

Case Studies in Contemporary Criticism

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A Companion to JAMES JOYCE'S *Ulysses*

Biographical and Historical Contexts,
Critical History, and Essays from
Five Contemporary Critical Perspectives

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A Critical History of *Ulysses*

I

Perhaps every novice reader of *Ulysses* is doomed to reenact the frustrations of its first generation of readers, who found the great novel—considered by some the greatest novel written in English—obscured by a pyrotechnic display of stylistic devices, arcane erudition, and an immense symbolic superstructure. Yet Joyce himself provided help with the technical difficulties even before the book's publication. In 1920 he sent his Italian translator Carlo Linati a complex scheme of Homeric and other parallels, with the following explanation:

I think that in view of the enormous bulk and the more than enormous complexity of my damned monster-novel it would be better to send him a sort of summary—key—skeleton—scheme (for home use only). . . . It is the epic of two races (Israel-Ireland) and at the same time the cycle of the human body as well as a little story of a day (life). The character of Ulysses has fascinated me ever since boyhood. . . . My intention is not only to render the myth *sub specie temporis nostri* but also to allow each adventure (that is, every hour, every organ, every art being interconnected and interrelated in the somatic scheme of the whole) to condition and even to create its own technique. (*Selected Letters* 271)

Hugh Kenner reminds us that Joyce had access not to a single Homer, but to many Homers. He suggests that the Homers that Joyce privileged served less the aims of transcendence, as Eliot would have it, than those of novelization. Kenner writes of Samuel Butler's Homer (whom Butler identified, in his *The Authorship of the "Odyssey,"* 1897, as a woman): "Butler's was simply the first creative mind—Joyce's was the second—to take the archaeologist's Homer seriously: to consider what it might mean to believe that the *Odyssey* was composed by a real person in touch with the living details of real cities, real harbors, real bowls and cups and pins and spoons, real kings, real warriors, real houses" ("Homer's Sticks and Stones" 293). In other words, *Ulysses* may have served to domesticate the *Odyssey* as much as to mythologize the modern world. Kenner's is one of many attempts to confound what Michael Groden describes as the two predominant sides of "*Ulysses*' many dualisms—the 'novelistic' story and the 'symbolistic' pattern of parallels and correspondences" (4). Harry Levin also argues that *Ulysses* is best read with myth and map, that is, the *Odyssey* in one hand and *Thom's Dublin Directory* in the other. *Ulysses* retains such meticulous historical grounding that it is difficult to tell its historical realism from its fictional realism: "the Gold Cup races were run off at Ascot. At New York, when the *General Slocum* exploded in the East River, five hundred lives were lost. From the Orient came news of Russo-Japanese conflict over Port Arthur. . . . At the Gaiety Theatre Mrs. Bandman Palmer was appearing in *Leah*. . . . Clery's was advertising a summer sale; sandwich-men, bearing the more or less consecutive letters of H. E. L. Y. S., filed through the streets" (Levin 69). Years later, Phillip Herring did research in Gibraltar that rescued Molly Bloom from her overmythification as earth goddess by filling in the mysterious parentage and sketchy childhood of a "historical Molly Bloom" (*Joyce's Uncertainty Principle* 117–40) as though she had been a living personage rather than a fictional creation.

Before turning to a more systematic account of *Ulysses* criticism over the last seventy years, it may be helpful to summarize the novel briefly in a way that glosses at least some of the Homeric parallels, sketches in the major outlines of the plot, and indicates some of the stylistic strategies and experiments in the text. Its chief Greek intertext is the *Odyssey*, Homer's epic poem that recounts the adventures of Odysseus, king of Ithaca, as he attempts to return home after fighting in the Trojan War. His journey is delayed for twenty years by many obstacles, including storms and shipwrecks; seduction by goddesses; the narcissism of lotus-eaters; encounters with cannibals, one-eyed

Although this description also buries the realism of the plot ("a little story of a day") under a mass of allusion and allegory, Joyce here clarifies his intention to have novel, style, myth, and symbolism work together organically.

When Joyce advised his aunt Josephine Murray (an excellent example of a common reader) that she should buy a copy of Charles Lamb's *Adventures of Ulysses* (1808) for help with *Ulysses* (*Selected Letters* 293), he was by no means condescending. Lamb's redacted version of Homer's *Odyssey* had introduced him to the classic at age twelve, and he continued to receive his Homer in translation (Butcher and Lang), scholarship (Samuel Butler), and interpretations that shaped his use of the myth (for example, Victor Bérard [*Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*, 1902–1903], whose theory on the Semitic origins of the *Odyssey* contributed to Joyce's decision to make his Ulysses a Jew [Seidel]). By exploring life in modern day Dublin through a classical text, Joyce situated himself at the heart of the early-twentieth-century Anglo-American literary movement known as Modernism. Like T. S. Eliot's great poem *The Waste Land* (published in 1922, the same year as *Ulysses*) Joyce's novel was imbued with a revisionary classicism that began to revitalize modern thinking in the late nineteenth century. This classical pulse quickened in archaeology with Heinrich Schliemann's discovery of the historical Troy and coursed through the diverse fields of philosophy (Friedrich Nietzsche's "The Birth of Tragedy," 1872), anthropology (Jessie Weston's *From Ritual to Romance*, 1920; Sir James Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, 1890), and psychoanalysis (Freud's classical typologies, such as the Oedipus complex). Joyce's contemporaries freely invested their writing with classical reference and mythology—Ezra Pound in "Homage to Sextus Propertius," W. B. Yeats in "Leda and the Swan," H.D. in "Eurydice," "Helen," and "Cassandra," Rainer Maria Rilke in "Sonnets to Orpheus," and Eugene O'Neill in *Mourning Becomes Electra*, to name only a few. In his 1923 essay, "*Ulysses*, Order, and Myth," T. S. Eliot pays tribute to Joyce's *Ulysses*—"I hold this book to be the most important expression which the present age has found" (175)—and attributes its greatness to what he called "the mythical method" (178). For Eliot the function of myth in the novel is nothing less than to restore meaning to the chaos of the modern world. "It is simply a way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history. . . . It is, I seriously believe, a step toward making the modern world possible for art" (177).

ope)—amid the busy commercial, cultural, and political life of a modern city.

