Ulysses in Paradise: Joyce’s Dialogues with Milton

by

RENATA D. MEINTS ADAIL

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English Studies
School of English, Drama, American & Canadian Studies
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham
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This thesis considers the imbrications created by James Joyce in his writing with the work of John Milton, through allusions, references and verbal echoes. These imbrications are analysed in light of the concept of ‘presence’, based on theories of intertextuality variously proposed by John Shawcross, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, and Eelco Runia. My analysis also deploys Gumbrecht’s concept of *stimmung* in order to explain how Joyce incorporates a Miltonic ‘atmosphere’ that pervades and enriches his characters and plot. By using a chronological approach, I show the subtlety of Milton’s presence in Joyce’s writing and Joyce’s strategy of weaving it into the ‘fabric’ of his works, from slight verbal echoes in Joyce’s early collection of poems, *Chamber Music*, to a culminating mass of Miltonic references and allusions in the multilingual *Finnegans Wake*. 
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‘I just found out there’s no such thing as the real world
Just a lie you’ve got to rise above’
John Mayer, No Such Thing
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

James Joyce:


(All citations are accompanied by page number)

John Milton:


The Bible

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No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists: You cannot value him alone; you must set him, for contrast and comparison, among the dead.¹

I. INTRODUCTION

In his 1919 essay, ‘Tradition and the Individual Talent’, the poet and essayist T.S. Eliot, Joyce’s champion and contemporary, asserts that it is impossible to analyse an artist in a vacuum, isolated from the ‘dead poets’. Contrast and comparison are always called for. Eliot’s essay was published in the September and December 1919 issues of The Egoist, in which a part of the ‘Hades’ and ‘Wandering Rocks’ episodes of Joyce’s cryptic Ulysses also appeared. Eliot’s essay could hardly have been more apt; the highly allusive nature of Ulysses lends itself particularly well to the kind of critical appreciation advocated by Eliot, in which literary historical contextualisation plays such a leading role. Such is the importance of Ulysses’s intertexts to the novel’s meaning, from The Odyssey to less obvious sources, that Joyce himself decided to write a guide listing his main references and allusions in the book and distribute it to his friends and to translators of Ulysses. In this thesis, I will analyse Joyce’s response to and his engagement with the writing of the past; more than merely being passively influenced or indebted, Joyce actively invokes his precursors and engages with their writing, making it work productively for his own purposes.

The object of this thesis is Joyce’s response to John Milton, whom Harold Bloom calls ‘the great Inhibitor, the Sphinx who strangles even strong imaginations in their cradles.’² Informed by the theoretical work of W. Jackson Bate and Bloom himself, previous commentators have tended to conceive of Joyce’s relation to Milton as one of subjection, of the writer of the present being influenced by the writing of the past.³ John Shawcross, who writes perceptively about the connection between Milton and Joyce, nonetheless exemplifies this tendency, as the title of his 1991 monograph, John Milton and Influence, suggests. I argue, however, that such a one-way, undynamic model of ‘influence’ does not adequately delineate the relationship between the two writers, separated as they are by almost three centuries of literary history. Instead, I adopt and refine the term ‘presence’, a concept

developed by a number of modern critics when considering intertextual connections between literary works. In what follows, I demonstrate how the application of the concept of presence yields subtler readings of the place of Milton’s writing in Joyce’s work than might be afforded by an exclusively psychological focus on the younger writer’s anxiety at the inescapable, ‘inhibiting’ influence of the older. I also show how interpreting Joyce’s writing in this way reveals a progressive sophistication in Joyce’s treatment of literary intertexts throughout his writing career, culminating in the intricate, literary echo-chamber of *Finnegans Wake*.

I. THE INSUFFICIENCY OF ‘INFLUENCE’

Before we consider previous work on Milton and Joyce, and in order to go beyond the idea of ‘influence’ and speak instead about ‘presence’, a definition of these terms is required. Initially, I would like to discuss T. S. Eliot’s ‘Tradition and the Individual Talent’ in order to situate the context in which Joyce was writing, as Eliot was Joyce’s contemporary and supporter. Even though Eliot himself does not use the word ‘influence’, his discussion in ‘Tradition’ focuses upon the engagement by writers with the past, which is the topic that underpins this thesis. Eliot’s view of the relationship between writers and their forebears differs significantly from theories later developed by W. Jackson Bate and Harold Bloom. Eliot emphasised the importance of ‘historical sense’ or the consciousness of the past: ‘the historical sense involves a perception, not only of the pastness of the past, but of its presence.’ For Eliot, the craft of literature consisted of bearing in mind what resounded and persisted from earlier works. Eliot’s notion of the ‘presence of the past’ held that past creations could coexist with and enrich modern ones. Such a view is somewhat at odds with the later emphasis placed by both Bate and Bloom on the literary past as a source of anxiety, however creatively stimulating that anxiety may be. Yet Bloom’s understanding of influence, extended from its focus on writing in *The Anxiety of Influence* (1973) to reading in *A Map of Misreading* (1975), does have some crucial intersections with Eliot’s point of view in ‘Tradition and the Individual Talent’, as we can see from Bloom’s definition of ‘influence’ below:

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5 Eliot, p. 38.
6 Bate, p.3.
Influence, as I conceive it, means that there are no texts, but only relationships between texts. These relationships depend upon a critical act, a misreading or misprision, that one poet performs upon another, and that does not differ in kind from the necessary critical acts performed by every strong reader upon every text he encounters. The influence-relation governs reading as it governs writing, and reading is therefore a miswriting just as writing is a misreading.7

For both Bloom and Eliot the work of later writers can be a misreading or creative appropriation of the work of their predecessors. For instance, a Bloomian reading of Father Arnall’s sermon about hell in Joyce’s A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man might understand it as, in part, a ‘misreading’ of Milton’s depiction of hell in Paradise Lost. Thus ‘newer’ texts, in Bloom’s view, respond to older texts in a variety of ways; yet still, his Freudian approach presupposes a clear subject-object model of literary relations, in which the past text or writer (subject) acts upon the present text or writer (object), producing different degrees of resistance or misreading in each case. For Bloom, writers in the present deliberately misread the works that influence them, as a way to rebel against their literary ‘father figures’. In his relationship with his own literary forebears, Joyce was certainly not immune nor averse to this process of misreading and rebellion. Even so, the Oedipian model proposed by Bloom restricts the relationship to a clash of generations instead of favouring the creation of a collaborative ‘web’. This essentially competitive model of influence is still far too narrowly focused on the ‘burden’ of the past, rather than its creative possibilities, to be useful in assessing Joyce’s response to Milton.

What I argue here is that the term ‘influence’ is an insufficient one for analysing Joyce’s relationship with his literary forebears. The Freudian, Oedipal conception of ‘influence’ proposed by Bloom imagines direct conflict between both writers, presupposing a wish to ‘kill’ and eliminate the father, rather than the more constructive conflict – albeit not devoid of a competitive spirit – witnessed in Joyce’s encounters with his precursors. The art historian Michael Baxandall makes a valuable contribution to the study of artistic relationships when he argues that the term ‘influence’ is faulty due to the connotation it carries, as it makes the precursor seem more active than the present artist:

Influence is a curse of art criticism primarily because of its wrong-headed grammatical prejudice about who is the agent and who the patient: it seems to reverse the active/passive relation which the historical actor experiences and the inferential beholder will wish to take into account. If one says that X influenced Y it

does seem that one is saying that X did something to Y rather than that Y did something to X.\(^8\)

The reversal of emphasis when we talk about ‘Milton’s influence on Joyce’, giving Joyce a passive role, gives undeserved attention to the precursor, who appears to be more active than they really are on the process. Yet, Baxandall’s definition of influence as ‘passive’ diverges with that of Harold Bloom, as in an Oedipal conflict-like relationship there is always an element of resistance; the later author is permanently haunted by the precursor, thus he actively tries to escape this influence by looking at outdoing a forebear. In the matter of competition, Joyce was not different from his fellow writers; Nora, his wife, once affirmed to friends that her husband’s wish was to outdo the English Bard; in her own words, ‘there’s only one man he’s got to get the better of now, and that’s that Shakespeare!’\(^9\) Despite this comment, Joyce’s craftiness is such that we are led to believe that his reference to other writers is not simply a wish to exceed Shakespeare’s literary production, nor a matter of coincidence; to assume that all the references to other writers consist of influence, as defined by either Baxandall (as a passive process) or Bloom (as active), can be a limited view.

Some work has already been done to loosen, if not shake off, the grip of Bloom’s theory of influence in readings of the relation between Joyce and Milton. Harry Blamires, for instance, substitutes the concept of ‘indebtedness’ for influence in discussing the crucial yet subtle impact of Milton upon Joyce’s writing: ‘[i]t will be observed that Joyce’s indebtedness to Milton is indicated frequently by nothing more than a single word or a brief phrase.’ Blamires adds to this point the fact that ‘[t]he influence is neither obvious nor as yet generally recognized’, and furthermore, ‘[p]erhaps nothing that matters in Joyce’s work is obvious.’\(^10\) My intention is to show that, through the use of these single words and brief phrases, among other devices, Milton permeates Joyce’s writing, while Joyce engages with it and dwells alongside Milton in a relationship that transcends ‘influence’ as it is commonly understood in a post-Harold Bloom era. However, I am aware that to some extent this is to go against, or at least refine, critical orthodoxy. For instance, soon after Blamires’s critical intervention, Lee Jacobus argued that ‘Lycidas’, for Stephen Dedalus, ‘signals the anxiety of early death (…) and that other anxiety of influence: the ghost of Milton (…).’\(^11\) Jacobus’s identification of the


relationship between Joyce and Milton as a case of Bloomian anxiety of influence was a widely held one in its time, underpinning the development of a related financial analogy. This notion of the earlier and later writer as creditor and debtor was reiterated and elaborated in subsequent studies.

An example of reiteration and elaboration is Timothy Martin’s *Joyce and Wagner: A Study on Influence*. He proposes that Joyce’s ‘mind and art were shaped by Richard Wagner’ and the existence of a ‘strong artistic kinship’ between them. 12 Even though Martin’s main term to explain the relationship between Joyce and Wagner is ‘influence’, he acknowledges a limit for influence, wherein even ‘strong poets’ (to use a Bloomian term) ‘must finally make their own way even if they are at first inspired and guided by a powerful predecessor.’ Thus, what Martin suggests is that there is an active move from the passivity of influence towards a greater stance of individuality; that ‘the maturing Joyce came more and more into “his own,” as his tastes in art became less and less “Wagnerian.”’ 13 A few years earlier, albeit deflecting the use of the term ‘influence’, Vincent Cheng analysed the connections between Shakespeare and Joyce by pointing out the references as allusions solely. 14 Harold Bloom himself, twenty-seven years later acknowledged that ‘[i]t would be absurdly inadequate to speak of “Shakespeare’s influence” upon *Finnegans Wake*’ due to the plentifulness of allusions present in Joyce’s final work. 15

With regards to Dante, the idea of ‘influence’ was challenged earlier. For instance, as early as 1981, Mary T. Reynolds wrote about Joyce’s relationship with the Italian poet. Her outlook on the author of *Finnegans Wake* is closely related to the one in this thesis, as she advocates for a view of Joyce as unacquiescent:

Some writers labor to disconnect themselves from their predecessors, others seek a tradition to which they can comfortably conform. Joyce did neither. His estimate of his own genius would not have allowed subservience to a defined tradition, yet few writers have written with such an educated critical awareness. 16

Moreover, Reynolds employs the word ‘presence’ instead of ‘influence’ in her account of Joyce’s use of Dante, as she contends that their relation is not ‘merely appreciative but purposeful.’ 17 Reynolds’s main focus rests on the use of allusions, tone and style in order to

13 Martin, p. xiii.
frame the usefulness of the presence of Dante evoked by Joyce, shaping their relationship more in accordance with Joyce’s active stance in regards to his precursors. Finally, expanding from Reynolds’s work, Lucia Boldrini proposes a different approach when considering Dante and Joyce, as aptly summarised at the beginning of her monograph:

Boldrini places Joyce's work in the wider context of other modernist writing's relation to Dante, thereby identifying the distinctness of Joyce's own project. She considers how theories of influence and intertextuality help or limit the understanding of the relation.18

Boldrini proposes a new approach to understanding the ‘distinctness’ of Joyce’s Finnegans Wake and his use of Dante. Her initiative, as well as other recent critical works have begun to show ways in which the relationship between Joyce and his literary predecessors might be reconceived. On a similar approach, Murray McArthur analyses the relationship between Blake’s ‘Milton’ and Joyce’s Ulysses. In spite of being concerned with Blake and Joyce rather than Milton and Joyce, McArthur’s attempt to establish a new theory of influence comprises ‘the growing degree of conscious awareness of the creative act in all its physical and intellectual properties that one writer receives from previous writers and transmits to those who follow.’19 Furthermore, McArthur recognises a crucial point through drawing upon Mikhail Bakhtin’s concept of dialogism, which ‘recognizes both the materiality of language and the fact that our words are always drawn from other speakers and writers.’20 This assertion is closely related to T. S. Eliot’s famous claim in his essay ‘Philip Massinger’ that ‘[t]he good poet welds his theft into a whole of feeling which is unique, utterly different from that from which it was torn.’21 Thus, for McArthur, what makes both Blake and Joyce great writers is not the endless quest for originality – that is frustratingly unreachable – but their reconstruction of texts, the ‘mosaic of quotations’ as Kristeva puts it.22 The ‘materiality of language’ is a term we will come back to, as it will play an important role when discussing the concept of presence in this thesis.

Lastly, Patrick Colm Hogan’s Joyce, Milton, and the Theory of Influence is a comprehensive study of how Milton can be found in all of Joyce’s works, from Chamber

17 Reynolds, Joyce and Dante, p. 8.
18 Lucia Boldrini, Joyce, Dante, and the Poetics of Literary Relations: Language and Meaning in Finnegans Wake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Cover page.
Music to *Finnegans Wake*. Hogan manages to escape the idea of influence defined by Bloom’s Oedipal struggle by drawing upon an understanding of influence that is rooted in cognitive psychology, as he mentions that ‘the relation of one author to a precursor is a matter of thought, perception, recollection, and generalization, and falls, therefore, within the province of cognitive psychology.’ The organising structures of such cognitive activity, according to Hogan, are ‘schemas, prototypes, exempla, and models.’ Additionally, Hogan proposes the use of the *rasadhvani* theory of the Sanskrit aestheticians in order to invoke an ‘activation of memory traces’ or ‘an inking of the emotion’ to explain the feeling when ‘[t]he echo of a phrase from Milton brings the phrase and the emotion of the phrase to the back of the reader’s mind.’ Thus, even though Hogan is working with influence, he manages to propose a fresh approach, moving beyond the idea of a father/son relationship and the ‘revisionary ratios’ proposed by Harold Bloom in *The Anxiety of Influence*. I understand that Hogan’s study (more centrally, as it focuses on Joyce and Milton), as well as the studies previously cited, were pivotal in starting a new outlook on Joyce’s literary relations. Lastly, I should also note that Hogan’s use of the Sanskrit aesthetic theory of the *rasadhvani*, where *rasa* means ‘a sentiment or flavour’, has a faint similarity with my adaptation and application of Gumbrecht’s concept of *stimmung*, as both concepts deal with the activation of the senses and allow ‘one’s mind to play about the literary associations of the work’. However, the similarities are limited. Hogan proposes a new approach by analysing the mechanics of writing (the schemas and prototypes) as well as an idea of ‘sentiment and flavour’ in order to reconstruct the idea of *influence*, which does not coincide with the main claim of this thesis.

In short, I argue that a reconceptualization of Joyce’s engagement with his predecessors around a notion of ‘presence’ rather than ‘influence’ is necessary, as this thesis aims to do. Joyce’s relationship with Milton exceeds the boundaries of influence, as traditionally conceived. In what follows, I define the concept of presence used in this thesis, map out the intellectual genealogy of the concept, and show how it is going to be applied to analyse the literary relationship between Joyce and Milton.

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26 Colm Hogan, *Joyce, Milton*, p. 16.
I.II Presence Rather Than Influence

John Shawcross, in an article on Miltonic textual echoes in Spanish and Portuguese literature, provides a definition of ‘presence’ that serves as a useful departure point for my own use and development of this concept:

‘Presence’ suggests the way in which intertextuality may exist as one author or work may be discerned as having a relationship with another, not necessarily as source and not necessarily as direct influence. This kind of intertextuality allows us to understand one work in terms of its related text, regardless of chronological sequence. Such ‘presence’ evokes a sense in a later or in an earlier writer that may supply an allusion, a comparison, a contrast, simply an understanding that might otherwise be missed by the reader but that leads us to a reading of one of those authors or both that might otherwise be overlooked.27 (my emphasis)

Shawcross’s primary concern, as is evident here, is with the reader’s perception of literary intertextuality. This is an important shift of emphasis from studies characterised by a focus on the writer’s psychological and strategic response to the weight of literary tradition.
Understanding a text ‘regardless of chronological sequence’, as Shawcross puts it, is in dramatic consonance with T.S. Eliot’s claim in ‘Tradition and the Individual Talent’ that the texts of the present affect our reading of those of the past; Shawcross had already applied this insight to his analysis of ‘Milton’s Joyce’ in his monograph John Milton and Influence, where he proposes to look ‘at the way we can come to understand an earlier author…by understanding a later one.’28 In pursuit of this goal, Shawcross claims that most of the understanding of the relationship between Joyce and Milton is evidenced by ‘allusion, by negative allusion, by commentary or quotation, by delving into literary structures or the same philosophic questions’ shared by both writers.29 Joyce’s relationship with Milton is not of subordination or a mere successor, but rather dwelling ‘under his shadow’ (from Hosea 14:7 ‘They that dwell under his shadow shall return’30). Shawcross uses this biblical image to illustrate the relationship between Milton and Joyce, likening ‘Milton’s shadow to that of Hosea’s god and Joyce’s independence to Israel’s waywardness’31. And even though this image carries a certain anxiety of being under a forefather’s shadow, Shawcross’s work is a valid endeavour to explain the literary relationship between Milton and Joyce under a

31 Shawcross, Milton and His Spanish..., p. 200.
different light. In building on Shawcross’s concept of intertextual presence, I aim to show how, contrary to a Bloomian model of literary influence that foregrounds competition between writers first and foremost, Joyce and Milton in fact go ‘hand in hand’ (to use a key phrase for both Milton and Joyce), companionably in touch, evoking Stephen Dedalus and Emma, or Adam and Eve leaving Paradise, rather than Jacob wrestling the angel (another image from Hosea (12:4).

As a theoretical background, I intend to build upon Shawcross’s definition of presence, drawing in part on the work of Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht and Eelco Runia. I begin by expanding on Gumbrecht’s theory of presence and the capacity of this presence to manifest itself in language. In his article ‘Presence Achieved in Language (With Special Attention to the Presence of the Past’) Gumbrecht demonstrates that ‘presence’ is not mandatorily linked with the physical world, but it can be achieved in language as well, as ‘language can be the medium through which the separation of humans and the (physical) things of their environment may be overcome.’32 In order to do so, he proposes seven instances in which presence can be ‘amalgamated’ with language, as below:

The metaphor of ‘amalgamation’ points to an in-principle difficult, rather than ‘natural’, relationship between presence and language. These modes are: language as presence; presence in philological work; language that can trigger aesthetic experience; the language of mystic experience; the openness of language toward the world; literature as epiphany; and, with a greater degree of differentiation, the presentification of the past.33

For the purposes of this thesis, I am going to be informed by two of the modes of amalgamation cited above, the ‘language as presence’ and ‘literature as epiphany’. Firstly, Gumbrecht claims that ‘spoken language does not only touch and affect our acoustic sense but our bodies in their entirety (…) even if we cannot understand what its words are supposed to mean.’ This specific type of presence of language as presence can be applied to the reading aloud of any literary work, or a reading/recitation made in the work itself. Additionally, the aural nature of Joyce’s works, as it is widely known, makes up fertile ground for the perception of how spoken language affects one’s body and emotions. A highly illustrative example of this ‘touch’ of spoken language is present in the ‘hell sermon’ of A Portrait, wherein the vividness of the imagery described by Father Arnall affects a petrified Stephen physically and he leaves the sermon feeling unwell, with the word ‘hell’ echoing in his ears. I add to this notion that, on the readers’ side, even written language has the capacity of ‘touch’ through the use of verbal echoes, and while they might not affect ‘our bodies in their entirety’

they affect and direct our reading. Using the same example of the ‘hell sermon’ in *A Portrait*, some passages and words used by Milton in his description of hell in *Paradise Lost* that are echoed in Father Arnall’s sermon affect our reading of the latter, bringing in a familiarity for the educated reader that makes the demonic dwelling in the ‘hell sermon’ even more believable than a hell without the ‘touch’ of Milton.  

Lastly, the concept of ‘literature as epiphany’ is particularly important as Gumbrecht, in one of his only mentions of Joyce, argues that an epiphany is also a manifestation of presence:

> [a]s familiar in the twentieth-century tradition of High Modernity (especially the work of James Joyce), literature can be the place of epiphany. Epiphany is [an] almost ‘intrusive’ mode of producing presence in and through language. In its theological use, the concept of epiphany refers to the appearance of a thing, a thing that requires space, a thing that is either absent or present.

Both Joyce and Gumbrecht mention spiritual and theological uses of the word, although the definition of epiphany here is restricted to the idea of an illumination, as in the end scene of ‘The Dead’. The snow ‘falling faintly and faintly falling,’ and the repetition of the word ‘fall’, as well as the crucial event it stands for in Milton as well, are responsible for the presence in the shape of epiphany. These examples and concepts are explored in detail in their respective chapters.

My intention in this thesis is to apply and build upon Gumbrecht’s concept of presence through ‘touch’ in my exploration of the relationship between Milton and Joyce’s work. As I see it, Gumbrecht’s proposed concept of presence and ‘touch’ are apt ways of thinking about Joyce’s collaborative rather than competitive use of Milton’s presence in his work, in building plot, story, atmosphere, and characters. In Gumbrecht’s theory, the ‘touch’ of presence does not presuppose a dominant figure who exerts influence over another. Furthermore, Gumbrecht’s concept of ‘touch’ also helps us to understand what I will term here ‘mediated presence’. For instance, in *Portrait*, Stephen is asked whom he considers the greatest poet, to which he responds: ‘Byron, of course,’ prompting Heron to mock Stephen and call Byron ‘a heretic and immoral too.’ (*P*, 81) The mention of Byron by Stephen is not coincidental but reflects a key aspect of his personality. Byron was strongly associated with the ‘Romantic Satanism’ trend in nineteenth-century literary thought, and the celebration of

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34 See Chapter 2 for an extension on the subject of Milton and the Hell sermon in *Portrait*.  
36 *Dubliners*, p. 176. A full analysis of ‘The Dead’ is provided in Chapter 1.
Milton’s Satan as a sublime figure. Stephen’s choice of Byron as his favourite poet comes as no surprise given the major role played by Milton’s Satan in Joyce’s building of Stephen’s character (discussed further in chapter 2). Thus, in Stephen’s association with Byron we might detect an instance of ‘mediated’ or indirect Miltonic presence, where Portrait, through its material elements, ‘touches’ in different ways all those involved in the process of communication – Joyce, Byron, Milton, and readers past and present.

In a similar vein, Dutch philosopher of history Eelco Runia defines presence as ‘being in touch – either literally or figuratively – with people, things, events, and feelings that made you into the person you are.’

To ‘be in touch’ differs from (and adds to) Gumbrecht’s idea of ‘touch’ mentioned above as it comprises a contact that helps build up a personality – in our case, Joyce’s personality as a writer. Examples of those are life events incorporated into fiction, people Joyce met that were turned into characters, as well as echoes of books he read and whose style he might have incorporated, either ironically or with the aim of putting his story in touch with external reality; that would include societal traits of the time, (for instance, when Stephen tells Mulligan he cannot wear grey trousers as he is still on a one-year mourning for his mother, in Ulysses) as well as other literary works – Stephen creates a case for Shakespeare being the ghost of his own father in Hamlet and teaches Milton’s ‘Lycidas’. As will be discussed in chapter 2, Milton played an important part in Joyce’s formative school years and adulthood; Joyce was known to recite Milton by heart. In Runia’s terms, therefore, we might say that Joyce was ‘in touch with’ Milton, and that knowing this can bring a new layer of understanding to our reading of the intertextual depth and associations of Joyce’s writing. For instance, when we, as readers, come across a reference as strong as Stephen’s unwillingness to do his Easter duty, his non serviam, we are prompted to draw or see an implicit parallel between Stephen and Satan. I would argue that this parallel is underpinned by a ‘satanic touch’, one which shapes Joyce’s depiction of Stephen and, for the reader, contributes to a richer understanding of Stephen’s psyche and personality.

Lastly, in addition to the useful concepts of presence developed by Gumbrecht and Runia, I wish to deploy a further interpretative term that will aid our understanding of the role played by Milton in Joyce’s writing. The philosophical concept of stimmung applied to literature will play a paramount role in order to aid our analysis of Milton’s presence in Joyce. This rather untranslatable term is closer to ‘mood’ and ‘climate’ in English than to any other word. In order to avoid being simplistic given the complexity of the term and the risks of

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getting lost in translation, a historical background of the term is apt. David Wellbery tracks down the history of *stimmung* from the 18th century with Goethe. Wellbery argues that in Goethe’s essay ‘Falconet’ ‘there is a line of thought that can serve as the starting point for our observations on the history of the concept of *Stimmung*. Here Goethe says of the artist:  

39 whether he enters a cobbler’s shop or a stable, whether he looks at the face of his beloved, at his boots or at the Antique, everywhere he sees these divine vibrations, *these scarcely perceptible tones by means of which nature unites all objects into a whole.* (…) The artist does not only feel the effects of this but enters into their causes.40 (my emphasis)

‘The tones that unite all objects’ is the forerunner of what we now call *stimmung*. The perception of the artist, intertwined with the objects he sees, the sounds he hears, the smells, they all belong ‘to a uniformly coloured web of relations.’ These relations are, as Wellbery argues, ‘a formal complex comprised of cross references and corresponding to a subjective correlate within the artist.’41 Thus, for Goethe, the *stimmung* (even though he did not have the word available to him in 1776), was related to the experience of art production solely; the artist would experience and weave together the cross-references in a communicable fashion.

By the end of the eighteenth century, one meaning of the word *stimmung* starts to become a crucial metaphor for aesthetic theory: that is, the usage deriving from the verb *stimmen*, which means ‘to tune a musical instrument.’ Immanuel Kant and his contemporaries refine the concept to mean a personal and individual ‘mood’. In turn, Friedrich Schiller makes a semantic shift from Kant, as Wellbery explains: ‘the concept of *Stimmung* no longer designates an intra-mental relation, but a globally understood state of mind – an aesthetic state.’42 Schiller’s intervention marks a significant step towards the concept of *Stimmung* that I adopt in this thesis.

However, for my purposes the pivotal figure in the development of the concept of *stimmung* is the German philosopher Martin Heidegger. As Wellbery observes, it is Heidegger’s *Being and Time* that brings about the most ‘radical shift in the semantics of *stimmung*’ through a ‘recoding’ of the term.43 Gumbrecht explains that, for Heidegger, ‘different and constantly changing *Stimmungen* (…) shape behaviour and feelings in our

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41 Wellbery, p. 9.
42 Wellbery, p. 15
43 Wellbery, p. 33.
everyday existence, but we can by no means choose them.’

Gumbrecht, following the musical analogy of precursors Kant and Schiller, connects the concept of stimmung with prosody and the hearing of sounds (Stimme, ‘voice’ in German), and compares the ways in which texts affect the ‘inner feelings’ of readers to the ways that weather and music do. The reference to prosody and poetic forms proves quite felicitous here, as it is widely known that both Milton and Joyce relied heavily on the auditory nature of the words and their prosody. As Gumbrecht contends, ‘[i]nstead of “standing for” meanings or for objects of reference, the tone of those verses is a text-encapsulated particle of a past we resurrect whenever we recite monologues and dialogues written by Corneille or Racine.’ It is this ‘resurrection’ we will be looking at when talking about Stimmung in this thesis. The use of the word stimmung applied to literature, then, is linked to the capacity that words have to ‘wrap’ readers in fictional worlds and to involve and enable them to see beyond the literal meaning of the words.

As I see it, stimmungen can be either crafted or linked to the reader’s response to the text. When the former happens, the author creates this feeling of ‘physical touch’ through the use of selected words and allusions from particular texts and contexts, creating an atmosphere that involves and envelops the characters and situations. Some words, phrases and similes, as well as his habit of sentence inversions and the use of Latinate vocabulary, to cite a few, give Milton’s poetry an unmistakable modus operandi, his ‘grand style’, as Christopher Ricks famously analyses. Joyce might have found Milton’s style infectious, as he defined Milton’s rhyme in a recently published notebook: ‘Milton rhyme/disease of/poetry.’ It is in this Miltonically ‘diseased’ atmosphere where Joyce constructs some of his characters and themes, such as the satanic facets of Stephen Dedalus, or Leopold Bloom as a modern Adam, and even Finnegans Wake, whose main narrative is also driven by the concept of Original Sin, like Paradise Lost, where Milton wanted to ‘justify the ways of God to man.’ Joyce’s writing is ‘infected’ by his knowledge of Milton and his ambition of creating a ‘grand style’ for himself; consequently, Milton’s ‘disease’ is sufficiently contagious to metaphorically ‘infect’ the reader and enable a wider understanding of the text.

Alternatively, the sense of stimmung can also be linked to the reader’s response to the text. Gumbrecht remarks that this feeling of physical touch ‘will happen independently of

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44 Gumbrecht, ‘Reading for the Stimmung: About the Ontology of Literature Today.’ p. 217
45 Gumbrecht, Atmosphere, p. 5.
whether we manage to understand what may have motivated the form of their songs and poems.’ Thus, regardless of how far Joyce intended to engender a Miltonic ‘machinery’ as a backdrop for his characters and works in given points, the focus in this thesis is also on how Miltonic some passages sound, look, and feel, to the informed reader. After all – transposing a Gumbrecht metaphor to the literary sphere – ‘what we touch and what touches us is a substantial presence of the past, not its signifier.’ The role of the reader here is akin to Wolfgang Iser’s Implied Reader: a hypothetical reader that works together with the author and is spurred into action by what is not written, but only implicit, embedded into the words, themes and references. For the ‘concretization’ of the text to happen, it requires the reader’s imagination to play a role. And especially concerning Joyce and Ulysses, Iser remarks that any framework of interpretation that has authorial intention as its main focus would fall flat: ‘In Ulysses, the intention, message and harmony either remain in the dark or are destroyed.’

If the reader is the sufferer of an ‘ideal insomnia’, as Joyce prophesised in Finnegans Wake, s/he is able to bring light to the dark when going ‘inside’ the text with their own background and world knowledge in order to give meaning to it.

Thus, in my interpretation, the stimmung phenomenon also contributes to a feeling of déjà-vu on the reader’s part. Wellbery explains the individual quality of stimmungen:

> Stimmungen belong to the realm of the emotions and, like everything in this realm, they exhibit ‘Ichqualität’ (first-personal quality). In other words, it is part of the meaning of any Stimmung that it is experienced as ‘mine’. Unlike feelings, however, Stimmungen are not directed towards an object. They are diffuse, they catch on to everything we think or perceive discretely without being tied to any specific object.

When we understand stimmungen as diffuse, a more comprehensive sphere opens for its use, as the phenomenon is not restricted to the mention of a single word or phrase, nor is it ‘tied to any specific object’. It might be triggered by any of the above, albeit it lingers – as if it is hovering over the story/novel/poem to give it an unexpected depth.

As a result of this effect, readers are made aware, at varying degrees of consciousness, of what is latent in the text – what is implicit, hidden, albeit essential. Gumbrecht calls latent ‘whatever we believe is in a text without being unproblematically graspable.’ The Miltonic stimmung is part of the context of a fictional text, giving ‘the reader a quasi-physical certainty of being in the presence of something latent that will show itself.’ It might even not show itself in the end, however, its presence can be felt throughout the text. This ‘quasi-physical

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49 Wellbery, p. 7.
50 Gumbrecht, Atmosphere, p. 87.
51 Gumbrecht, Atmosphere, p. 90.
certainty’ can be composed of several elements, be they voice, sounds, or weather, to cite a few:

Any sound that we perceive is a physical reality (albeit an invisible reality), which, as matter, affects (“hits”) and surrounds (“wraps”) our body. Beside sounds (among them, specifically, music), the other material reality that wraps our bodies in similar ways is weather, and it does not come as a surprise, therefore, that musical and meteorological references quite regularly appear when literary texts try to refer to *Stimmung* on a level of self-reflection. The touches of sound and weather are the lightest, the least pressing, and yet are concrete encounters that our bodies can have with their material environment.\(^{52}\)

Gumbrecht illustrates this concept by reference to Thomas Mann’s novella *Death in Venice*. He argues that in the novella the descriptions of the weather “wrap” the characters, revealing at the end the protagonist’s latent longing for death. Gumbrecht argues that Joyce in *Ulysses* ‘makes prosody and semantics converge for the same type of effect’\(^ {53}\). I believe that the effect of *stimmung* is one of the most remarkable characteristics of the Miltonic presence in Joyce’s early works. The presence of Milton in these works is not as immediately apparent as it is in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait*, where Joyce’s use of words that are heavy with Miltonic associations helps create a clearly observable example of Gumbrehtian ‘touch’. In this thesis, I will build on Gumbrecht’s concept – he argues that literature is creative of *stimmungen*, real moods and atmospheres that occur when reading. I would like to add that the *stimmungen* can also stem from metaphors, intertextuality and the use of certain words borrowed from other authors, which help create a ‘Miltonic atmosphere’ in Joyce’s work.

