided in Acallamb na Senórach or the Colloquy of the Old Men in which Oisín, son of Finn, and another warrior, Caoilte Mac Rónáin escape the destruction of the Finna at Gabhra and survive to meet St. Patrick to whom they tell the stories of the adventures they and their companions experienced. Patrick is eager to convert these survivors of the heroic pagan way of life, but Oisín refuses to be persuaded, "scornfully refusing baptism and its requisite repudiation of his past, and deliberately electing to rejoin Fionn and the Fianna in hell."⁵⁵ This encounter is re-enacted in Finnegans Wake, as Patrick attempts to pour the baptismal water "ouishguss" (FW.326.5), or uisce, Irish for water: "Pat is the man for thy. Ay ay! And he pured him beheild of the ouishguss, mingling a sign of the cruisk. I popetithes thee, Ocean, sayd he, Oscarvaughther, [Oscar was the son of Oisín] ... out of the hellsinky of the howtheners and be danned to ye" (FW.326.4-13). Oisín responds with an invitation to drink, "my lately lamented sponsorship, comesend round that wine and lift your horn" (FW.326.27-28), and launches into an account of the pleasures of feasting and women in defiance of Patrick's efforts to change him.

The Finn stories, unlike the cycle dealing with Cuchulain and

⁵⁵ O Hehir, Gaelic Lexicon for "Finnegans Wake", p. 422.

the Red Branch Knights, were the entertainment of the people rather than of the courts, and remain so in the Gaelic-speaking areas of Ireland and Scotland. Because of their popularity, they have been changed and added to, while Finn developed from a warrior leader to a giant-sized figure endowed with magical powers,⁵⁶ capable, for example, of building the Giant's Causeway as a stepping-stone path between his Scottish and Irish domains: "giant builder of all causeways woesoever" (FW.576.18-19). This folklore Finn, "larger than life, doughtier than death" (FW.132.28-29) was embedded in Finnegans Wake before the more elegant Fingal came to bear him company, and it is he, the creation of the people's imagination, who is closest to HCE.

Whereas HCE as Finn is admired by the people, more frequently he is reviled by them for crimes real or imaginary, as the guilt, which for Joyce was an intrinsic element of creativity, undermines both his city and himself. This is expressed most specifically in the passage dealing with the trial of Festy King (FW.85.20-94.22), a rural Irishman accused of a crime described as "flying cushats out of his ouveralls and making fesses immodst his forces on the field" (FW.85.29-31). He is said to be a native of "Mayo of the Saxons" (FW.85.25), which gained its name from a monastery of English monks from St. Colman's establishment at Lindisfarne, who retreated to Ireland rather than accept the decision of the conference of Whitby, 664 A.D., in favour of adopting the Roman date for Easter.⁵⁷

The trial rehearses the familiar incident of "clanetourf" (FW.86.10) or Clontarf, which here links the battle with the offence of the Russian general, since Festy uses clean turf on his face to disguise himself. Festy was "once known as Meleky" (FW.86.8), or Malachy, the

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 421.

⁵⁷ Haverty, History of Ireland, p. 99.

king deposed by Brian. The suspicion of being disloyal to the king is part of his guilt, as instead of celebrating on Guy Fawkes night, "he would be there to remember the filth of November" (FW.87.4). The passage contains many references to pigs, which Festy wished to sell at a fair, perhaps Puck Fair, which is mentioned: "the goat king of Killorglin" (FW.87.26), and Philip L. Graham has analysed this theme to show the strong scapegoat element that attaches to HCE when under trial here.⁵⁸ Whereas he is frequently a scapegoat because of his foreignness, however, here he belongs to the Celtic races, a "cymtrymanx" (FW.85.36) from Wales and the Isle of Man, using the "royal Irish vocabulary" (FW.86.1), and using a "Brythonic interpreter" (FW.91.3-4). Most of the trial is taken up with the differences of the prosecution and the defence, who turn out to be Shem and Shaun, "equals of opposites, evolved by a onesame power of nature or of spirit" (FW.92.8-9), who frequent different pubs, "the king's head to the republican's arms" (FW.90.5-6), and whose different political beliefs naturally lead to "pugnaxities" (FW.90.6). The case is judged by the four old men, "the four justicers" (FW.92.35). Festy King is finally forced to defend himself "in a loudburst of poesy" (FW.91.3), and "having murdered all the English he knew... left the tribunal scotfree" (FW.93.2-3), the only time in Finnegans Wake that he succeeds in freeing himself from his legal difficulties.

One precedent for this trial is a case to which Joyce referred in an article written in Trieste in 1907,⁵⁹ the trial for murder of an old man called Myles Joyce, which took place in Galway in 1882. The old man was a native of Maamtrasna, as Festy is "a child of Maam" (FW.85.22-23). Neither the old man nor any of his fellow-accused knew any English, and the court proceedings were described by Joyce as "at times comic and at times tragic."⁶⁰ Because of the language barrier it was difficult

⁵⁸ Philip L. Graham, "The Middlewhite Fair", A Wake Newslitter, VI, 5(October 1969), 67-69.

⁵⁹ James Joyce, "Ireland at the Bar", in his Critical Writings, pp.197-200.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 197.

both to question the accused and to understand their answers, a point Joyce gets across by his parody: "mhuith peisth mhaise as fearra bheura muirre hriosmas" (FW.91.4-5), a phrase, apparently Irish, which is really English using Irish spelling conventions, and saying only "With best wishes for a very merry Christmas." The old man, in particular, responded to even the simplest questions by "an involved explanation, gesticulating, appealing to the others accused and to heaven,"⁶¹ reminiscent of Festy's "louburst of poetry" (FW.91.3). However, the outcome was happier for Festy than for Myles Joyce, as he and two others were found guilty and hanged.

Adaline Glasheen and J.S. Atherton have commented on the use, throughout this chapter, of material from John Macdonald's The Diary of the Parnell Commission Revised from the "Daily News", an account of the investigation into Parnell's alleged knowledge of the Phoenix Park murders, which hinged on the Pigott forgeries.⁶² It is especially used during the trial of Festy King, and Parnell's complete vindication parallels Festy King's. Macdonald may be suggested by "Hyacinth O'Donnell, B.A.,... a mixer and wordpainter" (FW.87.12-13), and "Prodooce O'Donner" (FW.87.31-32). As at the trial of Myles Joyce, many of the witnesses spoke Irish as a first language, resulting in the same kind of confusion about the evidence.

Pigott is named several times, and the fatal word "hesitency" echoes throughout Finnegans Wake, especially in a passage following the trial of Festy King where Pigott becomes associated with a hunted fox, after he had absconded from the trial: "But the spoil of hesitants, the spell of hesitency. His atake is it ashe, tittery taw tatterytail, hasitense humponadimply.... Assembly men murmured. Reynard is slow!"

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 197.

⁶² Glasheen, Second Census, p. 159, and Atherton, The Books at the Wake, pp. 101-104.

(FW.97.25-28). Macdonald's description of the reaction in court to the news that he was missing was an " 'inarticulate murmur of surprise among the spectators'. "⁶³ His subsequent suicide in Spain, which added a further sensation to those which the press had already created around the trial, follows: "One feared for his days. Did there yawn? 'Twas his stomick. Eruct? The libber. A gush? From his visuals. Pung? Delivver him, orelode! He had laid violent hands on himself, it was brought in Fugger's Newsletter, lain down, all in, fagged out, with equally melancholy death" (FW.97.29-33). The queries as to the manner of his death, which was by shooting, are soon answered: "Big went the bang: then wildewide was quiet: a report: silence: "(FW.98.1-2). This death, though it cleared his hero Parnell, affected Joyce, for Piggott's two sons had been at school with him in Clongowes.⁶⁴

Parnell is an important role for HCE, since he provided Joyce with a hero-figure who rose to great heights of popular esteem only to fall spectacularly for the sake of a woman. He was called "the uncrowned King of Ireland,"⁶⁵ an epithet which finds its way into Finnegans Wake as "that onecrowned king of inscrewments" (FW.43.32) and "uncrowned, decepthered" (FW.289.30-290.1), incorporating both his success and his fall. The first of the Times articles which attempted to discredit him was called "Parnellism and Crime," which becomes "pannellism and grime" (FW.243.9): his supporters are "panellite" (FW.334.14), his opponents "Antepummelites" (FW.498.10-11). The famous speech, made at Cork, in which he said: " 'No man has a right to fix the boundary of the march of a nation. No man has a right to say, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther"; and we have never attempted to fix the ne plus ultra to the progress of Ireland's nationhood, and

⁶³ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 103.