"The Telemachiad" describes the morning activities of Stephen Dedalus, the protagonist of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), who has returned from Paris to attend his dying mother. After breakfast with a friend (Buck Mulligan) and a British visitor (Haines) in the Martello Tower in Sandycove ("Telemachus"), Stephen goes on to teach at the school of the anti-Semitic Mr. Deasy ("Nestor"). He then walks toward Dublin along Sandymound strand, lost in philosophical meditations revealed through the technique of "stream-of-consciousness," which Joyce credited to Édouard Dujardin's 1888 novel *Les Lauriers sont coupés* ("Proteus"). Like Telemachus in the *Odyssey*, whose home and security are threatened by suitors in his father's absence, Stephen's state is one of dispossession: his birthright squandered by his father and his place as an Irish poet usurped by Trinity and Oxford students with better claims as "gentlemen," he is forced to collude in inculcating imperialistic ideologies (Roman history and English poetry) into the minds of Irish scions. Having refused to pray at his mother's deathbed, he is racked by guilt like another literary mourning and dispossessed son, Hamlet.

The second section of *Ulysses*, "The Wanderings of Odysseus," begins at the home of the Irish-Jewish couple Leopold and Molly Bloom at 7 Eccles Street in Dublin. Bloom's enactment of Odysseus' amorous and dangerous adventures take chiefly psychological and social form. He serves his wife breakfast in bed and cooks himself a pork kidney ("Calypso"), picks up a clandestine pornographic letter at the post office on his way to the Turkish baths ("Lotus-Eaters"), and attends a funeral at the cemetery in Glasnevin ("Hades"). There he enacts Odysseus' journey to the underworld by confronting the general topic of death in its most intimate form by thinking of his father's suicide and the mysterious death of his newborn son eleven years before. Bloom's job as an advertising canvasser takes him to Dublin newspaper offices ("Acolus") and, after a modest lunch at Davy Byrne's cattery ("Lestrygonians"), to the National Library, where Stephen Dedalus is informally lecturing on Shakespeare. "Acolus" metaphorically enacts its Homeric parallel (Aeolus was lord of the winds) with windy rhetoric and mimics its newspaper setting by writing in the typographic layout of newspaper columns and headlines: "SOPHIST WALLS/HAUGHTY HELEN SQUARE ON PROBOSIS. SPARTANS GNASH MOLARS. ITHACANS VOW PEN IS CHAMP" (U7.1032). Stephen's attempt at the library

giant, and sirens; a journey to the underworld; and navigation past treacherously moving rocks, monsters, and maelstroms. During Odysseus' long absence, his wife Penelope staves off insolent suitors for her hand and for Odysseus' vacant throne by weaving and unweaving a shroud, while her nearly grown son Telemachus searches for his father. Upon his return, Odysseus kills the suitors in a bloody battle and reunites with his family and his people.

Joyce's *Ulysses* is divided into three sections, conventionally called "The Telemachiad," "The Wanderings of Odysseus," and "Nostos" or "The Homecoming." These three sections are comprised of eighteen chapters or *episodes*, as they are commonly called, named after Homeric parallels Joyce assigned to each chapter in schema he drew up as guides to the novel for his friends Stuart Gilbert and Carlo Linati:

I. Telemachiad

- 1: Telemachus
- 2: Nestor
- 3: Proteus

II. The Wanderings of Odysseus

- 4: Calypso
- 5: Lotus-Eaters
- 6: Hades
- 7: Acolus
- 8: Lestrygonians
- 9: Scylla and Charybdis
- 10: Wandering Rocks
- 11: Sirens
- 12: Cyclops
- 13: Nausicaa
- 14: Oxen of the Sun
- 15: Circe

III. Nostos

- 16: Eumaeus
- 17: Ithaca
- 18: Penelope

The novel is set in Dublin on June 16, 1904, and traces the activities, convergences, and thoughts of three people: Stephen Dedalus (Telemachus), Leopold Bloom (Odysseus), and Molly Bloom (Penelope).

to establish his artistic credentials among influential literati requires him to steer a tricky course between the conceptual predilections and artistic investments of his interlocutors, like Odysseus trying to maneuver his ship between a six-headed monster ("Scylla") and a deadly whirlpool ("Charybdis").

After a chapter depicting all of Dublin on the move ("Wandering Rocks"), Bloom sees his wife's impresario, Hugh "Blazes" Boylan, drinking and flirting before keeping what Bloom fears (correctly) will be an adulterous tryst with Molly at 7 Eccles Street. Odysseus' temptation by the music of the Sirens (which he hears tied to his mast) is thematically recapitulated as flirtation and operatic performance, and stylistically by writing that resembles an orchestral fugue ("Sirens"). Stopping in Barney Kiernan's pub to meet friends, Bloom is assaulted by a fiercely nationalistic and anti-Semitic citizen, who, prejudiced and xenophobic like the one-eyed Cyclops throwing rocks, tosses a biscuit tin after him ("Cyclops"). The gigantism of "Cyclops" is stylistically represented as hyperbolic and inflated rhetoric.