In this thesis I aim to use the concepts described above to yield stimulating and novel ways of understanding Joyce’s artful relationship with Milton. Each chapter of the thesis adopts a slightly different approach, drawing on and adapting the various theories and concepts described here to different extents and in various combinations according to need. What emerges, I hope, from this approach – flexible and pragmatic yet at the same time underpinned by a principled adherence to a model of literary relations not dominated by notions of psychological, Oedipal, familial agon – is a richer, more nuanced picture of the ‘presence’ of Milton in Joyce, from overt and pointed allusion and parallels to latent and submerged hints and echoes.

\(^{52}\) Gumbrecht, *Atmosphere*, p. 90.

I. III **Milton and Joyce: Unexpected Companionship**

Richard Ellmann states in Joyce’s biography ‘Joyce exalted Dante at the expense of Milton, whom he fiercely rejected.’ However, as mentioned previously, Shawcross and Hogan have made invaluable contributions to the analysis of intersections between Milton’s and Joyce’s works, debunking in particular this myth perpetuated by Ellmann. Shawcross observes that ‘Joyce’s supposedly fierce rejection of Milton must be seen as a bending with the popular critical tide.’ Indeed, when looking closely it is possible to see that Joyce’s stated intention to avoid Milton is more feigned than real, as there is evidence of Milton as a regular ‘companion’ of Joyce. Firstly, Joyce had a copy of John Milton’s *The Poetical Works* (Gall and Inglis Edition, undated) and *Ode on the Morning of Christ’s Nativity, L’Allegro, Il Penseroso and Lycidas* (edited by A.W. Verity, Cambridge University Press, 1911) in his personal library in Trieste. Hogan mentions that Joyce knew the twin poems *L’Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* and *Lycidas* by heart, and was always glad to recite them. John Shawcross asserts that ‘[m]uch of the so-called rejection is shallow words only: within the fabric of Joyce’s writing is the presence of Milton […]’ Shawcross reports a letter from Joyce to his friend Frank Budgen, dated 22 March 1920, in which Joyce indicates, rather humorously, that the plan for ‘Oxen of the Sun’ was influenced by Milton, among others:

> [I] [a]m working hard at *Oxen of the Sun*, the idea being the crime committed against fecundity by sterilizing the act of coition. Scene, lying-in hospital. Technique: a nineparted episode without divisions introduced by a Sallustian-Tacitean prelude […] then the Elizabethan chronicle style (‘about that present time young Stephen filled all cups’), then a passage solemn, as of Milton, Taylor, Hooker […] Bloom is the spermatozoon, the hospital the womb, the nurse the ovum, Stephen the embryo. How’s that for high? […]

While the evidence of this letter suggests that Joyce thought of Milton as belonging to the same company as ‘solemn’ Anglican divines Richard Hooker and Jeremy Taylor, I believe that other aspects of Milton’s writing and reputation were the key factors that attracted Joyce

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to him. These other aspects were the novelty and controversial nature of Milton’s writing in its own time, and its considerable popularity in the century after his death. Lucy Newlyn’s account of Milton’s eighteenth-century reception confirms that:

Between 1705 and 1800, *Paradise Lost* alone was published over a hundred times: along with *The Pilgrim’s Progress* and the Bible, it was the most widely read book of the century. Passages from it were excerpted and anthologized for the moral edification of the young and the female (…) in the popular imagination it acquired the status of a biblical text.\(^61\)

However, religious worth might not have been the sole reason why *Paradise Lost* and Milton’s writing was appreciated in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries; for the Romantic poets and later writers such as Joyce, much of the attraction of Milton lay in his revolutionary ideas, political and poetical.\(^62\) Blamires adds that

\[i\]t would be unjust to imply that the Miltonic spell operates only on writers who have deep sympathy with Milton’s Christian profession, though indeed it is perhaps the case that Milton’s minor poetry, ‘Lycidas’ especially, tends to be cited with special approval by writers (and by critics) whose thinking rejects the religion of *PL*.\(^63\)

Wittreich explains the likely appeal of Milton for Joyce in terms of Milton’s scathing critique of the inadequate social and institutional structures of his day: ‘[f]or anyone troubled by collapsing hierarchies and by subversive maneuvers, or by notions of oppressive traditions and political transformations, Milton’s last poems are bound to make for unsettling reading.’\(^64\) Joyce’s Romantic view of Milton was dominated by the Milton of *Areopagitica*, who defended the freedom of the press, and the Milton who, it was believed, had given voice to Satan in his rewriting of Genesis, and in the process came somehow to identify with Satan’s rebellious plight. Blamires goes further, arguing that *Paradise Lost* (and Milton, consequently) ‘could not be expected to influence the minds of young writers unless they were big enough to see through the current critical misunderstanding. Some of them were.’\(^65\)

Blamires includes Joyce in the *milieu* of young writers who saw through that misunderstanding and regarded Milton not as an oppressor but as an inevitable part of the cultural tradition to which they belonged. In this thesis I intend to demonstrate how Milton did indeed serve as a source of creativity and energy for Joyce, manifested especially in the

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\(^{63}\) Blamires, ‘Influence’, p. 139.
\(^{64}\) Wittreich, *Why Milton Matters*, p. xiii
presence of the character of Milton’s Satan in the composition of Stephen Dedalus’s personality, making his Satan more of a companion to Stephen than a nemesis to be taken down. The extensive bibliography about both characters reinforces the importance of the fallen archangel and the rebellious youth in the works of Milton and Joyce respectively.

I.iv Conjoining Milton and Joyce

Neither Milton nor Joyce lack for critical commentators. Scholarly studies of both writers cover almost every conceivable aspect of their work. In the preface of his excellent account on the importance of Milton, Why Milton Matters, Joseph Wittreich exemplifies Milton’s contemporaneity through the text being a favourite reading of Malcolm X, as well as the Hell’s Angels, and as a ‘touchstone to Toni Morrison’s thinking about paradises lost.’ John Shawcross, then, would not be wrong when we consider his assertion about the legacy of Milton’s works, which amounts to many who have learned the Bible from Paradise Lost. He argues that ‘there are those who believe that the angels Uriel and Ithuriel and Abdiel appear in the Bible, but of course they do not.’ That assertion alone raises Paradise Lost to a level higher than any other canonical work, as its importance and popularity is comparable to that of the Bible. Yet, there is a dearth of studies linking Joyce’s and Milton’s works. Shawcross adds that when scholars have considered the Joyce-Milton relationship, ‘critics have confined themselves to Finnegans Wake and Ulysses.’ Shawcross himself has made an invaluable contribution to the analysis of intersections between Milton’s and Joyce’s works, debunking in particular the myth perpetuated by Joyce’s biographer Richard Ellmann that ‘Joyce exalted Dante at the expense of Milton, whom he fiercely rejected.’ As long ago as 1991, Shawcross concluded that:

[c]ertainly a full study of Joyce’s debts to Milton is due: it would summarize and expand the numerous articles that have been making us well aware of Joyce’s


67 Wittreich, Why Milton Matters, p. xi


relationship with Milton and his works; the intertextuality that lies everywhere in Joyce’s canon, and the anxieties of influence we have come to appreciate (…)\textsuperscript{71}

This thesis is partially an attempt to respond to Shawcross’s call for ‘a full study’. However, as I hope I have made clear in this Introduction, my own approach will be less concerned with ‘debts’ and ‘the anxieties of influence,’ and will focus more on the many and varied ways in which Milton is ‘present’ in Joyce’s work, sometimes companionably and sometimes competitively.

I.V  \textbf{Chapter Breakdown}

The thesis is structured chronologically, beginning with an analysis of Joyce’s less acclaimed works in order to give the reader an overview of Joyce’s development and growth as a writer, as well as the sharpening of his text-weaving strategies throughout the years; additionally, I intend to demonstrate that, contrary to claims in several previous studies, Milton’s presence is also perceivable quite strongly beyond the highly celebrated \textit{Ulysses} and \textit{Finnegans Wake}. Furthermore, Joyce’s early poems and short stories provide an ideal case study to show how the critical concept of \textit{stimmung} works in practice, as this rather abstract concept finds its most fertile ground in these shorter writings. It is always important to remember that ‘[a]lthough Joyce’s international reputation was made as a novelist, his name first appeared to the public in the guise of a poet’ as Lee Spinks remarks.\textsuperscript{72} Thus, Chapter 1 consists of an analysis of two of Joyce’s early works: his collection of poems, \textit{Chamber Music}, and short stories, \textit{Dubliners}. These works were chosen as they demonstrate how the effect of Milton is felt across different genres, poetry and short stories, rather than restricted to Joyce’s full-length novels. Joyce’s other earlier writings, the poems \textit{Pomes Penyeach}, the play \textit{Exiles}, and the short story \textit{Giacomo Joyce}, are excluded here so as to avoid repetition of the poem and short story formats. The shorter works should not be disregarded as mere juvenilia, but rather as a pathway in Joyce’s growth as a writer. By starting the discussion from Joyce’s early works, I hope to show the process by which Joyce’s methods of engagement with Milton changed over the length of his writing career, maturing from early allusions and parallel structures and motifs to a highly diffuse and subtle engagement with Milton in the later works. Embedded in this progression is the invaluable notion that will be acquired through

\textsuperscript{71} Shawcross, \textit{Milton and Influence}, p. 156.

the use of the literary *stimmung* to facilitate an understanding of how he worked with allusions and references to his precursors.

Chapter 2 shows how and in what ways Joyce allows for and responds to Milton’s presence in the inception of the character Stephen Daedalus (later changed to Dedalus), Joyce’s *alter ego*, in *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. In this chapter, I investigate Joyce’s creation of Stephen’s character, and the part played in it by Milton’s Satan/Lucifer. I show how the troubled relationship of Milton’s Satan/Lucifer with religious and authority figures is mirrored in Stephen’s relationship with religious authority figures, such as Father Butt in *Stephen Hero* and Father Arnall in *A Portrait*. Most of the analysis will be structured around Eelco Runia’s concept of ‘being in touch’, which emphasises the presence of people/things/facts that compose someone’s personality. My analysis of the presence of Milton in Joyce’s creation of Stephen Dedalus focuses in particular on the use of pointed allusions and verbal echoes, such as Joyce’s use of the words ‘pride’ and ‘fall’, among others, as well as an investigation of the mediated presence of Milton in Joyce’s creation of the infamous ‘hell sermon’.

In chapter 3, I examine the extent of Milton’s presence in *Ulysses* through Stephen Dedalus and his connection with ‘Lycidas’, his poem of choice as a teacher. I also investigate the relationship between the main characters, Dedalus, Leopold and Molly Bloom; In order to do so, I bring together an analysis of verbal echoes and cross-references to Milton with an appreciation of the *stimmung* created by Joyce in *Ulysses* by various literary means, concluding that the presence of Milton in the characters’ voices and actions is more significant than previously realized.

Chapter 4 is a lengthy effort to discover and demonstrate Milton’s presence in Joyce’s multilingual *Finnegans Wake*. This chapter focuses in particular on the novel’s main character HCE, who is subjected to several metamorphoses throughout *FW*, thus manifesting Milton’s presence in different ways; he is permeated by characteristics from Milton’s Adam, God, Michael, and Satan. Additionally, his shape-shifting family play a paramount role in order to establish the Miltonic *stimmung* throughout, as his sons Shaun and Shem mirror the dichotomies Michael/Satan, Cain/Abel, Jacob/Esau, his wife ALP is Eve/Lilith, as well as the daughter Issy, who shows hints of traits found in Lilith/Sin. Throughout *Finnegans Wake*,

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73 For the sake of clarity, from this point on in the thesis, I will refer to the fallen angel Lucifer in Miltonic fashion: when talking about the character before the fall and his angelic state, I will use the name ‘Lucifer’; the name ‘Satan’ will be employed when talking about the angel in his post-lapsarian state.
Joyce displays his complete mastery in interacting with his literary predecessors, allowing their submerged presence to animate his characters and situations, thus creating a whole new and wider sphere of signification for his dream-like novel. Due to the complexity of the text and Joyce’s strategy of concealment in handling his literary precursors, this chapter will draw from all of the concepts of presence previously discussed, so that we are able to savour the fullness of Joyce’s profoundly complex engagement with literary tradition in *FW*.

Chapter 5 is an extension of a crucial theme in *FW* with pivotal relevance in *Paradise Lost*, an analysis of what Joyce called ‘thunderwords’ – 100-letter *portmanteau* words marking eminent events of the flowing narrative. There are ten of these in the whole book and they are distributed around Books 1, 2 and 3. These words signpost literal and figurative ‘falls’ and have paramount importance in *FW*, and they achieve a deeper layer of signification when read against Milton’s account of the Fall, as in *PL* the thunder is the voice of a wrathful God. As the thunderwords are not necessarily attached to any of the characters in particular, and given their eminence in Joyce studies, I provide a detailed and focussed account of the Miltonic echoes in this particular feature of Joyce’s *FW* in the last chapter, separated from any ‘interference’ from the rest of the book in which they are inserted. This segregated scrutiny of the thunderwords aims to serve as a ‘lightning bolt’ hoping to provide an effective conclusion to my analysis of the intricate ‘book of the dark’.

Lastly, I must note that the analysis of presence and *stimmung* developed in this thesis does not restrict itself to an investigation of the relationship between Joyce and Milton exclusively. The method proposed here, I would argue, is applicable to many other comparative literature studies.
1. Joyce’s Shorter Works and Milton

In this thesis, I argue that Milton is a significant presence throughout Joyce’s oeuvre, evident in overt quotation and allusion, and in commonalities of them, but also in the kinds of nuances and traces of reference and influence that Gumbrecht highlights in his theory of *stimmung*. While the instances of the ‘presence’ of Milton in *Chamber Music* and *Dubliners* might be less overt and less frequent than in some of Joyce’s later works, they are nevertheless identifiable, and indicate Joyce’s understanding of Milton’s place in literature, his political stance and the relationship between English and Irish culture. John Shawcross, for example, argues that ‘there is a Miltonic quality – a presence – in *Chamber Music.*’ Shawcross delineates a number of thematic parallels between the poems and *Paradise Lost*, most of which, he claims, are later further developed in *Dubliners* and *Ulysses*. Additionally, Shawcross cites evidence from renowned authors which help dispel the lifelong claim that ‘Joyce rejected Milton’ as it had been believed.¹ In this chapter I extend Shawcross’ argument through an analysis of the poems in terms of the concept of *stimmung* and its connection to sounds, as well as to Gumbrecht’s advocacy of the literary ‘hunch’. For Gumbrecht, the ‘hunch’ occurs in moments of a text that:

(…) alert us to a potential mood in a text by the irritation and fascination provoked by a single word or small detail – the hint of a different tone or rhythm. Following a hunch means trusting an implicit promise for a while and making a step toward describing a phenomenon that remains unknown – one that has aroused our curiosity and, in the case of atmospheres and moods, often envelops and even enshrouds us.²

My aim in this chapter, is to identify such ‘hints’ of Milton provoked by words or small details in the text. In the first section I focus on *Chamber Music* and the ‘irritating’ and ‘fascinating’ details that point at Milton. For instance, a single word such as ‘mantle’ in Poem

I (‘Pale flowers in his mantle’) might bring in a certain ‘irritation’ to the informed reader, as besides being a rather uncommon word, ‘mantle’ is used twice in Milton’s ‘Lycidas’:

His mantle hairy, and his bonnet sedge (L, 104)
At last he rose, and twitch'd his mantle blue
Tomorrow to fresh woods and pastures new (L, 192-93).

Such echoes take on a further significance within Joyce’s oeuvre as a whole when one considers their more overt expression in *Ulysses*, where Milton’s ‘Lycidas’ is directly alluded to. This approach is consistent with the idea of reading for *stimmung*, as it *does not* mean deciphering, reconstructing, or analysing the social and historical context of the works. As Gumbrecht argues, reading for *stimmung* ‘means discovering sources of energy in artifacts and giving oneself over to them affectively and bodily – yielding to them and gesturing towards them.’

Additionally, looking at the earlier works through the lens of *stimmung* offers us an ideal scenario to understand how it works. It is possible to see in Joyce’s earlier works the *stimmung* of his precursors - an atmosphere that Joyce brings in to permeate his poems, stories, and characters. This atmosphere is Joyce’s strategy to bring in his chosen precursors (Milton among these) and enhance his authorial voice in his poems. Consequently, at a later moment, this strategy is sharpened and feeds into the narrative of his later works. As the instances of Miltonic presence are more limited in Joyce’s earlier works, trying to establish a method that aims at showing solid verbal echoes in this chapter would be too restrictive and nearly impossible to do. One of the main reasons for that is that Joyce was experimenting with language as well as with incorporating the presence of his chosen precursors in his writing.

The second part of this chapter examines Miltonic presence in Joyce’s collection of short stories, *Dubliners*. Joyce himself indicated a continuity of ideas from *Chamber Music* to *Dubliners* in a letter to Stanislaus, in 1907:

Yet I have certain ideas I would like to give form to: not as a doctrine but as the continuation of the expression of myself which I now see I began in *Chamber Music*. These ideas or instincts or intuitions or impulses may be purely personal.4 (my emphasis)

Joyce’s reference to personal ideas, instincts, intuitions and impulses hint at the essence of Gumbrecht’s concept of *stimmung* and the use of the literary ‘hunch’, thereby analysing the

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poems vis-à-vis these concepts might facilitate the understanding of a Miltonic presence underlying them.

1.1 THE EDENIC ATMOSPHERE OF CHAMBER MUSIC

Joyce’s publishing début, Chamber Music, was a collection of thirty-six poems with ‘ayres of the English Renaissance’. Myra Russel suggests that:

[mi]ost of the thirty-six little poems in James Joyce’s Chamber Music do not belong to the twentieth century, nor were they meant to. Far more than has been previously acknowledged by critics, it is to the graceful “ayres” of the English Renaissance – those delicate, finely crafted songs for solo voice and lute that Joyce loved and spent hours copying out – that Chamber Music is closest in spirit, content, and style.⁵

Despite its gracefulness, Chamber Music met with harsh dismissive criticism. Harry Levin argues that Joyce’s poetry is ‘too concrete’, as well as ‘empty of meaning [and] of colour’ and ‘almost without visual quality.’⁶ Furthermore, Levin remarks that the poems have only two ordinary themes: ‘when they are not about the commonplaces of love, most of them literally treat the subject of music.’⁷ For Levin, ‘Joyce at best is a merely competent poet, moving within an extremely limited range.’⁸ Even though Joyce’s poems might not be held in such high esteem as his prose, Harry Levin uses a musical metaphor (which will be useful for our purposes here) to explain the importance of Joyce’s poetical work on his later writing: ‘[Poetry] offers [Joyce] a series of solfeggio exercises in preparation for his serious work. His real contribution is to bring the fuller resources of poetry to fiction.’⁹ I partially agree with Levin in this aspect and suggest that these solfeggio ‘exercises’ were vital for the refining of Joyce’s use of language to convey wider meaning, and can be associated with the beginning of Joyce’s use of allusion and intertextuality in his work. Wim Van Mierlo cites what he calls ‘quite a substantial list of influences, echoes and allusions’ in Chamber Music. Among these, we can find Dante, Boccaccio, the Elizabethans, Ben Jonson, Byron, Shelley, Blake, the Irish folk song, the Revival, and Yeats, to name a few.¹⁰ Van Mierlo cites a few examples of

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⁷ Levin, p. 36.
⁸ Levin, p. 27.
⁹ Levin, p. 36.
¹⁰ Wim Van Mierlo, “I have met you too late”: James Joyce, WB Yeats and the Making of Chamber Music’ in South Carolina Review – Writing Modern Ireland, 43, 43-66 (p. 45).
echoes between words employed by Joyce, such as ‘unquiet’, that resound in Tennyson, Shelley, Arnold, but he concludes by saying that

none of the echoes I have listed are to be taken as actual instances of influence. (...) it is unlikely that Joyce had actually encountered them in his reading. The phrases, rather, and also the imagery, are so generic they do not belong to the vocabulary of any individual poem, but to a stock repertory of poetic diction.\textsuperscript{11}

Thus, while there might be a hint of the authors cited above in Joyce’s writing, the practice of considering the verbal echoes under the single umbrella term of ‘influence’ is insufficient. That alone can justify why a term other than ‘influence’ is called for in order to understand the role of verbal echoes and allusions in Joyce’s work. Shawcross claims that an expression of Milton’s presence in \textit{Chamber Music} can be seen in its transition ‘from harmony to separation’, which is ‘a reprise of the movements of ‘Lycidas’ and \textit{Paradise Lost’}.\textsuperscript{12} Joyce once confirmed the rationale behind the order of the poems: ‘the central song is XIV after which the movement is all downwards until XXXIV which is vitally the end of the book. XXXV and XXXVI are tailpieces.’\textsuperscript{13} The idea of a ‘downwards’ movement coincides with the idea of a sequence ‘from harmony to separation’ as in \textit{Paradise Lost}, the main argument happens around the moment Eve insists that Adam lets her go to a different part of the garden, ending up being tempted by the Serpent far from Adam’s sight.

Milton’s presence is also perceivable through similar themes used by Joyce. Shawcross argues that the themes of the poems in \textit{Chamber Music} are recurrent in Joyce’s later work, and they are ‘also signifiers of a literary validity moving beyond the biographical into the “message” of his work: the need to accept life as it is and thus to cherish the present though it changes with each moment of time’\textsuperscript{14}. Shawcross’s main point regards the themes and the coincidental movements in Joyce’s poetry that intersect with \textit{Paradise Lost}. For instance, on poems I and III, the speaker is alone and hopeful of love, and in XIV, the loved one is awaited. These themes, Shawcross argues, ‘recall the action of \textit{Paradise Lost}, with Adam alone and desirous of companionship’\textsuperscript{15}. Furthermore, Joyce’s ‘Love is unhappy when love is away’, in poem IX, echoes Adam’s worry about Eve’s going on separate ways to do their daily tasks.

\textsuperscript{11} Van Mierlo, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{12} Shawcross, ‘They that dwell’, p. 204
\textsuperscript{14} Shawcross, ‘They that dwell’, p. 204
\textsuperscript{15} Shawcross, ‘They that dwell’, p. 206.
Even though Shawcross’s analysis of *Chamber Music* in relation to *Paradise Lost* is valid, my reading is that he proposes quite broad parallels. I want to suggest that the presence of Milton in the poems is manifest through subtle hints, in addition to the intertextuality, allusions, and comparisons that Shawcross proposes. Additionally, by drawing upon Runia’s definition of presence as ‘being in touch’, ‘either literally or figuratively—with people, things, events, and feelings that made you into the person you are’, I argue that Milton was constitutive of Joyce’s identity as a writer, as the English poet was a significant figure in Joyce’s school education.\(^\text{16}\) For Runia, the idea of ‘being in touch’ is essential for the shaping of one’s personality, and my analysis of some of the poems in the collection includes discussion of the ways in which the ‘presence’ of Milton forms part of Joyce’s literary personality as a writer and the way he built his characters throughout his works.

### 1.1.2 The Poems

Poem I, ‘Strings in the earth and air’, is our first instance of contact with a narrator, who speaks of the surroundings of a place where there is music, rivers, and willows:

Strings in the earth and air  
Make music sweet;  
Strings by the river where  
The willows meet. (*CM*, I.1-4)

The harmony initially perceived in the first lines of the poem, illustrated by the ‘music sweet’ and the pastoral environment might hint at the common *topos* of Paradise, where flora and fauna live in peace. Additionally, a few elements point at ‘Lycidas’ rather than at *Paradise Lost*. Firstly, the reference to music and the willows – Lycidas, from Theocritus’s *Idylls*, is considered the best of pipers. John Milton’s ‘Lycidas’ takes after him in regards to musical talent, as in the lines of the poem: ‘Who would not sing for Lycidas? He knew | Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme’ (L, 10-11). Some words in the poem which might ‘irritate’, creating a ‘hunch’ to be followed and bring the *stimmung* of Milton’s ‘Lycidas’ to mind. For instance, one ‘hunch’ is the presence of willows; there is a religious Christian connection between the weeping willows and death/mourning, which probably has origins in Psalm 137:

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion.

\(^{16}\) Runia, p. 5.
We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof.\(^{17}\) (my emphasis)

‘Lycidas’ is, as Lee Jacobus reminds us, ‘the highest moment in the poetry of loss in English’\(^{18}\), and it ranks high among Joyce’s favourite poems; furthermore, as I will discuss in the chapter about Ulysses, ‘Lycidas’ is a keypoint to represent one of the larger themes in Joyce’s epic novel, mourning. However, why would anyone mourn in Paradise? If we establish that the harmonic grounds in the poem are a similar realm to Paradise, still an answer is possible. In Book 1 of Paradise Lost, the narrator is already aware of Adam and Eve’s fate:

Of man’s first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden (...) (PL I.1-4)

In Poem I, Joyce conflates both the atmosphere of the first books of Paradise Lost, wherein there is a narrator conscious of the Edenic couple’s fate - and the atmosphere of mourning in Milton’s ‘Lycidas’, in order to establish the stimmung not only of poem 1, but of the whole sequence of poems in the book. Through the main theme of mourning, the reader is prepared for a presence that is latent, that will show itself (or may not show itself fully). Thus, by means of an edenic topos and the stimmung of Milton’s ‘Lycidas’, we are prepared for the appearance of the edenic couple, Adam and Eve, as well as for their fall, which ‘Brought death into the world’. The mourning represented by the willows and in ‘Lycidas’ prepares the readers for the movement described by Joyce, which veers downwards after Poem XIV.

In the following stanza of the poem, the presence of Milton’s ‘Lycidas’ remains and a third-person character presents itself:

There’s music along the river
For Love wanders there,
Pale flowers on his mantle,
Dark leaves on his hair. (CM, I.4-8)

The image of ‘Lycidas’ in this stanza is intensely conflated with ‘hints’ of the edenic couple. Firstly, the music that continues is characteristic of Lycidas, the piper. In addition to that, Joyce’s use of the word ‘mantle’ carries a hint of Miltonic stimmung in this poem, making it

\(^{17}\) Psalm 137, verses 1-2.

\(^{18}\) Jacobus, p. 194.
even more significant as it is associated with Camus, Milton’s personification of the river Cam, which runs through Cambridge.\textsuperscript{19} See the passage below from ‘Lycidas’:

Next Camus, reverend Sire, went footing slow,
His Mantle hairy, and his Bonnet sedge,
Inwrought with figures dim, and on the edge
Like to that sanguine flower inscrib’d with woe. (L, 103-106)

It is possible to see an association between this stanza of Joyce’s Poem I and Milton’s ‘Lycidas’ lines, which might lead to an ambiguity as to whom to associate with the pronoun ‘his’. Even though in ‘Lycidas’ the ‘mantle hairy’ and the ‘sanguine flower’ are associated with Camus, I suggest Joyce uses this moment as a mechanism to transpose the action from the river to the ‘Love’ he sings about, thus enabling the narrator to start speaking about the enamoured couple in Paradise. Adam too, in Paradise Lost, has flowers and leaves adorning his hair. Milton describes Adam with ‘His fair large front and eye sublime declared | Absolute rule, and hyacinthine locks round from his parted forelock’ (PL, IV.300-3). It is possible that the ‘flowers on his mantle’ are linked to the ‘hyacinthine locks’, and the flowers are hyacinths, as well as the ‘dark leaves on his hair’, that are hyacinth leaves, bringing Joyce’s ‘Love’ and Milton’s Adam closer.

The ‘hunch’ in relation to the word ‘mantle’ here becomes more resonant when we consider a later instance of the reference, in Joyce’s novel Ulysses, when Leopold Bloom twice repeats the end of Milton’s poem, once correctly (but just mentioning that ‘someone somewhere sings’ that) and once incorrectly. In fact, Bloom takes it to be a proverbial expression: ‘As the adage has it, dreaming of fresh fields and pastures new’ (U. 16.1727-28), which might reflect Joyce’s great familiarity with the poem. The actual closing lines of the poem are:

At last he rose, and twitched his mantle blue:
Tomorrow to fresh woods, and pastures new. (L, 192-193)

In this specific case, Bloom’s confusion can make up for an actual hint to Joyce’s identification with the poem. Frank Budgen recalls that his own memory gave out when trying to remember some lines he liked from ‘Lycidas’, but Joyce’s did not: ‘(…) Joyce said the whole poem from beginning to end…’\textsuperscript{20} Thus, given the fact that the poem was


\textsuperscript{20} Budgen, p. 181.
significant for Joyce and came naturally to him as an adage, a conflation of ‘Lycidas’ and
Paradise Lost in Poem I becomes particularly plausible. Both work in consonance in order to
set up the ideal environment for his enamoured couple, while keeping in the background the
ominous threat of death that enshrouds them.

Poem I operates as a prelude for the appearance of Love’s object of affection. With
the ‘edenic’ couple now together, Poem III illustrates the end of the day and is also crucial as
it also criticises the themes and forms of the poems in the Celtic Twilight. Matthew Campbell
describes the poem as

marked by refrain, repetition, and echo, and as such it is used by Joyce as a marker of
a static twilight lyricism. (...) ‘At that hour when all things have repose’ plays itself
out at a twilight that might suggest the ‘Celtic’ to a late-nineteenth-century or early-
twentieth-century reader, and its verbal music courts the seemingly aimless ‘come and
go’ of echo and repetition heard in the poetry of the 1890s, which played with the
forms of entropy. 21

While the echoes and repetition suggest the lyrical tradition of the Celtic twilight, some
words also indicate a strong instance of Miltonic stimmung. Joyce’s choice of words again
‘hints’ at Paradise Lost, involving⁄‘wrapping’ the poem in an aura that is both harmonic and
ominous in a pre-lapsarian fashion:

At that hour when all things have repose,
O lonely watcher of the skies
Do you hear the night wind and the sighs
Of harps playing unto Love to unclose
The pale gates of sunrise? (CM, III.1-5)

The first verse ‘At that hour when all things have repose’ is reminiscent of Milton’s Paradise
Lost:

When Adam thus to Eve. Fair Consort, the hour
Of night, and all things now retired to rest,
Mind us of like repose (...) (PL, IV.608-610)

The poem also echoes the harmony, silence and the ‘heavenly touch of instrumental sounds’
(PL, IV.684). Both reflect the peace and quiet the couples in both Paradise Lost and Poem III
enjoy before the impending disruption of quietness, as well as emphasize some musicality in
the air. Compare the verses below, respectively from Poem III and Paradise Lost:

21 Matthew Campbell, ‘The Unconsortable Joyce: Chamber Music’ in The Poetry of James Joyce Reconsidered,
(…)
Do you hear the night wind and the sights
Of harps playing unto Love to unclose
The pale gates of sunrise?

When all things repose, do you alone
Awake to hear the sweet harps play (…)
Play on, invisible harps, unto Love, (…)
Soft sweet music in the air above
And in the earth below. (CM, III.3-15)

Milton has Adam describe:

Celestial voices to the midnight air,
Sole, or responsive each to others note,
Singing their great Creator? oft in bands
While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk,
With heavenly touch of instrumental sounds
In full harmonic number joined, their songs
Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven. (PL IV.680-85)

‘Celestial voices to the midnight air (…) singing their great Creator’ (PL IV.680-2), and a
‘heavenly touch of instrumental sounds (…) their songs’ (PL IV.684-5), all are echoed by the
‘sights of harps’, and the ‘soft sweet music in the air above/and in the earth below’. It is
important to remark that the passage cited from Paradise Lost precedes Adam and Eve’s
nuptial encounter and connubial bliss. Both passages emphasise the nocturnal atmosphere,
the ‘night wind’ and the ‘midnight air’, while the musicality represented by the ‘sweet harps
that surrounds the blissful atmosphere they are ‘wrapped’ in, as Gumbrecht would put it, are
prevalent in Joyce’s poems and Milton’s epic alike.

The following poem, Poem IV, is the one in which there are the most ‘hints’ of
Milton, as there is the presence of an unknown visitor that breaks the apparent tranquillity –
the stimmung of Paradise Lost and the theme of the fall and betrayal is highly perceivable
here. Firstly, we can again find the presence of the ‘third person’ from Poem II, the one with
‘shy thought’. The first stanza of the poem sets up the stimmung and points at Satan’s origins:

When the shy star goes forth in heaven
All maidenly, disconsolate,
Hear you amid the drowsy even
One who is singing by your gate.
His song is softer than the dew
And he is come to visit you. (CM, IV. 1-6)
‘The shy star’, Venus, even though described as ‘maidenly’, might evoke Satan’s former name in heaven, Lucifer, son of the morning, the morning star, who fell from heaven and initially, as narrated by Milton, felt disconsolate at his first moments in hell. His disconsolation is apparent during a moment of repentance when he first sees the couple in Eden:

Oh, then, at last relent: Is there no place
Left for repentance, none for pardon left? (PL IV.79-80)

That image brings to mind that the one who is singing by the gate is the adversary, and he is ‘amid the drowsy’, near the couple in the garden, who sleep. Comparatively, in Paradise Lost, when night falls, Adam and Eve go to sleep.

Ask riddance, if we mean to tread with ease:
Meanwhile, as Nature wills, night bids us rest. (PL IV.630-631)

Following this the angels Ithuriel and Zephon discover Satan’s presence in the garden and find him

Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve,
Assaying by his devilish art to reach
The organs of her fancy, and with them forge
Illusions, as he list, phantasms and dreams. (PL IV.798-801)

It is possible to see the one who is singing by the gate as a visitor – not anyone who was already there, a fact that strengthens the hypothesis that this visitor might be a seducer who will disturb the peaceful existence of the lovers. It is a disquieting figure, as opposed to the previous poems, in which there was harmony and music surrounding the couple. Even in Poem III, this figure was primarily an observer, but now he acts upon the couple and creates disrupting effects.