⁶⁴ Ellmann, James Joyce, p. 31.

⁶⁵ Irvine, Parnell, p. 136.

we never shall' "⁶⁶ becomes "setting a match to the march of a maker" (FW.41.35-36). Parnell's predecessor as leader of the Irish party, Isaac Butt, appears several times, usually as the bridge of the same name in Dublin, for example "Isaac's Butt, Poor Man" (FW.421.4), or "butt under his bridge" (FW.6.7). Gladstone, who formed his governments with the support of the Irish party but was instrumental in having Parnell rejected as leader after he had been named in Captain O'Shea's divorce suit, features as "Primewar Glasstone" (FW.41.35), "The grand ohold spider!" (FW.352.23-24), and in many other places. He is essentially a Shaun figure, a hypocritical moralist who privately knew of Parnell's liaison with Mrs. O'Shea, and was himself accused of saving fallen girls for his own purposes.⁶⁷ So he is cautioned by Joyce: "And nosty mens in gladshouses they shad not peggot stones" (FW.536.36-537.1).

The real traitor in the Parnell story, however, is Timothy Healy, once Parnell's friend and able assistant, who became his most effective opponent in the discussions which led to his deposition. The argument which led to the split in the Irish party between Parnell's supporters and opponents took place at Westminster in Committee Room 15: "Committal-man Number Underfifteen" (FW.529.8-9), and Healy's emotional and at times insulting speeches were crucial in dividing the party. They are reported in detail in St. John Ervine's Parnell, which Joyce told Harriet Shaw Weaver she ought to read,⁶⁸ and were also extensively reported in newspapers at the time, inflaming the passions of Parnellites like Joyce's father, whose indignation inspired James, then aged nine, to write a poem about Healy called "Et tu, Healy"⁶⁹ which in Finnegans Wake becomes "Et Cur Heli!" (FW.73.19). He is further mocked in phrases

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 219.

⁶⁷ Glasheen, Second Census, p. 282.

⁶⁸ Joyce, Letters, I, 241.

⁶⁹ Ellman, James Joyce, p. 33.

like "Heali Baboon and the Forky Theagues" (FW.176.12-13), with a hint of the forty-five Irish members who voted against Parnell. Healy later became the first Governor-General of Ireland after the treaty, which was undoubtedly one of the reasons why Joyce distrusted the new state which at one point he calls the "subsequious ages of our timocracy" (FW.291.8). The image of the phoenix, which in the Viconian system is a hopeful symbol of rebirth, is given an ironic twist when applied to Dublin after the treaty: "... when peace was restored all were splendidly rebuilt. Dublin, ever irrepressible, rose phoenix - like from its ashes."⁷⁰ Tim Healy's home in Chapelizod was, however, called Heliopolis, after the Egyptian city which contained the temple of the phoenix, and in Joyce's eyes HCE can no longer be at home in the new Dublin: "Sure you'd only lose yourself in Healiopolis now" (FW.24.17-18).

The love affair which led to this personal disaster for Parnell is woven into the texture of Finnegans Wake, especially into those passages where women appear as temptresses. Katherine O'Shea's name is easily associated with the Irish word for fairy, sídhe, anglicized Shee, who were often represented in folktales as luring men to their doom. In Finnegans Wake she is "his mate of the Sheawolving class" (FW.49.28-29) with a "wild wishwish of her sheeshea" (FW.92.31). Her Parnell adopted pseudonyms like Preston, Stewart, Fox, or Smith to avoid detection when he was with her, and also hides in Finnegans Wake as "last of the stewards" (FW.41.36) and "stewhard" (FW.455.34). A detail of evidence from the divorce case, when a servant testified that Mr. Stewart left by the fire-escape when Captain O'Shea called unexpectedly, becomes "Fuisfinister, fuyerescaper!" (FW.228.28-29).⁷¹ Parnell, the great leader and popular hero, who also has a guilty secret and is publicly pilloried for it, is an important role for HCE, but Katherine is not associated with ALP to any great extent, since hers was a love

⁷⁰ Baile Átha Cliath: Dublin: Official Guide, p. 38.

⁷¹ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 134.

that destroyed, whereas Anna's is the love that recreates out of destruction.

HCE also has strong connections with Arthur Wellesley, first Duke of Wellington, though the opposition between Napoleon and Wellington is also a phase of the historical conflicts between the battling brothers. HCE seems to be associated with Wellington because the monument to his memory stands in HCE's Phoenix Park, and becomes an appropriately placed phallic symbol, so that Wellington at Waterloo may be seen as HCE, sexually victorious, displaying his "Sexcaliber hrosspower" (FW.8.36). The theme is introduced early in Finnegans Wake by a tour of the "Willingdone Museyroom" (FW.8.10) conducted by the "janitrix, the mistress Kathe" (FW.8.8), in which she points out many relics of Waterloo as well as the debris of several other battles. Wellington is presented on his white horse, Copenhagen: "This is the Willingdone on his same white harse, the Cokenhape" (FW.8.16-17); while Napoleon appears in his tricorn hat: "This is the triplewon hat of Lipoleum" (FW.8.15-16). Belgium, the country where their decisive encounter took place, appears several times as "Belchum" (FW.9.1,4,10,13, 15,30-31). Bullets, flags and guns are on display, as well as mementoes of other battles. The Boyne and Enniskillen, scenes of Williamite victories in 1689 and 1670 are present as "boyne" (FW.8.22) and "inimyskilling" (FW.8.23). Agincourt, "agincourting" (FW.9.7), Crecy, "boycottencrazy" (FW.9.8), Flodden, "floodens" (FW.9.24), Bannockburn, "panickburns" (FW.9.25) are there, as well as Leghorn, "legahorns" (FW.8.31), Salamanca, "Salamangra" (FW.9.13), and Thermopylae, "their mobbily" (FW.9.25). With Wellington and Napoleon are generals or leaders like Blucher, "blooches" (FW.9.22), Cromwell, "Awful Grimmest Sunshat Cromwelly" (FW.9.1-2) and Bismarck, "bissmark" (FW.9.32). The passage in fact is crammed with the bric à brac of warfare through the ages, much of which, especially references to Napoleon, Wellington and Cromwell, is also scattered through the rest of the book to remind us that whatever the topic under discussion, war is never far away. Its futile destructiveness, which leaves behind only such debris as can

fill a museum, and whose human victors and the horses which carried them must perish, is bleakly conveyed by Kate's closing sentences: "How Copenhagen ended. [*My italics.*] This way the museyroom. Mind your boots goan out" (FW.10.21-23). War is relegated to a secondary position only when the women, Anna or Issy and her girlfriends, are speaking. For them the past is seen personally, in terms of their own experience, but more often they live in the present, dealing with the situation, good or bad, as it presents itself.

Jonathan Swift also contributes something to the character of HCE, though he appears at times to be associated with Shem the Penman through his writings and with Shaun through his involvement in politics. The references to his life and writings are extensive and widely spread throughout Finnegans Wake.⁷² He is associated with HCE through his epigram on the building of a Magazine in Phoenix Park,⁷³ which is the physical location for HCE's mysterious misdemeanour, and thus metaphorically, of his fall: "where he last fellowem, by the mund of the magazine wall" (FW.7.31-32). Swift the Dean, which in an Irish accent might sound more like Dane, is associated with HCE the founder of Dublin, especially when he engaged in activities likely to benefit the city, such as adopting the character of a Draper in order to protest at the introduction of Wood's ha'pence: "a starr and girton for Draper and Deane" (FW.211.1-2). Like the older HCE figures, Finn and Mark of Cornwall, his life was complicated by the love of younger women, his "two stellas" (FW.551.29), Esther Johnson and Vanessa Vanhomrigh. Swift

⁷² Mackie L. Jarrell, "Swiftiana in Finnegans Wake", ELH, XXVI, 2(June 1959), 271-294; Atherton, The Books at the Wake, pp.114-123; Broes, Jonathan Swift in "Finnegans Wake", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburg, 1970.