Calming himself on Sandymount strand, where three young women are minding three little boys, Bloom catches sight of the underclothes of one of the girls and becomes incited to masturbate. The episode narrates the romantic fantasies of Gerry MacDowell ("Nausicaa") in the prose of ladies' magazines, advertising, and sentimental novelettes. Bloom stops at the Holles Street Maternity Hospital to inquire about the prolonged labor of a friend, Mrs. Purefoy, and ends up joining a group of roistering medical students ("Oxen of the Sun"). Their brutish humor regarding human reproduction signifies the "crime against fecundity" committed by Odysseus' men when they slaughtered the sacred oxen of the sun god. "Oxen of the Sun" stylistically recapitulates the embryonic gestation of English prose style in pastiches ranging from Anglo-Saxon to modern slang. Worried about the drunken Stephen Dedalus carousing with the medicals, Bloom paternally decides to follow him and his friends to Nighttown, the Dublin red-light district ("Circe"). There, in Bella Cohen's brothel, Bloom turns metaphorically into a pig (Circe turns Odysseus' men into swine) as masochistic fantasies are triggered by his day's casual pornographic reading (*Sweets of Sin*) and fears of cuckoldry. This episode of magical enchantment and disenchantment is narrated through the transmigrations of Expressionist drama. "Circe" ends with Stephen breaking a lamp while striking at a hallucinated image of his mother with his stick and with Bloom

narrowly saving him from arrest for getting into a fight with two British soldiers.

In "Eumaeus" Bloom takes Stephen to a cabman's shelter (analogous to the safe hut of the swineherd Eumaeus in the *Odyssey*) where they hear the incredible yarns of a sailor who identifies himself as W. B. Murphy. This chapter, about disguises and trust, prepares the way for the return home ("Nostos") to the "Ithaca" of Bloom's house at 7 Eccles Street. There Bloom offers Stephen cocoa, friendship, and a home, which he declines, in a chapter structured in the factitious question-and-answer format of the Catholic catechism. After Stephen wanders off into the night, Bloom returns to his wife's bed of adultery having worked through the "antagonistic sentiments" of "Envy, jealousy, abnegation, equanimity" (*U* 17.2155), like Odysseus who alone knows the secret of his marriage bed. Penelope ends the book with the long, unpunctuated sentences of Molly Bloom's thoughts in bed: her suitors (old boyfriends, Boylan, fantasized lovers including Stephen) slain as her own marital equanimity returns her to thoughts of her husband's romantic courtship and first lovemaking. "Then he asked me would I yes to say yes my mountain flower and first I put my arms around him yes and drew him down to me so he could feel my breasts all perfume yes and his heart was going like mad and yes I said yes I will Yes" (*U* 18.1605).

II

Because *Ulysses* was serialized in the *Little Review*, criticism of the text preceded its single-volume publication in 1922. The book's reception throughout the 1920s and 1930s was strongly colored by controversy about its form (or rather its "formlessness") and its putatively obscene content. The strongest early objections to the book came from British writers and critics, who read its vulgarity as a mark of the author's class inferiority and found its form nowhere visible within the British novel tradition. Stanley Suttan reports that "Alfred Noyes, England's 'unofficial poet laureate,' spoke on *Ulysses* before the Royal Society of Literature. 'There is no foulness conceivable to the mind of madman or ape that has not been poured into its imbecile pages,' he said" (3). Virginia Woolf wrote in her diary, "I finished *Ulysses* and think it a mis-fire. Genius it has, I think; but of the inferior water. The book is diffuse. It is brackish. It is pretentious. It is underbred, not only in the obvious sense, but in the literary sense" (48). Even his

A year later, the American critic Edmund Wilson related Joyce's writing to the poetics of French Symbolism and French fiction and described the structure of *Ulysses* as "symphonic rather than narrative" (209). Wilson's essay, which Jeffrey Segall calls "a crucial document in the history of Joyce criticism" (94), introduced *Ulysses* sympathetically to an intellectual American audience attuned to the ideological debates about modern literature between humanists and Marxists throughout the 1930s.² Joyce would be criticized and defended by both sides during this period, most strongly in 1934 at the First International Writers' Congress in Moscow, where Karl Radek sharply attacked *Ulysses* for lacking a social conscience, while Wieland Herzfelde defended the significance of its representational innovations. Other commentaries on the social value of Joyce's work, positive and negative, were written during the 1930s by Paul Elmer More and Alick West. Joyce reportedly complained to Eugene Jolas about the harsh Marxist criticisms of his work by noting "I don't know why they attack me. Nobody in any of my books is worth more than a thousand pounds" (Ellmann, *James Joyce* 5).

By 1941—the year of Joyce's death—his academic respectability was consolidated in America when Harry Levin, a Harvard professor of comparative literature, published the first U.S. full-length critical study of Joyce's work. Levin's *James Joyce: A Critical Introduction* maintained Larbaud's and Wilson's powerful strategy of reading *Ulysses* through the philosophical preoccupations of Continental fiction. Levin used Thomas Mann's "dialectical pattern of *Künstler* versus *Bürger*" (66) to argue that "Joyce's work commemorates the longstanding quarrel between the bourgeois and the bohemian" (133).³ Informed by the ideological debates of his colleagues in the 1930s, Levin read *Ulysses*' protest against a Philistine culture as a doomed gesture of liberalism.