The next and last stanza offers us an even more of a ‘hunch’ that there is a ‘satanic presence’ near the lovers:

O bend no more in revery
When he at eventide is calling.
Nor muse: Who may this singer be
Whose song about my heart is falling?
Know you by this, the lover’s chant,
‘Tis I that am your visitant. (CM, IV.7-12)

It is possible to draw a parallel between this and the following passage from book V of Paradise Lost, where Eve describes to Adam a ‘nightmare’ she had:
Close at mine ear one called me forth to walk/
With gentle voice; I thought it thine: It said,
‘Why sleepest thou, Eve? Now is the pleasant time (…) (PL V.36-38)

Like the subject in Poem IV, Eve does not know either whose voice it is that tells her about the marvels of the evening, the ‘pleasant time’. The voices, both in Joyce’s and Milton’s poems, are ‘gentle’, ‘soft’, and affect the actions of their hearers. In *Paradise Lost*, Eve is seduced by the voice in her dream to eat the forbidden fruit: after she eats it, she flies alongside her seducer, but suddenly her guide disappears and she falls (literally), as in the passage below:

(…) Fortwith up to the clouds
With him I flew, and underneath beheld
The earth outstretched immense, (…) suddenly
My guide was gone, and I, methought, sunk down… (PL V.86-91)

These events are echoed in the last stanza of Poem IV, as the female figure is called ‘at eventide’, and she does not know the singer/speaker. The tempter’s voice, which sings at the gate and upon which her ‘heart is falling’ calls to mind Eve’s dream in PL as well as her impending fall. Additionally, the use of the word ‘falling’ can have both meanings implied by Eve in *Paradise Lost*: the fall from grace, as well as her literal fall from the skies where she flew with the visitor.

The poems discussed so far are the ones in which I find the Miltonic presence to be at its strongest. The instances below are slightly more speculative, noticing fainter and briefer echoes in which there is solely a ‘hunch’ of Milton’s presence. However, I believe that these still help to establish a structure that builds to poem XIV, which, as Joyce remarked, was the central song of the collection. I argue that one way to read the structure is in a Miltonic fashion, building up to the fall of the Joycean couple by an adversary, a betrayer – which reflects the lapsarian situation of Adam and Eve. Thus, we are dealing with pre-lapsarian bliss before Poem XIV, though the fall is latent in these poems – it will show itself eventually, but there is evidence of the stimmung of the fall before it.

Poem VII, ‘My love in a light attire’ shows the female character walking ‘among the apple-trees’, hinting at the fruit peculiar to the Fall in *Paradise Lost*. It should be remarked that there is no mention of ‘apple’ as the fruit of the fall in the Bible, while in *Paradise Lost* the fruit is mentioned explicitly twice: firstly, when the Serpent is tempting Eve:
To satisfy the sharp desire I had
Of tasting those fair apples, I resolved
Not to defer' (PL IX.584-86)

and secondly, after the successful enterprise of corrupting the couple, when Satan returns to hell:

Him by fraud I have seduced
From his Creator; and, the more to increase
Your wonder, with an apple (PL X.485-87)

The following poem, VIII, ‘Who goes amid the green wood’, points at the object of the speaker’s love, added to the stimmung of a conspicuous keyword at the end of the passage: ‘Who passes in the sunlight/By ways that know the light footfall?’ (my emphasis) The one who passes in the sunlight has already been shown the fall – like Eve who has seen it in her dream.

The latent presence of the fall precedes the separation of the couple in poem IX, ‘Winds of May, that dance on the sea’. William Martin points out that this poem resembles Swinburne’s ‘Love at Sea’, and the strategy adopted by Joyce, to alternate ‘freely between trochees and dactyls’ creates an ‘effect of acceleration that embodies the circular dance of the wind on the sea’ as below: 22

Winds of May, that dance on the sea,
Dancing a ring-around in glee
From furrow to furrow, while overhead
The foam flies up to be garlanded,
In silvery arches spanning the air,
Saw you my true love anywhere?
Welladay! Welladay!
For the winds of May!
Love is unhappy when love is away! (CM, IX)

This effect of acceleration proposed by Martin serves to take the reader further towards the point of tension in Joyce’s proposed sequence, the separation of the lovers. This separation echoes the Miltonic narrative of the fall: Adam and Eve are going separate ways to do their daily labours, even after Adam’s display of deep hesitation, as he is aware of the presence of the adversary:

But other doubt possesses me, lest harm
Befall thee severed from me; for thou knowest
What hath been warned us, what malicious foe
Envying our happiness, and of his own
Despairing, seeks to work us woe and shame
By sly assault (…)                (PL, IX.251-256)

Adam eventually succumbs to Eve’s claims and allows her to wander without him. However, the consequence of this is already known: Eve is convinced by the adversary’s speech and eats from the forbidden fruit. This specific event is not illustrated by any of the poems in Chamber Music, but there is a related topic that also pervades Paradise Lost and Chamber Music: betrayal. One of the sources for Joyce’s fear of betrayal, which consequently inspires one of the poems present in the ‘downwards’ movement of Chamber Music. Ellmann mentions that Joyce’s ‘friend’, Cosgrave (named Lynch in A Portrait), actually ‘bore several grudges against him’, as he had once tried to start a relationship with Nora. Ellmann mentions that on the 6th of August, 1909, Joyce and Cosgrave were talking about Nora and her work at a hotel, which prevented her from seeing him every day. Cosgrave, then, informs Joyce that Nora had not stayed in the hotel those evenings, but had gone ‘for walks in the darkness along the river with another escort – himself.’23 This fact makes Joyce grow bitter and upset about the possibility of Nora having betrayed him, and he writes several letters to her questioning her attitude, and even her virginity and the paternity of George. On the following day, however, he discovers that it had been a ‘cowardly plot’ and asks for her forgiveness. 24

Joyce and Nora, as well as the lovers in Chamber Music, continue together, hand in hand, despite the adversities. Poems XVII ‘Because your voice was at my side’ and XVIII ‘O sweetheart, hear you’ exemplify the return to harmony. On a biographical note, as Ellmann argues, ‘Cosgrave had got nowhere’ while Joyce was ‘in Trieste, with mistress, son, and job’.25 Poem XXI ‘He who hath glory lost’ carries strong Miltonic connotations that might echo the biographical conundrum, seeing as it compares Joyce’s adversary with Satan after his return from Earth to Hell, having caused the Edenic couple’s fall:

He who hath glory lost, nor hath
Found any soul to fellow his,
Among his foes in scorn and wrath
Holding to ancient nobleness,
That high unconsortable one –

23 Ellmann, James Joyce, p. 279.
24 Ellmann, James Joyce, p. 282.
25 Ellmann, James Joyce, p. 279.
His love is his companion. \textit{(CM, XXI)}

It is interesting that Ellmann points out that Joyce married while Cosgrave had not ‘any soul to fellow his’. Furthermore, the keywords in this poem: ‘glory lost’, ‘among his foes in scorn and wrath’ and ‘ancient nobleness’ are disquietingly Satanic. Considering these words and the disquiet they bring as ‘hunches’, these might bring us to Satan’s speech in \textit{PL} book 10 after his return to Hell, where he holds ‘to ancient nobleness’ when calling his fellows to hear about the news of the fall of man:

\begin{verbatim}
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers;  
For in possession such, not only of right,  
I call ye, and declare ye now; returned   
Successful beyond hope (…) \textit{(PL X.460-463)}
\end{verbatim}

The use of the word ‘unconsortable’ in Joyce’s poem also points at an association with Milton. As Campbell remarks, in the literary tradition, the word ‘consort’ comes from \textit{Paradise Lost}. Its initial definition is of a ‘male companion’ but it ‘moves from male fellowship to marriage.’ Campbell argues that it is unlikely that Joyce was oblivious to the primary context of the word as Miltonic:

Thus Joyce would have known that part of the ‘full value’ of the word ‘consort’ might be found in. It is illustrated by Eve’s happiness in the mate she has been given in \textit{Paradise Lost}, and her praise of Adam as without comparison: ‘thou / Like consort to thyself canst nowhere find’ \textit{(PL IV.447–48)}\textsuperscript{26}

There is a \textit{stimmung} of \textit{Paradise Lost} carried from the initial poems contributes to the creation of a backdrop against which Miltonic references can become more tangible. For instance, there is a verse in poem XXXIII which points at the end of \textit{Paradise Lost}:

\begin{verbatim}
Now, O now, in this brown land  
Where Love did so sweet music make 
\textit{We two shall wander, hand in hand,}  
Forbearing for old friendship's sake,  
Nor grieve because our love was gay  
Which now is ended in this way.  
(…)  
Now, O now, we hear no more  
The vilanelle and roundelay!
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{26} Campbell, ‘The Unconsortable Joyce’, p. 53.
Yet will we kiss, sweetheart, before  
We take sad leave at close of day.  
Grieve not, sweetheart, for anything --  
The year, the year is gathering. *(CM, XXXIII – my emphasis)*

The verse ‘We two shall wander, hand in hand’ includes a collocation that is Miltonic in nature, as in the last lines of *Paradise Lost*:

The world was all before them, where to choose  
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide:  
They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,  
Through Eden took their solitary way. *(PL XII.646-649)*

Shawcross reinforces that ‘[t]he motif of Adam and Eve hand in hand is a major one in *Paradise Lost*, as we all know.’ It is mournful because of their loss of Eden, however, it is related in a positive note to Joyce’s ‘grieve not’, as ‘the year is gathering’. He cites two other mentions of the motif, the first in Book IV:

So hand in hand they passed, the loveliest pair  
That ever since in love embraces met. *(PL IV.321-22)*

And the second, when the couple is about to retire for the night:

Thus talking hand in hand alone they passed  
On to their blissful Bower. *(PL IV.689-90)*

Shawcross argues that Milton aims to emphasise is the ‘union, their oneness’ with the imagery of the joined hands. I understand that through the use of a motif that is remarkably Miltonic, an Adam-and-Eve similar style of relationship and affection is highlighted between the pair of lovers in his poem. Thus, the *stimmung* of Milton in Joyce’s poem creates an aura of regret that love has ‘ended in this way’. However, just like in *Paradise Lost*, the lovers do not go in separate ways, but ‘hand in hand’. Joyce remarks that they ‘take sad leave at close of day’, which can be paralleled with Adam and Eve’s last look at Paradise, ‘so late their happy seat’ *(PL XII.642)*. The ‘sweetheart’ in Joyce’s poem is advised to ‘grieve not… for anything’, while in *PL*, Eve regrets having been seduced by the serpent, but offers redemption:

*(…) though all by me is lost,  
Such favour I unworthy am vouchsafed,  
By me the Promised Seed shall all restore. *(PL XII.621-623)*
Even though Adam does not answer with words in Milton’s epic poem, his attitude is of forgiveness, as they both walk ‘hand in hand’ and leave Eden.

In conclusion, *Chamber Music* walks ‘hand in hand’ with the poetry of Milton, as Joyce makes artful use of Miltonic atmosphere, making it work throughout his short poems. This atmosphere is perceivable by means of *stimmung*, which consists in Joyce’s use of themes that remain latent in his text. It is possible to see a parallel between the lovers in *Chamber Music* with Adam and Eve as the portrait of the idealised innocent love, even though this comparison is never made explicit, but it is latent and is showing itself only by means of hints, and identifiable by literary ‘hunches.’ Joyce conflates Milton’s ‘Lycidas’ and *Paradise Lost* to establish an atmosphere of mourning for the fall to which the lovers are doomed. All these strategies Joyce started to develop in the poems contribute to his later use of Milton, as well as other precursors, in his later works. After all, these might have been ‘apprentice work’ as pointed out by critics, but as Joyce remarked, they indicate ‘the expression of myself which I now see I began in *Chamber Music*.’

My analysis through the concept of *stimmung* helps the reader see the subtlest ‘hints’ in the poems, and will be an essential tool to aid the understanding of the Miltonic presence in Joyce’s later works.

### 1.2 Dubliners: Milton’s Presence in the Everyday Life of Dublin

Unlike *Chamber Music*, which was published rather quickly despite Joyce’s apparent contempt for it, Joyce’s short story collection, *Dubliners* was first sent to publisher Grant Richards almost a decade before its effective publishing. These stories, as Richard Ellmann suggests, had been written after Joyce’s friend George Russell suggested he wrote ‘a short story suitable for the *Irish Homestead*’ so that he could make some money. Joyce, at the time in his early twenties, wrote ‘The Sisters’ at once, and defined the objective of the series of stories he would write as an attempt ‘to betray the soul of that hemiplegia or paralysis which many consider a city.’ That was the start of a publishing saga that came to a close in 1914, with “The Dead” being the last story written to wrap up the collection.

Before the composition of ‘The Dead’, *Dubliners* ended with the Dantinean ‘Grace’. Hogan remarks that the story (along with ‘The Sisters’) is composed of ‘evidently his first borrowings from Dante into that genre.’ Frank Cunningham also suggests this and cites

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28 Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p.163.
Marvin Magalaner, Stanislaus Joyce, and Carl Niemeyer, as ‘all helpful in establishing the parallels most pivotal to an understanding of both the story’s theme and Joyce’s conscious artistry in its composition.’\textsuperscript{30} There is definite evidence for Joyce’s borrowing from Dante which has already been extensively discussed in scholarly work.\textsuperscript{31} I would like to add to the discussion by suggesting that Joyce’s ‘conscious artistry’ has not confined him to references to the author of \textit{The Divine Comedy} in \textit{Dubliners}. I understand Cunningham’s assertion of Joyce’s ‘conscious artistry’ as an instance of the incorporation of presence in writing. While in \textit{Chamber Music} Joyce experimented with incorporating themes as well as precursors in order to make his poems blend in with the ‘landscape’ of his literary precursors, in \textit{Dubliners} he set out to portray the paralysis of pre-WWI Dublin.

In \textit{Dubliners} Joyce already showed signs of intention to release himself from the metaphorical shackles of influence and Oedipal struggle through refining his references to precursors. Hogan claims that ‘[t]he tension produced by Joyce’s sense of political and cultural oppression virtually guaranteed that he would reject Milton. But it also guaranteed that Milton would be a poet he would seek to outdo.’\textsuperscript{32} However, a claim of ‘outdoing’ a precursor would suit a relationship akin to an Oedipal struggle and Bloomian anxiety of influence – and this sort of link does not seem consistent with what Joyce effectively achieved and started in \textit{Chamber Music} and \textit{Dubliners}. By incorporating Milton in plot, characters, and setting, creating a ‘touch’ of Milton, he instead managed to make the outcome exceed the ordinary matter of ‘surpassing’ a precursor – establishing a symbiotic relationship and asserting his own place among the literary canon. The fact that ‘The Dead’ replaces ‘Grace’ as the collection \textit{finale} also offers a suggestive hint of the prevalence of Milton over Dante. As I demonstrate by analysing Joyce’s short stories through the lens of ‘presence’, there is more of Milton in Joyce than the sole direct reference to ‘The Reason for Church Government’ in ‘The Dead’ mentioned by Hogan, or the similarities between the mention of ‘darkness’ and the bazaar ‘Araby’ in the eponymous short story and in Milton’s \textit{Paradise}.


\textsuperscript{32} Colm Hogan, \textit{Joyce and Milton}, p. 97.
Lost, as argued by Steven Doloff. I intend to build upon these pieces of evidence unearthed by Hogan and Doloff and discuss them with more detail further in the chapter.

1.2.2 THE STORIES

“The Sisters” is a relatively sombre start to the collection, as its main theme revolves around the thoughts of an unnamed boy about the death of Father Flynn, an elderly priest whose company the boy enjoyed. He recounts the things he had learned with the priest and resents the comments of a friend of the family, Old Cotter, who does not see their friendship in a good light, as he sees the priest as a bad influence: ‘I wouldn’t like children of mine… to have too much to say to a man like that.’ (D, 4) For the boy, there is a seductive aura surrounding Father Flynn, which makes this allure somewhat forbidden. This is the point in which I believe there is a Miltonic presence around the priest, more specifically, a satanic aura, as the allure of the figure of the father for the boy might be paralleled with the beguiling nature of Milton’s Satan.

Initially, there is an implied association between the Father’s death and paralysis. The boy wonders about the word ‘Paralysis’, which ‘sounded to me like the name of some maleficent and sinful being. It filled me with fear, and yet I longed to be nearer to it and to look upon its deadly work.’ (D, 3) The fact that the paralysis itself might have been the cause of death of the Father associates this ‘maleficent and sinful being’ to him; curiously, the boy is drawn nearer to him even though he fears him at the same time. I believe there is a metonymical link between the priest and paralysis, which in effect implies a Miltonic presence, as it apparently ‘wraps’ around the boy’s thoughts and Father Flynn’s death. The priest is invested with an aura of a ‘maleficent and sinful being’, with a rather satanic effect.

This effect is comparable with the alluring nature of Milton’s Satan that started to develop during Romanticism. Peter A. Schock mentions that around the early 18th century, ‘Milton’s fallen archangel [started to be] an embodiment of sublimity.’ That view was shaped and reinforced by Blake, Byron, Coleridge, and Shelley, who were also inspirations of

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Joyce, and play a role in Joyce’s work as they convey a mediated presence of Milton’s Satan. Coleridge’s description of the effect of Milton’s Satan is quite fitting for our case here:

   Around this character (of Satan) he has thrown a singularity of daring, a grandeur of sufferance, and a ruined splendor which constitute the very height of poetic sublimity.35

Given Milton’s background presence, it is natural that even an evil being can inspire a seductive aura that elicits both fear and admiration. In the case of our story, even though Father Flynn is a priest, Old Cotter still believes that he is not fit company for children. That might be for a number of reasons, and we might even imagine that the priest was no longer serving the church and had left priesthood for obscure reasons the boy does not know, and Old Cotter might. But definitely there is an aura of a ‘sinful being’, fallen angel-like surrounding the priest, which possibly attracted the boy and gives Father Flynn a certain satanic sublimity and the splendour Coleridge talks about. There is a surprising ‘touch’ of Milton’s Satan in the figure of the dead Father Flynn, as he is consumed by paralysis: still, the boy is drawn closer to him, even though the dead Father’s figure represents the ‘work’ of the ‘evil’ paralysis.

   The ‘satanic touch’ is related to the seductive aura surrounding the character of Milton’s Satan. For instance, a remarkable characteristic of Satan is his external appearance: even though he is the devil and supposedly no longer the most beautiful angel of heavens, he is never described as repulsive. Nicholas Zeng highlights the fact that in Paradise Lost, Satan is ‘often presented with reference to his former beauty.’ He adds that Milton never allows the reader to ‘forget that he was once a glorious angel of God.’36 This practice triggers a reaction of sympathy on the reader, a proverbial ‘sympathy for the devil.’ Instead of being repelled by the one who is commonly the embodiment of evil, we sympathise with him. The priest and the paralysis enveloping his death and himself have a similar effect. The boy is not repulsed by the ugly face of death. He is aware of the inadequacy of his behaviour, but still, he ‘longed to be nearer to it’, just as much as he liked the priest’s company when he was alive. Later, we learn that through the eyes of an adult, Old Cotter, the boy’s proximity to the priest is inappropriate as he can be a bad influence.

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Further on in the story, there is a displacement of this satanic ‘touch’ moving from the dead priest to the boy. This time, the allure is different: when the latter finally sees a sign at the door informing of Father Flynn’s death, he experiences an uncanny feeling: ‘I felt even annoyed at discovering in myself a sensation of freedom as if I had been freed from something by his death’ (D, 5). The feeling of freedom expressed by the boy in the story might be the inception of a sentiment Joyce expresses more strongly later in A Portrait with Stephen Dedalus’s wish not to serve: ‘I will tell you what I will do and what I will not do. I will not serve that in which I no longer believe, whether it calls itself my home, my fatherland, or my church.’ (P, 246-47) Father Flynn, as a representative of the church, metonymically stands for the institution itself; unbeknownst to the boy initially, the priest’s death triggers a feeling of liberation. The strange freedom caused by the death of the priest might have been an initial inspiration for Joyce to build upon and convey Stephen’s satanic wishes of liberation from the nets of religion. The priest is a representative of the repressive church, and the boy demonstrates traces of what would be the Satanic Stephen’s main tenet, *non serviam*. The boy’s feeling is an unspoken *non serviam*, and the association of Satan with rebelliousness and freedom from tyranny is remarkably Miltonic. Zeng mentions that ‘[t]he allure of free will is where the attractiveness and power of Satan's character lies. Satan may be quite useless when it comes to fighting the ten thousand thunders of Christ's fury, but in his will he is free and in his mind he is supreme.’ Additionally, Milton’s Satan was defined by William Godwin as ‘a being of considerable virtue’, as his reason to rebel against his maker were no less than noble:

> It was, as he himself informs us, because he saw no sufficient reason, for that extreme inequality of rank and power, which the creator assumed. It was because prescription and precedent form no adequate ground for implicit faith. After his fall, why did he still cherish the spirit of opposition? From a persuasion that he was hardly and injuriously treated.

Godwin’s views were echoed by Blake and Shelley in the ‘Romantic Satanism’ movement; Schock mentions that among second-generation Romantic writers, ‘Satan becomes the surrogate for the figure recreated in Romantic writing to mythicize the human struggle against various forms of oppression and limitation.’ Joyce sympathised with this view of

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37 Zeng, ‘Satan’.
39 Schock, p. 36.
Satan as a rebellious figure, which has contributed to his shaping of the character of his main character and alter-ego; there is an unmistakable satanic strain in Stephen; this trait and the contribution of the aforementioned Romantics will be further explored in the next chapters, as their presence (and subsequent indirect presence of Milton) is remarkable in *A Portrait*, *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*.

The presence of a demonic association and the death of a priest stretch in *Dubliners* to provide more Miltonic references in ‘Araby’. Steven Doloff contends that the title of the short story is

associated with the garden of Eden [where] Milton compares the sensual impact upon Satan of the newly created paradise on earth with the effect upon sailors of the scented breezes from the “spicy shore/Of Araby” (*PL*, IV.160-161)\(^{40}\)

I understand that this sensory association plays a weighty role when discussing the presence of Milton in the story as it corroborates the perception of presence as *stimmung*, in which it comprises a feeling caused by language that affects physically (either readers or characters). Firstly, in the second paragraph of the story, Joyce calls attention to a fact that happened in “The Sisters”, ‘(…) a priest had died in the back drawing-room.’ (*D*, 19) The air from the house is described as ‘musty from having been long enclosed’, contrasting with the scented breezes of the spicy shore of Araby, alluded to by Milton when describing Eden. The senses are stimulated and emphasised in Joyce’s story, and like in *Paradise Lost*, both pleasant and foul smells are present. Around the same passage where Milton refers to Araby, he also points at a repulsive smell, associated with another demon, Asmodeus:

Cheered with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles:
So entertained those odorous sweets the Fiend,
Who came their bane; though with them better pleased
Than Asmodeus with the fishy fume
That drove him… (*PL*, IV.163-167)

Interestingly, the disagreeable smell in ‘Araby’ is connected to the priest’s house, who, as discussed above, carries with himself a satanic aura.

As for ‘Araby’, the market, on the other hand, is filled with pleasant smells of spices; it is supposed to be a place of happiness for the boy, who hoped to meet with the girl he fancies there. As both the market in the story, and the Garden of Eden in *Paradise Lost* exude sweet

\(^{40}\) Doloff, p. 113.
smells, there is a parallel to be drawn here: the Garden was also supposed to be a place of perfect happiness for another couple, Adam and Eve.

Furthermore, the sense of sight is affected for both Eve and the boy. For the former, the serpent states, their ‘eyes that seem so clear, | Yet are but dim’ before they eat the apple, so they cannot see well and have full knowledge of things as God does. (PL IX.706-707) The boy’s innocent eyes, in turn, seem to be marred by the darkness that starts to envelop the bazaar, as it is almost closing time. Doloff compares the ‘completely dark’ (D, 35) bazaar to Milton’s Hell and its ‘darkness visible’, which, for both the boy and the defeated fallen angels, ‘served only to discover sights of woe’. (PL I.63-64) I would add that the darkness changes the boy’s outlook on the events around him and his own feelings, as the story ends with a sentence that is different and intensely critical of his former self:

Gazing up into the darkness I saw myself as a creature driven and derided by vanity; and my eyes burned with anguish and anger. (D, 24)

Doloff adds that these words resound Belial’s speech in hell, where he talks about God’s omnipotence:

for what can force or guile
With him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye
Views all things at one view? He from Heaven’s height
All these our motions vain sees and derides (PL, II.288-291, my emphasis)

He relates the humiliated Belial to the disappointed boy. I would add that the experience is not only disappointing, but changes him – it is a turning point, and the end of innocence; the darkness in his eyes becomes him, as his eyes burn ‘with anguish and anger.’

A final point of imagery, recurrent both in ‘Araby’ and ‘An Encounter’, is the use of a garden, a remarkable feature when analysing the presence of Milton in both stories. In ‘Araby’, ‘the wild garden behind the house contained a central apple-tree’ (D, 19); the position of the tree coincides with the forbidden one in the Garden of Eden, as described by Eve to the Serpent:

Of the fruit
Of each tree in the garden we may eat;
But of the fruit of this fair tree amidst
The garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat
Thereof, nor shall ye touch it, lest ye die. (PL IX.659-663)

The tree in ‘Araby’, however, is not mentioned again in the story. As it is in the centre of the deceased priest’s garden, there is room for interpretation of its function when he was alive. The
tree is a reminiscence from ‘The Sisters’ and ‘An Encounter’, the two stories that precede ‘Araby’ in Dubliners, as it appears in both. The mention of the tree in such a crucial place, the middle of the garden, is far from coincidental and helps to weave the three stories together, keeping it as a main theme in the back of the reader’s mind. The priest and his somewhat ‘satanic’ presence connects with the tree in ‘Araby’, wherein we find out that the tree is in the deceased priest’s garden. Furthermore, in between these two stories, we have ‘An Encounter’, wherein we can find the garden as a place of happiness, even though the narrator is disquieted and wants to look for adventures outside it.

This triad of stories, I argue, is permeated by a stimmung of Paradise Lost, as a figurative ‘fall from grace’ is latent in their plots. It is noticeable that the ‘mood’ of the plot of these three stories is descendent, a gloomy atmosphere like a grey cloud starts to move over the characters bringing the story to a dark or disquieting end. In ‘The Sisters’ the boy might take the blame for the priest’s decreasing health and subsequent death, after he broke a chalice; in ‘An Encounter’, the boys endeavour to escape a ‘queer old josser’ (D, 17), an old man who apparently enjoys spanking boys, a rather dark figure; and finally, in ‘Araby’, the boy is embraced by the darkness of the market and his thoughts are comparable to Belial’s speech.

Comparatively, in ‘An Encounter’, the garden does not function as a place for an amorous encounter or a fall from grace; it is rather the place for pleasure, for the boys’ play. Georgia Banks-Martin contends that ‘[f]rom its opening sentence, ‘An Encounter’ appears to be a story exclusively about the development of the masculine soul.’\footnote{Georgia Banks-Martin, ‘James Joyce’s “An Encounter”: The Archetype of the Garden in Joyce’ Paper presented at the XXV International James Joyce Symposium in London, 2016. Unpublished.} Furthermore, she cites Joseph Campbell to portray the garden as a place of innocence: ‘the garden of Eden is a metaphor for that innocence that is innocent of time, innocent of opposites, and that is the prime center out of which consciousness then becomes aware of the changes.’\footnote{Joseph Campbell and Bill Moyers, The Power of Myth (New York; Toronto: Random House) p. 59, cited in Banks-Martin, p. 1.} I agree with Banks-Martin and Campbell, and would like to add that the use of garden imagery and the idea of prelapsarian innocence are permeated with Miltonic presence, as a close reading can convey to the reader the expectation of a fall. This fall, and the end of innocence that it conveys, comes when the narrator does not wish to stay in the garden any longer, as it ‘is not enough to fulfil his spiritual needs. He has grown restless.’\footnote{Banks-Martin, p.2.} His restlessness is reflected in the following passage:
[t]he mimic warfare of the evening became at last as wearisome to me as the routine of school in the morning because I wanted real adventures to happen to myself. But real adventures, I reflected, do not happen to people who remain at home: they must be sought abroad. \((D, 12)\)

Restlessness, curiosity, ambition, and a wish for knowledge also propel Eve to seek for something different, to wander away from Adam and to eat from the forbidden tree, causing the couple’s expulsion from the garden:

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\begin{align*}
\text{Let us divide our labors; thou, where choice} \\
\text{Leads thee, or where most needs, whether to wind} \\
\text{The woodbine round this arbor, or direct} \\
\text{The clasping ivy where to climb; while I,} \\
\text{In yonder spring of roses intermixed} \\
\text{With myrtle, find what to redress till noon} \quad (PL \text{ IX.214-219})
\end{align*}
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Initially, Eve proposes that they divide their labours and go separate ways in order to do them more effectively. Adam tries to convince her otherwise, even though eventually he gives in, which consequently opens the path for the serpent to tempt Eve, who is alone. As we know, what follows from Eve’s separation from Adam is incompatible with life in the Garden of Eden. Similarly, for the boy, his curiosity and hunger ‘for wild sensations’ is no longer fulfilled by their play in the Dillons’ garden. The Miltonic presence is clear in this story: the desire to go astray and to deviate away from pre-established borders are common to both the boy and Milton’s Eve.

Another trait similar to both characters is the thirst for knowledge, as well as a hint of pride and arrogance. The boy sees himself as superior and more refined than his friends, especially than Mahony, about whom he confesses that ‘in [his] heart [he] had always despised [Mahony] a little.’ \((D, 18)\) The boy points out that ‘Mahony used slang freely’ \((D, 13)\) and ‘was afraid the man would think [he] was as stupid as Mahony.’ \((D, 15)\) The stories they re-enact in their play, ‘adventures related in the literature of the Wild West’ are looked down on by him, as they ‘were remote from [his] nature but, at least, they opened doors of escape.’ \((D, 11)\) The boy, unlike Eve, considers himself already to be a holder of that knowledge that propels him to explore and leave the garden to look for new adventures outside. Eve, on the other hand, is tempted by the Serpent into acquiring knowledge only available to gods. Right after eating the forbidden fruit, a small seed of selfishness and obnoxiousness appears in Eve and she considers, for a moment, keeping the wonders of the fruit for herself:
But to Adam in what sort
Shall I appear? shall I to him make known
As yet my change, and give him to partake
Full happiness with me, or rather not,
But keeps the odds of knowledge in my power
Without copartner? (PL IX. 816-821)

She considers a possibility of overpowering Adam as well; curiously, she is stopped only by a selfish thought: if she dies, Adam would marry another Eve – so he should eat the fruit too:

so to add what wants
In female sex, the more to draw his love,
And render me more equal; and perhaps,
A thing not undesirable, sometime
Superior; for, inferior, who is free
This may be well: But what if God have seen,
And death ensue? then I shall be no more,
And Adam, wedded to another Eve,
Shall live with her enjoying, I extinct;
A death to think! (PL IX. 821-830)

At a closer look, it is possible to perceive that Eve does not genuinely want to share the knowledge she acquired; in fact, what she does not want is that Adam be ‘wedded to another Eve’. She is driven by egotistic feelings of jealousy to share her discovery of the tree with her spouse. In other words, she does so for her own benefit. For a few moments, Eve considers herself brighter than Adam; after all, she has eaten from the fruit that would make them ‘as Gods’. There might be a hint of Eve’s arrogance in the boy in ‘An Encounter’ when he remarks that he is smarter than the other boys. This parallel is made stronger by the presence of the garden as the setting in both stories. If it were not for an enhanced feeling of superiority regarding knowledge, Adam and Eve would not have been expelled from the Garden of Eden; as for the boy, his curiosity propels him to seek new adventures outside the garden. Again, had he been more resigned and less curious, he would not have explored the possibility of leaving the garden.

In regards to the following stories, on first glance, the stories in the collection before ‘Grace’ and ‘The Dead’ do not show any apparent evidence of Miltonic presence. However, there is another presence that should be acknowledged: ‘Grace’ holds the ‘presence’ of another important forebear for Joyce, Dante Alighieri. Carl Niemeyer discusses Joyce’s incorporation of Dante, pointing out his use of ‘small details, trivial in themselves, which
The focus on small details that make a big difference when analysed together can be compared to the idea of *stimmung* and ‘hunches’ as a simple phrase or word that will help foster an atmosphere and create a feeling of ‘irritation’ in the mind of the reader, who will be reminded of other works while reading the story. For instance, an example mentioned by Niemeyer is at the beginning of the story, when the character Tom Kernan falls in the lavatory and his clothes become ‘smeared with the filth and ooze of the floor on which he had lain, face downwards.’ (*D*, 117) Niemeyer compares the description of Kernan’s fall to the ‘Malebolge of the Eighth Circle of the Inferno’, a place where sinners condemned are guilty of various types of fraud. Lawrence Baldassaro mentions that there are ‘ten concentric ditches of iron-coloured stone that constitute the eighth circle of Hell’, the Malebolge, or ‘evil ditches’. The second bolgia (ditch) is of special interest here, as it is a place where the sinners are ‘submerged in foul-smelling excrement at the bottom of the deep pit.’ Baldassaro comments that the final thirty-six lines of canto 18, the description of this bolgia, is ‘one of the crudest episodes in the *Inferno*.' Keeping this comparison in mind, Tom Kernan’s fall, takes in a wider range of signification as it means more than a simple stumble in a bathroom; firstly, ‘ditch’ and public lavatory are conceptually close, and as made explicit by the passage from the passages above, both in the lavatory and in the Malebolge people are smeared in filth and excrement. Furthermore, the accumulated density of the word ‘fall’ in itself also lends the story an infernal atmosphere. These seemingly ‘small details’, as Niemeyer argues, provide the reader with a bigger picture, one more encompassing than the simple idea of someone falling in a bathroom. This similar feeling of providing a bigger picture is provoked by Joyce’s use of settings, situations and characters herein envelop his characters in a Dantean atmosphere and allow for an intertextual interpretation of his work and characters.