⁷³ Swift's epigram, said to be the last lines he ever wrote, reads:
 "Behold a proof of Irish sense!
 Here Irish wit is seen!
 Where nothing's left that's worth defence,
 They build a magazine." Poems, ed. Williams (Oxford: 1937),
 III, 843.
 See also Joyce's parody of the complete epigram, FW.12.36-13.3.

in Finnegans Wake plays many roles, however, and Atherton's comment that "Joyce's synthetical Swift is not only divided into three persons; he is also provided with two natures,"⁷⁴ reflects the variety of his contribution. His works are mentioned frequently, though rarely quoted; his "little language" from the Journal to Stella has contributed to Joyce's use of language; but it is the details of his life and loves which have been most used, almost on every page. The total effect, appropriate perhaps in a work which is essentially comic, is that "the Swift of Finnegans Wake is a tragi-comic reduction of the Swift legend. In spite of the minutiae, Joyce makes little use of Swift's works: he uses instead the names and tags found in any brief biography."⁷⁵ It seems to me that the multiplicity of detail was also used without any single intention as to the role Swift might play: he contributes something to everyone, and seems to be everywhere, but like the chameleon he cannot be seen himself.

This is very different from the many roles played by HCE, each of which confirm his identity though each shows it differently. As Finn MacCool he is the archetypal hero of the people, a dim giant figure from the past, more myth than reality. As Dublin's first citizen he is Sitric, King of the Danes of Dublin, or Lawrence O'Toole its bishop, or Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. At the height of his achievement he can even become King of England: "woollem the farsed, hahnreich the althe, charge the sackend, writchad the thord" (FW.138.32-33); or High King of Ireland, as Leary or Roderick O'Connor. When he goes into politics he is as spectacular as Parnell, or Daniel O'Connell, "the Great Liberator," who was said to have peopled "the ribald baronies with dans, oges and conals!" (FW.525.18) thus earning Joyce's title Haveth Childers Everywhere. In his youth he performed Tristan's amorous exploits, but as Mark in middle-

⁷⁴ Atherton, The Books at the Wake, p. 116.

⁷⁵ Mackie L. Jarrell, "Swiftiana in Finnegans Wake", ELH, XXVI, 2 (June 1959), 293.

age he sees himself being supplanted, the passage of time having carried him away from the possibility of youthful adventures. It is then that he becomes St. Patrick, who set out late in life to return to Ireland and initiate a new chapter in Irish history, dispelling the shadows of night so that dawn-light can break through. At every stage he is the subject of scrutiny and discussion by the public, represented by the four old men, or the customers in his bar, or even his own children. Just as the Irish heroic figures such as Finn were created to a large extent by the body of tales which grew up around them, particularly at the recurrent festivals which marked the seasonal rhythm of each year, so Joyce's celebration of cyclical continuity is centred on HCE, a hero who embodies the aspirations of his people, and also takes upon himself the burden of their guilt.

HCE in his grave

"a testament of the rocks from all
the dead unto some the living" (FW.73.32-33)

Throughout Finnegans Wake, while HCE has been made to appear in many roles as an active and living figure, through the use of reminiscence and dream-recreation, he has simultaneously existed in the phase of transitional death: HCE is buried in the landscape though alive in the memory of his people. If the present is the sum of all past events expressed in one moment, HCE's incarceration expresses the present in Finnegans Wake: the sum of all his historical roles petrified in the mound shape of the buried hero. Though HCE is emphatically human, not divine, throughout the novel, representing the variety of humanity and not the force of divinity, he is placed outside the human timescale as one "heavengendered, chaosfoetted, earthborn" (FW.137.14), and endowed with representative creative powers which must be made available to the world in order to ensure its continuance. For this, his incarceration at the hands of the people is the necessary prerequisite, though in their eyes the burial is definitive, the end of an era, as is evident in the popular song about HCE, the Ballad of Persse O'Reilly:

"Then we'll have a free trade Gaels' band and mass meeting
 For to sod the brave son of Scandiknavery.
 And we'll bury him down in Oxmanstown
 Along with the devil and the Danes,
 (Chorus) With the deaf and dumb Danes,
 And all their remains.

And not all the king's men nor his horses
 Will resurrect his corpus
 For there's no true spell in Connacht or hell
 (bis) That's able to raise a Cain." (FW.47.20-29)

The early chapters of Finnegans Wake give many details of HCE's grave, as the gravemakers endeavour to make it secure, lest the body rise to walk again. His coffin is "a triumph of the illusionist's art, at first blench naturally taken for a handharp" (FW.66.28-29) lest anything "would bring them rightcame back in the flesh" (FW.67.5-6). As he is laid in it he is encouraged to lie quietly and make himself comfortable: "Now be aisy, good Mr. Finnimore, sir. And take your laysure like a god on pension and don't be walking abroad" (FW.24.16-17). His grave is variously described. At one point, like tinned salmon or "Salmosalar" (FW.7.16), he is "woebecanned and packt away" (FW.7.17-18). Alternatively he receives water burial in "a protem grave in Moyelta of the best Lough Neagh pattern" (FW.76.21-22), aptly called "his watery grave" (FW.78.19). Sean-Mhagh-Ealta-Edair (Moyelta) was the plain on which Parthalon and his followers were said to have perished from the plague. The significance of Lough Neagh has been discussed by Roland McHugh.⁷⁶ It is associated with a type of Irish tale called Tomhadhma which contain accounts of the bursting forth of lakes as graves were being dug for dead heroes.

Lough Neagh itself was said to have been formed when Eochu, for whom the lake is named, neglected to return a magic horse which had been lent him by Oengus the magician. The horse strayed, and his waters made

⁷⁶ Roland McHugh, "Recipis for the Price of the Coffin", in A Conceptual Guide to "Finnegans Wake", pp. 22-23.

a well in the ground, which Eochu attempted to contain with a cover. This cover was accidentally left off one day, and the waters rose, drowned Eochu and his people, and continued to rise until the lake, the largest in Ireland, was formed. Eochu's city under the water was said to be visible on clear days, and is associated with HCE's city which becomes visible under the water as the dawn light grows at the end of Finnegans Wake: "our lake lemented, that greyt lack, the citye of Is is issuant (atlanst!), urban and orbal, through seep froms umber under wasseres of Erie" (FW.601.4-6). These flood waters also become associated with the Biblical flood which drowned all sinful cities. The torrential rains which caused it become the work first of Anna and later of Issy, as at the start of the water cycle they fall as rain to the ground: first Anna: "the young reine came down desperate and the old liffopotamus started ploring all over the plains" (FW.64.16-17); later her daughter: "And into the river that had been a stream... there fell a tear, a singult tear, the loveliest of all tears" (FW.159.10-13). Burial by water is not as definitive as it might seem, therefore, for these very waters also become rivers. Czarnowski noted that one of the ceremonies of burial, during the stage when death was still considered to be provisional, was the washing of the corpse, preferably in a river. Since rivers were thought to have their sources in the Land of the Living, the ablution was an attempt at revival: "[Ces bains] ont pour effet d'introduire dans le corps du patient une force de vie nouvelle."⁷⁷ There is a chance, therefore, that HCE will re-emerge from the waters ready to go courting once more, and eventually to build again.

More frequently, however, his place of incarceration is the earth, where he is buried, though his outline remains visible as a

⁷⁷ Czarnowski, Le Culte des Héros, p. 186. See also above, pp. 50-51.

mound: "Yet may we not see still the brontoichthyan form outlined aslumbered" (FW.7.20-21). This is the "underground heaven, or mole's paradise" (FW.76.33-34) with its "chambered cairns" (FW.73.29) as in the Neolithic graves visible in the Irish countryside. His lying place is not entirely forgotten, however, as it is marked by upright stones, variously called menhir, "menhere's" (FW.25.11-12); "granite cromlech" (FW.61.14); dolmen, "Ptolldmens" (FW.13.11); "his threefaced stonehead" (FW.132.12); or "cabalstone" (FW.132.1). His standing stone also becomes identified with the obelisk of the Wellington Monument in Phoenix Park, "that overgrown leadpencil which was soon, monumentally at least, to rise" (FW.56.12-13) and with the Stone of Divisions on Uisnach Hill in the centre of Ireland. His grave is also marked by a tree: "to all his foretellers he reared a stone and for all his comethers he planted a tree" (FW.135.4-5), which is associated with Yggdrasil the World-Tree, the Tree of Jesse, and the Tree of the Cross. It may also be relevant that a stone, Lia Fáil, or the Stone of Scone, was used at the installation of Irish Kings. These ceremonies were in many cases held under a sacred tree, such as "the venerable tree of Magh-Adhair under which the Dalcassian Kings had for ages been inaugurated."⁷⁸ Thus the tree and the stone, symbols of the polarity of HCE's sons, and of the authority of Ireland's kings, spring from his burial place and represent his sexual potential.