²In addition to the social preoccupations of criticism in the 1930s, the arts—particularly the highly experimental visual arts—provided a more aesthetic lens for the reading of *Ulysses*. In 1932 Joseph Beach wrote an article, "Post-Impressionism: Joyce," and the psychoanalyst Carl Jung described in his essay, "Ulysses: A Monologue," the "new consciousness" produced by cubistic practices in the novel.

³The practice of reading Joyce intertextually by exploring literary, artistic, and philosophical influences in *Ulysses* has become a long-standing tradition in Joyce criticism. Studies on the influence of Aquinas (William Noon), Shakespeare (William Schutte), and Catholicism (J. Mitchell Morse) all appeared in the 1950s, and Virginia Mosely's study of Joyce and the Bible was published in the 1960s. In later decades, these intertextual approaches were sophisticated with more complex philosophical arguments by such critics as Robert Boyle and Beryl Schlossman on Joyce's Catholicism and

fellow Irishman, George Moore, supposedly said of *Ulysses*, "How can one plow through such stuff? I read a little here and there, but, oh my God, how bored I got! Probably Joyce thinks that because he prints all the dirty little words he is a great novelist. . . . Joyce, Joyce, why he's nobody—from the Dublin docks: no family, no breeding" (qtd. in Ellmann, *James Joyce* 529). Edmund Gosse, a translator of Ibsen, who at Yeats's request had secured a subsidy from the Royal Literary Fund for Joyce during the war, stridently urged Louis Gillet in 1924 to refuse to review *Ulysses* in *Revue des Deux-Mondes*. "You could only expose the worthlessness and impudence of his writings," he insisted, calling Joyce "a literary charlatan of the extremest order" and "a sort of Marquis de Sade, but does not write so well." He called *Ulysses* "an anarchical production, infamous in taste, in style, in everything" and deplored its "perfectly cynical appeal to sheer indecency" (qtd. in Ellmann, *James Joyce* 528).

These pedigreed hostilities to *Ulysses* stimulated the urgency and occasional defensiveness of many of the early tributes to the work's genius. Ezra Pound's praise was blunt and unequivocal: "All men should unite to give praise to *Ulysses*; those who will not, may content themselves with a place in the lower intellectual orders," he wrote in the opening of his famous "Paris Letter" published in *The Dial* in June 1922 (*Pound/Joyce* 194). He brushed aside the obscenity issue as a monstrous hypocrisy. "And the book is banned in America, where every child of seven has ample opportunity to drink in the details of the Arbuckle case" (200), he wrote, referring to the lurid rape and manslaughter trial of the silent film star Fatty Arbuckle. He praised the novel's perfectly crafted form and language by placing it squarely in the tradition of Gustave Flaubert. "Joyce has taken up the art of writing where Flaubert left it. . . . *Ulysses* has more form than any novel of Flaubert's" (194). This restoration of Joyce to a Continental novel tradition became the most effective strategy for justifying its form. Joyce's friend and admirer, the novelist Valéry Larbaud, recognized Dujardin's influence on Joyce's stream of consciousness technique and employed it in his own 1923 novel *Amanes, heureux amants*. Another friend of Joyce, Stuart Gilbert, countered the charges of formlessness levied against the novel by stressing (with the help of the Homeric schema supplied by Joyce) the novel's complex mythic and structural organization (ix).¹

¹In 1972, Richard Ellmann's *Ulysses on the Liffey* revisited the novel's structure with an aesthetically nuanced scheme modeled on the schema Joyce had given Gilbert and Linati (see p. 24).

While New Criticism dominated American literary practice, British criticism extended an Arnoldian tradition of promoting high culture and moral seriousness into midcentury, largely through the influential thinking of F. R. Leavis. Leavis expelled Joyce from his *The Great Tradition* for failing to write, like D. H. Lawrence, from a "depth of religious experience." He complained that

there is no organic principle determining, informing, and controlling into a vital whole, the elaborate analogical structure, the extraordinary variety of technical devices, the attempts at an exhaustive rendering of consciousness, for which *Ulysses* is remarkable, and which got it accepted by a cosmopolitan literary world as a new start. It is rather, I think, a dead end. (25–26)

Leavis, unprepared for the revolution in critical theory that would come to dominate literary study for the last quarter of the twentieth century, could not have been more wrong. He failed to see that it was precisely the absence of an "organic principle" in *Ulysses*—indeed, the text's questioning the concept and validity of an "organic principle"—that for the next thirty years made *Ulysses*' open form create the multiplicity of interpretive possibilities that transformed it into a poetic chameleon, a text for all critical seasons.

The need to find the vision or telos behind the novel's technical complexity stirred critical creativity in the 1960s. S. L. Goldberg's 1961 *The Classical Temper: A Study of James Joyce's "Ulysses"* answered Leavis most directly by elevating the novel to a high moral plane on the basis of the "classical temper" of its humanistic objectivity. In the following year, Robert Martin Adams' *Surface and Symbol: The Consciousness of James Joyce's "Ulysses"* (1962) probed Joyce's strategy in a controversial, but fascinating, analysis of the interplay between the novel's factual and fictional materials and their narrative and symbolic effects. A few years later Arnold Goldman's 1966 *The Joyce Paradox: Form and Freedom in His Fiction* addressed the problem of the text's propensity to produce conflicting readings with an ambitious argument that related its interpretive openness to the paradoxes inherent in all of Joyce's texts. The *Ulysses* critics of the 1960s defeated the early charges against the text's formlessness with mounting evidence of precise craft⁴

⁴A. Walton Litz's *The Art of James Joyce* (1961) inaugurated a tradition of genetic research into Joyce's composition practices that eventually informed editorial principle and expertise while contributing a scholarly underpinning to Joyce's design. This work