In ‘The Dead’ there are a number of small details that are a nod to Milton and might build up to the idea that Joyce could have wanted to situate the author of *Paradise Lost* as an important precursor, in a similar level with Dante. Hogan calls attention to features that hint at Milton in ‘The Dead’, including for example the use of the names ‘Michael’ and ‘Gabriel’ for the characters Michael Furey, Gretta’s childhood love, and Gabriel Conroy, her husband. However, Hogan himself recognises that ‘these names are by no means exclusive to *Paradise Lost*.

44 Carl Niemeyer, “‘Grace’ and Joyce’s Method of Parody” in *College English*, 27.3 (1965) 196-201 (p. 197).
Lost’ and ‘the connection between the two Gabriels does not appear to go beyond their common name.’ I agree that the connection is tenuous and it is not my intention to try and draw a parallel between the angel Gabriel and Gabriel Conroy. Furthermore, Hogan suggests an association between Michael Furey and the archangel Michael, based on the fact that both characters guard the gates of Eden, the couple’s place of perfect happiness. To Hogan’s association, I add that Furey dies ‘at the end of the garden… at the end of the wall where there was a tree’ (D, 174) while Michael the archangel ‘guards the gate in the wall at the end of the garden’ in order to keep the couple outside, preventing them ‘from regaining a bliss they once enjoyed.’ The name shared between the angel and Gretta’s childhood sweetheart might help at the visualisation of a Miltonic stimmung as we watch Gretta and Gabriel drift away from each other, much like Adam and Eve distanced themselves from Eden. The perfection of their relationships has been obliterated: for Gabriel, by a shadow of the past, and for Adam, by Eve not heeding to his advice and choosing to wander through the garden without him, giving the tempter the chance to approach her. The name of Michael the archangel weighs heavily in Joyce’s short story, as Adam and Eve are distanced from (and prevented from re-entering) Eden by Michael, just like the memory of Furey distances Gretta from Gabriel.

Embedded in the memory of Michael Furey is the idea of Fall and mortality, another point of Miltonic stimmung that stems from the setting up of the triumvirate Michael-Adam-Eve and Michael-Gabriel-Gretta. Even though these two elements are also present in the story of Adam and Eve in the Bible, they are more dramatically represented by Milton, and the underlying reference to the archangel Michael echoed through the memory of the deceased Michael Furey contributes to the Miltonic stimmung to spread around that fateful evening. Faced with an unsurmountable rival who has died in his youth for love, Gabriel wonders about his own mortality: ‘One by one they were all becoming shades. Better pass boldly into that other world, in the full glory of some passion, than fade and wither dismally with age.’ (D, 176) There is a consonance between Gabriel’s thought and the definition of death after the Fall in PL. John Erskine contends that in the last two books of PL, ‘death is not a curse but a comforter, not the gift of Satan but the gift of God.’ That affirmation conflicts with the pre-lapsarian period, for Eve’s worst fear was being stricken by death before and after having

46 Colm Hogan, *Joyce and Milton*, p. 93.
47 Colm Hogan, *Joyce and Milton*, p. 94.
eaten the forbidden fruit. God’s main threat had been the curtailment of life as far as the point in which the couple ate the apple. It is rather surprising when towards the end of the poem, God himself defines it as His gift:

I, at first, with two fair gifts
Created him endowed; with happiness,
And immortality: that fondly lost,
This other served but to eternize woe;
Till I provided death: so death becomes
His final remedy; (PL XI, 57-62)

This ‘final remedy’ as a consequence of the fall is echoed in the last paragraph of the story, while Gabriel observes the snowfall and wonders about his ‘journey westward’, his old age, the living and the dead:

Generous tears filled Gabriel’s eyes. (...) It had begun to snow again. He watched sleepily the flakes, silver and dark, falling obliquely against the lamplight. The time had come for him to set out on his journey westward. Yes, the newspapers were right: snow was general all over Ireland. It was falling on every part of the dark central plain, on the treeless hills, falling softly upon the Bog of Allen and, farther westward, softly falling into the dark mutinous Shannon waves. It was falling, too, upon every part of the lonely churchyard on the hill where Michael Furey lay buried. It lay thickly drifted on the crooked crosses and headstones, on the spears of the little gate, on the barren thorns. His soul swooned slowly as he heard the snow falling faintly through the universe and faintly falling, like the descent of their last end, upon all the living and the dead. (D, 176, my emphasis.)

Consider the last lines of *Paradise Lost*, for comparison:

Some natural tears they dropt, but wiped them soon;
The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide:
They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way. (PL XII, 645-649)

Both Gabriel Conroy and the couple weep before they contemplate the outside world; Adam and Eve’s ‘natural tears’ and Gabriel’s ‘generous tears’ reflect their fear of the unknown and the certainty that their life is going to come to an end, and upon the realisation of the surety of death, their metaphorical ‘journey westward’ happens. The metaphor of winter is rather apt here in Joyce, in order to represent the nadir of life; the snowfall and the repetition of the word ‘fall’ echo the final end of human life as well as the consequence of their sin, for Adam and Eve. Furthermore, Michael Ferber remarks that winter is often personified as an old man,
and in *PL* Milton describes it as ‘decrepit’ (*PL* 10.655). Oftentimes it represents the last ‘season’ of human life.49

Lastly, there is another ‘touch’ of Milton in the famous phrase ‘[t]he world was all before them’, which is echoed by Gabriel’s notion of the snow ‘falling through the universe’. Both convey a sense of wholeness with the world. In *Paradise Lost*, Adam and Eve, as father and mother of the whole humanity, are free to roam the world and a plethora of opportunities and choices available to them until they choose ‘their place of rest’, the location of their final rest, where their life ends. As for Gabriel, the snow falls faintly, and faintly falls, upon the cemetery in which Michael Furey is buried, and upon Aunt Julia’s house. It thus falls upon the living and dead alike, conveying the idea of a unity between them; the snow that falls upon those that have walked the Earth and those who are still walking. The repetition of the word ‘fall’ is remarkable at that point as a reminder of the origins of humanity as well: from the fall of Adam and Eve, we all ‘fall down’ and are doomed to the final destination of death equally. It is important to remember that this last passage of ‘The Dead’ is famously linked to the idea of ‘epiphany’. Even though Joyce never defined it formally, in *Stephen Hero*, during a conversation with Cranly, Stephen refers to the epiphany as ‘a sudden spiritual manifestation, whether in the vulgarity of speech or of gesture or in a memorable phase of the mind itself.’ (*SH*, 188) Both Joyce and Gumbrecht mention spiritual and theological uses of ‘epiphany’, although here it is restricted to the idea of an illumination, as in the end scene of ‘The Dead’. Gabriel achieves this moment of epiphany while pondering the snow that falls ‘upon all the living and the dead’, building a consciousness of the human mortality and his own. This moment of insight comes through the repetition of the word ‘falling’, rhythmically, representing the ‘descent to their last end’, framing his reflection upon Michael Furey’s death; his thoughts epiphanically bring his own death to mind and the beginning of a ‘journey westward’, in a similar fashion to Adam and Eve’s at the end of *Paradise Lost*, as discussed above.

It is possible to perceive Joyce’s initial efforts to incorporate Milton’s *Paradise Lost* on the backdrop of the poems and some of his stories, a practice that would be perfected throughout his longer works. In order to shed a light on these instances, my intention in this chapter was to use *Chamber Music* and *Dubliners* as a case study to explore the way in which the concept of *stimmung* and literary ‘hunches’ proposed by Gumbrecht helped illuminate the

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role of the presence of Milton for Joyce. My intention here is not to exhaust the possible instances of Miltonic presence in *Chamber Music* and *Dubliners*, but to demonstrate that there are a few remarkable others in addition to the ones which have already been discussed under the umbrella term of ‘influence’. Furthermore, in the following chapters I will set off to explore the more overt engagement of Joyce with Milton’s legacy and the continued presence of Milton that jostles for place around Joyce’s texts, which in some moments are flanked by the mediated presence of other authors such as Dante, Homer and Blake.
2. **Stephen Hero and A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man**

2.1 A Portrait of [Joyce] the Artist?

*Stephen Hero* marks the beginning of James Joyce’s creation of Stephen Dedalus, one of his most remarkable and recurrent characters, who shares several characteristics and biographical details with Joyce’s own life. He is thus considered the author’s *alter ego*. Derek Attridge remarks that ‘one of Joyce’s earliest stories, ‘Eveline’, written in 1904 for a Dublin magazine, *The Irish Homestead*, was published ‘under the pseudonym ‘Stephen Daedalus’.* However, it is important to understand that though there are several intersections between Joyce’s biography, anecdotes and real-life facts, one should be wary of the extent to which we should equate the character as the author. Kevin Sullivan remarks that, ‘[f]or a long time the Joyce critic read the *Portrait* as more or less straightforward autobiography. The consequences of this were, to say the least, curious: not only was Stephen Dedalus a surrogate of James Joyce, but – and this is not quite the same – James Joyce *was* Stephen Dedalus.’

Interestingly, the same was true for John Milton and his views of the world, which have led many to believe that he might have ‘hidden’ behind the character of Satan to expose his own self, a view propagated by his biographer, Samuel Johnson.

Bearing that in mind, I would like to take this (mis)conception as a starting point for the analysis of *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in the light of Milton’s *Paradise Lost*. I would like to add to Sullivan’s comment above that Milton and Joyce share another aspect: that Joyce’s main character, Stephen, shares a range of characteristics and personality traits with Milton’s Satan, indicated mainly through verbal echoes and resonance of themes. This chapter discusses the Miltonic presence that positively affected Joyce’s shaping of Stephen Dedalus and the world surrounding him, as the inception and growth of Stephen, through the emergence of ‘satanic traits’, is a major catalyst for the presence of Milton’s Satan.

*Stephen Hero* was written around 1901 and 1906, a period that coincided with Joyce’s last year at University College and his first years on the continent, as Joseph Prescott

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52 Sullivan, pp. 100-101.
Meints Adail, 53

remarks. However, it was only published posthumously, in 1944, with Joyce’s own marginal annotations and missing some pages. Prescott classifies it as ‘an absorbing document, straightforward, explicit and marked by a fullness of statement which Joyce, for various reasons, denied to the Portrait’, and ‘[t]he 383 pages of manuscript, as the editor points out, ‘coincide with the last 93 of the Portrait. In both versions Stephen is the same penurious, arrogant, and solitary young man.’ The definitive work, A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, was published as a whole book in 1916, but it had been previously serialised with the help of Ezra Pound in The Egoist in twenty-five instalments from 2nd February 1914 to 1st September 1915. The novel narrates the stages of Stephen Dedalus’s life, from his childhood through his teenage years and early adulthood in Clongowes Wood College and Belvedere College (both Jesuit institutions). He goes through deep religiosity and fall from grace due to his non serviam, leading at last to his determination to flee from the island to ‘forge in the smithy of [his] soul the uncreated consciousness of [his] race.’ (P, 253) Unlike Stephen Hero, where the narrative focuses on Stephen already as a young man, A Portrait comprises Stephen’s childhood as well.

Given the importance of the Jesuit colleges as a setting and a place of interaction in both works, as well as in Joyce’s personal life, information about Joyce’s schooldays will be paramount here in order to understand Milton’s presence in Stephen Hero and A Portrait. I will mostly be dealing with Runia’s notion of presence as ‘being in touch’, that is, accessing the mélange of information that made Joyce the person he became and which simultaneously contributed to his construction of Stephen. The author’s life-experiences help shape Stephen Dedalus’s background, while Joyce’s Catholic upbringing, engrained through years at Clongowes and Belvedere, adds to the creation of a strong foundation in his works, as through it, he ‘inherited a past, a tradition, and a world-memory’, as Sullivan argues,

Whether inspiration or infection, Joyce’s Catholicism (...) was at the root of both his qualities and his defects. Accepting it, Joyce inherited a past, a tradition, and a world-memory; rejecting it, he sought a future and found, in perilous balance over the void of an intensely doubtful soul, a world-view. Consequently, his Catholicism is as essential to an understanding of Joyce as it is to an understanding of Dante, Cervantes, or Augustine. It does not, of course, afford a complete or final explanation of the man or his work, but no final and complete explanation is possible which fails to take it into account.55

54 Prescott, p. 214.
55 Sullivan, pp. 1-2.
For the purposes of this thesis, and as Sullivan mentions, Joyce’s Catholic background should be taken into account if we are to develop a comprehensive view of the tradition he inherited through the Jesuit education to which he was exposed. Furthermore, I would add that for a fuller understanding of Milton and his presence in Joyce’s writing, the Catholic background is pivotal.

### 2.2 Milton in Joyce’s Education

Joyce was first exposed to Milton’s poetry during his school years at Clongowes and Belvedere Colleges, two Catholic colleges. His subsequent interactions with Catholicism, particularly during his school days, will facilitate our understanding of Milton’s presence, which is particularly remarkable in *SH* and *Portrait*. A fitting definition of presence here is derived from Eelco Runia’s idea of ‘being in touch’, as we will be talking about what made Joyce the writer he was. As seen above, this concept also echoes Gumbrecht’s idea of ‘production of presence’. When Joyce read Milton during his schooldays, his works became a part of him, shaping his experience as a reader, and consequently as a writer. Following Runia, this is what I mean, by ‘being in touch.’ Sullivan, in *Joyce among the Jesuits*, delivers a rich and detailed account of Joyce’s early schooldays, and his first contact with John Milton’s poetry:

It was probably during this year [1895-96] that [Joyce] began to read widely on his own. (...) he would have taken to Milton’s early poetry – ‘L’Allegro’ ‘Il Penseroso’ and especially ‘Lycidas.’ Lines from the last were to be introduced as part of the lesson Stephen Dedalus set his pupils in Mr Deasy’s school (*U*. 26-27) and one line – ‘through the dear might of Him that walked the waves’ – was to stick into Stephen’s memory like a thorn.56

In 1897, according to Sullivan’s account of Joyce’s schooldays, Joyce was in Preparatory school, and the compulsory reading list included Milton’s *Lycidas, L’Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. Students were also required to read ‘Outlines of English Literature; from Chaucer to Milton, inclusive.’57 During Preparatory and Middle school, Joyce was taught by Mr. George Dempsey, a teacher who had been criticised by an inspector ‘from the intermediate Education Board, with less appreciation than he might have had for the merits of memorising verse at a receptive age’:

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56 Sullivan, pp. 100-101.
57 Sullivan, p. 238.
The pupils (in Junior Grade) were made to repeat about twenty lines of the ‘Morte d’Arthur’ which they had learnt by heart. Difficult words were explained. The Middle grade boys were doing Milton’s ‘L’Allegro’, which was treated in the same manner.\textsuperscript{58}

Memorising verse does not seem to have hindered Joyce’s interest in Milton’s writing; actually, the sonority of the poems might have attracted his attention to an even greater extent. The apprehension of meaning in a poem is naturally enhanced when moving from the written word to the aural sphere; and even in prose, Joyce himself relied on the sound of words to convey a full gamut of meanings, especially in \textit{Ulysses} and \textit{Finnegans Wake}. Additionally, such was the young Joyce’s interest in Milton’s poetry that, as Sullivan mentions, ‘(…) Joyce at Belvedere had already studied ‘Lycidas’ in preparation for his Intermediate examinations, [and after that he] had probably gone on to read the rest of Milton’s poetry (…)’ and such was his knowledge of Milton at the time that in his Matriculation examination of 1899, Joyce ‘offered for pass, in addition to ‘grammar’ and an essay, Scott’s \textit{Ivanhoe}, Book I of \textit{Paradise Lost} and ‘Lycidas.’\textsuperscript{59}

While Joyce’s Catholic school background contributed to his contact with Milton from an early age, it has also left indelible marks. According to Sullivan,

Twenty-five years later [after Preparatory grade] Joyce, sitting with Frank Budgen over a glass of Nostrano, could recite ‘Lycidas’ from beginning to end and after it repeat the whole of ‘L’Allegro.’ It was no accident that Joyce, this early and late, should have found much to admire in Milton.\textsuperscript{60}

Thus, it is apparent that Milton was an important constitutive part of Joyce’s identity during his growth as a writer. This process intersects in many occasions with Stephen Dedalus’s process of growth as a character from \textit{Stephen Hero} to \textit{A Portrait}. Given the quasi-autobiographical nature of \textit{Stephen Hero}, as Prescott argues, ‘(…) the young Joyce had not yet sufficiently detached himself from his own thoughts and feelings to give them to his not much younger creation,’\textsuperscript{61} I suggest that Stephen’s reading of and response to Milton is mutually implicated with Joyce’s own. In \textit{Stephen Hero} the author plays the role of an ‘overt

\begin{footnotes}
\item[60] Sullivan, p. 101.
\item[61] Prescott, p. 218.
\end{footnotes}
and partisan manager’, whereas in *A Portrait* Joyce’s stance is of an ‘invisible and impersonal director’. That outlook on Joyce’s stance as a writer here is revealing in the cases I would like to investigate. Joyce ‘conjuges’ Milton’s presence through the highly allusive tendency of both authors. When speaking about Milton’s allusive language, Newlyn defines allusion as:

>a trope which negotiates a crossing from one conceptual or aesthetic frame into another. It creates moments of interpretative choice for the reader. Allusions may have a revisionary significance that is either consciously or unconsciously intended by the author. But, *because they evoke a context different from their own, they necessarily import some of its original resonances into the echoing text*. The reader becomes pleasurably aware of continuity within discontinuity, of sameness within difference.

That power of allusion to evoke a different context and import resonances into the echoing text will be an important trait to analyse *vis-à-vis* the context of presence. Joyce’s allusions to words, phrases and contexts that are Miltonic are deemed to evoke context – the terms that are crucial and recurrent inside Milton’s writing. As Newlyn argues, these allusions will import original resonances into the text. Derek Attridge makes an assertion that reinforces Newlyn’s idea, and consequently my point here:

>Every reader of literature knows, habitually if not consciously, that the language of the literary text is never of an age. *Words and phrasings that have the accumulated density of a long and varied existence jostle with other that reflect recent verbal fashions or come newly minted from their authors* (think of the language of Anthony Burgess’s *Clockwork Orange* or Russell Hoban’s *Riddley Walker*). Spenser or Milton can play between the meanings of words in modern English and their classical etymological sources; Keats or Byron can sprinkle a poem with the dust of medieval diction; Beckett or Barthelme can burnish or brandish old words in ways that make them seem new.

The ‘accumulated density’ is precisely what Joyce expects his readers to perceive: that the words he has repeated had been repeated before him, and as in the quote by Newlyn mentioned above, they will bring the ‘original resonances into the echoing text’. An example from *A Portrait* can make it clearer: after Stephen’s mother asks him to do his Easter duty, he refuses to do so. When Cranly enquires, he replies:

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62 Prescott, p. 219.
63 Newlyn, p. ix.
—I will not serve, answered Stephen.
—That remark was made before, Cranly said calmly.
—It is made behind now, said Stephen hotly. (P, 239)

If we remember what Cranly had in mind when making this comment, that the reason for Satan’s fall was his refusal to serve, the dialogue makes sense in a wider sphere and resounds with the accumulated density of allusion. We understand better the depth and the seriousness of Stephen’s refusal and its consequences. Some sentences after, Cranly bites a piece of fig, and throws the rest of it away, saying:

—Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire! (P, 239)

After that sentence, a discussion about Stephen’s lack of faith and the judgement day unfolds. These resonances, when analysed as representations of Miltonic presence, bolster the building of the psyche of Joyce’s characters. The definitions of allusion by Newlyn and accumulated density by Attridge help to build our understanding of a Miltonic atmosphere, or *stimmung*, which permeates Joyce’s use of characteristics and words inside the text. The *stimmung* evokes an aura that enables the association between Satan and Stephen, in a way intertwining both Milton’s and Joyce’s characters. The educated reader, seeing a sentence from *Paradise Lost* being used in a different context, would likely recall the original and, more specifically, the feelings and the *stimmung* it evokes. For instance, when Stephen says that he will not serve – and Cranly is already aware of the association – the reader is enveloped in a Miltonic atmosphere and makes the association between Stephen and Satan even stronger. Cranly’s subsequent ‘Depart from me’ seems fit and consolidates the atmosphere suitable for the character of Stephen and the discussion that follows the interjection. Blamires comments that this act of recall, of bringing the original in, is also Miltonic:

> Quite apart from the interest we take in Joyce’s recalls of Milton, one should note that the technique of recall is itself a technique practiced by Milton. (...) Since Joyce has made his technique of recall the prime means of giving universality to his study of twentieth-century life, and an important means of knitting together his material, one should not be surprised if (...) he directed Thomas McGreevy’s attention to *PL* as the major English poetic achievement with which his own epic achievement should be compared.65

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65 Blamires, p. 143-144.
Blamires mentions Thomas McGreevy’s essay, ‘The Catholic Element in Work in Progress’ published in Our Exagmination Round His Factification, in which he suggests that Joyce has ‘(…) a power to construct on a scale scarcely equalled in English literature since the Renaissance, not even by the author of Paradise Lost.’ Nevertheless, it turns out that the comparison with Milton was not made at random; rather Joyce is behind the work in Our Exagmination… as an all-seeing eye. Blamires rates this mention of Milton as a ‘crucial statement’ and cites a letter sent by Joyce to Valéry Larbaud, in which ‘Joyce accepted responsibility for inspiring the lines of thought pursued by his disciples in the Exagmination (…).’ Even though the reference given is from Exagmination, a compilation of essays that had been published before Finnegans Wake with the intention of advertising it (when it was still called Work in Progress), it is important that the reader bears the ‘author of Paradise Lost’ in mind when reading Joyce, even from his earliest writings.

2.3 Stephen and Satan Hero - Presence Created in Words

My initial intention is to analyse the allusions, references, echoes, resonances, and contexts that show Joyce’s response and invocation of Milton’s presence in Stephen Hero, which serve to create a Miltonic ‘touch’ and stimmung. As a starting point, if we read the titles in isolation from the real context of the books, Stephen Hero conjurs up an aura of heroism and bravery, while Paradise Lost conjurs up a sense that angels, God, or Christ will be the heroes. However, it turns out that Stephen is not literally heroic, and the Arch-Fiend, who plays a larger role in Milton’s epic, outshines the saintly figures. This raises a question: what is a hero? In his essay ‘The Idea of Satan as the Hero of Paradise Lost’, John Steadman argues that

[t]he term itself is equivocal. It possesses very different meanings for a Homeric critic and a Christian theologian, a cultural anthropologist and a schoolboy nurtured on films of space-pioneering and Arizona cattle-rustling. The heroic virtues of the theosophical Platonist or the Aristotelian moralist bear little resemblance to the martial valor celebrated in heroic verse. The arms of the epic warrior are rarely those of the Christian knight.

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66 Thomas McGreevy, ‘The Catholic Element in Work in Progress’ in Our Exagmination round his Factification for Incamation of Work in Progress (London: Faber and Faber, 1929), p. 120.
67 Blamires, p. 144.
In order to understand Satan as a hero (and consequently, for our purposes here, Stephen as well) Steadman proposes that a distinction between heroism and heroic virtue is made: ‘the precise senses in which the Adversary of Milton’s God is truly and not just superficially heroic.’ Furthermore, Milton ends up not only justifying the ways of God to Man, but he also expects ‘us to compare the respective merits of Satan and Adam and Christ: his major heroic paradigms.’

Through a comparison of the merits of these three characters from *Paradise Lost*, eventually a preference is formed, and from the romantics, the character of Satan as a hero started to be built, as they ‘perceived the underlying duality of Satan’s character; they recognized its depravity as well as its sublimity.’

G. Rostrevor Hamilton argues that we can see the heroism in Satan when we ‘seek in him some credible mixture of good with evil (…) we see him as the rebel refusing to recognize defeat, fighting a lost and hopeless cause, playing exactly the part where folly and heroism are both likely to be found and so appealing to the generosity or weakness of our heart.’ These characteristics are also to be found in Stephen, his depravity mixed with sublimity (as he is an admirer of Thomas Aquinas and his discussion of the sublime and beautiful), a mixture of good and evil, folly and heroism when fighting for a lost cause, such as bringing in the discussion of Ibsen in a Jesuit school. John Leonard mentions that ‘C.S. Lewis thought that Satan’s heroism was “never affirmed before the times of Blake and Shelley.”’ He is right in one sense. Early readers did not take Satan’s side.

In line with the Romantic satanists, Blake and Shelley, whom Joyce admired, I would say that he shared their ‘sympathy for the devil’ to the extent that he can have seen Milton’s Satan with the same sublimity as seen by his precursors; that makes it possible to associate Stephen’s reasons for losing his faith to Satan’s motives for rebelling. For the sake of comparison between Milton’s unavowed hero, Satan, and Joyce’s declared (and contradictory) hero, Stephen, I will use a description of Milton’s Satan made by Samuel Taylor Coleridge in his lecture ‘Dante, Donne, Milton, *Paradise Lost*’:

> The character of Satan is pride and sensual indulgence, finding in self the sole motive of action. It is the character so often seen in little on the political stage. It exhibits all the restlessness, temerity, and cunning which have marked the mighty hunters of

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69 Steadman, p. 254.  
70 Steadman, p. 258.  
mankind from Nimrod to Napoleon. (...) Milton has carefully marked in his Satan the intense selfishness, the alcohol of egotism, which would rather reign in hell than serve in heaven. (...) [A]round his character he has thrown a singularity of daring, a grandeur of sufferance, and a ruined splendour (...).\(^{74}\) (my emphasis)

It might be worth remarking that Joyce also owned the book in which this essay was published in his library in Trieste, even though, unfortunately, he has made no marginal notes to it. In line with Coleridge’s description, there are several ‘satanic’ characteristics in Stephen. Prescott cites a couple of passages from *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait* to make up for an accurate description of Stephen, who is a:

(...) penurious, arrogant, and solitary young man. (...) The hero who expects ‘reward from the public for [his] verses because [he] believe[s his] verses are to be numbered among the spiritual assets of the State’ (*SH*, 202) is recognizable as the young man who goes forth ‘to forge in the smithy of [his] soul the uncreated conscience of [his] race.’ (*P*, 239) And the hero who ‘professed scorn for the rabblement and contempt for authority,’ (*SH*, 122-123) had a ‘commandment of reticence,’ (ibid, 124) ‘was very lonely’ (ibid, 161) and lived ‘such a strange life – without help or sympathy from anyone’ that ‘sometimes [he was] afraid of [himself]’ (ibid, 197) is recognizable as the young man who felt keenly ‘that he was different from others,’ (*P*, 65) who ‘was happy only when he was… alone or in the company of phantasmal comrades,’ (ibid, 84) who ‘was destined to learn his own wisdom apart from others or to learn the wisdom of others himself wandering among the snares of the world.’ (ibid, 162)\(^{75}\) (My emphasis)

To Prescott’s compilation, I would like to add the ‘silence, exile, and cunning’ which Stephen claims will be ‘the only arms [he] allow[s] [him]self to use.’ (*P*, 247) Through this brief comparison of the descriptions of Satan and Stephen, some intersections should be explored. Firstly, the use of keywords carefully selected by Joyce bring the presence of Milton and his Satan to mind when we read the description of Stephen – for instance, the use of the emphasised adjectives above, such as ‘arrogant’ and ‘solitary’, are equivalent to Milton’s use of the words ‘pride’ and ‘selfishness’ to describe their psyche and personalities, as well as ‘cunning’ as a tool to go through life. Secondly, the repetition of similar words can be significant as a resource used by both authors in order to emphasise the most remarkable qualities of Satan and Stephen by choice, and not because of a lack of vocabulary. The paragraph above shows that Joyce has chosen quite similar words to bring to mind the characteristics of Milton’s unavowed hero, Satan, when ‘forging’ Stephen’s personality.

\(^{74}\) Coleridge, p. 286.

\(^{75}\) In Prescott, pp. 214-215.
These traits are of such importance for the authors that they are recurrent in their writing and descriptions. Hamilton mentions that Milton uses the words courage, pride, and revenge several times throughout his descriptions of Satan, ‘for Milton does not fear repetition’ when seeking to emphasise the characteristics of heroes, and apparently, neither does Joyce.

The attention given to language and the use of specific words by Joyce, emphasised by repetition, make the presence of Milton remarkably noticeable through verbal echoes in Stephen Hero and A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man. This presence is expressed in the form of their lexical choices, and language as ‘the medium through which the separation of humans and the (physical) things of their environment may be overcome.’ The historical separation of over three centuries between Joyce and Milton can possibly be bridged through language, and the first analysis of points in common between Stephen and Satan will be done in order to highlight these linguistic references represented by verbal echoes and allusions.

In order to enable an analysis of Milton’s presence in the light of linguistic references, echoes, and allusions, a discussion about Joyce’s language and his proclivity to use certain collocations and words over others is necessary. In line with Runia’s concept of presence as ‘being in touch’, a few other aspects are unveiled, especially those which concern the use of language. Derek Attridge points out in his investigation of what he called ‘Joyce Effects’ that language is ‘a constant concern (…), as it surely must be in a full response to a writer like Joyce.’ However, it should not be isolated ‘from those processes that give rise to it and upon which it impinges: the physical body, the literary institution, the movements of history, and the network of power relations that entails, among other things, political authority, gender, education, and class.’

Katie Wales also calls attention to language as a phenomenon affected by historical events; she mentions that Joyce’s lifetime was a time in which ‘dramatic events (…) had considerable impact not only on the political and social scene, but also on the cultural and linguistic.’ That impact is especially relevant for the topic of this thesis, as ‘(…) the revival of Gaelic was inextricably associated with questions of national and cultural identity; and it was precisely these questions which were central issues at the time that Joyce himself as

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76 Hamilton, p. 12.
79 Attridge, Joyce Effects, p. xvii.
student and aspiring writer was trying to establish his own literary identity.' Wales traces the significance and decline of the Irish language through British history, and demonstrates that at the beginning of the sixteenth century ‘Irish was once more the dominant language’. However, as the ‘(Protestant) Tudor monarchs set their eyes on the reconquest and “conversion” of the country’, this dominance once more receded. This struggle is both relevant to Milton’s works in the seventeenth century, as well as to Joyce’s writing three centuries later. It is

from this period, then, (...) we see the birth of the strong association between religion and language that underlay, as we shall see from Joyce’s own writings, much of the political discussions of the Nationalist movements of the late nineteenth century: Irish associated with the ‘native’ religion of Roman Catholicism. At first English was associated with the ‘foreign’ Protestantism of the new wave of English settlers until the language became established in the country.

It is to be expected that Joyce’s writing would approach the crucible of the association of language to religion; what he has also done is to tackle the use of language by dominant groups. For example, in the case of the Irish, the use of the English language by the English colonisers is a way to highlight differences and establish domination. He approaches these themes explicitly in A Portrait, when Stephen wonders about the alien characteristic of the language used by the dean of studies, who is English, in contrast with his own, during a conversation in chapter 5. Even though both speak English, Stephen regards it as ‘an acquired speech’ due to the different connotations a small number of specific words would carry for the Irish, in contrast with the English:

The language in which we are speaking is his before it is mine. How different are the words home, Christ, ale, master, on his lips and on mine! I cannot speak or write those words without unrest of spirit. His language, so familiar and so foreign, will always be for me an acquired speech. I have not made or accepted its words. My voice holds them at bay. My soul frets in the shadow of his language. (P, 189)

Joyce’s attention to language and its nuances is remarkable; Stephen’s deepest feelings are reflected not only through his actions, but through his choice of words and his reaction to the speech of others. The feeling aroused in Stephen, though, lays even deeper than the word

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81 Wales, p. 1.
82 Wales, p. 3.
83 Wales, p. 4.
choice. On that estrangement and the fretting of the soul Stephen feels toward the language of the Dean, Anthony Burgess comments that

[w]hat makes Stephen’s soul fret are the simple differences between his own pronunciation of the words and that of the Dean of Studies. He feels the inferiority of a provincial in the presence of a metropolitan or ruling-class accent (…) Stephen feels the weight of three kinds of authority in the Dean’s speech – the ruling class, the Imperial power, the international Church. His own accent is not merely provincial, it is also that of a subject people.84

I agree with Burgess in that matter, as I believe that the feeling of inferiority as from a ‘subject people’ and the ‘weight of three kinds of authority in the Dean’s speech’ are valid, and they help readers to frame Stephen’s perception of himself. However, I would like to add that, in my view, the differences are far from simple, as Joyce’s choice of words is never to be taken lightly. The words chosen, home, Christ, ale, master, are powerful words with strong (and contrasting) connotations for the Irish, as Stephen says ‘on his lips and on mine.’

The word ‘master’ especially, for the Irish, carries undertones of subservience and submission; as Seamus Deane mentions, ‘[i]t is well known that Joyce, like Stephen Dedalus, considered himself to be the slave of two masters, one British and one Roman.’85 Vincent Cheng places the oppression on the tradition of the language and literature:

Since the literary tradition of Shakespeare and Milton was, for Joyce, the imperial tradition of the English oppressor, he was deprived of any comfortably viable artistic models (…) [which] obliged him both to seek other textual models (…) Many of the revolutionary qualities of Joyce’s stylistic, linguistic, and literary innovations can thus be persuasively traced to, and grounded in, his sense of ideological, ethnic, and colonial dispossession.86

For different reasons, such as background, origin, and religion, these words for Milton and Joyce surely carried different ideas, as for Joyce, it was the language of the oppressor, whereas Milton, linguistically, was on the vexed side of the colonial masters. This conflict, the sense of inferiority and the weight of the dominant kinds of authority could be part of the ‘forging’ of his character, Stephen Dedalus, and Joyce’s own identity, to use a word of his own choice. Colin MacCabe mention that Joyce’s use of this specific word is not coincidental: ‘Forgery, here is the appropriate word capturing elements of both ‘force’ and

‘counterfeit’ and it is unsurprising that Joyce was so fascinated with forgery (…) for the forger understands writing as continuous production rather than natural representation and Joyce’s texts participate in that understanding.”\(^{87}\) David Hayman remarks that Joyce was ‘led by the internal necessities of his self-imposed discipline and by a fascination with the origins and native power of words (…)’\(^{88}\) Thus, one can never take for granted Joyce’s word choices, as they have not probably been chosen lightly.