The rain, which falls upon "the great tribune's barrow" (FW.198.33), gradually erodes the material of the burial mound, so that HCE's body in the landscape "frequently altered its ego with the passing of the showers" (FW.51.2) and "What regnans raised the rains have levelled" (FW.56.36-57.1). These rains, however, when combined with HCE's fertility, represented on the vegetative level by the manure of his defecation "for relieving purposes in our trurally virvir vergitabale (garden)" (FW.357.33-34), need only the sunshine which will come with renewed daylight in order to produce growth, and make HCE "the Author of

⁷⁸ Joyce, Concise History of Ireland, p. 66.

Nature" (FW.357.28). Closely connected with the lifetree is the symbol of the Phoenix, "abound the gigantig's lifetree, our fire-leaved lover-lucky blomsterbohm, phoenix in our woodlessness" (FW.55.27-28), and both are associated with HCE in a lengthy list of his names which ends "... Yggdrasselmann? Holy Saint Eiffel, the very phoenix!" (FW.88.23-24). For HCE controls fire: as Patrick, he defies the druids' monopoly over fire; as the phoenix, he can perish in it only to be reborn; he is "the kindler of paschal fire; ... the phoenix be his pyre, the cineres his sire" (FW.128.33-35). The disintegration of the phoenix into ashes corresponds to the state of transitional death, which HCE experiences between his old era of creativity and the beginning of the new. This is the pause represented by "(Silent)" (FW.14.6), at the turning point of the annals and "SILENCE." (FW.501.6) at the point where Yawn's voice fades and HCE becomes audible from the grave mound.

While HCE lies in this middle-world he is the centre of a great celebration, the wake, with funeral games which provide the framework for the whole novel, since all the action takes place at it and all characters can be seen as visitors come to view the body and discuss the deceased. This type of commemoration of a representative hero was what Czarnowski saw as the basis for the Aonach gatherings of ancient Ireland and which were later christianized. Consequently, Samhain became All Saints, the Bealtaine celebrations became absorbed into Easter, and the Lughnasa festival in August became the occasion for visits to Holy Wells and the climbing of St. Patrick's mountain or Cruach Pádraig. HCE institutes his own celebrations: "I did devise my telltale sports at evenbread" (FW.550.24). The ritual celebration of festivals lasted a week, so HCE has a "week of wakes" (FW.608.30) at which everybody sets out to enjoy themselves thoroughly "at Fillagain's chrissormiss wake" (FW.6.14-15), drinking "To the continuation of that celebration" (FW.6.20).

Czarnowski, following Arbois de Jubainville, attributes the institution of festival games to the god Lugh Lámfhada (Lug the Long-armed): "Lug avait, dit-on, introduit en Irlande les jeux qu'on

célébraient aux Fêtes."⁷⁹ He was said to have instituted the games in honour of his adoptive mother Tailtiu. They were held at Teltown in County Meath, called after Tailtiu, in the month of August, which in Irish is called Lughnasa, after Lug.⁸⁰ Lug, who was a sun-god of the Tuatha de Danaan, is occasionally identified with HCE: "others hail him Lug" (FW.44.11); and "like a longarmed lugh" (FW.507.11-12). The games were revived in 1924, with art exhibitions, literary awards, operas and plays. Joyce's interest in the revival was aroused when Patrick Tuohy's painting of his father was awarded the bronze medal in the exhibition of Irish art. A contest had also been organized to encourage Irish writers, from which Joyce was excluded as it was stipulated that writers must be domiciled in Ireland. However, W.B. Yeats, who performed the prize-giving, did mention Joyce: " 'We feel, however, that it is our duty to say that Mr. James Joyce's book [Ulysses], though as obscene as Rabelais, and therefore forbidden by law in England and the United States, is more indubitably a work of genius than any prose written by an Irishman since the death of Synge.' "⁸¹ This double-edged compliment did not escape Joyce's notice, and he told Harriet Weaver about the "rather startling reference to me made by Mr Yeats in crowning with bay the spiritual victors of the Irish Olympic games."⁸²

These twentieth-century Tailteann celebrations took place, as of old, in the month of August, coinciding with the annual Horse Show of the Royal Dublin Society, and at one point Joyce has his four old men talk of "going to the tailturn horseshow" (FW.386.27). The patronness of the festival is also mentioned: "the grace of gamy queen Tailte,

79 Czarnowski, Le Culte des Héros, p. 130.

80 Lewis, in his Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, II, 600, attributes the games to King Tuathal, and the place-name to St. Tealleen.

81 Geoffrey Coulter, "Litir ó Éirinn", The Transatlantic Review, II, 5 (November, 1924), 539.

82 Joyce, Letters, I, 220.

her will and testament" (FW.83.23). A stage production, consisting of tableaux with accompanying music, called The Vision Play of Queen Tailte was featured as part of the 1924 celebrations. Among the light operas also presented was Shaun the Post, a musical version of Boucicault's play Arrah-na-Pogue, which must have struck Joyce as a pleasing coincidence in the year in which he was working on his own version of Shaun. This attempt on the part of the newly established Free State to re-create a celebration, which originally expressed the need of a scattered rural people to gather at stated times to regulate their society and enjoy a rare convivial occasion, was perhaps an anachronism in twentieth-century Ireland, but it provided Joyce with a contemporary parallel for the Festival celebrations of HCE's wake.

The traditions of the old festivals and of the wake coincided particularly in the organization of games at both, and in the duties of hospitality which fell upon the king at the festival, or the widow at the wake. As hostess, Anna presides at HCE's wake: "she who shuttered him after his fall and waked him widowt sparing and gave him keen and made him able" (FW.102.1-3), or as she says herself when the death-wake is about to become his re-awakening: "How glad you'll be I waked you!" (FW.625.33). Both of HCE's sons enact his death-state. Glugg or Shem, unable to do well in the games the other children are playing, is chased by them, trips and falls: "For poor Glugger was dazed and late in his crave, ay he, laid in his grave" (FW.240.3-4). Yawn or Shaun, unable to carry out his boast and carry his letters far beyond Ireland, is discovered laying in the centre of Ireland, forming a moundshape just like HCE's barrow: "Pure Yawn lay low. On the mead of the hillock lay, heartsoul dormant mid shadowed landshape" (FW.474.1-3). The four old men, trying to rouse him, comment: "he's rehearsing somewan's funeral" (FW.477.9). The favourite games at the old festivals were competitive, running and jumping and trials of strength, and these funeral games for the father become metamorphosed into the battles of the sons: "how these funeral games... massacreedoed as the holiname rally round took place" (FW.515.23-25). Shaun (as Michael the Archangel) and Shem (as Nick the

Devil) turn the sporting contests into "their celicolar subtler angelic warfare" (FW.516.36). They are the next link in the chain that links past, present and future: "for ancients link with presents as the human chain extends" (FW.254.8-9). Since they are destined to replace the father, there is no need to awaken him: "Why wilt thou erewaken him from his earth, O summonorother: he is weatherbitten from the dusts of ages?" (FW.255.5-6). The twins must show themselves worthy heirs at the funeral contests, but in all their encounters as Ondt and Gracehoper, Mookse and Gripes, Burrus and Caseous, they have come out equal. Their rivalry did not lead to recorso: that can only be achieved when their opposing characteristics are united in a new HCE, the father arisen from his grave, and revived by daughter Issy, the new Anna. Glugg fallen to the ground, and Yawn deeply sleeping, adopt the father's attitude so that the burial mound can become a "moving mound" (FW.499.34).