In reaction to the vexed ideological debates of the 1930s, the so-called New Criticism that came into fashion in the 1940s and 1950s inaugurated critical practices of close reading and textual analysis that put the external determinants of biography and history aside. During this period, *Ulysses* received rigorous scholarly scrutiny that neutralized earlier complaints of vulgarity and lack of discipline by focusing on the work's poetic craft and verbal texture. Richard M. Kain's 1947 book-length study of the novel, *Fabulous Voyager: James Joyce's "Ulysses,"* inaugurated meticulous attention to the naturalistic detail and stylistic precision of the text. Close readings, carefully glossed allusions, and heavy symbolic allegory made *Ulysses* readily accessible to common readers in William York Tindall's 1959 *A Reader's Guide to James Joyce*. Such other well-known writers of the New Criticism as R. P. Blackmur and William Empson also wrote essays on *Ulysses* during this time.

The publication of Hugh Kenner's *Dublin's Joyce* in 1956 was a major critical event in Joyce studies. The strategies of this book, refined and elaborated during the next four decades, consisted of meticulously close reading supplemented by noting significant interventions that are operative in the text by their *absence*: the subtle effects and changes produced by intonation, idiom, and other qualities of voice; the irony produced by unstated incongruities, significant errors, omissions, and silences ("we ought to observe how much silence pervades such of their conversation as we do hear" [Kenner, *Ulysses* 51]). For the next several decades, Kenner refined his complex close readings of the Joycean text at the same time that he consolidated his influence as the premier critic of Modernism. He published his ambitious study of modernist poetics, *The Pound Era*, in 1971. In his 1978 work, *Joyce's Voices*, he articulated the "Uncle Charles Principle": "the narrative idiom need not be the narrator's" (18). His 1980 edition of *Ulysses* elaborated the myriad ways the text stimulates the reader's interpretive creativity with the questions it embeds.

Mary Reynolds on Joyce and Dante. More broadly conceived studies of philosophical influence on Joyce's text were written by Jackson Cope and Theoharis Constantine Theoharis, and in 1982 Umberto Eco published *The Aesthetics of Chaosmos: The Middle Ages of James Joyce*. In 1987 Phillip Herring's *Joyce's Uncertainty Principle* inflected Joyce's philosophy with theories of relativity and uncertainty in modern science. The influence of Continental drama, fiction, and opera on *Ulysses* were explored by Bjorn Tysdahl (Ibsen), Richard Cross (Flaubert), Peter Egri (Mann), Breon Mitchell (the German novel), and Timothy Martin (Wagner). In 1976 Michael Seidel reexamined Joyce's poetic and philosophical inspiration by the *Odyssey* in *Epic Geography: James Joyce's Ulysses*.⁵ More recently, Martha Black's study of Joyce and Shaw and Scott Klein's on Joyce and Wyndham Lewis continue this tradition.

produced increasingly sophisticated speech act theory, rhetorical analysis, and reception theory. One of the earliest narratological approaches was David Hayman's "Ulysses": *The Mechanics of Meaning* (1970), which analyzed the book's techniques, structures, and styles to postulate the influential notion that point of view in *Ulysses* may be controlled by an "Arranger," rather than a narrator or groups of narrators. A decade later, Karen Lawrence's 1981 *The Odyssey of Style in "Ulysses"* argued that the increasingly radical narrative and stylistic experiments of the later episodes in the novel function self-reflexively, to make style itself a performative activity in the novel. Two other studies appeared in the 1980s oriented, like Lawrence's, toward effects on the reader of *Ulysses*. Brook Thomas's 1982 *James Joyce's "Ulysses": A Book of Many Happy Returns* used the premises of reader-response criticism—including the notion that the text constructs the reader—to focus on the self-revealing textual consciousness at work in the novel's telling. John Paul Riquelme's *Teller and Tale in Joyce's Fiction: Oscillating Perspectives* (1983) challenged the notion of Joyce's impersonal narration in *Ulysses*. On a more technical level of language, Roy Gottfried's *The Art of Joyce's Syntax in "Ulysses"* (1980) argued that Joyce creates deliberate tensions between order and freedom in the text by transgressing traditional rules of syntax. Finally, in the mid-1980s two important collections of essays on Joyce's language at last brought together the work of the eminent Swiss Joyce scholar, Fritz Senn. Senn's *Nichts Gegen Joyce: Joyce Versus Nothing*, published in Zurich in 1983, includes several important essays on *Ulysses*, including "Dynamics of Corrective Unrest" in which Senn argues that the novel is "probably the first consistently autocorrective work of literature" (121). A year later, John Paul Riquelme edited Senn's *Joyce's Dislocations: Essays on Reading as Translation*, in which Senn uses the trope of translation to explore Joyce's creation of shifting and multivalent meanings through a polyglot's sense of language.

The disciplinary diversity of critical theory, which explored literary language through the lenses of various "human sciences," expressed itself in a Joycean criticism increasingly inflected by methodologies drawn from other fields. The interiorized nature of *Ulysses*, whose language portrays and exposes a complex variety of psychic states and mechanisms, made Joyce's work a particularly rich subject for psychoanalytic criticism. Mark Shechner's 1974 *Joyce in Nighttown: A Psychoanalytic Inquiry into "Ulysses"* appeared as the first significant Freudian study of the novel, tracing the psychoanalytic strategies that

at the same time that they deflected pressure to link its technical virtuosity to a single origin, function, or purpose.