Wales outlines some examples from A Portrait in which the repetition of words and other linguistic strategies are used to establish the right atmosphere. Initially, Wales argues for the value of the language of A Portrait and what Joyce does with it: ‘What Joyce does in A Portrait is to begin Stephen’s life at the beginning, and show how his artistic and intellectual development, and also his emotional development, are inextricably involved with his response to language.’\(^{89}\) Thus, language will be extremely important for the accuracy of that portrait. She mentions that during the first chapter of A Portrait, where Stephen is feeling ill, and where ‘repeated images and phrases suggest the waves of feverishness that overcome him. The lexis is simple and is therefore appropriate to Stephen’s intellectual ability at this period.’\(^{90}\) The first example concerns Joyce’s use of the image of a train as Stephen is trying to shut off the noises from the outside world. She emphasises the repetition of the opposites roar and stop, and opened and closed.

He leaned his elbows on the table and shut and opened the flaps of his ears. Then he heard the noise of the refectory every time he opened the flaps of his ears. It made a roar like a train at night. And when he closed the flaps the roar was shut off like a train going into a tunnel. That night at Dalkey the train had roared like that and then, when it went into the tunnel, the roar stopped. He closed his eyes and the train went on, roaring and then stopping; roaring again, stopping. It was nice to hear it roar and stop and then roar out of the tunnel again and then stop. (P, 13 – Wales’s emphasis)

Further on in the book, Wales mentions that as Stephen’s sickness grows worse, ‘other new antonyms and collocated pairs of sensation-words are alternated’\(^{91}\), as in the example below:

He shivered and yawned. It would be lovely in bed after the sheets got a bit hot. First they were so cold to get into. He shivered to think how cold they were first. But then they got hot and then he could sleep. It was lovely to be tired. He yawned again. Night

\(^{89}\) Wales, pp. 56-57.
\(^{90}\) Wales, pp. 58-59.
\(^{91}\) Wales, p. 59.
prayers and then bed: he shivered and wanted to yawn. It would be lovely in a few minutes. He felt a warm glow creeping up from the cold shivering sheets, warmer and warmer till he felt warm all over, ever so warm and yet he shivered a little and still wanted to yawn. (P, 17 - Wales’s emphasis)

In addition to the repetition of words, opposites, and emphasis on sounds, Wales highlights Joyce’s use of repetition to emphasise the lingering and reverberating feeling that remains after a given action. For example, as Wales mentions, after the Pandybat episode, Stephen’s indignation lingers after some time, ‘until justice is sought’92, that is, until he decides to go to the Rector’s office:

It was unfair and cruel because the doctor had told him not to read without glasses… It was cruel and unfair to make him kneel in the middle of the class then… But it was unfair and cruel. The prefect of studies was a priest but that was cruel and unfair… It was wrong; it was unfair and cruel… and it was unjust and cruel and unfair. (P, 51-54. Cited in Wales, p. 60-61)

Stephen’s indignation is echoed by the words ‘unfair’ and ‘cruel’ which remain in his mind for quite a while, until he decides to see the Rector and tell him about the unfair pandying that had occurred.

It is significant to outline these characteristics in Joyce’s writing so as to enable a wider understanding of his use of language in general, but especially the lexical choices he made when writing a given scene or creating a character. In this chapter, I intend to demonstrate how Joyce’s word choices and his handling of words help evoke Milton’s presence in order to make up for a broader context; one example is his building of Stephen Dedalus’s personality and psyche. Through the use of words pregnant with Miltonic connotations, Joyce makes his own characters richer with characteristics that are larger than any adjectives could describe alone.

It is also known that Joyce had a penchant for puns, as he remarks in a conversation with his friend Frank Budgen. When ‘rebutting the charge of vulgarity against the use of the pun, he said: ‘The Holy Roman Catholic Apostolic Church was built on a pun. It ought to be good enough for me.’93 The pun he refers to is in the Bible, in Matthew 16:18, where Jesus

92 Wales, p. 60.
93 Budgen, p. 347.
tells Simon Peter ‘thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church’\textsuperscript{94}. In Latin, Peter is Petrus, and ‘rock’, petram. What seems to be so attractive for Joyce about the pun is its uncontrollable nature: ‘because of the nature of language, the pun is always waiting around the corner, and its effects can never be fully controlled; thus the reader can never know whether in the penultimate sentence of A Portrait – ‘to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race’ – the word ‘forge’ means not only ‘make’ but also ‘fake.’\textsuperscript{95} The possibility of a single word carrying multiple meanings and its openness to interpretation is a crucial matter of our understanding of Joyce as not merely a writer, but an artificer, like Daedalus, of words and significations, working against ‘the resistant material’. Thus, what must be borne in mind when reading this thesis (or Joyce in general) is that he is

\begin{quote}
(...) the manipulator of ordinary human language, in which his best magic is performed... Joyce may stretch language inordinately both in lexis and prosodic organisation, but he can point to great prototypes – Rabelais, Sterne, Swift, Milton, Shakespeare himself. His magic is mostly genuine, like theirs, inducing the kind of wonder and joy one feels in the presence of natural sublimity.\textsuperscript{96}
\end{quote}

Joyce’s manipulation of language will be demonstrated here through key examples that show his intention of pointing ‘to great prototypes’ in order to evoke their presence and create the desired effect of sublimity. Thus, firstly – as it makes more sense chronologically marking Stephen’s attempt at leading a pious life – a few points of intersection between Milton’s hell and Father Arnall’s sermon to the boys during the retreat, known as the ‘hell sermon’ in A Portrait, will be examined in the light of a popular catechism of Joyce’s time, Father Giovanni Pinamonti’s Hell Opened to Christians. As the story progresses and we are presented with the fact that Stephen does not follow piously but decides to give in to temptation, his development as a character embraces more ‘Satanic’ characteristics. The main sin associated with Satan, pride, becomes a recurrent companion of Stephen’s, and is the second topic of detailed analysis below. Lastly, other words such as ‘scorn’, ‘darkness’, ‘hiss’, and ‘fall’, powerhouses full of strong Miltonic resonances and their role in Stephen Hero and Portrait will be scrutinised.


\textsuperscript{95} Attridge, Joyce Effects, p. 66.

\textsuperscript{96} Burgess, p. 25-26.
As discussed in 2.2, *Paradise Lost* was compulsory reading material during Joyce’s school years. Reading Milton’s epic as a child under the supervision of the Jesuits might not have been an experience aiming solely at literary education, and it might have served religious and indoctrinating purposes as well, thus leaving its mark and presence in the young Joyce for life. Hypatia Bonner, through a critical view of the Christian hell, recalls the tradition of ‘educating’ children about sin and hell through terror, and this practice was still common during Joyce’s childhood. Bonner mentions that there was popular literature dedicated for this end, and numbers some of the most popular at the time. The earliest book that was used from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century is *Mission Pictures*, a little illustrated book that showed ‘The Soul as “God’s Temple or Satan’s Workshop.”’ She mentions that its seventh edition dates of 1882, and she had come across ‘an English version in 1907 as a set of lantern-slides’\(^97\). This is a small book formed of a set of daunting pictures intending to show what the soul would be like when in a state of purity and a state of sin. *Mission Pictures* was highly popular and it might have helped shape the subsequent *Hell Opened to Christians to Caution them from Entering Therein*, by the Jesuit Father Giovanni Pietro Pinamonti. First published in 1688, had ‘a long and most astonishing popularity.’ His work was highly based on Father Giovanni Battista Manni’s – also an Italian Jesuit – *The Eternal Prison of Hell for the Hard-hearted Sinner*, which had been issued in 1667 (the same year *Paradise Lost* was published), and, according to Bonner, ‘by 1692 had already reached its eleventh edition.’ *Hell Opened* is illustrated and divided into considerations, each assigned for a given day of the week, and ‘each has a revolting illustration appropriate to the text.’\(^98\) James R. Thrane and Elizabeth Boyd, both in 1960, pointed out that the ghastly descriptions used in the sermons had been drawn from *Hell Opened*.\(^99\) In a complementary manner, aiming at clarifying which edition of *Hell Opened* was used by Joyce, James Doherty comments on Thrane’s and Boyd’s articles, as well as comparing and contrasting passages from the hell sermon in *A Portrait* with Pinamonti’s book in a schematic way.\(^100\)

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98 Bonner, p. 112 and p. 114.
It is difficult to point clearly if Manni’s *The Eternal Prison of Hell* was in any way inspired by Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, as both were published in the same year. However, we can imagine how horrifying it might have felt to read the descriptions of Christian Hell in *Paradise Lost* under the Jesuits’ supervision if we recall Stephen as a child in *A Portrait*, listening to Father Arnall’s terrifying sermons about hell and its horrors. It is possible to argue that some of the imagery used by Joyce in order to create his startling ‘hell sermon’ are drawn from Dante’s *Inferno* and Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, as ‘Dante and Milton between them are said to have done more to make hell real to people than any other writers, lay or clerical.’

Additionally, the contribution of Milton’s imagery and descriptions of hell is perceivable in *Hell Opened*, and there is a *stimmung* of *Paradise Lost* in *A Portrait* through references common both to Pinamonti’s and Milton’s works. This interpolation can be understood as indirect/mediated presence as well as direct, as Joyce had access to both works; however, due to his background of Jesuit colleges, Pinamonti might have been a primary source for the creation of Father Arnall’s sermons, thus, the presence of Milton and the *stimmung* of Hell described in *Paradise Lost* is perceivable through Joyce’s use of *Hell Opened* in *A Portrait*. For instance, considering the passages from *A Portrait* below:

… a strait and dark and foulsmelling prison, an abode of demons and lost souls, filled with fire and smoke. The straitness of this prison house is expressly designed by God to punish those who refused to be bound by His laws. (…) They lie in exterior darkness. For, remember, the fire of hell gives forth no light. (…) (P, 119-20)

The frightening characteristics of the hell described by Father Arnall, its straitness, darkness, stench and the torture suffered with every sense of the body find their correspondence in Pinamonti’s considerations about the infernal realm. In the first consideration about the straitness of hell, Pinamonti approaches the theme of darkness:

Consider, that this prison, will not only be extremely strait, but also extremely dark. It is true there will be fire, but deprived of light, yet so that the eyes shall suffer with the sight of most horrible appearances, and yet be debarred of the comfort which in the midst of all their terror, the lightnings themselves might cause in the frightfulest tempests.

Themes in common and verbal echoes are perceivable in Father Arnall’s sermon, as the first characteristics described by Joyce are also recurrent in the same order in Pinamonti’s

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101 Bonner, p. 4.
considerations. The first of the ‘considerations’ is regarding ‘The Prison of Hell’ wherein the lack of space and darkness are prevalent, even though ‘horrible appearances’ are still visible. The possibility to see even though there is darkness calls to mind Milton’s ‘darkness visible’, as what little that can be seen through darkness serves only to ‘discover sights of woe’, as in the description from *Paradise Lost*:

A dungeon horrible, on all sides round
As one great furnace flamed, yet from those flames
No light, but rather darkness visible
Served only to discover sights of woe,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
That comes to all; but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery Deluge, fed
With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed:
Such place eternal justice had prepared
For those rebellious, here their prison ordained
In utter darkness, and their portion set
As far removed from God and light of Heaven
As from the centre thrice to the utmost pole. (*PL I.61-74*)

Milton’s phrase ‘darkness visible’ condenses perfectly the feeling Pinamonti wanted to convey: the fact that even though it is dark, the damned are still able to see the ‘most horrible appearances’. Joyce also conveys the same idea of ‘exterior darkness’. The idea of hell as an enclosed place is emphasised in the three descriptions, and while Milton does not necessarily use the word ‘strait’, a few lines prior to this description he mentions that the creatures sent to hell ‘dwell / In adamantine chains and penal fire’, highlighting the feeling of enclosure and imprisonment. (*PL I.47-48*) Additionally, he mentions that the ‘prison ordained’ for ‘those rebellious’ is ‘in utter darkness’. Joyce transposes the *stimmung* of Pinamonti’s hell to Father Arnall’s sermon through the use of verbal echoes and by keeping characteristics common to both, as he paraphrases Milton’s description of the ones whom hell is destined to: ‘The straitness of this prison house is expressly designed by God to punish those who refused to be bound by His laws.’ (*P*, 119) Those being the ones who refuse to serve, like Lucifer and his angels, as well as Stephen.

On a side note, but still related to rebelliousness, Doherty mentions that the phrase *poena damni* is the only phrase in Latin used in *Hell Opened* and in Father Arnall’s hell sermon. Along similar lines, I would like to add that the phrase *non serviam*, which is closely attached to both Lucifer/Satan and Stephen is mentioned in the sermon in latin, as well as in
the first consideration of Hell Opened. Furthermore, translated to English, it becomes Stephen’s main tenet: I will not serve. Even though Milton does not use the phrase himself in Paradise Lost, as we could observe previously in the chapter, the sin of pride and the word itself are sufficiently emphasised by him to build upon it the character of his Satan.

In addition to the straitness and darkness, another aspect emphasised by Pinamonti and Joyce is the suffering inflicted on the damned; Milton approaches it as ‘torture without end’. In A Portrait, Father Arnall describes how every bodily sense will suffer when condemned to eternal damnation:

Every sense of the flesh is tortured and every faculty of the soul therewith: the eyes with impenetrable utter darkness, the nose with noisome odours, the ears with yells and howls and execrations, the taste with foul matter, leprous corruption, nameless suffocating filth, the touch with redhot goads and spikes, with cruel tongues of flame. (*P*, 121-22)

Pinamonti approaches the torture summarised by Father Arnall in masochistic detail through the second and third considerations, respectively about the fire and the company of the damned:

Consider, that the divine justice has chosen fire as the fittest instrument to punish those that rebel against God. (…) but the fire of hell is kindled by a sulphurous and bituminous matter, which will always burn with an unspeakable fury...

While Milton had also described the fire of hell as a ‘fiery Deluge, fed | With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed’, and when Satan and his army fall into hell, he also compares the fire of hell to volcanic lava:

thundering Aetna, whose combustible
And fueled entrails thence conceiving fire,
Sublimed with mineral fury (*PL* I.233-235)

Joyce similarly shapes the terror through Father Arnall’s words describing the main matter of hell:

the sulphurous brimstone which burns in hell is a substance which is specially designed to burn for ever and for ever with unspeakable fury. (*P*, 121)

The ‘fury’ of fire is a common trait for the three descriptions, and Joyce’s account of Hell immediately echoes Hell Opened, as the book might have been inspiration for sermons nationwide during Joyce’s time and before. Additionally, it should be noted that the fury and the sulphurous nature of infernal fire are mentioned by Milton as well, thus creating an influx
of stimmung permeating both Pinamonti’s *Hell Opened* and Joyce’s hell sermon, originating from *Paradise Lost*. Due to Joyce’s schooling and his ‘being in touch’ with Milton’s epic, there is a possibility that Father Arnall’s hell sermon was imbued with the stimmung of Milton’s hell through Joyce’s use of Pinamonti’s *Hell Opened*.

The presence of Milton is not confined to the hell sermon but stretches itself beyond it. As a consequence of the disconcerting sermon, Stephen is physically affected: he feels ‘his legs shaking and the scalp of his head trembling as though it had been touched by ghostly fingers.’ (*P*, 124)

And at every step he feared that he had already died, that his soul had been wrenched forth of the sheath of his body, that he was *plunging headlong* through space. (*P*, 124, my emphasis)

Stephen feels he is ‘plunging headlong’ as he is not being cast away from heaven as Lucifer was, but falling because of the weight of his sins: his suffering echoes the passage of the fall of the angels in *Paradise Lost*:

> Him the Almighty Power
> *Hurled headlong flaming* from the ethereal sky
> (*PL* I.44-45, my emphasis)

Surprisingly, the verbal echo linking the metaphorical fall of Stephen’s and Lucifer’s fall from heaven leads to different outcomes: Stephen adheres to pious habits (though temporarily before his definitive fall), while Satan embraces ‘the region, this the soil, the clime.’ (*PL* I.242) Stephen’s piousness, however, does not last for long as an invitation by the Reverend to join the Jesuits triggers the original satanic sin: the sin of Pride. ‘Pride goes before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.’*103*

**2.5 Stephen Dedalus and Satanic Pride**

The presence of Milton is strongly evoked by Joyce through the use of the word *pride*. The sin that caused Lucifer’s fall from Heaven is a continuous companion of Stephen Dedalus once he discovers his unwillingness to serve. When invited by the Reverend to join the order, it is pride that throws Stephen off his religious ways. Remarkably, both Milton and Joyce use

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*103 Proverbs, 16:18.*
the word *pride* frequently when describing their heroes’ psychological state; it is a key word used when making any association to a fall from grace: Milton uses the word several times to relate that characteristic to Lucifer/Satan, obviously not for a lack of synonyms or vocabulary, as we know that he would use a word that is even in disuse or create one to suit his own devices. Linguistically, there is a last point that favours the assumption of Milton as Joyce’s precursor of choice. Francis Peck, in his examination of Milton’s style dating back to 1740, attested that Milton was inclined to make changes to words through lengthening, shortening or softening them. Milton was not restrained by neo-classical vocabulary and diction and extended his vocabulary so that it would suit his expressive needs. He did so through the creation of Latinate neologisms. As Peck puts it, ‘[w]hen [Milton] wants a proper word to express his sense, he coins a new one.’\(^{104}\) Examples of these creations include ‘infuriate’ (as an adjective) and ‘atheous’.\(^{105}\) This particular proclivity should be taken into account when analysing Milton’s presence in Joyce’s work, as both deal with language as an important tool for extra meaning.

In addition to linguistic creativity, some biographical remarks made about Joyce’s personality can be related to the fallen angel and the reason for his fall. For instance, Ellmann cites an example of a letter from George Russell to Thomas Mosher about Joyce, in which Russell says: ‘There is a young boy named Joyce who may do something. He is proud as Lucifer and writes verses perfect in their technique and sometimes beautiful in quality.’\(^{106}\) Ellmann also cites a dialogue between Wyndham Lewis and T.S. Eliot:

‘You think he is as proud as Lucifer?’
‘I would not say Lucifer!’ Eliot was on his guard at once, at this loose use of the surname of the Evil Principle.
‘You would not say Lucifer? Well, I daresay he may be under the impression that he is being ‘as proud as Lucifer’ or some bogtrotting humbug of that order. (…)’\(^{107}\)

In addition to these remarks, Ellmann mentions that a landlady in Zurich would call Joyce ‘*Herr Satan*’ ‘because of his pointed beard and sinewy walk’\(^{108}\) and later, there would be an episode when Joyce’s son, Giorgio, invited some of his friends home, but they left as soon as

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\(^{104}\) Francis Peck, *New Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Mr. John Milton...*, the Whole Illustrated with Proper Prefaces and Notes (London: [s.n.], 1740) p. 108.
\(^{105}\) More examples are provided in Peck, pp. 105-132.
\(^{106}\) Ellmann, p. 100.
they could, ‘agreeing… that Giorgio’s father looked exactly like the devil.’ Even though these facts do not relate directly with Stephen Dedalus as a character, the fact that they relate to Joyce as a person and the creator of Stephen as his alter-ego in some instances makes the comparison relevant. These stories might be part of folklore surrounding Joyce, or even made up to reinforce the association between Stephen (and himself) and the rebel angel, but the fact is that one cannot ignore them as they contribute to the stimmung created around Joyce and his alter ego.

Initially, one of the aspects that should be clarified when referring to Joyce’s precursors is to discern which literary Lucifer/Satan Joyce draws from when creating Stephen. Barbara Lewalski discerns the presence of Milton when she mentions that ‘James Joyce’s epic novel Ulysses looks to Milton as well as Homer and Dante for some elements.’ Despite the fact that the realm of hell and Lucifer/Satan are present in both Milton’s Paradise Lost and Dante’s Inferno, I intend to demonstrate that Joyce’s approach and use of the satanic character are remarkably Miltonic, even though there are Dantean elements used by Joyce as well. The place of Dante in Joyce’s writing has already been aptly discussed before me by a number of scholars, and by claiming recognition of Milton’s presence in Joyce’s work I do not by any means have the ambition to deny the place of Dante. My intention is to debunk the long-term belief reinforced by his biographer, Richard Ellmann, that Joyce has ‘fiercely rejected’ Milton and ‘exalted Dante at the expense of Milton.’

Perhaps the most important example of the prevalence of Miltonic presence over Dante is Joyce’s use of Milton’s Satan to shape Stephen Dedalus’s character. Whereas Milton’s Satan is beautiful, human-like, lofty and articulate, easily becoming the leader of the fallen angels, Dante’s Lucifer is beastly, with three heads, gigantic and hideous; in addition to that, he is buried to his waist in ice, and is unable to speak as he is chewing on sinners all the time he is portrayed. Thus, it is possible to say that Joyce’s representation of Stephen Dedalus owes more to Milton’s Satan than he does to Dante’s Lucifer. A key argument for the

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109 Ellmann, James Joyce, p. 435.
111 Ellmann, James Joyce, p. 66.
Miltonic presence is that Dante provides no access to Lucifer’s psyche and thoughts is provided by Dante, whereas Milton gives his readers a full picture of Satan, not only his external appearance. Thus, I believe that this differentiation is crucial to argue for Joyce’s use of a Miltonic presence in his shaping of the character of Stephen.

Having these factors in mind, I propose an analysis of their use of the word *pride* and its satanic implications. Most of the instances of the use of this word by Milton will be found in *Paradise Lost*, Book I, which is where Milton intends to justify God’s ways and introduce the generator of all revolt, Satan. Leonard makes an important mention about pride and the weight of the word for the building of Satan’s character, when he outlines that ‘[c]ritics on both sides of the argument [Satanists and Anti-Satanists] agree that Satan’s most conspicuous characteristic is pride. The contentious point is whether his pride is a vice or a virtue. Satan’s vices often resemble virtues.’ Through the analysis of the examples from *Stephen Hero*, *A Portrait*, and *Paradise Lost*, it will be possible to observe that either vice or virtue, pride is definitely a characteristic that both Milton and Joyce wanted to accentuate. Take the first instance of the word in *Paradise Lost*, which is:

Who first seduced them to that foul revolt?
The infernal serpent; he it was, whose guile
Stirred up with envy and revenge, deceived
The mother of mankind, what time his *pride*
Had cast him out from Heaven, with all his host
Of rebel angels… (*PL* 1, 33-38, my emphasis)

In this case and most of the following instances in Milton, the use of this word is associated to Lucifer / Satan. In this case, Milton uses it (and repeats it many other times) to emphasise the reason why ‘the infernal serpent’ had been cast out from Heaven. The sin of pride, from that moment on, becomes an instance of association with the fallen angel, a fair reason to be excluded from eternal grace. As Book 1 is centred on Satan waking up in hell and the infernal council, most instances of the word are contained therein, all of them referring to the Arch-Fiend:

(...) round he throws his baleful eyes
That witnessed huge affliction and dismay
Mixed with *obdurate pride* and steadfast hate: (...) (*PL* 1, 56-58, my emphasis)

Or further in Book 1, after Satan recovers from his recent lapsarian state:

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113 Leonard, p. 394.
Like doubtful hue: but he his wonted pride
Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
Semblance of worth, not substance, gently raised
Their fainting courage, and dispelled their fears. (PL 1, 527-530, my emphasis)

His pride is no longer mixed with ‘affliction and dismay’ – he recovers from the initial fragility – but rather, recollected ‘with high words’, able to dispel the fears of the other fallen angels, inspiring their courage to fight again. Satan, with his ‘wonted pride’ shows a characteristic commonly attached to heroes, the resilience and motivation of others: he raises ‘their fainting courage.’ Further on in Book 1, ‘his heart/Distends with pride’ (PL 1, 571-2) and he ‘raised | Above his fellows, with monarchal pride/Conscious of highest worth’ (PL 2, 427-9). Even in his post-lapsarian state, Satan keeps his ‘wonted pride’ and rises above his fellows. He is motivated by his own pride and it propels his self-confidence.

Consequently, the use of the word by Joyce is suggestive of presence of Milton and its connections to those from which the sin has originated. However, Stephen is neither courageous nor heroic as Satan, who is ‘raised | Above his fellows.’ He is not acclaimed by anyone, nor does he motivate anyone. He is simply proud. For instance, when Stephen mentions that he has lost his faith in God, his mother has a rather Biblical and Miltonic explanation for it:

I know what is wrong with you - you suffer from the pride of the intellect. You forget that we are only worms of the earth. You think you can defy God because you have misused the talents he has given you. (SH, 122, my emphasis)

Through the eyes of his highly religiously indoctrinated mother, Stephen’s fall is certain, because of his pride, insolence, presumptuousness in using the talents given to him by God. Stephen is too self-confident and proud and replies to his mother with ‘wonted pride’: ‘I think Jehovah gets too high a salary for judging motives. I want to retire him on the plea of old age.’ (SH, 122) However, his mother knows he is on the verge of his lapse: pride, the sin with origins in Satan, becomes a reason for others to fall. Stephen suffers ‘from the pride of the intellect’ in a similar fashion to Satan. Leonard mentions that that was the point of the Victorian readers: they ‘saw the arch-fiend as an intellectual whose crime was to elevate reason above faith.’ Stephen is found guilty of the same crime. For wanting too much knowledge and power, Stephen will not be in God’s grace for long. As his mother predicts, he fell; and like Satan, not by himself:

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114 Leonard, p. 397.
— I am afraid that you are a changed boy since you went to that University. I suppose you fell in with some of those students… (SH, 123, my emphasis)

The word ‘pride’ is heavy with Biblical and Miltonic overtones, as Milton associated it intensely with his Satan, as well as to the fall of Adam and Eve. When Joyce uses it in relation to Stephen, those overtones, even unconsciously, ‘touch’ our interpretations, as they constitute a part of Joyce’s identity; furthermore, the connotations it carries along create the feeling of presence as discussed by Runia and Gumbrecht. The association of pride with Satan might initially be taken for granted, but it later leads us to fully realise the character of Stephen Dedalus. When associated with the word ‘fall’, as above, when Stephen’s mother mentions he ‘fell’ with the other students, there is a Miltonic stimmung coupled with a feeling of déjà-vu – the educated reader is aware of what the combination of ‘pride’ and ‘fall’ brings about and the character it engenders, bringing Stephen and Satan closer. A word is never merely a random combination of letters for Joyce, nor was it for Milton. ‘Pride’ points from Stephen right back at Satan. Both biblically and in a Miltonian way, the origin of the sin of hubris traces back to Satan, who knows himself the reason for his fall. When he meditates, looking at the Earth, before tempting Eve, he remembers his happy state:

That bring to my remembrance from what state
I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere;
Till pride and worse ambition threw me down
Warring in Heaven against Heaven's matchless King: (PL 4, 38-41)

A point to observe is that the word ‘courage’ appears alongside ‘pride’ both in Milton and in Joyce, usually in relation to Satan, Ibsen, and Stephen. For instance, in the example above from Book 1, lines 527-530, ‘Like doubtful hue… dispelled their fears’. Satan’s recollected pride raises his mates’ ‘fainting courage’; it is a motivational factor for them. In Stephen Hero, it is Henrik Ibsen, the Norwegian writer and Stephen’s idol, who motivates Stephen’s courage:

It was the very spirit of Ibsen himself that was discerned moving behind the impersonal manner of the artist: [Ibsen with his profound self-approval, Ibsen with his haughty, disillusioned courage, Ibsen with his minute and wilful energy.] a mind of sincere and boylike bravery, of disillusioned pride, of minute and wilful energy. (SH, 41 – my emphasis)\textsuperscript{115}

\textsuperscript{115} The bracketed parts in the citations from Stephen Hero are sentences that had been crossed out or added by Joyce in the manuscript, as it has never been officially published as a book. As they are usually present in the editions of the manuscript, they will be cited as well.
The ‘spirit of Ibsen’ plays the part of ‘a’ Satan at the beginning of Stephen Hero, as Henrik Ibsen was admired by Stephen (and Joyce), but considered a heretic by the Jesuits. Joyce had an argument with Father Delany about Ibsen, which was later incorporated into Stephen Hero as a more intense argument between Stephen and the dean of studies. It is interesting to observe that Joyce had used ‘courage’ initially, and later decided to turn it into ‘pride’, as we can perceive from the bracketed parts when describing Ibsen’s disillusioned emotions. Again, Joyce’s choice of words is not coincidental, and his change from ‘courage’ to ‘pride’, which are two weighy words in Milton’s poetry, points towards an apparent wish to maintain Milton present. Furthermore, the use of these specific terms evokes a Miltonic ‘aura’ around Ibsen and associates him with Satan, the epitome of heresy, pride, and all things evil. That association turns out to make sense when we remember that the main objection of the dean to Ibsen is the Norwegian author’s ‘heretic’ writings. A passage by Milton which also shows the repetition of the words ‘courage’ and ‘pride’ follows below:

Darkened so, yet shone
Above them all the archangel: but his face
Deep scars of thunder had intrenched, and care
Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride
Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but cast
Signs of remorse and passion to behold
The fellows of his crime, (...) (PL 1, 599-606)

This passage shows Satan’s pride and courage recomposed, and his shining above the darkness and above all others with ‘dauntless courage, and considerate pride’. Furthermore, the former Lucifer, the lightbringer, still brings light from darkness. The opposing imagery of light and darkness will be explored further in this thesis, as it is also rich in significance for Joyce as well. However, for now I will focus on an analysis of the word ‘pride’ used by Joyce to evoke Milton’s presence in A Portrait, and later in the chapter other aspects, such as imagery, will be taken into account.

In A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, Joyce’s use of ‘pride’ is intensified, especially after its main turning point, which is the closing of Stephen’s childhood, and the beginning of the description of his young years. The novel’s title draws a stronger connection between the story of Stephen and Joyce’s growth as an artist, as well as the link between Joyce’s own personality and Milton’s Satan. It is possible that the connection through Joyce’s use of the word ‘pride’ was intentional, as the sin of pride is directly related to Satan. While in Stephen Hero there were about five mentions of the word, not all of which were directly
related to Stephen, in *A Portrait* the use is far wider: there are about 22 mentions of the word, more than half of which are directly linked to the main character.

The first mention of ‘pride’ in *A Portrait* comes surrounded by Miltonic and religious elements:

> It was towards the close of his first term in the college when he was in number six. His sensitive nature was still smarting under the lashes of an undivined and squalid way of life. *His soul was still disquieted and cast down by the dull phenomenon of Dublin.* He had emerged from a two years’ spell of revery to find himself in the midst of a new scene, every event and figure of which affected him intimately, disheartened him or allured and, whether alluring or disheartening, filled him always with unrest and bitter thoughts. All the leisure which his school life left him was passed in the company of subversive writers whose jibes and violence of speech set up a ferment in his brain before they passed out of it into his crude writings. (*P*, 78, my emphasis)

At that moment, during Stephen’s transition from childhood to teenage years, there is a feel of his long gone innocence, as his soul ‘was still disquieted and cast down (…)’. The way he feels about his soul reminds us of Milton’s Satan, just fallen from Heaven ‘but with looks/down cast and damp…’ (*PL* 1.522-3). Furthermore, both find themselves ‘in the midst of a new scene’: Stephen starts a new phase in life, while Satan starts anew in Hell. While in that new scene, Stephen is charged with heresy twice: firstly, by Mr. Tate, who believes his essay ‘about the Creator and the soul’ is heretic, and later, when he attests his preference for the ‘heretic and immoral’ Byron. (*P*, 81) Following this episode, Stephen heads to the theatre, where he is supposed to take part in a play. He listens to some voices in his head, one of which is a ‘worldly voice’ that ‘would bid him raise up his father’s fallen state’ (*P*, 84). Joyce’s choice of wor(l)ds again makes Milton present, as the collocation ‘fallen state’ appears just once in *Paradise Lost* and is spoken by Adam after they taste the forbidden fruit. I believe that Joyce’s use of this collocation, said by a ‘worldly voice’, likens his father to Adam, the father of humanity, whose fall was not caused by pride, but for love. However, unlike his father, the cause of Stephen’s downfall is his vanity. Like Satan, when he ‘Hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky/With hideous ruin and combustion down/To bottomless perdition’ (*PL*, 1.45-7), Stephen ‘ran across the road and began to walk at breakneck speed down the hill.’ While he is walking,

*Pride* and hope and desire like crushed herbs in his heart sent up vapours of maddening incense before the eyes of his mind. He strode down the hill amid the tumult of sudden-risen vapours of wounded pride and fallen hope and baffled desire. They streamed upwards before his anguished eyes in dense and maddening fumes and
passed away above him till at last the air was clear and cold again. (P, 86, my emphasis)

Stephen’s going down the hill and Satan’s being ‘hurled headlong’ from the sky mark the precise point of their fall. While Satan is ‘flaming’, Stephen gets ‘vapours of maddening incense before the eyes of his mind’ coming from ‘[p]ride and hope and desire’, which are later categorised as ‘vapours of wounded pride and fallen hope and baffled desire.’ These vapours stream ‘upwards’ while Stephen is going down, ‘before his anguished eyes’. The context provided by Joyce echoes Milton’s Satan’s fall from heaven, attesting its main cause as pride. The imagery described can bring to our mind what can be considered for Stephen the repressive nature of religion and church service. The ‘crushed herbs’ and ‘maddening incense’ are elements that are associated with mass and the beginning of Catholic celebrations. The celebrant brings thuribles, inside which the herbs and incense are burned, which send ‘up vapours.’ For Stephen’s troubled spirit, these vapours embody his ‘wounded pride and fallen hope and baffled desire’, until he can reach the bottom of the hill and feel the ‘clear and cold’ air again. At this point, he feels that ‘[a] film still veiled his eyes but they burned no longer. A power, akin to that which had often made anger or resentment fall from him, brought his steps to rest.’ (P, 86) The reference to the ‘film’ veiling Stephen’s eyes might be the remaining innocence in him, reflecting that it might have come to an end. The use of eyes as metaphor for enlightening/loss of innocence is also used by Satan as the Serpent when talking to Eve about the ‘beauties’ of eating the Forbidden Fruit:

He knows that in the day
Ye eat thereof, your eyes that seem so clear,
Yet are but dim, shall perfectly be then
Opened and cleared, and ye shall be as Gods (…)’ (PL IX. 705-708).