It is in sleep that differences can be exorcised through dreams; and as the tensions of family rivalry can thus be eased, so can the tensions of history. Both have become tangled together in Joyce's "seemsame home and histry" (FW.161.22): if family differences can be solved, so can the squabbles of communities. The parents looking at their sleeping children in Book III, chapter 4 achieve a tolerance for the unending cycle of human events which the children are destined to continue: "For they met and mated and bedded and buckled and got and gave and reared and raised" (FW.579.27-28). There is no end to the minutiae of daily life "till their hour with their scene be struck for ever and the book of the dates he close, he clasp and she and she seegn her tour d'adieu" (FW.580.15-17). When the parents have exhausted their potential, the world belongs to their young: HCE's "Hundred of Manhood" (FW.30.8) must become "their children's hundred" (FW.589.2-3). Even HCE the creator is growing old, and the acceptance of that fact must take place through recognition of the tiny cycles of every day leading to the larger cycles of months and years and eventually of lifetimes and centuries: "Bloody certainly have we got to see to it ere

smellful demise surprinds us on this concrete that down the gullies of the eras we may catch ourselves looking forward to what will in no time be staring you larrikins on the postface in that multimirror megaron of returngties, whirled without end to end" (FW.582.16-21). When HCE first arrived, he sailed in, fully mature, to land. The youth of the new HCE has been expressed in the opposing characteristics of mirror-twins whose oppositions were once quelled by the tears of Issy, as Nuvoletta in her nightdress, when she wept over the quarrel of the Mookse and the Gripes: "I see, she sighed. There are menner" (FW.158.5). Then they ignored her and dusk fell, and they turned into "an only elmtree and but a stone" (FW.159.4). Now she is almost ready to call them again, and when they are united, to urge him to love her so that the dusk can be dispersed and day can dawn: "(O Sheem! O Shaam!), and gentle Isad Ysud gag, flispering in the nightleaves flattery, dinsiduously, to Finnegan, to sin again and to make grim grandma grunt and grin again while the first grey streaks steal silvering by for to mock their quarrels in dollymount tumbling" (FW.580.18-22).

At the beginning of Book IV, these first grey streaks are strengthening, in a passage crammed with images of light, new-kindling fire, and renewal: "Scatter brand to the reneweller of the sky, thou who agnitest!" (FW.594.1-2). HCE appears as "Lugh the Brathwacker will be the listened after and he larruping sparks out of his teiney [tine is Irish for fire] ones" (FW.594.19-21). The centre of Ireland with its stone, where Yawn and HCE lay sleeping, is gradually illuminated: "The spearspid of dawnfire totouches ain the tablestoane ath the centre of the great circle" (FW.594.21-22). So is Dublin, the city of the Phoenix: "Even unto Heliotropolis, the castellated, the enchanting" (FW. 594.8-9). The rivalry of clan warfare in Ireland, with its legacy of death, is about to be dispelled in favour of harmony: "Kilt by kelt shell kithagain with kinagain" (FW.594.3-4). Thus the progress of HCE has come full circle from the time when he came as an invader, stayed to build a city, lived in it in the roles of many historical figures, alternatively revered and reviled, was buried by his citizens who

celebrated his demise, and is now empowered to rise again as life "moves in vicious cycles yet renews the same" (FW.134.16-17).

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

"A way a lone a last a loved a
long the
riverrun, ... (FW.628.15-16, 1, 1)

Finnegans Wake achieves a strongly coherent unity, in spite of the sixteen years expended in its writing and the disparate material which it incorporates. This unity is achieved by the universality of its central concept of renewal as a solution to the apparent flux and confusion of man's history in the world, and by the expression of this generality in terms of a microcosm, the family, which Joyce saw as the basis of social organization. Any element in the totality, which a critic may wish to isolate for purposes of study, must be viewed in the wider perspective of its relationship to all the other elements. Therefore Irish history must take its place in the jigsaw-puzzle of world history, and Irishmen must view themselves not in the isolation of their own island, but in relation to the people who inhabit the rest of the world. Insularity is revealed through the medium of Finnegans Wake, and especially through Shaun, as a dangerous tendency in Ireland's history, one which contributed frequently to "Bloody wars" (FW.14.9). On the other hand, when the country was receptive to positive influences from outside, whether these influences came from complete strangers, or from Irishmen who returned after an experience of the outside world, the result was a blossoming of creativity, and a period of "peace peace perfectpeace" (FW.364.20). This is the most important attitude to emerge from Joyce's treatment of Irish history in Finnegans Wake, and it is the basis for the essential optimism which is inherent in the emphasis on renewal or recorso. However, it reveals itself only after detailed disentanglement of the thematic threads of the novel, and this illustrates a basic difficulty with Joyce's method: the attempt to be all-

inclusive and to provide many parallels for every attitude can obscure rather than reveal the underlying point of view.

This methodology is exemplified in the subject of this thesis. Joyce did not use Irish history chronologically in Finnegans Wake, nor did he use it consistently as part of the structural framework, except in certain passages like the six early sketches, or the Mutt and Jute dialogue, where the battle of Clontarf is a significant dimension. The use of Ireland's past is woven into the thematic fabric of the novel, providing avatars for HCE and his sons, or illustrations to document a point of view. The mythologization of an historical figure like Patrick, which Czarnowski illustrated, provided Joyce with a framework within which he could fictionalize the past and bring it into a relationship with the present. The theories of psychology, which were being explored and discussed while he was writing, provided him with a justification for finding the past in the subconscious minds of those living in the present, and suggested that through dreams one might achieve access to this past existence.

Finnegans Wake, therefore, is a nightbook, which explores the dream-world of its characters, and whose characteristic metaphor is the contrast between night and day, darkness and light. A corresponding level of metaphor is the contrast between death and life; and Joyce developed this through Czarnowski's explication of provisional death which might lead to a renewed life, and through the dead-god mythologies of Ireland, Christianity, and several other cultures. The central metaphor of this level is the wake, at which the corpse being mourned revives, aided by the collective will of the people. A close correspondence between the qualities of the dead hero and the aspirations of the people is essential, to enable him to overcome the guilt attached to his activities in a former existence, and to become creative again. Vico provided Joyce with the sequence of recurrence which is followed in Finnegans Wake, as HCE is successively active in divine, heroic and human modes of achievement, followed by the period of uncertainty and self-assessment, or chaos, which precedes recorso.

Although the history of Ireland is just one level of reference in Finnegans Wake, the detail which Joyce selected from it is incorporated into the overall Viconian design. His identification of twentieth-century Ireland with Rome in decline implies that both come at the end of an historical epoch. Continuity in both cases is expressed by the endurance of flowers in the ruins, which are personified in Finnegans Wake as the flower-girls, the fragile but enduring embodiment of the life-giving female principle of the novel. The Christian Holy Roman Empire succeeded to the world-role of the Roman Empire to create a new Divine Age, represented in Ireland by St. Patrick. He may be seen as the Divine-hero phase of HCE, replacing the Celtic hero Finn, adopting his role as Czarnowski suggested, and absorbing the Celtic past into a new conception of society. Patrick, however, does not achieve his importance in Finnegans Wake as the founder of the Irish Christian Church, which Joyce saw as an enslaving influence in Ireland more destructive than English domination: "I confess that I do not see what good it does to fulminate against the English tyranny while the Roman tyranny occupies the palace of the soul."¹ Kevin, the orthodox representative of Christian virtues, is depicted as closed to the importance of human relationships, alone in the centre of his watery circles, isolated, not revived, by the regenerative possibilities inherent in rivers and lakes. Patrick is significant, instead, as a cultural influence from outside who transformed the isolated Gaelic culture by connecting it with the mainstream of European civilization. The Irish in turn transformed what they received, and found in it the stimulus for an artistic Renaissance, represented in Finnegans Wake by the intricate and characteristic decoration of the Book of Kells.

This era of cultural revival is followed by a period dominated by invasions, and the mythology associated with them, especially the

¹ Joyce, Critical Writings, p. 173.

coming of the Scandinavians and Normans, personified in HCE the Ostman and in HCE's associations with the kings of England. It incorporates the theme of the wanderer who comes to settle in Ireland, and the opposing possibilities of change by example and persuasion, or change by force. This is the era when brother-battles flourished, and the examples come from periods widely separated by time, incorporating both the quarrel between Heber and Heremon, the sons of Milesius, and Brian Boru against Sitric at Clontarf. Tristan is also a paradigm for this period - the time of heroic youth and young love.

The struggles of this era give way to the settled concerns of maturity, expressed by HCE in his prime, with the development of Dublin in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, after courtship has given way to marriage, and the reality of family life expresses the Human Age of Vico. The disintegration of this era sets in with the suspicion and accusation of the trial, when the order of the city society is undermined by the apparent unworthiness of its founder. The historical parallel is perhaps the chaos of the Civil War, the inauspicious opening of the new, independent era in Ireland, and a reminder that the achievement of national aspirations is not the automatic prelude to a period of peace and prosperity. It is still necessary for a nation to stop and take stock of its position, and decide upon its goals for the future in the light of lessons learned from the past. It was appropriate that Joyce should take this task upon himself, with the perspective that distance in time and space allowed him, in the hope that former fatal mistakes and disunity would not be repeated. Therefore, the people in Finnegans Wake, seeking for a way forward, send messengers to those like Patrick and Finn who have provided direction in the past, and are answered by the return of Patrick, and his debate with the Archdruid. This encounter is not one in the sequence of brother-battles, but a debate between the old HCE, whose world has darkened, and the new, who will brighten it again and create the conditions necessary for revival.