The 1970s and 1980s brought an explosion of criticism and scholarship to the study of *Ulysses* that was increasingly colored by the mounting translations and importations of French and German critical theory into the American academy. The influence of Continental theory produced two important effects on the study of Joycean texts. First, poststructuralism and deconstruction stressed the metaphysics of language by exploring its performativity, its freeplay, its rhetorical productivity, and its self-referentiality. This highly theoretical approach to language validated Joyce's avant-garde linguistic experiments (which had first been celebrated in the 1930s) with greater technical and logical insight. Although some examples of this approach appeared as early as 1972—Sally Purcell's translation of Hélène Cixous's *The Exile of James Joyce*, for example—most deconstructive approaches to Joyce appeared later in the decade and initially focused on *Finnegans Wake*, such as Margot Norris's 1976 *The Decentered Universe of "Finnegans Wake"*.²⁹ In addition, Continental theory encompassed methods and insights from a variety of disciplines—especially linguistics, philosophy, psychoanalysis, and anthropology. As a result, criticism assumed a highly interdisciplinary focus during the 1970s and 1980s, as exemplified in Colin MacCabe's *James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word* (1978), which used structuralist, psychoanalytic, and Marxist theories to argue for the philosophically revolutionary potential of Joyce's most radical formal experiments.

One of the earliest effects of Continental theory was found in linguistically informed attention to the nature of narrative, which

was continued in the 1970s by Phillip Herring, who edited the British Museum notesheets for the last seven chapters of *Ulysses*, and Michael Groden, whose 1977 "*Ulysses*" in *Progress* used a meticulously researched composition history to represent the novel as a palimpsest of Joyce's creative development. Groden identifies Joyce's three experimental compositional phases as the interior monologue, the parodies and imitative styles, and the final strategy of compositional self-reflection. The 1960s also saw the first readers' guides and research tools for *Ulysses*. Stanley Sultam, Harry Blamires, and Clive Hart's studies were designed to help readers with the generic and narrative progress of the novel. Weldon Thornton's *Allusions in "Ulysses": An Annotated List* appeared in 1968 and was the first reference guide to offer annotations for the numerous allusions in the work. This text was followed in 1974 by an even more comprehensive guide: Don Gifford and Robert Seidman's *Notes for Joyce*, which were issued in a revised and expanded version as "*Ulysses*," *Annotated* in 1988.

greatly enriched by her discovery of intriguing source materials from the popular culture of turn-of-the-century Ireland. Patrick McGee's 1988 *Paperspace: Style as Ideology in Joyce's "Ulysses"* resists the textualist impulse to treat Joyce's radical stylistic experiments in the novel as autonomous in favor of restoring them to the realm of the historical and the social.

Following Seamus Deane's 1985 *Celtic Revivals: Essays in Modern Irish Literature*, the Irish Field Day Theatre Company sponsored a book of three essays by noted Marxist critics Terry Eagleton, Fredric Jameson, and Edward Said called *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature* (1990); Eagleton and Jameson's essays contain specific reference to *Ulysses*. Jeffrey Segall uses *Ulysses* to cast "a beam under which we may scrutinize a period in American cultural history when polemics dominated literary debate" (8) in his 1993 *Joyce in America: Cultural Politics and the Trials of "Ulysses."* Enda Duffy's 1994 *The Subaltern "Ulysses"* makes even greater revolutionary claims for the novel: "I want to reclaim *Ulysses* in these terms for Irish readers as the text of Ireland's independence . . . a novel preoccupied . . . with both the means by which oppressed communities fight their way out of abjection and the potential pitfalls of anticolonial struggles" (1). Vincent Cheng's 1995 *Joyce, Race, and Empire* contains chapters on *Ulysses* that focus particularly on the "ethnography of Irishness and . . . perspectives of racial and ethnic otherness in the novel" (xvi). Finally, at the other spectrum of politics, James McMichael is concerned with how the novel educates and enlarges our sense of human responsibility to others through its ethics of reading ("*Ulysses*" and Justice, 1991).

Feminist approaches to *Ulysses* reflect many of the ideological shifts and theoretical inflections that invigorated the sophistication of feminist criticism in the 1970s and 1980s. Moving away from querulous complaints that Joyce failed to make women sufficiently strong, heroic, independent, or intellectual (in the work of Sandra Gilbert, Susan Gubar, Carolyn Heilbrun, and other American feminist critics), later feminist criticism complicated both misogynistic and gynoclarous readings of Molly Bloom with historical considerations. In Winter 1981, the *James Joyce Quarterly* published Mary Power's essay, "The Discovery of *Ruby*," which located and identified the novel *Ruby. A Novel. Founded on the Life of a Circus Girl* as the source of the text Molly Bloom reads in bed in *Ulysses*. Power's discovery led to an important reconsideration of the role of pornography in the novel and stressed the importance of historical research for achieving an accurate grasp of the text's sexual politics. Bonnie Kime Scott's 1984 *Joyce and*

transformed biographical material into fictional complications in the text.⁵ In 1980 Sheldon Brivic's *Joyce Between Freud and Jung* offered a psychoanalytically balanced and eclectic overview of Joyce's fictional development with attention to *Ulysses*. More than a decade later, psychoanalytic criticism—under the influence of Jacques Lacan, who was himself influenced by Joyce—significantly turned its focus toward the performative nature of writing and textuality. Mature explorations of the role of language in the construction of the subject as a self-divided creation of cultural discourses emerged in the 1990s, notably in Kimberly Devlin's analysis of the "uncanny" Joycean text in her 1991 *Wandering and Return in "Finnegans Wake": An Integrative Approach to Joyce's Fictions*. A year earlier, Suzette Henke's *James Joyce and the Politics of Desire* used the psychoanalytic theories of Freud, Jacques Lacan, and Julia Kristeva to explore gendered gestures of textual performativity in Joyce's works. This same attention to psychoanalytically performative language may be found in the essays by Joseph Boone, Marilyn Brownstein, and Ellen Carol Jones in Susan Stanford Friedman's 1993 collection of essays, *Joyce: The Return of the Repressed*.