Stephen’s eyes are also dim because of the vapours, and when he passes them and reaches the bottom of the hill (metaphorically the end of his fall), the air is ‘clear and cold again’. His reflection on the power that ‘made anger or resentment fall from him’ might echo Satan’s arrival in hell after his fall, when ‘round he throws his baleful eyes | That witnessed huge affliction and dismay| Mixed with obdurate pride and steadfast hate’ (PL 1.56-58). Pride, anger, resentment, affliction, hate, all become one in Joyce’s imagery, bringing in the Miltonic elements in order to make Stephen’s fall more dramatic and likened to Satan’s. Furthermore, the continuous echoing of the word ‘fall’ in ‘fallen hope’ and ‘resentment fall from him’ are a reminder of Stephen’s situation, likened to the Arch-fiend.
In the passage above, the presence of Milton can be identified through what Gumbrecht calls ‘amalgamation’ between language and presence’, and ‘language... as a physical reality’ when it ‘does not only touch and affect our acoustic sense but our bodies in their entirety.’\textsuperscript{116} The language used by Joyce brings to mind the imagery of Milton’s Satan in free fall, thus making it as visual as possible, but also plays with the sense of smell when comparing pride, hope and desire to ‘crushed herbs’ and ‘maddening incense’, as well as the sense of sight in a metaphor through the ‘eyes of his mind’. The descriptive language used in the passage plays with all senses: Stephen walking ‘at breakneck speed down the hill’, emphasises the speed of his fall. The ‘vapours of maddening incense’ affect both the sense of sight and smell. The vapours, as described, seem to represent his ‘wounded pride and fallen hope and baffled desire’, making them almost tangible. Furthermore, the imagery of the hill is also to be found after Adam and Eve’s fall in \textit{Paradise Lost}. In Book XII, after the admonition of Michael and the mention that they should leave Paradise, Adam walks down the hill with the angel: ‘He ended, and they both descend the hill’ (\textit{PL} XII. 606), as their time in Paradise, and consequently, their innocence, has come to an end. However, Adam’s descent is not as troubled as Stephen’s. The latter’s descent is more comparable to Satan’s ‘hurled headlong’ than to Adam’s calm, forgiving, and full of hope stroll downwards.

Therefore, in the passage taken from \textit{A Portrait}, I would say that Joyce auspiciously evokes and responds to the presence of Milton through Stephen’s senses in their entirety. The lexical choice of the word ‘pride’ is the first hint of what Joyce is about to present to us, his readers. However, he makes it part of a much bigger picture, associating Stephen’s fall with Satan’s in order to construct a highly comprehensive context and make Stephen’s lapse less earthly and more dramatic.

The next two passages make Stephen’s fall and his consciousness of his lapsarian state clearer, as well as his acceptance of his state. The emphasis on the sin of pride through the repeated use of the word by Joyce connects Stephen and Satan, as both reflect on their fallen state after the fall. Additionally, both characters subsequently accept and embrace it, as we can see in the first passage from \textit{A Portrait}:

Devotion had gone by the board. What did it avail to pray when he knew that his soul lusted after its own destruction? A certain pride, a certain awe, withheld him from offering to God even one prayer at night, though he knew it was in God's power to take away his life while he slept and hurl his soul hellward ere he could beg for mercy. His

\textsuperscript{116} Gumbrecht ‘Presence Achieved in Language’, p. 320.
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pride in his own sin, his loveless awe of God, told him that his offence was too grievous to be atoned for in whole or in part by a false homage to the All-seeing and All-knowing. (P, 103-104, my emphasis)

I compare this to a passage from Paradise Lost:

Against the throne and monarchy of God
Raised impious war in Heaven and battle proud
With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power
Hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky
With hideous ruin and combustion down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In adamantine chains and penal fire,
Who durst defy the Omnificent to arms. (PL 1. 42-49, my emphasis)

Firstly, focusing on the use of ‘pride’ and its derivative adjective ‘proud’, Joyce uses the same word twice in the same passage to emphasise the reason why Stephen will not offer ‘to God even one prayer at night’, because of ‘a certain pride’ and ‘his pride in his own sin’, which are comparable to the aim of the ‘battle proud’ started by Lucifer. Neither Stephen nor the Arch-Fiend give up their pride. And as the Angel is ‘hurled headlong’, Stephen is conscious of the fact that his fate can be the same, as God can ‘hurl his soul hellward’ whenever He pleases. Again, the word choice is noteworthy, as Joyce, like Milton chooses the verb ‘hurl’ when describing Satan’s downward trajectory to hell. Furthermore, both defy ‘the Omnipotent’: Satan through battle and his refusal to pay ‘knee-tribute’ (PL, V. 782). Stephen evades praying to God as he considers it ‘a false homage to the All-seeing and All-knowing’. Both are conscious of their fallen state and resigned within it.

Further on in the novel, there is another remarkable use of the word ‘pride’. However, the identification of Stephen as Satan shifts, and in so doing, we see Stephen as the tempted. Curiously, his tempter is quite unexpected: he is called by the college director to have a conversation about Stephen’s supposed religious vocation.

—In a college like this, he said at length, there is one boy or perhaps two or three boys whom God calls to the religious life. (…) Perhaps you are the boy in this college whom God designs to call to Himself.

A strong note of pride reinforcing the gravity of the priest’s voice made Stephen's heart quicken in response.

—To receive that call, Stephen, said the priest, is the greatest honour that the Almighty God can bestowed upon a man. No king or emperor on this earth has the power of the priest of God. No angel or archangel in heaven, no saint, not even the Blessed Virgin herself, has the power of a priest of God (…) the power, the authority, to make the great
God of Heaven come down upon the altar and take the form of bread and wine. What an awful power, Stephen! (P, 157-158)

In this passage, it should be noted that from the beginning, the feelings Stephen gets when being told about religious life conflict with his religious values and show a hypocritical side to the church: the emphasis on power instead of charity. Pride, as the first sin, is the last sensation that could be aroused by the call to church life. Initially, Stephen is enticed by the idea of having more power than any ‘angel or archangel in heaven’, or even ‘to make the great God of Heaven come down’. The words of the priest echo the Serpent’s persuasion of Eve to eat the Forbidden Fruit:

(…) and ye shall be as Gods, 
Knowing both good and evil, as they know. 
That ye shall be as Gods (…) (PL, IX. 708-710)

However, I would call that temptation an ‘inverted fall’. Stephen, through choosing the religious path, would actually not fall, but be saved from falling. Thus, Stephen refuses – and this refusal marks his non serviam. He chooses to go to University, contrarily to his mother’s will: ‘his mother was hostile to the idea, as he had read from her listless silence.’ (P, 164) For more detail on that, it is helpful to recall Stephen and his mother’s conversation in Stephen Hero, cited previously, in which she attributes his going to the university to his loss of faith and his rejection of the religious life: ‘I am afraid that you are a changed boy since you went to that University. I suppose you fell in with some of those students…’ (SH, 123) In his mother’s view, the ‘pride of the intellect’ he would acquire at the university would be his ruin. As for Stephen, new life would begin:

The university! So he had passed beyond the challenge of the sentries who had stood as guardians of his boyhood and had sought to keep him among them that he might be subject to them and serve their ends. Pride after satisfaction uplifted him like long slow waves. The end he had been born to serve yet did not see had led him to escape by an unseen path and now it beckoned to him once more and a new adventure was about to be opened to him. (…) [Stephen hears music] like triple-branching flames leaping fitfully, flame after flame, out of a midnight wood. It was an elfin prelude, endless and formless; and, as it grew wilder and faster, the flames leaping out of time (…) The pride of that dim image brought back to his mind the dignity of the office he had refused. (…) Now time lay between: the oils of ordination would never anoint his body. He had refused. (P, 165, my emphasis)

The ‘guardians of his boyhood’, the Jesuits, to whom Stephen would ‘be subject to’ and ‘serve their ends’ had failed in their attempt. Instead of believing he would be equal to them, as the director had tried to make Stephen believe, he sees that the ‘guardians’ had as a final objective
to have him ‘subject to them’. Joyce’s evocative use of the ‘guardians’ and the idea of freedom to serve or subjection brings the passage of PL to mind:

His equals, if in power and splendor less,
In freedom equal? or can introduce
Law and edict on us, who without law
Err not? much less for this to be our Lord,
And look for adoration, to the abuse
Of those imperial titles, which assert
Our being ordained to govern, not to serve. (PL, V. 769-802)

In addition to that, the use of the word ‘flame’ four times in the same passage, conjoined with the *stimmung* brought in with the idea of pride, brings to mind Milton’s presence, recalling Satan being ‘hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky’ (*PL*, 1. 45). It is a new fall for Stephen, as he refuses to serve, the flames leap ‘out of time’. Therefore, Stephen chooses a new path, ‘about to be opened to him’, as ‘the oils of ordination would never anoint his body.’ As he was not anointed, he refused to serve. Again, the choice of word by Joyce echoes Milton’s use of the same term; Milton uses the term ‘anointed’ to refer to the Son eight times throughout *Paradise Lost*. As Stephen was not anointed and was thus one who refused to serve ‘the end he had been born to serve’, the parallel between him and the jealous Lucifer/Satan becomes clearer.

In addition to Gumbrecht’s idea of amalgamation, in a broader sense Eelco Runia’s concept of presence, which refers to ‘being in touch’, may reflect the effect Joyce might have wanted when he used a given set of words to surround the creation of Stephen. The things that ‘made you the person you are’, in the specific case of Joyce, include Milton, especially due to Joyce’s background in Jesuit colleges, wherein he came into contact with Milton’s writing. As Joyce’s childhood and teenage years are linked to his Jesuit education, Milton, and specifically Milton’s Satan, should be taken into account when analysing the creation of Stephen as a character. As Joyce evokes Milton’s presence, he breathes new life into his character. Stephen could be any ordinary character; however, the presence of Milton is a whisper of life in touch with Stephen’s realm, giving him characteristics that do not need to be mentioned by Joyce. Once the reader is aware of the allusions to Milton’s Satan Joyce makes through the use of specific words a whole new perspective for Stephen’s character opens up before the reader’s eyes.
2.6 SCORNFUL STEPHEN AND A HISS AS HE FALLS INTO DARKNESS

In addition to ‘pride’, the word ‘scorn’ has heavy Miltonic connotations. It has but a few mentions in *Stephen Hero*, but they are worth mentioning because of the context they evoke and the power of the word itself. There are considerably more mentions in *A Portrait* than in *SH*, but I believe not all are relevant to confer Milton’s presence. Consequently, just a few will be analysed here. There are 25 mentions of ‘scorn’ in *Paradise Lost*, and all of them related to Satan. Interestingly, all the instances of its use in *A Portrait* will be related to religious matters, to a certain extent.

There is a mention of the word in *Stephen Hero* to describe its main character: ‘Stephen had begun to regard himself seriously as a literary artist: he professed scorn for the rabblement and contempt for authority.’ (*SH*, 112) The word ‘rabblement’ comes from Joyce’s essay ‘The Day of the Rabblement’, published on October 15 1901, and it was used to refer to ‘the most belated race in Europe’ (*CW*, 70), the group of writers identified with the Irish Literary Revival. Stephen’s scornful attitude throughout the book shows his scorn not only for the ‘rabblement’, but for any kind of authority, including religion. However, this brief isolated mention in *SH* is a hint that Stephen is being identified with Satan. In order to complement and analyse this possibility, I will turn to *A Portrait* so that the identification of Milton’s presence will become clearer.

The first two mentions of ‘scorn’ in *A Portrait* occur during a key episode, the Christmas dinner at the Dedalus’s home. The argument starts when Mr Dedalus and Mr Casey mention that the church leaders should not turn ‘the house of God into a polling-booth’ (*P*, 31), that is, politics and religion should not be mixed. Both men side against the church fathers, to which Ms Riordan, Dante, disagrees, as she believes ‘they must direct their flocks’ (*P*, 31).

An altercation ensues:

Mr Dedalus threw his knife and fork noisily on his plate.
—Respect! he said. Is it for Billy with the lip or for the tub of guts up in Armagh? Respect!
—Princes of the church, said Mr Casey with slow scorn.
—Lord Leitrim’s coachman, yes, said Mr Dedalus.
—They are the Lord’s anointed, Dante said. They are an honour to their country. (*P*, 33)

The argument goes on, and there is another mention of the word ‘scorn’:
[Mr Casey] threw his fist on the table and, frowning angrily, protruded one finger after another.
—Didn't the bishops of Ireland betray us in the time of the union when Bishop Lanigan presented an address of loyalty to the Marquess Cornwallis? (…) His face was glowing with anger and Stephen felt the glow rise to his own cheek as the spoken words thrilled him. Mr Dedalus uttered a guffaw of coarse scorn. (P, 38)

Initially, a crucial aspect to appreciate when accounting for Milton’s presence in these passages is the context in which they take place; both happen during Christmas dinner, one of the main celebrations in the Catholic tradition – the celebration of the birth of Jesus, the son of God. The importance of this episode can be emphasised by the role the Catholic tradition played at that time in the life of the Irish. A. Nicholas Fargnoli suggests that ‘(…) in part because of its long suppression by British colonial regimes, during Joyce’s time and for many years the church exerted a paramount influence on the attitudes and behaviour of the Irish people.’ However, that influence by no means signifies his acceptance of Catholic views. Fargnoli argues that ‘the flaws of parochial Irish Catholicism appear evident in the attitude of Mrs. Riordan at the Christmas dinner scene in chapter I of Portrait, when she defends the church’s role in Irish politics and supports without question or hesitation its part in the downfall of Charles Stewart Parnell.’ Thus, the use of Catholic themes does not mean that there is an acceptance or bias towards Catholicism, but instead, it stimulates discussion (not necessarily an argument) about it. As discussed previously in the context of Paradise Lost, Milton’s text was also not biased towards Catholicism, as ‘texts used to serve elitist ideologies are not necessarily based upon, much less biased toward them; that religious poems are not necessarily in possession of coherent or dogmatic creeds.’ For this reason, it is possible to argue that Joyce’s choice of bringing the argument about politics versus religion to the celebration of the birth of God’s ‘anointed son’ (PL, VI. 676) is crucial to evoke the origin of Satan’s revolt, according to Michael’s account of the dawn of war in heaven:

Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers;
If these magnific titles yet remain
Not merely titular, since by decree
Another now hath to himself engrossed
All power, and us eclipsed under the name
Of King anointed, for whom all this haste
Of midnight-march, and hurried meeting here,

118 Fargnoli, pp. 259-260.
119 Wittreich, p. xiii.
This only to consult how we may best,  
With what may be devised of honors new,  
Receive him coming to receive from us  
Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile! (PL, V.772-782)

Mr Dedalus’s initial argument relates to the ‘respect’ that should be paid to the church fathers: he refuses to pay ‘knee-tribute’, just like Satan in relation to the Son, to which Mr Casey agrees. Dante, in turn, sides with the ‘heavenly host’ and calls the priests ‘the Lord’s anointed’. The use of the word ‘anointed’ echoes Milton’s main adjective to describe the Son of God, as the word is used eight times throughout PL. Just like Satan and his rebellious crew would not prostrate themselves to the ‘King anointed’, nor would Mr Casey and Mr Dedalus bend their knees to the church. Mr Casey supports Stephen’s father and he enumerates a series of occasions in which the church interfered in politics in Ireland, as Mr Dedalus gives out a beastly scornful laugh. As in PL, ‘[t]hus far his bold discourse without control / Had audience’ (PL, V.803-4) until Dante decides to speak up: ‘Blasphemer! Devil!’ screamed Dante, starting to her feet and almost spitting in his face’, and when she stands up to leave the room, ‘her cheeks [are] flushed and quivering with rage’. Before she leaves, she shouts at the heathens: ‘Devil out of hell! We won! We crushed him to death! Fiend!’ (P, 39)

Dante’s angry retort echoes the Seraphim Abdiel’s opposition to Satan’s speech: ‘O argument blasphemous, false, and proud!’ (PL, V.809). Satan, Mr Dedalus, and Mr Casey are ‘partners in blasphemy’, and consequently, devils, as they oppose obedience to a superior being, be it the ‘King anointed’ or the ‘Lord’s anointed’ of the church. Dante’s flushed cheeks might reflect the description of Abdiel, ‘[t]he flaming Seraph fearless’ (PL, V.875) as well as their state of being alone in opposition to the heathens. Dante calls Mr Casey ‘Devil out of hell’ in a similar fashion to Abdiel, as he ‘answered bold’, calling Satan ‘Oh alienate from God, Oh Spirit accursed, / Forsaken of all good!’ (PL, V. 877-88)

Furthermore, before Dante decides to leave, she is exposed to the scorn of the blasphemous duo: Mr Casey calls the priests ‘Princes of the Church’ with ‘slow scorn’, whereas Mr Dedalus ‘uttered a guffaw of coarse scorn’ during the argument. Like Dante, Abdiel is subject to the scorn of the sacrilegious group of rebellious angels:

From amidst them forth he passed  
Long way through hostile scorn, which he sustained  
Superior, nor of violence feared aught;  
And, with retorted scorn, his back he turned  
On those proud towers to swift destruction doomed. (PL V. 903-7 – my emphasis)
The resonance of the argument between Abdiel and Satan at Christmas dinner shows the presence of Milton as an epiphany and its ‘almost ‘intrusive’ mode of producing presence.’ The epiphany marks a break in Stephen’s innocence during childhood, as he ‘watches his world being suddenly, unexpectedly, and irremediably fractured.’ The crucial moments in the epiphany, such as the Christmas dinner, which marks the birth of the ‘King anointed’, which is the same situation that leads to the blasphemous argument of Satan in Heaven; Dante, as Abdiel, has scorn heaped upon herself twice, but still stands tall, though alone in face of their antagonists. The word choice made by Joyce makes the presence even more ‘intrusive’, though in a positive way, as it permeates the argument bringing it closer to Milton’s *Paradise Lost.*

As for the other mentions of the word ‘scorn’, they all carry religious overtones; even though they do not explicitly carry a Miltonic presence, I believe there is a stimmung of Milton in them, as the word is used profusely in *Paradise Lost.* The examples below make evident the importance of the word for Milton when describing the Arch-fiend’s countenance:

(After observing Adam and Eve in Paradise)
So saying, his proud step he scornful turned (*PL*, 4. 534-5)

(During Satan’s dialogue with Zephon)
Know ye not then said Satan, filled with scorn,
Know ye not me? (*PL* 4.825-6)

(During Satan’s dialogue with Gabriel)
To whom thus Satan with contemptuous brow.
Gabriel? thou hadst in Heaven the esteem of wise
(…)
Thus much what was asked.
The rest is true, they found me where they say;
But that implies not violence or harm.
Thus he in scorn. (*PL* 4.883-900)

As a consequence of Satan’s scorn, his antagonists absorb and use it, as Zephon and Gabriel respectively do:

To whom thus Zephon, answering scorn with scorn.
Think not, revolted spirit, thy shape the same,
Or undiminished brightness to be known,
As when thou stoodest in Heaven upright and pure; (*PL* 4. 832-5)

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120 Gumbrecht ‘Presence Achieved in Language’, p. 322.
The religious and Miltonic overtones can be seen in two episodes in *A Portrait*, when Stephen, apparently, and out of nowhere, points at the (unnamed) Tsar’s photograph on a table and exclaims:

—He has the face of a besotted Christ.

The scorn and anger in his voice brought Cranly's eyes back from a calm survey of the walls of the hall. (*P*, 194)

Additionally, when Lynch talks about Donovan:

Lynch gazed after him, his lip curling in slow scorn till his face resembled a devil’s mask:

—To think that that yellow pancake-eating excrement can get a good job, he said at length, and I have to smoke cheap cigarettes! (*P*, 211)

Firstly, an aspect that deserves attention is the fact that both Stephen and Lynch are talking about people who are not present to defend themselves; the Tsar in the picture, and Donovan, who had just left, are scorned behind their backs. However, on the one hand, the description of the picture of the unnamed Tsar on the wall does not point at any characteristics of the man it portrays. Initially, he might be speaking of a man who is presumably important and considered noble for the institution and the Jesuits. The reader is just left to infer that he might have done good deeds and is linked specifically to the Jesuits, so that his image is placed on the wall of the Jesuit school’s hall. Immediately and without any clear explanation, Stephen compares the Tsar’s face to the one of a ‘besotted Christ’. His comparison can be considered offensive and connected to Satan’s scornful ways in many aspects, as Milton’s Satan is more than once described as speaking and acting with scorn. Anger and scorn coalesce in both Satan and Stephen as well, even though it is not possible to assert with certainty what causes Stephen’s anger; his anger might be towards the Tsar or the fact that he was already upset that Cranly had signed a given list of signatures, which Stephen does not agree with.

Another point that connects both Stephen and Satan is blasphemy: Stephen does not hesitate to use the name of Christ, associated with a drunken state to describe a very extraneous subject, the Tsar in question. Secondly, considering Lynch’s remark about Donovan: even though there is not much information about the latter, there is some to direct the reader towards the idea that Lynch’s remark might be unjust, as Donovan refers to himself and the others in the field club as ‘highly respectable people’ with the purpose of ‘acquisition of knowledge’, and when he says goodbye, the reader is told that he does so ‘softly and benevolently’. (*P*, 211)

It is rather shocking that Lynch would make such a remorseful remark about a respectable
person, when he calls Donovan a ‘yellow pancake-eating excrement’ (P, 211), but it is worth paying attention to Lynch’s ‘mutation’, as his lip curls ‘in slow scorn till his face resembled a devil’s mask’ (P, 211). His scorn turns him momentarily into a devil – and if we are following the resonance of the word from Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, that specific moment transforms our view of Lynch throughout the following parts of the novel: the reader will tend to see him more ‘devilishly’ and the figurative ‘mask’ will be attached to the character of Lynch. The momentary transformation of Lynch into a devil is another instance of the ‘accumulated density’ and the evocation of a *stimmung* that is heavily Miltonic in nature. Joyce draws on the reader’s perception of the change of atmosphere, which turns the seemingly normal conversation between friends into a council – more specifically, the devils’ council in hell, in *PL* Book II, or the angels’ assembly before the fall in Book VI. This association can be made with both books from *Paradise Lost* as they both comprise the fallen angels, and in some moments the atmosphere will resemble the council of the fallen in hell, even though towards the end it will bring to mind their pre-lapsarian consultation in heaven. In the penultimate chapter of *A Portrait*, Dixon, Cranly, Temple, Goggins, and Stephen converse. There are a couple more students cited in the conversation, but they are not as relevant as the five cited above. One of the first associations we can make is somewhat simple, but it will be helpful for our understanding of Milton’s and Joyce’s characters. Firstly, there are five members in both conversations. In hell we will find Moloch, Belial, Mammon, Beelzebub, and Satan. There is a resemblance between some of the devils from the infernal crowd and Stephen’s mates. For instance, Moloch is ‘the strongest and the fiercest spirit / That fought in heaven; now fiercer by despair’ (*PL* 2.44). However, as mentioned by Nicholas Zeng, Moloch ‘characterizes a brawn-not-brains mentality’ and ‘clamours for another battle’122. He is propelled much more by bravery than for his strategic and mental capacity. We can associate him loosely with Temple when he dares Cranly:

—Cranly, you’re always sneering at me. I can see that. But I am as good as you any day. Do you know what I think about you now as compared with myself?
—My dear man, said Cranly urbanely, you are incapable, do you know, absolutely incapable of thinking.
—But do you know, Temple went on, what I think of you and of myself compared together?
—Out with it, Temple! the stout student cried from the steps. Get it out in bits!

*P*, 231

In turn, Belial is ‘to vice industrious, but to nobler deeds / Timorous and slothful, yet he pleased the ear’ (*PL* 2.116). Belial will happily indulge in vices but will not lift a finger to do nobler actions, as he is lazy, but his words are pleasing to the ear. An association can be made with the rather talkative Temple, whose babble might have been enhanced due to the fact that he has already indulged in a vice – he is asked ‘how many quarts of porter’ he had had. (*P*, 229) His loquacity is remarkably blasphemous for a couple of reasons; firstly, he uses the collocation ‘by hell’ a couple of times to introduce what he is going to say, as in the examples below:

—You're a hypocrite, O’Keeffe, he said. And Dixon is a smiler. By hell, I think that's a good literary expression. (…)
—By hell, I'm delighted with that name. A smiler. (…)
—Come back to the mistress, Temple. We want to hear about that.
—He had, faith, Temple said. And he was a married man too. And all the priests used to be dining there. By hell, I think they all had a touch. (*P*, 229)

Secondly, he is the one with a story about a ‘mistress’ that involves priests. He is quick to remark that he thinks ‘they all had a touch.’ However, some of Belial’s blasphemy can also be found in Dixon, when the character referred to simply as ‘the stout student’ flatulated and Dixon says ‘in a soft voice: ‘Did an angel speak?’’ (*P*, 230)

Lastly, we can associate Cranly with Beelzebub, as he is ‘second in command to Satan in the hierarchy of fallen angels’¹²³, reflecting his relationship with Stephen, as they are the ones who are closer to each other throughout the novel. There is a passage that was unfortunately left out in *A Portrait*, but is present in *Stephen Hero*, which clarifies for the reader the nature of Stephen and Cranly’s relationship and makes the allusion to Milton’s Satan and Beelzebub more explicit:

[Crane, on hearing Stephen] And yet, hearing the whole-hearted young egoist pour out his pride and anger at his feet like some costly ointment, and benefiting by a liberality which seemed to keep nothing in reserve, much as he would have liked to hold himself aloof from such ties he felt himself gradually answering the appeal by a silent, perverse affection. (*SH*, 114)

Stephen is the ‘whole-hearted young egoist’ who pours out ‘his pride and anger at his feet’. It is also worth noticing that Cranly’s affection is described as ‘perverse’, which can be seen as a fitting characteristic for Satan’s ‘best friend’. Cranly is apparently the most participative and self-confident throughout the conversation. The identification between the fallen angels, Satan’s cohorts, and Stephen’s ‘cohorts’ introduces an atmosphere of a post- (or pre-, for

¹²³ Zeng, ‘The Fallen Angels’.
Stephen) lapsarian state. This idea pre-empts the pre-lapsarian mood the following lines present, bringing within them the *stimmung* that Milton’s presence carries and that will be essential for a full understanding of the whole chapter.

Additionally, there are three other words that speak to the essence of this chapter: *fall* (and its derivatives), *darkness*, and *hiss*. The repetition of these ‘keywords’, represents a parallel between Milton’s fall of the devils and Stephen’s personal fall. Firstly, at the beginning of the passage, there is a ‘sudden swift hiss’ that ‘fell from the windows.’ (*P*, 226)

This first example, initially, refers to the sound old electric lamps make when they are turned on; however, as we are already aware, nothing that matters in Joyce is obvious. His choice of words is to be analysed attentively, even if in that first instance it seems straightforwardly associated with the turning on of the lights before Stephen enters the Library to meet Cranly.

The serpentine hissing sound associated with the verb ‘fall’ brings to mind the one who has ‘seduced’ the angels ‘to that foul revolt’ (*PL* I.33), the catlyser of the fall of mankind. The repetition of the word ‘hiss’ in Milton abounds in Book X, when Satan is to retell his ‘victory’ over seducing mankind and expects an ovation; however, he and the other devils, right after his speech, are turned into serpents:

To fill his ear; when, contrary, he hears
On all sides, from innumerable tongues,
A dismal universal hiss, the sound
Of public scorn; (*PL* X.506-509)

Reluctant, but in vain; a greater power
Now ruled him, punished in the shape he sinned,
According to his doom: he would have spoke,
But hiss for hiss returned with forked tongue
To forked tongue; for now were all transformed
Alike, to serpents all, as accessories
To his bold riot: Dreadful was the din
Of hissing through the hall (…) (*PL* X.515-522)

And the dire hiss renewed, and the dire form
Caught, by contagion; like in punishment,
As in their crime. Thus was the applause they meant,
Turned to exploding hiss, triumph to shame
Cast on themselves from their own mouths. (*PL* X.543-547)

With soot and cinders filled; so oft they fell
Into the same illusion, not as man
Whom they triumphed once lapsed. Thus were they plagued
And worn with famine, long and ceaseless hiss,
Till their lost shape, permitted, they resumed; (*PL* X.570-574)
The association between Milton and Stephen, elaborated through the repetition of the serpents’ sound shows the proximity of Stephen’s next and final fall, just as it was for the devils – another moment of fall from grace, after plotting again against the Almighty. The word ‘hiss’ resounds through the penultimate chapter, and Joyce makes the imagery more explicit resorting to the powerful verb ‘fall’. When the hiss falls, it paves the way for Stephen’s fall – and we as readers already know what is about to come, just as Joyce expected; as it is notoriously known, his ideal reader co-authors the book rather than reads it. So, the words ‘hiss’ and ‘fall’ in our case, convey more than their conventional meaning; instead, the repetition of words that are also keywords in *Paradise Lost* opens a new dimension for our understanding of the subsequent passages in *A Portrait*.

The next instance of the pair of words occurs after the ‘council’ of friends is dissolved and Stephen scrutinises Cranly’s face when Emma passes; when he imagines that his friend might be infatuated with the same girl, he feels a pang of jealousy. The words ‘hiss’ and ‘fell’ are dramatically joined by the imagery of darkness, as in that moment there is little light: ‘The light had waned. He could not see.’ (P, 232) During that moment of silence, he remembers a bike ride ‘to pray to God in a wood near Malahide’, when he describes the ‘sombre nave of the trees’ and the ‘gloomy road’. The sight of Emma seems to bring the end of the day, the twilight, as the tone of the novel starts to move into darkness, as the examples above show. Furthermore, subsequently he hears that ‘a soft hiss fell again from a window above’ (P, 232), one more evocation of the fall.

After Emma ‘had passed through the dusk’, ‘the air was silent save for one soft hiss that fell’ (P, 232).

In addition to maintaining the imagery of darkness, which is closely related to the Arch-enemy and the fall, images evoked by Joyce in the following sentences:

And therefore all the tongues about him had ceased their babble. Darkness was falling.

*Darkness falls from the air.*

A trembling joy, lambent as a faint light, played like a fairy host around him. But why? Her passage through the darkening air or the verse with its black vowels and its opening sound, rich and lutelike? (P, 232-233)

These reflect the consequences of Eve’s sin to Earth:

So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
Forth reaching to the fruit, she plucked, she ate.
Earth felt the wound; and nature from her seat,
Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe,
That all was lost. Back to the thicket slunk
The guilty serpent; and well might; for Eve,
Intent now wholly on her taste, naught else
Regarded; (PL, IX.780-787)

After the coming of darkness and as a conclusion to his fall, Stephen is engulfed in a sinful reverie with Emma with his ‘Eyes, opening from the darkness of desire’ which is concluded with an unexpected situation: Stephen feels a louse crawling ‘over the nape of his neck’ (P, 233):

in a sudden spasm of despair and in the darkness he saw the brittle bright bodies of lice falling from the air and turning often as they fell. Yes, and it was not darkness that fell from the air. It was brightness.