The study of Irish history in Finnegans Wake reveals that,

although Joyce was no historian and was not selective in his choice of authorities, he had formulated a personal conviction about the forces which had formed the Ireland he knew, and felt it to be of sufficient importance to form a major focus of his novel. He did not expect it to be immediately convincing, however, especially in Ireland, where reception of his previous work, with the exception of readers like Padraic Colum and W.B. Yeats, had been muted. This reception perhaps justified for him the difficulties which his method imposed on the reader. His point of view would not be widely hailed, no matter how plainly it was expressed, but it would be evident to the sensitive minority, who would also be predisposed to take the trouble to discover it. For these readers, the wealth of marshalled evidence would in itself provide rewards, as well-worn historical clichés were given a new context and derived a fresh significance from the process. It is such a minority, isolated from popular assumptions and perhaps misunderstood as HCE was, who might provide the impetus to create something worthwhile in the future.

James Joyce devoted the effort of sixteen years of writing, hampered by personal difficulties and ill-health, to discovering where the possibility of recorso might lie, for Ireland and for the world. The final irony of a work begun at a time of inquiry into the future of a civilization threatened by the catastrophe of the First World War, was its publication in the year which saw the outbreak of a second global struggle. This does not invalidate its significance but makes it all the more necessary to understand Joyce's point, embodied in the futile conflicts of Shem and Shaun, that renewal can only be achieved when having "acquired the instinct of combat we shall pass back to the spirit of appeasement" (FW.610.26-27). History in Finnegans Wake is not glorification of an idealized past, nor the fuel to feed present feuds with the bitterness of past injustices, but the cumulative experiences of those who have gone before us, which have shaped the world we now live in, and even our attitudes to ourselves and others.

This is expressed by the metaphor of successive cyclical ages,

a series of moods which dominated societies and provoked the reaction of alternative moods. Perhaps Finnegans Wake, which documents the swing of oppositions, is calling not for a continuation, but for a cessation. If understanding can bring control, then the exposure of the pendulum swing between wars and the desire for peace may prove to be the first step towards preventing the extremes of futile deaths and boring domesticity. One movement, however, cannot be halted, but persists in life as in Finnegans Wake. That is the individual cycle of birth, growth, maturity, decline and death, and the corresponding tensions between those who are setting out in vigour, and those whose force is spent. This rhythm is more basic than any projection of it into the rhythm of societies might suggest. Joyce has embodied it in the family context of Finnegans Wake, a setting which expresses in miniature the conflicts whose magnification forms the crises of history. The relationship between this microcosm and the macrocosm of universal tensions has a mid-way expression in the story of Ireland. Joyce's family is given its social context through relating it to Ireland, and by using examples taken from Irish history to underline persisting patterns of development. Joyce's Ireland, therefore, is both one of the subjects of his novel and the means by which his ideas are made clear. This two-fold use explains its significance for Joyce, and for us, the readers, and justifies the structural and thematic importance of its history in Finnegans Wake.

Within the fictional framework of his novel, Joyce developed a personal view of Ireland's past, not in a haphazard, disconnected fashion but by the meticulous organization and comparison of selected data available to any of his Irish contemporaries. These carefully chosen events and personages serve an intrinsic thematic function, and are carefully incorporated into the overall world-picture which he wished to create. In 1907 he had appealed to his country: "If she is truly capable of reviving, let her awake, or let her cover up her head and lie down decently in her grave forever."² Finnegans Wake is a

² Joyce, Critical Writings, p. 174.

repetition of this call, and an assurance that it is not necessary to repudiate the past in order to create the future. On the contrary, it is the realization of the full significance of the past which enables an individual or a country to find its true way forward. The past cannot be ignored, but Joyce wished to place it in its proper perspective. History is neither tragic nor glorious in itself, but gains its significance from the multitude of past lives which composed it, and of present lives which will carry it forward: "all marryvoising moodmoulded cyclewheeling history" (FW.186.1-2).

APPENDIX

FIRST LEVEL VERSIONS

Roderick O'Conor¹

FW.380 So anyhow to wind up after the whole beanfest was all over poor old King Roderick O'Conor the last King of all Ireland who was anything you like between fiftyfour and fiftyfive years of age at the time after the socalled last supper he gave or at least he wasn't actually the last King of all Ireland for the time being because he was still such as he was the King of all Ireland after the last King of all Ireland Art MacMurrough Kavanagh who was King of all Ireland before he was anyhow what did he too King Roderick O'Conor the respected King of all Ireland at the time after they were all of them gone when he was all by himself / but he just went heeltapping round his own right royal round rollicking table and faith he sucked up sure enough like a Trojan in some particular cases with the assistance of his venerated tongue one after the other in strict order of rotation whatever happened to be left in the different bottoms of the various drinking utensils left there behind them by the FW.381 departed honourable guests / such as it was either Guinness's or Phoenix Brewery Stout or John Jameson and Sons or for that matter O'Connell's Dublin ale as a fallback of several different quantities amounting in all to I should say considerably more

¹ From Hayman, A First Draft Version of "Finnegans Wake", pp. 203-204. For these first level versions of the six sketches, I have transcribed the earliest available version, omitting all additions and even corrections. I include an indication of the eventual placing of the passage in Finnegans Wake, marking the end of each page thus: / .

than the better part of an gill or naggin of imperial dry and
FW.382 liquid measure. /

Tristan and Isolde²

The handsome sixfoottwo rugger and soccer champion and
the belle of Chapelized in her oceanblue brocade bunnyhugged
scrumptiously in the dark behind the chief steward's cabin
while with sinister dexterity he alternately rightandlefthandled
FW.384 fore and aft the palpable rugby and association bulbs./ She
murmurously asked for some but not too much of the best poetry
reflecting on the situation her reason being that by the light
of the moon of the silvery moon she loved to spoon before her
honeymoomoon. He promptly elocutioned to her in decasyllabic
iambic hexameter: Roll on, thou deep and darkblue ocean, roll!

FW.385 It was a gorgeous sensation/he being exactly the right
man in the right place and the weather conditions could not
FW.386 possibly have been improved./ Her role was to roll on the
darkblue ocean roll that rolled on round the round roll Robert
Roly rolled round. She gazed while his deepsea peepers gazed O
FW.389 gazed O dazedcrazedgazed into her darkblue rolling ocean eyes./

He then having dephlegmatized his throat uttered as
follows from his voicebox:

- Isolde!

By elevation of eyelids that She addressed insinuated
desideration of his declaration.

- Isolde, O Isolde, when theeupon I oculise my most
inmost Ego most vaguely senses the profundity of multimathemat-
ical immaterialities whereby in the pancosmic urge the

² Hayman, First Draft Version, pp. 208-212.

Allimmanence of That Which Is Itself exteriorates on this here
 our plane of disunited solid liquid and gaseous bodies in
 FW.394 pearlwhite passionpanting intuitions of reunited/Selfhood in the
 higherdimensional Selflessness.

Hear, O hear, all ye caller herrings! Silent be, O
 Moyle! Milky way, strew dim light!

She reunited milky-mouthily his her and their disunited
 lips and quick as greased lightning the Breton champion drove
 the advance messenger of love with one virile tonguethrust past
 FW.395 the/double line of ivoryclad forwards fullback rightjingbang-
 shot into the goal of her gullet.