Politics in a broad sense—including Marxist criticism, Frankfurt School criticism, cultural study, postcolonial criticism, and feminism—began to dominate *Ulysses* studies in the late 1980s and early 1990s.⁶ The inaugural text for this trend was Dominic Manganiello's 1980 *Joyce's Politics*, whose focus on the biographical restoration of Joyce's interest in political theories and issues laid the groundwork for the later studies of postcolonialism and culture study in *Ulysses*. Franco Moretti's 1983 *Signs Taken for Wonders* contains a provocative essay, "The Long Goodbye: *Ulysses* and the End of Liberal Capitalism," that argues for the homology between the novel and Britain's capitalist crisis in the early twentieth century. Cheryl Herr's *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture* (1986) looks specifically at the ideologies Joyce imported into his texts by using Irish popular discourses, particularly the newspaper, the sermon, and the music-hall stage. Herr's analysis of "Circe" is

⁵Three works that are not explicitly psychoanalytical but that nonetheless focus on the function of metamorphosis and transformation in *Ulysses* are books by Elliott Gose, John Gordon, and Lindsey Tucker. Tucker's work focuses specifically on the body and alimenteration as tropes of creativity in *Ulysses*.

⁶During the 1970s, Bernard Benstock, John Garvin, and C. H. Peake all contributed studies of Joyce's relationship to Ireland. Patrick Parrinder's 1984 study for advanced students contains excellent chapters on five chapters in *Ulysses*, with many interesting glosses on the political issues they raise.

forth), to explore the fate of authority in the Joycean text. Jean-Michel Rabaté's 1991 *James Joyce, Authorized Reader* likewise uses Derridian and Lacanian premises to explore the figure of paternity in delineating problems of authorization in the compact between author and reader. Even though deconstructive criticism gravitated more readily toward *Finnegans Wake* than the earlier works, Derek Attridge and Daniel Ferrer's 1984 *Post-structuralist Joyce* includes two interesting essays on *Ulysses*: André Topia's "The Matrix and the Echo: Intertextuality in *Ulysses*" and Daniel Ferrer's psychoanalytically explored "Circe, Regression, and Regression." Derek Attridge's 1988 *Peculiar Language: Literature as Difference from the Renaissance to James Joyce* conducts a Derridian exploration of the language of *Ulysses* in its chapter 6, "Literature as Deviation: Syntax, Style, and the Body in *Ulysses*." Robert Scholes' 1992 *In Search of James Joyce* contains a series of important essays on *Ulysses*, including "Ulysses: A Structuralist Perspective," and a fascinating chapter on "Circe" and modern painting, entitled "In the Brothel of Modernism: Picasso and Joyce."

The flood of new studies on *Ulysses* is not abating in the 1990s. They include some works on teaching *Ulysses* that augment the large number of introductory studies, chapter-by-chapter discussions, and collections of essays⁷ that have accumulated over the years. In 1993, the Modern Language Association published Kathleen McCormick and Erwin Steinberg's *Approaches to Teaching Joyce's "Ulysses"*, which attempts to introduce students to background materials and various theoretical approaches to the text. In 1996 Robert Newman published a collection of essays on teaching *through or with Ulysses* under the title *Pedagogy, Praxis, "Ulysses": Using Joyce's Text to Transform the Classroom*.

This summary of the critical history of *Ulysses* is inevitably incomplete. New introductory guides like Vincent Sherry's and other research tools continue to augment the large number of older directories and companion studies with important new material on *Ulysses*. Fortunately, there are a series of excellent bibliographical aids available for finding much additional *Ulysses* scholarship that is here omitted, although these are inevitably limited by their publication dates. The

⁷Among the most useful introductory guides for students are the episode-by-episode discussions of Harry Blamires and Suzette Henke (*Joyce's Marvellous Strindbook*) and the collection of essays focused on each episode edited by Clive Hart and David Hayman. Single volume introductory discussions of the novel are found in Clive Hart, Vincent Sherry, and Patrick McCarthy. The studies of Stanley Sultan and Daniel Schwarz are somewhat more complex. Some other excellent collections of essays are edited by Thomas Staley ("*Ulysses*?: *Fifty Years*, which contains Hugh Kenner's provocative essay on "Molly's Masterstroke") and by Staley and Bernard Benstock.

Feminism corrected general misperceptions about Joyce's attitudes and experiences with respect to historical feminism and his relationship with women in his familial and professional life. Both Scott's book and Suzette Henke and Elaine Unkeless's 1982 *Women in Joyce* contain discussions of *Ulysses*. Richard Brown's 1985 *James Joyce and Sexuality* supplies a broad historical context for Joyce's engagement with the philosophical, scientific, and social sexologies prominent in early twentieth-century thought. Mary Lowe-Evans is more pointedly indebted to the approaches of new historicism in excavating the discourses of population control that shape many ideological issues in the Joycean text. Her 1989 *Crimes Against Fecundity: Joyce and Population Control* contains an important chapter on "Oxen of the Sun."