Brightness falls from the air. (P, 234)

Stephen’s comparison of the ‘bright bodies of lice’ representing ‘brightness’ as opposed to ‘darkness’ might be understood as Belial’s vain hope that their horror in hell and the darkness would turn to light: ‘This horror will grow mild, this darkness light;’ (PL, II.220). However, in Stephen’s mouth, the use of lice as vectors of brightness serves as a mockery of God’s powers, as a sample of the consciousness of his lapsarian state. If we are to consider the fact that Stephen is still ‘in the darkness’, as if it was a continuation of his daydream, it is possible to interpret the figurative representation of the lice; according to Barrett Klein, dreams in which the person awakes during the dream of overabundance of lice on their body can be interpreted as if they are ‘beyond help.’ Stephen knows he is at the point of no return. He will not serve, as we can perceive from his conversation about religion with Cranly. Stephen mentions the circumstances that lead to the quarrel with his mother about the Easter duty and his attitude towards it, his non serviam, added to his disposition and refusal to serve, which are likened to Satan’s ultimate refusal to pay ‘knee-tribute’ to God’s son. In the Catholic tradition, Easter represents the return of the Son from the dead, his victory against death. Stephen decides not ‘to bend/the supple knee’ (PL, V.787-8) in a similar fashion as Satan inflames the angels to revolt before their fall and not to serve either, as the King Anointed would ‘Receive him coming to receive from us / Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile!’ (PL, V. 781-2)

Following Stephen’s remark regarding his non servitude, Milton makes himself present through the words of the gospel of Matthew in Cranly’s mouth. Apparently addressing his half-eaten fig, he throws it into the gutter saying ‘Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire!’ Even though the given exclamation is not mentioned in *Paradise Lost*, the rebellious angels are sent away, and Adam and Eve are also evicted from paradise. Stephen, in turn, decides to leave. He is not sent away:

Away then: it is time to go. A voice spoke softly to Stephen's lonely heart, bidding him go and telling him that his friendship was coming to an end. Yes; he would go. He could not strive against another. He knew his part.
—Probably I shall go away, he said.
—Where? Cranly asked.
—Where I can, Stephen said.
—Yes, Cranly said. It might be difficult for you to live here now. But is it that makes you go?
—I have to go, Stephen answered. *(P, 245)*

Stephen’s voluntary exile is as another expression of the power Joyce has over the presence he offers up in his work. There are numerous instances where Stephen is likened to Milton’s Satan, and situations that resemble and echo Milton’s *Paradise Lost*. The stimmung and the echoes from Milton’s poems enhance our scope of understanding of Joyce’s *kunstlerroman* and Stephen Dedalus’s psyche as a whole. In the end, Joyce’s ‘satanic’ character leaves. However, unlike the fallen angels, he is not evicted, expelled, or ‘hurled headlong flaming’ *(PL, I.45)*. Stephen’s voluntary exile reflects Joyce’s own exile, but it can also express the fact that he will change the end of the story. Joyce chose Milton as his precursor and chose Milton’s text to supplement his own – this supplementation occurs however he pleases and is expressed in Stephen’s justification for his exile: ‘to forge in the smithy of [his] soul the uncreated conscience of [his] race.’ *(P, 253)* In conclusion, as T.S. Eliot asserted,

One of the surest of tests is the way in which a poet borrows. Immature poets imitate; mature poets steal; bad poets deface what they take, and good poets make it into something better, or at least something different. The good poet welds his theft into a whole of feeling which is unique, utterly different from that from which it was torn; the bad poet throws it into something which has no cohesion. A good poet will usually borrow from authors remote in time, or alien in language, or diverse in interest.*

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125 Matthew 25:41
Joyce was able to develop the presence of Milton into the character of Stephen, welding it into something ‘utterly different’. Stephen leaves us in *A Portrait* to start anew in *Ulysses*, bringing the presence of Milton with him amongst his satanic refusal to serve and the sound of ‘Lycidas’, the best of pipers, in his mind.
3. ULYSSES – THE FALL OF COMMON MAN

3.1 A PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS A SATANIC MAN

Ulysses is renowned for its avant-garde polymorphy and the beginning of Joyce’s use of experimental language and themes that provoked a multitude of reactions. As varied as the opinions about Ulysses were, there is unity despite its multifariousness: in Ulysses we are faced with a familiar character, Stephen Dedalus. As the main character in the first three episodes, he guides our perception inside the new environment that is Joyce’s polymorphic epic, which is, in part, dependent on our understanding of Stephen in A Portrait. As Schwarz mentions, ‘the richness of these first three chapters depends in part on our responding to echoes of prior language and incidents from Portrait. (…) Stephen’s past, as we know it from Portrait, insists on intruding its shadows upon our perception of Stephen in Ulysses.’¹ The intrusion of the shadows of Stephen’s past will be key for the purpose of this thesis, as it is Stephen who most overtly articulates the presence of Milton in the novel. Joyce once wrote in a letter to Valéry Larbaud, dated June 4, 1928, that ‘Stephen Dedalus’s mind is full like everyone else’s of borrowed words.’²

Among an enormous variety of cross-references and allusions, the most obvious reference to John Milton is the fact that ‘Lycidas’ is Stephen’s poem of choice as a teacher. Joyce, moreover, mentioned specifically that he would like to use ‘a passage solemn, as of Milton’³ in Ulysses, among other references. The ‘passage solemn’ as he called it, is included in ‘Oxen of the Sun’, between lines 334-428 (To be short this passage… of a natural phenomenon). According to Terence Killeen, Joyce used ‘[a] composite of several late-sixteenth-century and early-seventeenth-century prose styles, Milton, Sir Thomas Browne and Jeremy Taylor prominent among them.’⁴ Even though he mentioned it in reference to ‘Oxen of the Sun’, the ‘solemnity’ that Joyce alludes to can be perceived in other sections of the epic. For instance, Stephen bears within himself Satan’s pride and consequently his non

¹ Daniel Schwarz, Reading Joyce’s Ulysses (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987), p. 31-32.
⁴ Terence Killeen, Ulysses Unbound: A Reader’s Companion to James Joyce’s Ulysses (Dublin, Wordwell, 2012) p. 164.
serviam, which brings about suffering and events which culminate in death – albeit not their own.

In *Ulysses* we are presented with Stephen’s more mature self, with the personality of someone who has endeavoured to ‘fly by the nets’ of church and country, in his own words in *A Portrait*; like Icarus’s father, Dedalus, his enterprise was not successful – Stephen’s wings were melted, not by the sun, but by his father’s telegram urging him to come back home as his mother was on her deathbed. He feels frustrated, and this is visible on his first appearance in *Ulysses*, when we see him ‘displeased and sleepy’ (*U*, 1.13). It is important to realise that at this point, the reader’s view of Stephen’s ‘moody brooding’ is mediated by the narrator, and not by himself directly. In contrast with *A Portrait*, in *Ulysses* the reader is able to enjoy not only Stephen’s perspective of the world and himself, but the perspective of others as well. Schwarz describes Stephen, ‘as Telemachus setting out on his journey in search of his father and ultimately his mature identity, Stephen must be a distinct objectified character rather than a lyrical figure whose thoughts and emotions reflect the author’s.’ Among other indicators, the outlook of others and their own on themselves, through the stream of consciousness will allow us to perceive the Miltonic presence in *Ulysses*. For instance, Stephen’s suffering because of the death of his mother is perceivable both from external sources and his internal monologue, i.e., Joyce’s use of the stream of consciousness. As I intend to show, Joyce’s narrative strategies work in order to ‘weave’ Milton’s presence in this intertextual fabric. The abundance of allusions and intertextual references may seem confusing for a reader tackling the book for the first time. However, we should not forget that Joyce’s narrative style in the epic intends to emulate the nature of the human mind, as mentioned previously, ‘full of borrowed words’: the ‘borrowed words’ serve the author’s purpose to give the text a different dimension, an atmosphere, or *stimmung*, which can be perceived by the reader through the placement of specific words and structures and their sound and ‘mood’. As a consequence of that, we are presented with what was latent in the text – what is implicit, hidden, albeit essential.

In addition to the use of the Miltonic *stimmung*, I would like to show that Joyce makes the presence of Milton visible through metaphors and allusions. As Daniel Schwarz argues in coincidental consonance with Gumbrecht, the ‘metaphor brings into existence something that is absent simply by declaring its presence.’ The use of metaphor to bring

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something into existence is a way to achieve presence through language. Gumbrecht argues that ‘any kind of language that is capable of triggering aesthetic experience will appear as a (...) case of the amalgamation between presence and language.’ In our case, as Schwarz accurately points out, the aesthetic experience that will be triggered is the ‘summoning’ of historical figures and literary characters of the past through Leopold Bloom and Stephen, who ‘iterate major historical and mythical figures in western civilization’, as well as ‘summon the cultural milieu and values of the historical era to which they properly belong.’ Joyce’s work incorporates his precursors in order to lend extra signification to his newly-created characters, as well as he ‘identifies with his literary antecedents even as he cannibalizes them – in the sense of scavenging among his reading and devouring what he reads when the needs of his own perspective require it.’ Thus, Joyce does not intend to escape nor to repress the importance of those who preceded him; on the contrary, he utilises his precursors’ work in order to add signification to his own. Initially, Joyce uses language that carries Miltonic overtones to trigger the reader’s perception of the presence of Milton (and of course, of other writers too, when needed). In this way, he is able to ‘summon’ Miltonic characters through Bloom and Stephen, characters who will lend Joyce’s characters a wider range of meaning that could not have been reached if Joyce had not resorted to such a large variety of intertextual references and metaphors. One example of this strategy is Stephen’s refusal to kneel and pray at his mother’s deathbed, and Mulligan’s aunt’s accusation that he has killed his mother: These are intensified as well as clarified by Stephen’s non serviam, uttered at the end of A Portrait; his identification with Satan through the utterance of the fallen angel’s fateful words in heaven give Stephen’s fall a wider scope of significance.

In Ulysses, for an added and enhanced Miltonic stimmung throughout the novel, Joyce resorts to offering a more concrete assertion of Miltonic presence through ‘Lycidas’, which is not only alluded to in several moments, but partially recited in the ‘Nestor’ episode, as we see below.

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8 Schwarz, p. 14.
9 Schwarz, p. 21.
3.2 The Place of ‘Lycidas’, and Milton through Blakean Lenses

The most explicit evidence of the presence of Milton is Stephen’s poem of choice as a teacher: ‘Lycidas’. Part of the poem is read by his student in ‘Nestor’ but the references to the history of Milton’s poem permeate Stephen’s thoughts from the first episode, ‘Telemachus’. Jacobus remarks that ‘Joyce’s use of ‘Lycidas’ is remarkable for the various levels he was able to tap within it’\textsuperscript{10}. In this sub-chapter, I intend to add to the levels brilliantly explored by Jacobus by analysing the presence of Milton’s presence and the \textit{stimmung} created by ‘Lycidas’.

The presence of Milton through ‘Lycidas’ is recurrent in \textit{Ulysses}. An initial reason for this insistent presence might be the obvious coloniser-colonised tension Joyce would not dodge; Hogan remarks that ‘[i]t is no accident that Stephen turns almost immediately to teaching a poem by John Milton, clearly a colonial import.’\textsuperscript{11} It is known that Milton supported the violent Cromwellian campaign in Ireland, and evidence of this political position is explicated in his 1649 tract ‘Observations on the Articles of the Peace’, where he ‘cogently expressed his views on the Celtic peoples within the British Isles.’\textsuperscript{12} Catherine Canino adds that the polemical tract is ‘such a vigorous assault upon the Irish as to mortify the staunchest Miltonist and to throw into severe question Milton’s traditional characterization as a champion of personal and religious liberty.’\textsuperscript{13}

Additionally, Joyce’s schooling plays a large role in his articulation of Milton’s presence, as discussed in the previous chapter. ‘Lycidas’ was frequently included on reading lists, both during Joyce’s childhood and in 1904, when Stephen teaches. In 1897, according to Sullivan’s account of Joyce’s schooldays, Joyce was in the Preparatory grade, and the reading list included Milton’s \textit{Lycidas, L’Allegro} and \textit{Il Penseroso}. As commented in chapter 2, Sullivan mentions that one line of ‘Lycidas’, ‘“through the dear might of Him that walked the waves” – was to stick into Stephen’s memory like a thorn.’\textsuperscript{14} It is possible to argue that

\textsuperscript{10} Jacobus, p. 189.
\textsuperscript{14} Sullivan, pp. 100-101.
Milton’s poetry was part of the experience that made Joyce the writer he was, in line with Runia’s definition of presence.

Another reason for Joyce’s choice of ‘Lycidas’ might be the poem’s theme; ‘Lycidas’ is an elegy, an homage to the dead. Jacobus acknowledges it as ‘the highest moment in the poetry of loss in English’. From the beginning of the book, the reader is made aware of Stephen’s mourning of his mother, and her death permeates his thoughts; furthermore, in the first Bloom episode, ‘Calypso’, we learn that Leopold Bloom is going to attend the funeral of his friend Paddy Dignam, but in addition to that, mourns the death of his son, Rudy. Thus, the echo of ‘Lycidas’ resounds through what is not a random memory, but appropriate for the characters’ feelings, place and time. Milton wrote it in 1637 for his Cambridge friend Edward King, whose ship sank in the Irish sea, off the coast of Wales. Sandymount beach, where the Martello tower is, faces the coast of Wales. Nothing in Joyce is coincidental, thus, the idea of presence is remarkable here as the place is geographically the same – the Irish sea – making the connection even stronger. In spite of not being referred at directly in ‘Telemachus’, the theme of the poem presents itself for the first time when Stephen, Haines, and Mulligan go to the Forty Foot bathing place for the latter’s morning swim and hear about a man who had drowned nine days before. The memory of the man will recur throughout the book:

The boatman nodded towards the north of the bay with some disdain.
-There's five fathoms out there, he said. It'll be swept up that way when the tide comes in about one. It's nine days today.
The man that was drowned. A sail veering about the blank bay waiting for a swollen bundle to bob up, roll over to the sun a puffy face, saltwhite. Here I am. (U, 1.672-7)

It is important to realise that Stephen’s explanation of ‘Here I am’ can be interpreted as a response to Milton’s presence, evoked by the theme of death by drowning, Edward King’s end. Schwarz argues that this sentence is an affirmation of Stephen’s identification with the drowned man, instead of with Milton, and can be interpreted as Stephen straying from his art. Stephen’s hydrophobia is justified in that case, as he repeatedly mentions and remembers that he cannot swim and fears death by water, especially an early death like that of Edward King. Later in the ‘Telemachiad’, Stephen will approach his artistic side again, but

15 Jacobus, p. 194.
16 Schwarz, p. 91
for now, at the very beginning of *Ulysses*, he feels disappointed and frustrated as he had to return to his homeland and have his artistic attempt cut short by the death of his mother.

Disappointment is the link to another indirect reference to Milton’s poem: in the next episode, ‘Nestor’, Stephen asks his student Armstrong about Pyrrhus:

—Wait. You, Armstrong. Do you know anything about Pyrrhus? (…)
—Pyrrhus, sir? Pyrrhus, a pier.(…) 
—Tell me now, Stephen said, poking the boy's shoulder with the book, what is a pier. 
—A pier, sir, Armstrong said. A thing out in the water. A kind of a bridge. Kingstown pier, sir. (…) 
—Kingstown pier, Stephen said. Yes, a disappointed bridge. (*U*, 2.21-39)

Kingstown pier – thus named from 1821 to 1920, currently Dun Laoghaire - was one of the major entries from Britain at the time. Gifford adds that at the time, ‘daily at 8.15 am and pm, express mailboats linked England and Ireland through this port (…)’

17, hence the epithet given by Stephen, a metaphoric, ‘disappointed bridge’. Hogan calls attention to a possible association between King Edward and Edward King, the subject of Milton’s elegy, as ‘King Edward was reigning monarch of Great Britain and Ireland at the time.’

18 The reference to King Edward evokes one of the masters Stephen refused to serve, his country and its colonisers. As Jacobus remarks, ‘reviving the poem in the reign of King Edward is especially felicitous’, as Joyce chooses ‘Lycidas’ specifically to be taught by Stephen in an Irish classroom in 1904. Due to that choice, the resonances of the poem cannot be overlooked, as they are all significant to understand the role Milton’s presence played for Joyce, and consequently, for Stephen.

Further on in ‘Nestor’, the historical reference to Kingstown Pier ‘flows’ into ‘Lycidas’; Stephen asks a student to read, even though we are not told what at the beginning: ‘Where do you begin in this?’ (*U*, 2.56), Stephen asks, and Comyn suggests a rather adequate point to begin: ‘*Weep no more*’, the first line of the penultimate stanza of Milton’s ‘Lycidas’, which can also be interpreted as a request for the cessation of Stephen’s mourning. He needs to weep for his mother no longer. Jacobus argues that ‘[t]he section of the poem which

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19 Jacobus, p. 190.
Comyn chooses is the last, that which succeeds the lines celebrating the ‘laureate hearse’ and that which celebrates the spiritual victory of the narrator over his grief. However, he still weeps. Stephen’s grief is far from being over, and after the reading of ‘Lycidas’ (which is not finished, but interrupted by their request to go play hockey), the riddle asked by him reflects his guilt about his mother’s death:

The cock crew,
The sky was blue:
The bells in heaven
Were striking eleven.
’Tis time for this poor soul
To go to heaven. (U, 2. 102-7)

Stephen’s riddle, however, is unanswerable unless the answer is already known, according to Gifford and Seidman. Stephen’s nervous laughter after the students ask for the answer: ‘The fox burying his grandmother under a hollybush’ (U, 2. 115) reflects his continued mourning and pain regarding the death of his mother. As Hogan argues, ‘even if he did not kill his mother as Aunt Mulligan opines, still, in his apostasy, he might have buried her.’ The reading of ‘Lycidas’ by his student Talbot increases the importance of Milton’s presence and our previous knowledge of the story of the poem, so that we can understand the weight of allusions fully, as well as the intensity of Stephen’s mourning.

The poem is still present in the next episode, ‘Proteus’. Initially, it is relevant because the episode starts in the first person (‘Signatures of all things I am here to read…’) and ends in the third person (‘He turned his face over a shoulder, rere regardant’), like ‘Lycidas’, where the poet comes ‘to pluck your berries harsh and crude’ (3) and ends with ‘At last he rose...’ (192) Jacobus mentions the relation between ‘Lycidas’ and A Portrait for the same reason, as in A Portrait Stephen praises a street ballad named ‘Turpin Hero’ ‘for beginning in the first person and ending in the third person’, even though A Portrait itself reverses this order. Additionally, as ‘Proteus’ is an episode whose action happens to be more in Stephen’s mind than in the physical world, I will demonstrate how Milton’s presence shapes Stephen’s attitude and partially encourages him to find ‘pastures new’. In ‘Proteus’, Stephen wanders along Sandymount strand, lost in thought. Firstly, he closes his eyes, feeling ‘the ineluctable modality of the audible’ (U. 2.13) with his ‘ash sword’ hanging at his side; ‘Tap with it: they

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20 Jacobus, p. 190.
21 Gifford and Seidman, p. 33.
22 Colm Hogan, ‘Drowning in Ulyssidas’, p. 198.
23 Jacobus, p. 190.
do’ (U. 2.17) – Stephen’s simulated blindness is suggestive of both Milton’s blindness and Joyce’s failing eyesight, while he hears an ‘[a]catalectic tetrameter of iambic marching’ (U, 2.23), a reference to the rhythm of poetry. Among Stephen’s thoughts is the memory of the drowned man mentioned earlier in the morning by Mulligan. ‘Found drowned. High water in the Dublin bar. […] Sunk through he be beneath the watery floor.’ (U, 3.471-4) The thought leads again to the allusion to Milton’s ‘Lycidas’, which seems to flow naturally in Stephen’s mind. As he halts at the beach to urinate in the sea, Stephen puts into words the feeling towards that allusion, and an idea that will permeate the whole novel: ‘Dead breaths I living breathe’ (U, 3.479). The smell (stench?) of the dead physically arising from a ‘[b]ag of corpse gas sopping in foul brine’ (U, 3.476), the death of the drowned man, and the ‘dead authors’. Joyce takes in the air, the ‘breaths’ from the past writers, and specifically the ‘breath’ of Milton when he incorporates them.

The presence of Milton evoked by ‘Lycidas’ leads to another Miltonic reference, this time, to Paradise Lost: Stephen refers to a thunderstorm and the fall of Lucifer, which I interpret as echoing his own fall: ‘Allbright he falls, proud lightning of the intellect. Lucifer, dico, qui nescit occasum. No. My cockle hat and staff and hismy sandal shoon. Where? To evening lands. Evening will find itself.’ (U, 3.486, my emphasis in bold) Joyce’s allusion reflects Paradise Lost Book I, and Beelzebub’s dialogue with Lucifer, now called Satan:

> If thou beest he – but oh, how fallen! How changed
> from him who, in the happy realms of light,
> Clothed with transcendent brightness, didst outshine
> Myriads, though bright! […]
> From what height fallen: so much the stronger proved
> He with his thunder […] (PL, 1.84-93)

The thunder and lightning, brightness, fall and pride are recurrent presences that resonate with Satan’s fall in Milton’s Paradise Lost; as in A Portrait and Stephen Hero, Stephen’s mother argues he ‘suffer[s] from the pride of the intellect’ (SH, 122). Even though the sentence in Latin is borrowed from the Catholic service for Holy Saturday, the Exsultet, as Gifford and Seidman remark, it refers to Jesus as Lucifer, ‘the morning star’; however, the Miltonic stimmung associated with the previous words, ‘falls’, ‘proud’, ‘lightning’ calls for a connection with the Adversary, Satan, rather than with the Son.24

24 Gifford and Seidman, p. 65.
Another explicit allusion to Milton appears in ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ on a question to Stephen: ‘Have you found those six brave medicals, John Eglinton asked with elders’ gall, to write Paradise Lost at your dictation? The Sorrows of Satan he calls it.’ (U, 9.18-20) Gifford argues that there is irony in the use of ‘medicals’, as anti-poets who would take the ‘dictation’, as well as alludes to ‘(…) Milton’s prayer that the ‘Heav’nly Muse’ dictate Paradise Lost to or through him, and on the fact that Milton, because he was blind, dictated Paradise Lost to his daughters.’ Furthermore, the naming of the book proposed by John Eglinton is not coincidental. As Gifford mentions, ‘the title mocks Stephen’s intention (after Blake) to rewrite Paradise Lost so that Satan is portrayed as the romantic hero (…).’ This ‘rewriting’ of Paradise Lost given the circumstances, as Stephen was allegedly going to dictate it, brings the figure of the writer (Joyce) together with the author of PL; Milton dictated because he was blind, and Joyce’s eyesight, at the time he was writing Ulysses, was getting worse throughout the years. Based on the similarities between Stephen and Milton’s Satan already explored in the previous chapter, we can even argue that Stephen’s intention can be linked to the desire of having his biography written, wherein he could make Satan/himself the romantic hero of the epic, thus strengthening the Miltonic connection.

The reference to Blake above brings in what I am calling here mediated Miltonic echoes. When Stephen wanders along the beach in ‘Proteus’, he thinks of himself as ‘made by the mallet of Los Demiurgos.’ (U, 3.17-18) Los, in Blake’s mythological writing, is the fallen form of Urthona and the creator of Golgonooza. His image is always described as a smith, beating iron – a forger. Los and Satan can be associated with Stephen, as all of them are fallen; and the image of Los as a forger allows for a connection with the end of A Portrait, when Stephen ventures at ‘forg[ing] in the smithy of [his] soul the uncreated conscience of [his] race.’ (P, 253) Furthermore, another allusion can be perceived in Blake’s Milton: in Blake’s poem, the character John Milton ‘enters’ Blake’s foot – Stephen, while walking along the beach, closes his eyes, focuses on his feet in another person’s boots and experiences the ‘ineluctable modality of the audible’ (U, 3.13) and touch. ‘My two feet in his boots are at the ends of his legs, nebeneinander. Sounds solid: made by the mallet of Los Demiurgos. Am I walking into eternity along Sandymount strand?’ (U, 3.16-17) Stephen’s feet in somebody else’s boots – nebeneinander, German for side by side. Present and past side by side, Joyce, Blake, and Milton. He feels their presence with his eyes closed. It is

25 Gifford and Seidman, p. 193.
26 Gifford and Seidman, p. 194.
important to remember that his ‘ineluctable modality of the audible’ can refer to the fact that all three have had problems with their eyes – and walked into eternity.

References to ‘Lycidas’ are not exclusively related to Stephen, though. As Jacobus remarks, the lines from the poem quoted in ‘Nestor’ are preceded by lines ‘which devote themselves to flowers and the decoration of the imaginary bier of Lycidas’, and he mentions that these lines look forward to the apotheosis of Lycidas, as the Telemachiad looks forward to the coming of Bloom.27 Leopold Bloom’s surname, as well as Virag, his father’s Hungarian surname (“flower” in Hungarian), his pseudonym, Henry Flower, and his language of flowers with Martha Clifford, all point at flowers: ‘Angry tulips with you darling manflower punish your cactus if you don’t please poor forgetmenot how I long violets to dear roses when we soon anemone meet all naughty nightstalk Martha’s perfume.’ (U. 4.64-6) Even though the connotation is sexual in Ulysses and not in ‘Lycidas’, Jacobus mentions the idea of ‘potential cut short, of promise unfulfilled – of a ‘manflower’ cut down by fate’, such as Bloom and Martha’s correspondence representing a carnal relationship that will never be fulfilled.

In ‘Lotus Eaters’, when Bloom goes for a bath, there is another possible parallel with ‘Lycidas’ and flowers: the body in the water, and the exclamation ‘This is my body’ (U. 5. 566), and Bloom’s observation of his male organ as ‘the limp father of thousands, a languid floating flower’. (U. 5.571-2) The idea of the body floating on the water, even though not by drowning, refers back to the theme of water in ‘Lycidas’; but more importantly, I argue that the idea of the potential cut short as posed by Jacobus is also possible to be applied to Bloom’s vision of his ‘floating flower’: throughout Ulysses, Bloom mourns his son Rudy, and wonders if it would still be possible for him to father another child. His major preoccupation is the continuity of his legacy, and even though he has a daughter, it would be important for him to have a son. This potential is at present unfulfilled given the fact that Molly and he have not had sexual intercourse since the death of Rudy, one who also died too young, just like Edward King. The potential of the ‘floating flower’ associated with Bloom’s reproductive capacity was cut short in that context.

The presence of Milton and the theme of potential cut short from ‘Lycidas’ are also present in the ‘Wandering Rocks’ episode. Firstly, Stephen stops next to a bookcart, looks at the books and wonders if he might find there one of his books, which had been pawned.

27 Jacobus, p. 191. The author refers to lines 132-64 of Milton’s poem.
While he is thumbing through a book, he thinks ‘Who has passed here before me?’ (U, 10.846), showing consciousness about the ones who have come before him. I would argue that, when thinking about finding one of his books, Stephen, as an artist, imagines himself among the other writers. Furthermore, he is conscious about people who have seen these books before he did; and consequently, that might represent Joyce’s recognition of his precursors, preceding a reference to Milton when his sister Dilly shows up with a book, Chardenal’s French primer:

A Stuart face of nonesuch Charles, lank locks falling at its sides. It glowed as she crouched feeding the fire with broken boots. I told her of Paris. Late lieabed under a quilt of old overcoats, fingerling a pinchbeck bracelet, Dan Kelly's token. Nebrakada feminum.
—What have you there? Stephen asked.
—I bought it from the other cart for a penny, Dilly said, laughing nervously. Is it any good? (U, 10.858-64)

Gifford and Seidman explain ‘nonesuch’ as ‘most eminent.’28 Through comparing Dilly’s face with a ‘Stuart face’, Stephen’s comment brings to mind two things that are Miltonic. As Lee Jacobus argues about the ‘tray of Stuart coins’ (U, 2.201) in ‘Nestor’ from which Deasy takes Stephen’s pay, I argue that the mention of Charles I, the second Stuart King of England calls to mind the presence of Milton, who was ‘the figure that helped put an end to one phase of Stuart domination’ and ‘in the spiritual sense was a regicide’.29 But on the realisation that his sister wants to learn French despite the meagre conditions in which their family lives, which led to the pawning of some of his books, he laments the wasted potential that results from poverty, recalling the death of ‘Lycidas’:

She is drowning. Agenbite. Save her. Agenbite. All against us. She will drown me with her, eyes and hair. Lank coils of seaweed hair around me, my heart, my soul. Salt green death.
We.
Agenbite of inwit. Inwit's agenbite. (U. 10. 875-879)

Stephen realises his share of guilt (the ‘Agenbite of Inwit’, or ‘remorse of conscience’) in his sister’s ‘drowning’, as she will drown with him, and a slight reference to their mother on ‘salt green death’, as mentioned in ‘Telemachus’, the green bile and the green sea. Stephen’s non serviam and his leaving the country with his family in dire financial circumstances are

28 Gifford and Seidman, p. 277.
29 Jacobus, p. 189.
representations of his pride, as we will see later, and cause the death of other people, either figuratively (Dilly’s ‘stillborn’ potential of learning and overcoming poverty) or literally (his mother’s). The *stimmung* brought in by the theme of drowning from ‘Lycidas’ contributes remarkably to an expression of the intensity of Stephen’s gloominess and mourning for his family, and here, especially for his sister’s unfulfilled potential. Simultaneously, the allusion to Stephen’s satanic pride through the memory of his mother’s ‘salt green death’ brings in the consequences of pride – fall and death.

Lastly, however, there is hope in the future for both Bloom and Stephen. In ‘Eumaeus’, the pair leaves Bella’s brothel (from ‘Circe’) and Bloom, quite maternally, suggests that Stephen should eat something. They thus stop for a coffee, Bloom tries unsuccessfully to strike a conversation with a tired sailor and starts to think about occasions in which he sat looking at the sea – with a reference to Milton:

> On more than one occasion, a dozen at the lowest, near the North Bull at Dollymount he had remarked a superannuated old salt, evidently derelict, seated habitually near the not particularly redolent sea on the wall, staring quite obliviously at it and it at him, dreaming of fresh woods and pastures new as someone somewhere sings. And it left him wondering why. (*U.* 16. 629-33)

In the same episode, towards the end, we see the same reference to ‘Lycidas’ when he helps Stephen walk:

> Accordingly he passed his left arm in Stephen’s right and led him on accordingly.
> —Yes, Stephen said uncertainly because he thought he felt a strange kind of flesh of a different man approach him, sinewless and wobbly and all that. Anyhow they passed the sentrybox (…) as the adage has it, dreaming of fresh fields and pastures new. (*U.* 16. 1721-28)

Firstly, as previously commented on Chapter 1, Joyce was quite familiar with ‘Lycidas’, and he might have made an allowance for the common man, Bloom, to express his familiarity in his own peculiar way: by misquotation and misattribution ‘as the adage has it.’ But the role of such a casual reference to Milton is to connect the previous mourning to the hopes for a better future. On the first citation, it is not Bloom necessarily who is ‘dreaming of fresh woods and pastures new’, but the reference to Milton helps to recall his presence, especially with reference to the sea, responsible for Edward King’s death. However, on the second one, Stephen and Bloom pass ‘the sentrybox… dreaming of fresh fields and pastures new’, which might be a good omen for both characters and their expectations of a new day, as it is already late (1 am). Furthermore, the meeting of Bloom and Stephen has significance as a meeting of
the old and the young, the precursor and the new poet; Bloom helps Stephen, nourishes him, and makes sure he is safe. Meeting Bloom certainly gives the disappointed Stephen new hope and re-establishes his dreams of ‘pastures new’.

3.3 **Ulysses, Paradise Lost, and the Epic Tradition**

In addition to the references to ‘Lycidas’ cited above, the Miltonic presence in *Ulysses* arising from the epic *Paradise Lost* is remarkable. Firstly, and more generically, the books have several features in common: both follow the epic conventions, dealing with the fall of Man, even though each of them has its own way of telling this story. Milton’s epic poem is based on the Bible, though he decides to give the adversary, Satan, a voice and a psyche, unlike the Holy Scripture, wherein we hear nothing from the fallen angels. In addition to that, as he states in book 2 of *The Reason of Church Government*, his intention is also to write a work to glorify England: ‘what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I in my proportion with this over and above of being a Christian, might doe for mine.’

When Milton decides on the epic as the form of glorifying England, as Cordelia Zukerman and Thomas Luxon highlight, ‘Milton consciously places himself in the tradition of prior epic writers, such as the ancients Homer and Virgil, and the Medieval and Renaissance poets Dante, Tasso, Ariosto, and Spenser. By doing this, he raises specific sets of expectations both for himself and for readers.’ With his explicit wish and ambition to write an epic, Milton seeks the same immortality granted to his precursors.

Joyce’s novel, in turn, treats the fall of man metaphorically during a given day, June 16, 1904, dealing with common everyday men and earthly situations. Its name itself, *Ulysses*, points at Homer’s *Odyssey*, and in schemata distributed to some of his friends (originally Carlo Linati and Stuart Gilbert), Joyce associated each of the episodes with related ones in the *Odyssey*. Schwarz claims that Joyce chose the *Odyssey* ‘as his primary epic model because it was the one major European epic that depends on the centrality of family and

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personal relationships – parent and child, particularly father and son. Joyce himself defined his book as an epic:

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)... Each adventure is so to speak one person although it is composed of persons – as Aquinas relates of the heavenly hosts. It is possible to argue that Joyce had the same wish Milton had expressed with *Paradise Lost*, to be placed in the tradition of prior epic writers. Furthermore, the high image Joyce had of himself and *Ulysses* is known, as he declared to his friend Arthur Power:

The best authors of any period have always been the prophets: the Tolstoys, the Dostoevskis, the Ibsens – those who brought something new into literature. As for the romantic classicism you admire so much, *Ulysses* has changed all that; (…) for though you criticise *Ulysses*, yet the one thing you must admit that I have done is to liberate literature from its age-old shackles.

Though ‘*Ulysses* challenged meaning and interpretation in a way that no other novel had done before’, through its ‘encyclopedic vein and its dissections of reality’ as well as the innovative power to ‘liberate literature from its age-old shackles’, Joyce used, in his own way, themes that are common to classical and Renaissance epics. These were also used by Milton in *Paradise Lost*, as argued by Zukerman and Luxon:

*[Paradise Lost] begins in medias res; it concerns heavenly and earthly beings and the interactions between them; it uses conventions such as epic similes, catalogues of people and places, and invocations to a muse; and it contains themes common to epics, such as war, nationalism, empire, and stories of origin.*

Harry Blamires argues that in *Ulysses*, especially in the ‘Telemachiad’, there are many references ‘to the history of the Church, to the history of Europe and of Ireland (…), and to the nature and origin of man (episode 3 [Proteus])’. Through Joyce’s metaphors we can perceive the epic and Miltonic undertones he resorted to so that the readers can realise the larger theme he wanted to tackle, the fall of humankind. The epic conventions are shared by

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32 Schwarz, p. 37.
36 Zukerman and Luxon.
Homer, Virgil, Milton, and Joyce, but the subject of the fall of mankind is exclusively shared by Milton and Joyce.