Now what do you candidly suppose she, a strapping young
 Irish princess scaling nine stone twelve in her pelt cared at
 that precise physiological moment about tiresome old King Mark,
 that tiresome old pantaloons in his tiresome old twentytwoandsix-
 penny shepherd's plaid trousers? Not as much as a pinch of
 henshit and that's the meanest thing that was ever known. No,
 on the contrary, if the truth must be told lovingly she love-
 gulped his pulpous propeller and both together in the most
 fashionable weather they both went all of a shivershaky
 quiveryquaky mixumgatherum yumyumyum. After which before the
 traditional ten seconds were up Tristan considerably allowed
 his farfamed chokegrip to relax and precautiously withdrew the
 instrument of rational speech from the procathedral of amorous
 FW.396 seductiveness./

- I'm so glad to have met you, Tris, she said, awfully
 bucked by the experience of the love embrace from a notoriety
 FW.398 like him who was evidently a notoriety also in the poetry for/
 he never saw an orange but he thought of a porringer and to cut
 a long story short taking him by and large he meant everything
 to her just then, being her beau ideal of a true girl friend,³

³ Hayman, First Draft Version, pp. 210-211. The following
 description, poem and dialogue was cancelled by Joyce in his
 early drafts and was not included in Finnegans Wake. The

handsome musical composer a thoroughbred Pomeranian lapdog, a box of crystallised ginger and may even the Deity Itself strewing, the strikingly shining, the twittingly twinkling, and (as her [corrected to "he"] truly remarked), the lamplights of lovers.

Up they gazed, skyward, while in her ear that lovelier lover, breathed:

Gaunt in gloom
The pale stars their torches
Enshrouded wave
Ghostfires from heaven's far verges faint illume
Arches on soaring arches,
Nights' sindark nave

Seraphim
The pale stars awaken
To service till
In muted gloom each lapses, muted, dim
Raised when she has & shaken
Her thurible

As long and loud
To nights' nave upsoaring
A starknell tolls
As the bleak incense surges, cloud on cloud,
Voidward from the adoring
Waste of souls

- Go away from me instantly she cried.

- Perfect, he said.

He took leave of her and went.

- No, come back, she cried. I can't live without you!

- It's important, he said, as he stopped & circulated at walker's pace in the opposite direction./

poem was written on the verso of the second draft of "Roderick O'Connor" (B.M. Add. Ms. 47480, 287, b), positioned in the centre of the page. Above and around the poem Joyce wrote the introduction to it, and the subsequent dialogue. Hayman tried to approximate the order of composition of this material and the location of its elements. I include only what Hayman transcribed as earliest.

[Conclusion⁴]

Over them the winged ones screamed shrill glee: seahawk,
seagull, curlew and plover, kestrel and capercailzie. All the
birds of the sea they trolled out rightbold when they smacked of
the big kiss of Tristan with Isolde.

Sosang seaswans:

- Three quarks for Muster Mark
Sure he hasn't got much of a bark
And sure any he has it's all beside the mark
But O Wreaneagle Almighty wouldn't we be a sky of a lark
To see that old buzzard whooping about for his shirt in
the dark
And he hunting round for his speckled trousers around by
Palmerston Park.
Hohohoho moulty Mark
You're the rummest old rooster ever flopped out of a
Noah's ark
And you think you're cock of the wark
Fowls up Tristy's the spry young spark
That'll tread her and wed her and bed her and red her
Without even winking the tail of a feather
And that's how that chap's going to make his money and
mark./

FW.383

Kevin⁵

Explanatory note: Hayman remarks that "Joyce numbered and renumbered the watery circles surrounding Kevin" (First Draft Version, p. 273). He includes a facsimile of the first draft (number iv, b [1]) in which Joyce's numbers appear in the margin. In his transcription Hayman inserts the numbers into the text. However, an attempt to describe the circles diagrammatically using the transcript failed to produce the careful symmetry that Joyce's renumbering seemed to indicate. In my transcript of the first draft version, therefore, I have used the facsimile, retaining the original lineation, reproducing the numbers in the margin, and underlining the words or groups of words that the pattern indicates. I also include a diagram of the circular pattern that results.

⁴ Hayman, First Draft Version, pp. 211, 317, notes that the third fair copy of "Tristan and Isolde", draft number II, iv, a [4] includes for the first time the "Sea Swan's Song", functioning as a conclusion to the passage. He dates it between March and June 1923. This passage now opens the "Tristan and Isolde" chapter of Finnegans Wake, p. 383.

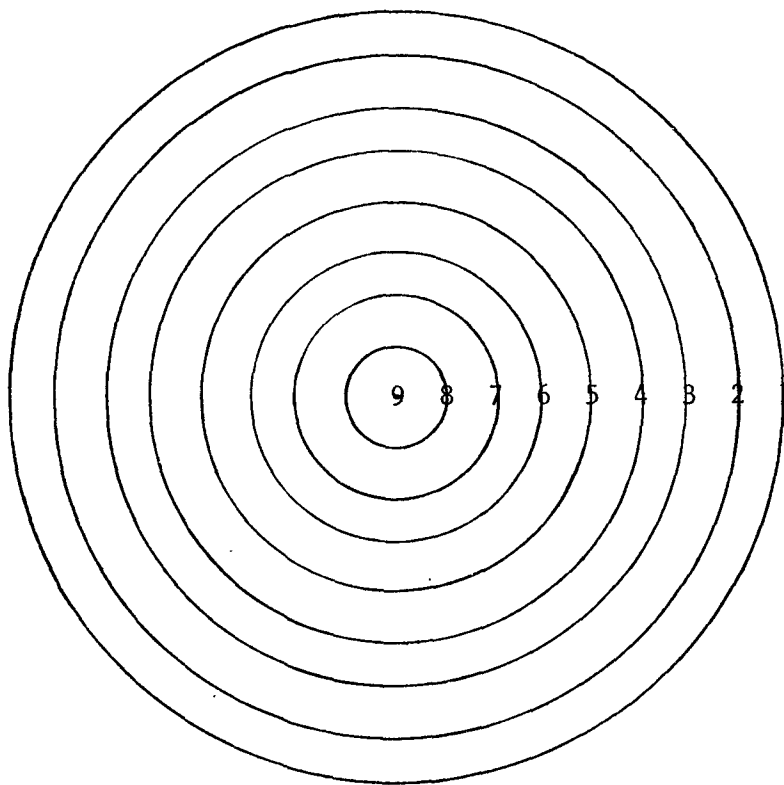
⁵ Hayman, First Draft Version, pp. 273-276.

FW.604 1 Kevin/born on the island of Ireland
 in the Irish ocean goes to Lough
 2 Glendalough where pious Kevin
 3 lives alone on an isle in the
 4 lake on which isle is a pond
 5 in which is an islet whereon
 holy Kevin builds a beehive hut
 the floor of which most holy
 Kevin excavates to a depth of
 one foot after which done
 venerable Kevin goes to the
 6 lakeside and fills time after time
 a tub ~~whi~~ [deleted] with water which
 time after time most venerable
 Kevin empties into the cavity of
 FW.605 his hut thereof creating a pool/
 having done which blessed Kevin
 half fills the tub once with
 7 water which tub then most
 blessed Kevin sets in the centre
 of the pool after which
 8 Saint Kevin pulls up his
 frock to his loins and seats
 himself, blessed S. Kevin, in
 his hiptubbath where with
 ardour, Doctor solidarius, he
 9 meditates with ardour the
 sacrament of baptism or the
 FW.606 regeneration of man by water./⁶

⁶ Hayman's note: "The following, added to MS. 47488, 24b was crossed out in red and not incorporated into later drafts." First Draft Version, p. 276.

As an infant Kevineen delighted himself
by playing with the sponge on
tubbing night. wh [deleted] As a growing boy
he grew more & more pious and
abstracted like the time God knows
he sat down on the plate of
mutton broth.

He simply had no time for girls and often
used to say that his dearest mother
& his dear sisters were good
enough for him. At the
age of six he wrote a prize
essay on kindness to fishes.

Kevin's Circles

- 1 Solid: "island of Ireland"
- 2 Liquid: "Glendalough"
- 3 Solid: "on an isle"
- 4 Liquid: "pond"
- 5 Solid: "an islet"
- 6 Liquid: "creating a pool" (inside the hut)
- 7 Solid: "tub"
- 8 Liquid: "in his hiptubbath" (filled with water)
- 9 Solid: "Doctor solidarius"

Berkeley and Patrick⁷

The archdruid⁸ then explained⁹ the illusion of the colourful world, its furniture, animal, vegetable and mineral, appearing to fallen men under but one reflected of the several iridal gradations of solar light, that one which it had been unable to absorb while for the seer beholding reality, the thing as in itself it is, all objects showed themselves in their true colours, resplendent with sextuple glory of the light actually contained within them. To eyes so unsealed King Leary's fiery locks appeared of the colour of sorrel green, FW.611 His Majesty's saffron kilt of the hue of brewed spinach,/ the royal golden breasttorc of the tint of curly cabbage, the verdant mantle of the monarch as of the green of laurel boughs, the commanding azure eyes of a thyme and parsley aspect, the enamelled gem of the ruler's ring as a rich lentil, the violet contusions of the prince's features tinged uniformly as with FW.612 an infusion of sennacassia./

Mamalujo¹⁰

FW.383 So there they were listening in as hard as they could/ to all four of them they were the big four the four waves of Erin all listening four there was old Tom¹¹ Gregory and then

⁷ Hayman, First Draft Version, p. 279.