The figure of Molly Bloom alone has generated an impressive body of scholarship. David Hayman's "The Empirical Molly" in Staley and Benstock's *Approaches to "Ulysses"* (1970), and Phillip Herring's "Toward an Historical Molly Bloom" (1978) treat Molly as a complex character, on a par with Stephen Dedalus and Leopold Bloom. James Van Dyck Card's 1984 *An Anatomy of "Penelope"* displays Molly's contradictions as products of careful author intention, given the archival evidence of manuscripts, typescripts, and proofs. Richard Pearce's collection of essays, *Molly Blooms: A Polylogue on "Penelope"* and *Cultural Studies* contains provocative sections on "Molly and the Male Gaze," "Molly in Performance," "Negotiating Colonialism," "Molly as Consumer," and "Molly as Body and Embodied." Another excellent selection of essays on Molly Bloom, "Feminist Readings of Joyce," appeared in the 1989 special issue of *Modern Fiction Studies*, guest edited by Ellen Carol Jones.

A series of books that in the late 1980s and early 1990s explored problems of authority in the Joycean text fruitfully use gender issues as a trope for problems of legitimacy and power. Although her discussion of *Ulysses* merely caps her exploration of the British novel tradition, Christine van Boheemen's 1987 *The Novel as Family Romance: Language, Gender, and Authority from Fielding to Joyce* contributes an influential exploration of gender in the novel with an approach theoretically inflected by Continental deconstruction. Vicki Mahaffey's 1988 *Reauthorizing Joyce* uses Molly Bloom and "Penelope" to typologize a multiple and collective alternative to the more oppressive authorities associated with other figures, styles, and institutions in *Ulysses*. Frances Restuccia's 1989 *Joyce and the Law of the Father* uses chiefly psychoanalytic theories, in which resistance is typologized by the trope of the perverse (sadism, fetishism, the phallic mother, prohibition, and so

most comprehensive of these, if not the most recent, is Thomas Jackson Rice's *James Joyce: A Guide to Research* (1982). Thomas Staley's user-friendly *An Annotated Critical Bibliography of James Joyce* (1989) is more up to date. Sidney Feshbach and William Herman offer a compact "History of Joyce Criticism and Scholarship" in Zack Bowen and James F. Carens's 1984 *A Companion to Joyce Studies*. And recently, the *James Joyce Quarterly* 32 (Winter 1995) published a thirty-year index listing the contents of the journal's first thirty volumes that is beautifully organized and indexed for easy retrieval of virtually anything published on *Ulysses* in its pages.

The future of *Ulysses* scholarship will be enriched by two landmark publishing events of 1978 and 1984. The first was the astonishing production of *The James Joyce Archive*, an event whose significance Phillip Herring described as "galactic" (Review 86). Sixty-three oversized volumes collect a facsimile of virtually Joyce's entire workshop, which includes most of the available notes and notebooks, holograph drafts, manuscripts, typescripts, and text proofs for his published work. Using *The James Joyce Archive*, Joyce scholars can now check the evolution of the chapters of *Ulysses* from early notes through successive drafts and galley proofs in the comfort of their own university libraries.

The second seismic event in the field of *Ulysses* scholarship was the 1984 publication of a critical and synoptic edition of *Ulysses*, edited by Hans Walter Gabler with Wolfhard Steppe and Claus Melchior. In 1986, Random House published a trade edition of Gabler's text that called itself "The Corrected Text," which made the work available in paperback. Gabler, who was assisted in this editorial enterprise by an international advisory committee that included Michael Groden, Clive Hart, A. Walton Litz, and Michael Groden, confronted an unusual array of editorial problems created by the chaotic exigencies of the process leading up to the publication of the 1922 edition. In his introduction, Gabler carefully laid out the editorial premises and procedures he adopted for making difficult decisions on what to retain or change in the 1984 critical and synoptic edition. This exposure of his editorial process provided the information that led to an attack by John Kidd, initially in an essay with the somewhat scurrilous title of "The Scandal of *Ulysses*." The Gabler edition thus became a point of intense controversy that spilled far beyond the confines of the Joyce community.

But while the Gabler edition's flaws have been quite thoroughly explored in Sandulescu and Hart's 1986 *Assessing the 1984 "Ulysses"*, the text has endured with considerable popularity among large numbers of

scholars, students, and readers, who appear to trust the judgments behind its corrections. Furthermore, Michael Groden's "Afterword" to the 1993 Bodley Head publication of the Gabler edition of *Ulysses* pointed out that Gabler's presentation of his editing procedures has "lifted the general public, students, literary critics, and scholars—the vast majority of whom are not themselves editors—to a heightened awareness of textual editing" (647). Jerome McGann theorizes the implications of the impossibility of producing a definitive text in his 1985 article "Ulysses as a Postmodern Text: The Gabler Edition" in *Criticism*. The Fall 1990 issue of the *James Joyce Quarterly* carried pieces by Michael Groden ("A Response to John Kidd's 'An Inquiry into *Ulysses*: The Corrected Text'" 81–110) and John Kidd ("Gabler's Errors in Context: A Reply to Michael Groden on Editing *Ulysses*") stating and discussing the editorial points in dispute.

The future of *Ulysses* study holds an entirely different and brave new world of editing in its cards. A number of scholars, among whom Michael Groden appears to be in the vanguard, are now at work exploring the possibilities of an electronic hypertext of *Ulysses*—a text enhanced with simultaneous annotations, illustrations, and criticism—made possible by computer technology. At the moment when *Ulysses* scholarship is about to undergo a millennial revolution, Joyce's wonderful novel demonstrates once again its unquenchable vigor as a text for all times and for all critical and scholarly seasons.

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