⁸ Second level addition: "Barkeley in his heptachromatic sevenhued roranyellowgreeblandigo".

⁹ Second level addition: "to silent whiterobed Patrick."

¹⁰ Hayman, First Draft Version, pp. 213-216. "The following is apparently the earliest version of the 'Mamalujo' sequence which Joyce combined with the 'Tristan and Isolde' piece in 1938," p. 213.

¹¹ Second level substitution: "Matt".

besides old Tom¹¹ there was old Phelius O'Hogan¹² the four waves and oftentimes they used to be saying here now we are the four of us old Tom¹¹ and old Phelius¹² and old Jeremy¹³ the four of us and sure thank God there are no more of us and old Jeff O'Gorman¹⁴ the four of us and no more of us and so now pass the fish for the Lord's sake amen the way they used to be saying grace before fish for auld lang syne there they were spraining their ears listening and listening to all the kissening with their eyes glistening all the four when he was cuddling his colleen not the collen no the colleen bawn cuddling her and kissing her with his pogue like arrah na

FW.384 pogue they all four used to be/ cuddling and kissing and listening in the good days Dion Boucicault of Arrah na Pogue when they were all four collegians in the queen's colleges it brought it all back again as fresh as ever Matt and Marcus and now there he was and his Arrah na Pogue before the four of them and now thank God there were no more of them and he poguing and poguing they were listening with their watering

FW.385 mouths so pass the pogue for Christ sake Amen listening &/ watering all the four Luke and Johnny MacDougall for anything at all for a cup of kindness yet for four big tumblers of woman squash with them all four listening and spraining their ears and their mouths making water.

Ah well sure that's the way and there was poor Matt Gregory leaning on his staff of memory and Gregory and the others and now really & truly they were four dear old heladies and they looked as nice and respectable with their grey half

¹² Second level substitution: "Marcus Lyons".

¹³ Second level substitution: "Luke Tarpey".

¹⁴ Second level substitution: "Johnny MacDougall".

tall hat and tailormade frock coat and then they had their fathom glasses to find out the fathoms and their tall hats just now like Lord Powerscourt or the auctioneer there near the place near that street Trinity College that arranges all the auctions of valuable houses Smith like the auctioneer Smith or not Smith that sells all the fine houses & mansions James H North Mike North the auctioneer going to the horse show with all the people over/from England and American visitors in his grey half tall hat and his fathom glasses to find out all the horses. And poor Marcus Lyons and poor Johnny and the four of us there they were now listening the four saltwater widowers and all they could remember long long ago when my heart knew no care the landing of Sir Arthur Casement in 1132 and the coronation of Brian by the bishop and then there was the drowning of Pharoah and they were drowned in the sea the red sea and then poor Martin Cunningham out of the castle when he was drowned off Dunleary in the red sea and/and then there was the Flemish Armada all scattered and all drowned off the coast of Cunningham and Saint Patrick and all they remembered and then there was the French fleet in 1132 landing under general Boche and there he was cuddling and poguing her in Arranapogue behind the queen's colleges. And then they used to give the lectures in Roman history in all the four collegians/in the four trinity colleges Killorcure and Killthemall and Killeachother and Killkelly-on-the-Flure those were the four great history colleges for auld lang syne all the Roman history past and present and present and absent and past and present and future arma virumque romano. Ah dearo a dear how it all came back to them to hear him there kissing her & cuddling her in his Roman arms ah dearo dear it was so sorry for the four of us./ Poor Tom Tarpey and the four shehusbands the four waves in their hat and thank God they were all summarily divorced by their shehusbands in the bygone days but still they parted on the best

of terms. by decree absolute well they could remember Mrs
 FW.390 Justice Squelchman/in 1132 at the Married Male Offender's
 court in Arrahnapogue. Poor Johnny MacDougall & the four
 masters because she was waitin backscratching all divorced by
 them four master and poor Marcus Powerscourt by decree absolute
 all because he broke wind in the pew and because he forgot to
 make a request in writing on stamped paper before saying his
 grace before fish and then there was poor Dion Boucicault all
 divorced too poor Dion because he attempted to well he ah well
 FW.391 now sure we won't be too hard on him/attempted some hunnish
 familiarities after eating a bad crab in the red sea ah dearo
 dearo dear and where do you leave Matt poor Matt in his grey
 frock hat all divorced by woman squelch and all on account
 FW.392 the appearance of his face poor Matt Gregory. So now pass the
 face for Christ' sake. Amen. Poor Matt Gregory.

And still and all they were always thinking of their
 four masters that were four beautiful sisters and there they
 were always counting the lovely periwinkle buttons in the
 front part of their dresses and there she was the beautiful
 four sisters and that was her name and they were looking for
 her everywhere in all the fathoms and then they had their
 tentacles and they used to be all hanging around all the waists
 FW.394 of the ships the steamships/and peering in through the steaming
 windows into the honeymoon cabins on board the big steamers
 and saloon ladies toilet apartments and rubbing off the
 cataract off the windows to see all the honeymooners and all
 the toilet ladies and their familiarities saying their grace
 FW.395 before meals and watering and there they used to be/counting
 FW.396 all their peributtons to remember her beautiful/name poor
 Gregory and Johnny the four sisters and there she was now
 asthore as in days of yore of planxty Gregory they used to be
 FW.397 always singing/and so now they started their singing and old
 Luke for auld luke syne and we make a cupboard coiner set for
 FW.398 the pays savole hang./

Here Comes Everybody¹⁵

- Concerning the genesis of his¹⁶ agnomen the most authentic version has it that like Cincinnatus he was one day at his plough when royalty was announced [on] the highroad.
- FW.30 Forgetful of all but his fealty he hastened out on to the road/ holding aloft a long perch atop of which a flowerpot was affixed. On his majesty, who was rather longsighted from early youth, inquiring whether he had been engaged in lobstertrapping Humphrey bluntly answered: 'No, my liege, I was only a catching of them bluggy earwigs'. The king upon this smiled heartily and, giving way to that none too genial humour which he¹⁷ had inherited from his great aunt Sophy, turned towards two of his retinue, the lord of Offaly and the mayor of Waterford (the syndic of Drogheda according to a later version) remarking
- FW.31 'How our brother of Burgundy would fume did he know that he have this trusty vassal who is a turnpiker who is also an earwicker'. True facts as this legend?/ maybe. it is certain that from that date all documents initialled by Humphrey bear the sigla H.C.E. and whether he was always Coxon for his cronies and good duke Humphrey for the ragged tiny folk of Lucalized it was certainly a pleasant turn of the populace which gave him as sense of these initials the nickname
- FW.32 'Here Comes Everything'.¹⁸ Imposing enough indeed he looked and worthy of that title as he sat on gala nights in the royal booth/with wardropanelled coat thrown back from a shirt wellnamed a swallowall far outstarching the laundered lordies

¹⁵ Hayman, First Draft Version, pp. 62-63.

¹⁶ Second level addition: "Harold or Humphrey Coxon's".

¹⁷ Second level addition: "William the Conk".

¹⁸ Second level substitution: "Everybody".

and marbletopped highboys of the pit. A baser meaning has been read into these letters, the literal sense of which decency can but touch. It has been suggested that he suffered from a vile disease. To such a suggestion the only selfrespecting answer is to affirm that there are certain statements which ought not to be, and one would like to be able to add, ought not to be allowed to be made. Nor have his detractors mended their case by insinuating that he was at one time under the imputation of annoying soldiers in the park. To anyone who

FW.33 knew and loved H-C-E- this suggestion is preposterous./ Slander, let it do its worst, has never been able to convict that good and great man of any greater misdemeanour than that of an incautious exposure and partial of [omission] in the presence of certain nursemaids whose testimony is, if not dubious, at

FW.34 any rate slightly divergent./¹⁹

19

Hayman's note: "I have been unable to place the following: 'Harompheyld' and 'Foxy, Foxy h... bump the horse coal' ... Here ends the first version of FW.30-34, which Joyce wrote in 1923 on Restaurant de Trianons stationery." First Draft Version, p. 63.

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