Firstly, in the epic tradition, the invocation of the muse is a common characteristic. Milton, for instance, in the opening verses of *Paradise Lost*, invokes the presence of the muse to instruct him:

Sing heavenly muse, that on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
That shepherd (…)
(…)I thence
Invoke thy aid to my adventurous song,(…)
What in me is dark
Illumine, what is low raise and support;
That to the height of this great argument
I may assert eternal providence,
And justify the ways of God to men. (*PL* I.6-26)

This solemn invocation made by the poet with the intention of enlightening his account of the heavenly argument and the fall of man is also present in Joyce’s *Ulysses* the epic of the fall of common man. Don Gifford argues that ‘the invocation of God is a mocking reminder that epics conventionally begin (as *The Odyssey* does) with an invocation of the Muse…’\(^{38}\) In contrast, the invocation of the muse (or in that case, of God), instead of being made solemnly by the narrator, or even by Stephen, shows the intentions of the author to start a mock-epic:

Stephen’s plump housemate in Martello tower, Buck Mulligan, the embodiment of mockery, has this honour bestowed upon him. Burgess argues that Mulligan is given ‘the task of giving *Ulysses* a liturgical start’\(^{39}\):

Stately, plump Buck Mulligan came from the stairhead, bearing a bowl of lather on which a mirror and a razor lay crossed. A yellow dressing gown, ungirdled, was sustained gently behind him by the mild morning air. He held the bowl aloft and intoned:
— *Introibo ad altare Dei.* (…)
Solemnly he came forward (…) and blessed gravely thrice the tower, the surrounding land and the awaking mountains. Then, catching sight of Stephen Dedalus, he bent towards him and made rapid crosses in the air (…)
He added in a preacher’s tone:
— For this, O dearly beloved, is the genuine Christine: body and soul and blood and ouns. Slow music, please. Shut your eyes, gents. One moment. A little trouble about those white corpuscles. Silence, all. (…) (*U*, 1. 1-31)

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\(^{38}\) Gifford and Seidman, p. 13.
John Hunt reinforces the importance of the ‘mock mass’, with its function of showing that the book is a ‘mock-epic’: ‘Joyce’s parodic relation to his elevated epic source, and to the religion of his youth, is deeply ambiguous—at once respectful and irreverent, preservative and transformative.’

40 Thus, in addition to the Homeric parallels, Joyce’s mock mass and the faux-entry to the altar of God allude to Milton’s invocation of the muse at the start of *Paradise Lost*, in order to give a ‘solemn’ start to his mock epic on the fall of common man. Mulligan’s intoning of the *introibo* sets the tone of mockery of the epic style as a whole, and this mockery will be increased throughout the novel. It is possible to infer Mulligan’s mocking nature through the first sentence he uttered, ‘*Introibo ad altare Dei*’ (‘I will go to the altar of God’) an opening sentence in traditional Latin Catholic masses. The fact that he has ‘a bowl of lather on which a mirror and a razor lay crossed’ in his hands only adds to his mockery of the religious ritual. In addition to that, Gifford argues that ‘[i]turgically, the color yellow has many negative connotations’ and cites George Ferguson to call attention to the symbolism represented by the ‘yellow dressing gown, ungirdled’: ‘Yellow is sometimes used to suggest infernal light, degradation, jealousy, treason, and deceit.’

41 He also mentions the fact that the ‘ungirdled’ robe might ‘suggest violation of the priestly vow of chastity’, as the girdle is a band used to secure the priest’s vests. Actually, as Burgess remarks, the above lines ‘are enough to tell us that Mulligan enjoys blasphemy.’

42 The character’s proclivity for blasphemous speeches might be rooted in his very name, Malachi. For both Milton and Joyce, the names ascribed to the characters reveal a great deal about their roles. It is the second example used here to highlight the way that Joyce evoked Milton in his writing. Gifford and Seidman argue that the name was chosen from the book of Malachi, who is the last of the prophets in the Old Testament and whose name means ‘my messenger’ in Hebrew. Schwarz argues along similar lines by suggesting that the name also corresponds to ‘an actual Irish king and to an Irish prelate, Saint Malachy’. I would like to demonstrate that those are not the only possibilities for the Buck’s name, as Mulligan’s speech is far from what would be expected from a prophet, a king or a prelate. 44 Both Milton and Joyce are known for not taking the job of naming their characters lightly. Indeed, proper


42 Gifford and Seidman, p. 13.

43 Burgess, p. 40.

44 Schwarz, p. 87
names play a crucial role in the description of them. As Blamires notes, ‘Mulligan’s role carries faint diabolical overtones.’ Hogan highlights a connection between Malachi Mulligan and Moloch, the first in the demonic procession in *Paradise Lost*. The connection is linked to Joyce’s Kabbalistic sources, specifically the *Zohar* and consonantal repetitions, as in ancient Jewish texts such as the Kabbalah, there are no vowels, just consonants – so ‘MaLaCHi’ and ‘MoLoCH’ would share the same consonants, which opens the way for wordplays. Indeed, as Hogan mentions, ‘[i]n *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce several times puns on the names ‘Moloch’ and ‘Malachi’, in effect confirming the verbal connection suggested in *Ulysses*’. Indeed, Milton addresses the demon’s inclination to profanity in Book 6, when he describes Moloch as a ‘furious king’ with a ‘blasphemous tongue’. His counterpart in *Ulysses* fits these criteria partially, as Malachi Mulligan acts as the ‘king’ of the tower he shares with Stephen and Haines, and has a predilection for blasphemy, which we can perceive through his acting of a ‘mass’, as well as his use of the interjection ‘Go to God!’ His blasphemy and irony are perceived by Blamires too, when he mentions that ‘Mulligan’s ecclesiastical mummary before Stephen is a mockery of Stephen’s seriousness, his intellectualism, and former religious fervour.’ In fact, no one is immune from Mulligan’s mockery, as we can see throughout *Ulysses*.

However, Mulligan is not ‘furious’ like Moloch in *Paradise Lost*, though blasphemy is a mutually shared habit. Buck’s irreverence towards religion is accompanied by his gaiety and good humour, as noted by Haines when he sings ‘The ballad of Joking Jesus’: ‘We oughtn’t to laugh, I suppose. He’s rather blasphemous. I’m not a believer myself, that is to say. Still his gaiety takes the harm out of it somehow, doesn’t it?’ (*U*, 1.605-7) Malachi Mulligan’s insolence towards religion has the sole purpose of fun; it is almost impossible to find something Mulligan says in *Ulysses* that is not farcical. In turn, Milton’s Moloch is definitely not comedic, but instead homicidal and bloodthirsty. Moloch, or Molech, in the Bible is simply referred to as ‘the detestable god of the Ammonites’, to whom children were sacrificed. In all references to him in the Bible, namely in the books of Leviticus, Jeremiah, and The Books of Kings, the sacrificing of children is condemned. However, not a single association is made between Moloch and the use of blasphemy in the Holy Scripture, as he, as expected, has no voice in the Bible. The cult of a pagan god such as Moloch was

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46 Colm Hogan, *Joyce, Milton*, p. 132.
48 1 Kings 11:33.
blasphemous in itself, but the use of spoken blasphemy by the fallen angel Moloch in the phrase ‘tongue blasphemous’ (PL, VI.360) is exclusively Miltonic in so much as it describes the use of blasphemy by Moloch. Such is Mulligan’s irony that he even makes fun of the deity that reflects his name: in ‘Oxen of the Sun’ (U, 14.656-698) he proposes the creation of a ‘fertilisation farm’ to offer services ‘for the fecundation of any female of what grade of life soever who should there direct to him with the desire of fulfilling the functions of her natural.’ That ironic, tongue-in-cheek collocation opposes the homicidal nature of Moloch, who welcomed the sacrifice of children. Mulligan favours, and proposes to help bringing more children to life, instead of sacrificing them. The act of portraying Malachi Mulligan as someone who would volunteer to impregnate women, as opposed to his name, which alludes to a bloodthirsty deity, reinforces the sense of mockery that Joyce intends to permeate Ulysses with through this specific character.

Blazes Boylan’s name is also worthy of a closer look. It is known that both Joyce and Milton were extremely careful with their assigning of names. Taking into account Hogan’s theory about Joyce’s use of Kabbalah and Malachi Mulligan’s name, which has the same consonants as Moloch, we find another devil in Boylan’s name: BLaZes B – and in addition to the sounds: ‘Bee eL Zee Bee’, Beelzebub. Nicholas Zeng argues that the devil Beelzebub in Paradise Lost, besides being second in command to Satan, is ‘broad-shouldered, well-proportioned (...) and comes into his own as a speech-maker, [who] puts forth the plan with confidence and poise...’ In Ulysses, Boylan is a singer and Molly’s manager for her singing tour in Belfast. Bloom wonders what Molly sees in him, as he is the ‘worst man in Dublin.’ (U.6, 202) Apparently, Boylan is admired around the city as well – and while Bloom pretends to be pairing his nails, body parts come to his mind: ‘Shoulders. Hips. Plump. (...) Shift stuck between the cheeks behind.’ (U.6, 206-207) It is quite probable that Bloom is thinking of Boylan’s shoulders, and according to the textual evidence regarding the reference to Beelzebub being ‘broad-shouldered’, it might be no coincidence that the tempter shares a characteristic with the demon. Furthermore, the plump hips are probably Molly’s – and what follows is Bloom’s thought of the consummated adultery.

Another characteristic related to naming is the use of periphrastic names as a particularity of the epic style as a way to withhold names. In the first episode of Ulysses, Buck Mulligan does not use Stephen’s name evocatively. Instead, Stephen is called ‘Kinch’, ‘fearful Jesuit’, ‘the jejune jesuit’, ‘Dedalus’, ‘dreadful bard’, ‘the unclean bard’, ‘shade of Kinch the elder’, ‘Japhet in search of a father’, but not Stephen. One explanation for that might be the use of periphrastic names and epithets as a remarkable feature of the epic style,
where the heroes are called not by their own names, but by something they have done or linked to the cities they have conquered. However, Stephen’s periphrastic names are not at all heroic; on the contrary, they emphasise weaknesses, as Mulligan calls him ‘fearful’, ‘jejune’, ‘dreadful’, and ‘unclean’. I believe that is a display of Joyce’s emulation of the epic, and the irony of the prefixes maintain the parodic nature of this emulation.

Milton, in turn, shows the confusion of the fallen angels regarding names and the circumlocution they resort to in order to be able to call each other; the names they resort to are also rooted in their character. Right after their fall, when Satan and the other fallen angels converse they are not sure by which name to address each other. Alastair Fowler argues that Milton ‘imagines the Fall as deforming the rebel angels so profoundly that they lose not only their original characters but even their very names.’\(^{(49)}\) Milton as the narrator uses the name ‘Satan’, but the angels themselves do not use proper names. Furthermore, looking to the Hebrew origin of the name ‘Satan’ as ‘antagonist’ or ‘adversary’, it is unlikely that the fallen angels would use ‘Satan’ as he is not their antagonist. Satan is called ‘the apostate angel’, ‘Prince’ ‘Chief of many throned powers’, ‘arch-fiend’, and he calls one of the other fallen angels ‘Fallen cherub’.\(^{(50)}\) The names, both for Milton and Joyce, carry a deeper meaning, which add to the building and understanding of the characters. Similarly, the ‘imprecision’ of Stephen’s naming at the beginning is linked to his fall; I believe that is another possibility of Joyce’s response to Milton’s presence, as in Paradise Lost the names of the fallen angels have been ‘blotted out and ras’d’ (\textit{PL}, I.362) after their fall. In \textit{Ulysses}, on his first appearance, Stephen is ‘displeased and sleepy’ (\textit{U.} 1.13), initially uncomfortable, as Satan after reaching the ground of Hell: ‘Lie thus astonished at the oblivious pool’ (\textit{PL} I.266) Mulligan gives Stephen mock-deferential titles, in contrast with the titles given to Satan, echoing them in a parodic fashion, adequate to his own mocking style. Mulligan observes the ‘mockery’ of Stephen’s name, ‘Your absurd name, an ancient Greek!’ (\textit{U}, 1.34), as well as his own name, ‘Malachi Mulligan, two dactyls. (…) Tripping and sunny like the buck himself.’ (\textit{U}, 1.40-1) While Mulligan’s name describes the gaiety of its owner, Stephen’s describes his frustration: Stephen’s wish to ‘fly by the nets’ that prevented him from becoming an artist, at the end of \textit{A Portrait}, was an abortive attempt, as he had to return to Ireland because of the death of his mother – more Icarus-like than Dedalus, as Blamires points out: ‘He himself flew – by boat from Ireland to Paris, thence to be recalled. But it was


the flight of an Icarus rather than of a Dedalus. He came back crying ‘Father’ (as Icarus did when his melted wings let him fall; as Christ did on the Cross).\textsuperscript{51} It is important for the reader to make this connection to understand Stephen’s frustration with his ‘flight’ – his name is deeply rooted in his character.

The cross-references will also contribute to the continued \textit{stimmung} of Stephen’s identification with Milton’s Satan, when Stephen’s main Miltonic characteristic surfaces again: his pride, causing his fall. Stephen’s fall has culminated with his \textit{non serviam} in A Portrait, and reminiscences of it are still part of his personality in \textit{Ulysses}. The cause of Satan’s fall is mentioned at the beginning of \textit{PL}, in Book 1, but in more detail later, by Raphael in books 5 and 6 when Adam is told about the war in Heaven. However, the most significant consequence of their pride does not befall themselves: death. Stephen’s pride is linked to his mother’s death, and Satan’s pride has direct consequences to God’s decision to bring death to humankind. In \textit{Ulysses}, we are presented with Stephen’s mother’s death after Mulligan’s exclamation ‘Thalatta! Thalatta! She is our great sweet mother!’ and ‘Our mighty mother!’ (\textit{U}, 1.80, 85), right after which Stephen is reminded by Mulligan of his \textit{non serviam} and its consequences:

He turned abruptly his grey searching eyes from the sea to Stephen's face.
—The aunt thinks you killed your mother, he said. That's why she won't let me have anything to do with you.
—Someone killed her, Stephen said gloomily.
—You could have knelt down, damn it, Kinch, when your dying mother asked you, Buck Mulligan said. I'm hyperborean as much as you. But to think of your mother begging you with her last breath to kneel down and pray for her. And you refused. There is something sinister in you ... (\textit{U}, 1. 88-94)

When creating this situation for his troubled hero, Joyce makes use of crucial ‘symbolic correspondences [that] give Stephen’s act of disobedience at his mother’s deathbed an archetypal significance.’\textsuperscript{52} I argue that the archetypal significance mentioned by Blamires can be translated here as Joyce’s ‘invitation’ of Milton’s presence and the identification of Stephen’s fall with Satan’s. Stephen’s familial disobedience is not only his; it is associated with Satan’s rebellion against the Almighty Father. As Blamires puts it,
Thus the Fall of the Angels, by which Satan was cast out from Heaven, and the Fall of Man, by which Adam and Eve were cast out of Eden, provide a cosmic background against which Stephen, exiled from his father’s house and from the Martello tower, seeks independent individual fulfilment as man and as artist.\(^{53}\)

Thus, Joyce invites the presence of Milton, in this case, through the presence of Satan, to provide the ‘cosmic background’ Joyce needed to create a more in-depth perception of Stephen – his *non serviam* runs deeper than a simple refusal to pray when asked to by his mother. It is a denial of a higher authority, the authority of one of his masters - the Italian one - the church. Stephen’s rebellious attitude is not only comparable to Satan’s defiance of God, but also Adam and Eve’s - the act of eating the forbidden fruit, which ‘has brought death into our world, and all our woe’ (*PL*, I.3) is also a move made in defiance to a being representing a higher authority – God himself. In addition to that, Stephen’s and Adam and Eve’s defiance also leads to repentance and the hopes of being acquitted of their trespasses. Initially, in *Paradise Lost*, Eve is finally convinced by the serpent to eat the forbidden fruit when the reptile utters the pretentious but appealing omen to her:

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He knows that in the day
Ye eat thereof, your eyes that seem so clear,
Yet are but dim, shall perfectly be then
Opened and cleared, and ye shall be as Gods (...)' (PL IX. 705-708)
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Eve’s momentary wish to achieve god-like status is a defiant move against God’s authority, as she remembers Adam’s admonition not to eat from that tree. Even though she demonstrates love and gratitude to her maker, she also wishes to reach the same status; that wish, like Stephen’s wish to be loyal to his *non serviam* principle, leads to their fall and subsequently, their judgement by the Father. Even though we are not told if Stephen was judged by his own family, we know that Mulligan and his aunt judge him, as we saw above. Thus, after judgement, repentance takes place as an attempt at redemption. Eve and Adam’s is shown in the lines below:

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So spake our father penitent, nor Eve
Felt less remorse: they forthwith to the place
Repairing where he judged them, prostrate fell
Before him reverent; and there confessed
Humbly their faults, and pardon begged; with tears
Watering the ground, and with their sighs the air
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Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeigned, and humiliation meek. (*PL*, X.1078-1085)

Through confession and reverence, Adam and Eve hope to be forgiven – but the damage is already done. Michael tells Adam about all the tragedies that their trespass will bring in book XI. These include death, fratricide, murder and flood. The burden of bringing about evil to humanity is theirs to carry, as all their sons and humanity from there on are tainted by their sin. They repent and depart from Paradise.

Stephen’s burden is also heavy – he feels permanently pained and guilty for his mother’s death, even though she suffered from cancer. On June 16, 1904 (the day in which *Ulysses* takes place), Stephen still mourned her and dressed in black – eight days before the anniversary of her death. Gifford notes that ‘[i]n the mid-Victorian world, the period of a son’s deep mourning for his mother (black suit, shoes, socks, and tie and a sharply limited social life) would have been a year and a day. By 1904 the rules had been considerably relaxed, but Stephen is adhering to the letter of the old law.’\(^{54}\) Stephen wears Mulligan’s second-hand clothes but tells his friend he cannot wear them if they are grey. It is possible to interpret Stephen’s lengthened mourning as a faint chance to redeem himself in his mother’s eyes and to redress Mulligan’s accusation of having killed her.

In addition to the guilt Stephen feels in relation to his mother’s death, there are other issues Stephen has with the feminine principle that transcends the familial sphere: these are related to his engagement with artistic creation, as well as his refusal to serve the mother church and his exile from his home country. These are metaphorically represented by his fear of water, if we consider the water as a symbol of baptism, fertility, and feminility. As Blamires mentions,

Stephen’s reluctance to wash or to bathe is symbolically associated with his rejection of his own baptism, his failure to commit himself to womanhood, and to engage himself fruitfully in artistic creation. He has rebelled against his own mother, his mother the Church, his mother country.\(^{55}\)

Stephen’s water-related issues are closely connected to the figure and the presence of Milton, both as a literary canonical figure and as a representative of British colonialism, as I will demonstrate below. Firstly, Stephen’s failure to commit to the feminine principle – pray for

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\(^{54}\) Gifford and Seidman, p. 15.

his mother - is also shown in other water-related activities. Mulligan exclaims ‘Thalatta! Thalatta! Our great sweet mother!’ in relation to the sea, as in the Odyssey. This exclamation opens way for Mulligan’s comment on Stephen's attitude of not praying by his mother’s deathbed. The association of the water with womanhood and fertility is reflected in Stephen’s attitude; he is terribly afraid of the water and would not join Mulligan for his morning swim. Schwarz adds:

   Stephen is a hydrophobe whose neurosis depends upon metaphors taking precedence over logic. He has imaginatively created a metonymical series which aligns water with his refusal to pray for his mother’s soul, and in turn aligns his mother’s subsequent suffering with his refusal to pray; in his tortured conscience, the green sea and green bile cannot be separated from his apostasy.\textsuperscript{56} (p. 80-1)

In addition, he is referred to as ‘the unclean bard’ by Mulligan due to his aversion to washing. Stephen’s rebellion is reflected in small details. For example, his aversion to wash/bathe is connected to his \textit{non serviam} and highlights its consequences. Joyce once explained to Budgen that he wanted ‘the reader to understand always through suggestion rather than direct statement.’\textsuperscript{57} Thus, we can infer that Stephen’s aquaphobia stands for more than plain lack of hygiene. The cause for his rebellion against the feminine principle, as argued by Blamires, can be his attribution of the fault of the Fall to the woman. There is another example during the episode of the milkwoman: when the milkwoman is delivering milk in the tower, Stephen thinks of ‘her woman's unclean loins, of man's flesh made not in God's likeness, the serpent's prey’ (\textit{U}, 1.421-2) while he is accused by another woman, Mulligan’s aunt, to have killed his mother. The attribution of the fall to the woman is exclusively Miltonic, as the Bible does not blame Eve, but Adam, for the fall of humanity. In the Bible, Adam is told not to eat from the tree of knowledge before the creation of Eve:

   And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it. And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.\textsuperscript{58} (my emphasis)

\textsuperscript{56} Schwarz, p. 80-81.
\textsuperscript{57} Budgen, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{58} Genesis 2:15-17.
It is important to remark that, in the Bible there is no mention of Eve’s wish to separate herself from Adam in the garden before the serpent appears. Instead, Adam was with her, as we can see:

And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat. 59

Milton’s account of how the Serpent found Eve is told in the introduction to Book 9: ‘Eve loath to be thought not circumspect or firm enough, urges her going apart, the rather desirous to make tryal of her strength; Adam at last yields: The Serpent finds her alone (…)’ (PL, 9.Intro) Thus, it is possible to argue that Stephen’s placing of the blame on the woman echoes Milton’s viewpoint of the Fall and works through the myth – were Eve accompanied by Adam, according to Milton, they would not have sinned. The fault placed on the feminine figure reflects on Stephen’s fall: without a woman, he would not have fallen, as he refused to serve his mother because ‘he perceived his mother as a surrogate – indeed, a metaphor, a substitution – for the traditional values that he had to reject.’ 60 Specifically, his mother is associated with his refusal to serve the church if we connect it to the refused prayer. In addition to that, Schwarz adds, ‘he fuses his mother with the old milkwoman to create the traditional allegorical image of Ireland as an old woman.’ 61 This fusion is made explicit when Stephen says ‘A crazy queen, old and jealous. Kneel down before me.’ (U, 1.640)

There are additional postcolonial overtones in the definition of the milkwoman as the ‘serpent’s prey’ and as Ireland: Andrew Gibson mentions a postcolonial reading of Stephen taken from Vincent Cheng’s Joyce, Race and Empire, where he shows that Stephen is aware of ‘his own subject status and the subject status of what he calls ‘my people’, with whom he substantially identifies, albeit with reservations.’ 62 Cheng argues that Stephen’s ‘people’ are ‘represented by the milkwoman, ‘a figure for an Ireland’ exploited by the coloniser (Haines) and ‘his shoneen collaborator (Mulligan).’ 63 Furthermore, Cheng mentions that ‘The “Telemachiad” is a powerful anatomy and exposure of English cultural hegemony in

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59 Genesis 3:6
60 Schwarz, p. 79.
61 Schwarz, p. 79.
Ireland.' However, from the beginning it is possible to perceive Stephen’s discomfort with the figures of Haines and Mulligan, and further on, Deasy. Gibson argues that:

the English presence and its consequences are principally embodied in three figures in the first two chapters, Haines, Mulligan, and Deasy. All three characters require of Stephen an acquiescence that, with a more or less mute non serviam, he refuses to give. In resisting the others’ overtures, Stephen resists English patronage, English blandishments, English influences, English advice.

These three figures are essential for our understanding of the continuum between A Portrait and Ulysses, and the extent of Stephen’s non serviam. He is firm in his decision not to serve and swerves from the English domination, both explicitly, from other characters, and metaphorically, from Milton. However, towards the end of the ‘Telemachiad’, in ‘Proteus’, the shape-shifting episode, Stephen moves closer to his creative self and seems to seek harmony with his artistic side rather ironically and mockingly. He rips off a part of Deasy’s letter to write a fragment of a poem, and later, ‘makes water’, by urinating in the sea. Two seemingly diverse activities are actually linked closely to each other: in ‘Circe’, Stephen associates the words ‘Poetic’ and ‘Uro-poetic’ (U, 15.4388) while being questioned by Private Compton and Private Carr, two British soldiers. The word poiesis, from Greek, stands for ‘production’: thus, as Gifford mentions, ‘Uro-poetic’ is a medical term meaning ‘favoring the production of urine.’ Furthermore, the prefix ‘Uro’ might also refer to Urania, great granddaughter of Uranus, invoked by Milton in Book 7 of PL to explain the origin of the universe. Alastair Fowler refers to her as an ‘ancient Muse of Astronomy [who] aptly presides over the part chiefly concerned with the macrocosm.’ Based on previous discussions, I would argue that the association of the words is not at all exaggerated. After all, Stephen is producing - poiesis, both poetry by the beach, and urine, water with an added prefix related to the muse Urania. As mentioned previously, water is linked to artistic production.

Stephen decided to leave Ireland in search of his creative self at the end of Portrait, due to a sense of not belonging, in a self-imposed exile. As argued before, the ‘forced exile’ brings Stephen and Satan together again - the exile and the sense of dispossession triggers their creativity and allows both to be themselves. As Milton famously has Satan say, ‘make a

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64 Cheng, in Gibson, p. 22.
65 Gibson, p. 22.
66 Gifford, p. 520.
heaven of hell [and] a hell of heaven.’ (PL I.255) The forced exile is a catalyst for their creative capacities. Furthermore, this exile and the liberation of the creative self – for Satan, Stephen, and Joyce himself - provides Joyce with ideal grounds to ‘fly by the nets’ of language and work on his last ground-breaking work, *Finnegans Wake*. As he remarked to Stefan Zweig, there was an extra and significant concern: ‘I cannot express myself in English without enclosing myself in a tradition.’68 Joyce’s engagement with the ‘enclosure’ of tradition certainly includes the inescapability of Milton’s presence, but he moves on to approach Milton in an argumentative form, not devoid of some natural (perhaps salutary) hostility when, in his unpuritan epic, he makes the woman (Molly) have the last word – saying yes to the world, yes to eating the apple, yes to knowledge. He confronts Milton’s epic in his refusal to make woman responsible for bringing ‘death into the world, and all our woe’ (PL I.3) in *Ulysses*, and his last work, *Finnegans Wake*, flows alongside the river Liffey, personified as Anna Livia Plurabelle, the main character, river, mother and lifegiver.

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4. FINNEGAN'S WAKE: INTRODUCTION TO A STRANGE SUBJECT

Joyce’s last work was completed in 1939, and it was initially called *Work in Progress* while it was being written and published in instalments in the Paris journals *The Transatlantic Review* and *transition*, between 1924 and April-May 1938. A. Nicholas Fargnoli and Michael Gillespie mention that it is not certain when Joyce decided on the title *Finnegans Wake*; he had encouraged many of his friends to guess the name, and in 1938, Eugene Jolas surprisingly guessed the name and won a wager with Joyce. The name is based on the name of the hotel Nora worked in, Finn’s Hotel, when she met Joyce in 1904, as well as a pun on the name of the Irish ballad ‘Finnegan’s Wake.’¹ It presents new characters and themes, even though it can be seen as a work that picks up where *Ulysses* left off. As Harry Levin demonstrates:

> [t]he stream of consciousness in *Finnegans Wake* begins at the very point where the stream of consciousness in *Ulysses* left off – the point of falling asleep. For the last time we return to Dublin, where we spent an exhaustive day with Mr Bloom, to enjoy an exhausting night with Mr Earwicker.²

However, as readers of Joyce know well, the nighttime and the dreamworld that *Finnegans Wake* presents are diverse and sundry in format when compared to the literary devices of the Bloomsday book. If the light of day in *Ulysses* brought with it the internal monologues characteristic of that novel, a world of obscurity and portmanteau words awaits in *FW*, lending the book a dreamy ambiance with allusions to historical and religious figures that combine and contribute to the creation of multiple layers of significance for both the characters and story itself. The cento-like collage of citations from and about the 628-page book compiled by Finn Fordham provides, in concentrated form, a powerful sense of the nature of *Finnegans Wake* and its multifariousness. It is:

- a sleep-story; *the dreamlike saga of guilt-stained, evolving humanity*; a protracted nightmare; *a mighty allegory of the fall and resurrection of mankind*; *a gigantic epiphany of mankind*; an ark to contain all human myths and types; a chaosmos of Alle; a polyhedron of scripture; a meanderthal tale; this nonday diary, this allnight’s newscopyreel; one of the boldest books ever written; one of the most entertaining books ever written; one of the greatest works of twentieth-century architecture; nothing short of divine vision or a new cure for the clap can be worth all [its] circumambient

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² Levin, p. 122.
peripherization; enormous, mad, unreadable; a cold pudding of a book; a Wholesale Safety Pun factory; a dull mass of phony folklore; a divertissement philologique; literatured with . . . once current puns, quashed quotatoes, messes of mottage; an Irish word ballet; like a little Negro dance; music; a collideorscape; a macroscope; a last judgement and genial proclamation of doom; a monstrous prophecy; a history of the future; a tragi-comedy; funeralf and funerall; made out of nothing; a paroxysm of wroughtness; Wimmegame’s Fake; a big long wide high deep dense prosework; an encyclopedia of mythology; a postmodern encyclopedia . . . a parody of the eleventh Britannica; unprecedented; seen distantly and from without, like a darkened powerhouse on the skyline; a wheel . . . and it’s all square!; a flying machine; a time machine; a hypermniesiac machine; a cybernetic history machine; a simulacrum of the machinery of God’s creation; a millwheeling vicociclometer; the most profoundly antifascist book produced between the two wars; an engagement with the very matter of our being; a war on language; a wonderful game; most.3 (my emphasis)

The plethora of epithets – gathered by Fordham from the book itself, as well as from criticism about it, paint a multi-coloured picture of the world of Finnegans Wake. In order to investigate how Milton is caught up in this whirlwind of ‘quashed quotatoes’, it is necessary to focus on a trio of definitions, specifically Finnegans Wake as ‘the dreamlike saga of guilt-stained, evolving humanity’, ‘a mighty allegory of the fall and resurrection of mankind’4, and ‘a simulacrum of the machinery of God’s creation.’5 The former two descriptions were taken from previous attempts to decode FW by Joseph Campbell and Henry M. Robinson in A Skeleton Key to ‘Finnegans Wake’, first published in 1946, while the latter is from Harry Levin’s Critical Introduction. Adaline Glasheen’s Census of Finnegans Wake, first published in 1956, and in revised versions in 1963 and 1977, reiterates the descriptions above, each of which in different ways might have been written about Milton’s Paradise Lost, focusing on the epic/cosmic themes. Furthermore, these also emphasize that the Fall is a recurrent theme in FW, albeit not only in the biblical sense: ‘FW retells analogous or pendant or non-canonical stories that are variations on the matter of Genesis.’6 Naturally, it is impossible to think about retellings of the biblical story of creation and not include Paradise Lost among these.

4 Joseph Campbell and Henry Morton Robinson, A Skeleton Key to Finnegans Wake (Novato: New World Library, 2005), p. 3.
5 Levin, p. 144.
Fordham’s cento-like description suggests a plethora of intertexts and allusions in *Finnegans Wake*. In *A Skeleton Key*, Campbell and Robinson recount that after Joyce’s death, ‘it was freely prophesied that *Finnegans Wake* would never be explained, and could look forward only to an undusted career as a piece of literary *curiosa*.’ However, the ‘cult’ of *Finnegans Wake* continues to grow, as a great number of Joyceans decide to tackle the apparently impervious surface of the work. Joyce’s witty puns and impeccable sense of humour is taken to a higher level in *Finnegans Wake*. Even though readers of *Finnegans Wake* might wish to be provided with schemata, as Joyce provided them for *Ulysses*, Glasheen makes it clear that no synopsis or schemes should serve as a substitute for reading *FW*, as it ‘omits Joyce’s fine nonsense and infinite variety; it renders abrupt and broken the “savage economy” of Joyce’s language; it misses or mangles the elegant and ingenious flow of Joyce’s variations on metamorphic experience.’ Such first-hand reading is of course essential when attempting to explore the multifaceted world of *FW* and, in our case here, to discover the presence of Milton in *FW*.

*Finnegans Wake*’s peculiar language is one of the first barriers a reader must get through to be able to enter its realm. The extent of Joyce’s effort to assist readers was his initiative to support Samuel Beckett in his attempt to publish a book on the subject, named *Our Exagmination Round His Factification for Incamation of Work in Progress*. *Our Exag* (for short) was published in 1929 before the publication of *Finnegans Wake* itself. This long-titled volume is composed of twelve essays written by friends of Joyce, such as Beckett himself, Frank Budgen, Stuart Gilbert, Eugene Jolas, and William Carlos Williams, among others; ‘the twelve customers of Earwicker’s public house, or the twelve apostles of Christ’, as Richard Ellmann called them. Ellmann cites a letter to Valéry Larbaud in which Joyce mentions he stood behind ‘those twelve Marshals more or less directing them what lines of research to follow.’ It is as if John Eglinton’s remark had come true, but instead of ‘six brave medicals to write *Paradise Lost* at [his] dictation’ (*U*, 151.18-19), Joyce gathered ‘twelve Marshals’ to write about his own personal version of the Fall, in a similar fashion to Satan gathering his demonic disciples to conspire against God. Sylvia Beach defines the content of the book as ‘the hints that [Joyce] would let fall’.

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7 Campbell and Robinson, p. xxi.
8 Glasheen, p. xxii.
9 Ellmann, p. 613.
that readers were following *Finnegans Wake* published in the magazine *transition* ‘in excitement, though often losing their way in the dark of this night piece.’ Thus, the articles in *Our Exagmination* aimed at helping readers had been written by ‘writers who had penetrated deeply into the mysteries of *Work in Progress*.’

As Ellmann points out, ‘Exagmination’ used to ‘claim its etymological derivation from *ex agmine*, a hint that his goats had been separated from his sheep.’ Furthermore, he adds that Joyce once wrote to Valéry Larbaud: ‘I am now hopelessly with the goats and can only think and write capriciously. Depart from me bleaters, into everlasting sleep which was prepared for Academicians and their agues!’ *Our Exag*’s investigation of *FW* covers the most varied themes: Beckett meditates on Joyce’s use of Dante and Vico, Budgen comments on Old Norse Poetry, Jolas on his revolution of language, and Thomas McGreevy on the Catholic element, just to name a few. One of the main aims of *Our Exag* is to show the audience at the time that in spite of its apparent opacity, *FW* opens itself to the reader to offer a plethora of interpretations – which unfold in face of diverse backgrounds and varied language knowledge. *FW* plays with *portmanteau* words, words made up of two or even more words, giving it a wider range of meaning. As Fordham puts it, in the words of Fritz Senn, *FW* becomes ‘what we do with it’ even though it is ‘also what it does with us. We produce a wake by the way we steer, but we also steer by the Wake that we produce.’

Thus, in this chapter I show how the presence of Milton in *FW* adds further layers of signification to its characters. Given that Milton is the author of the most renowned literary epic poem on the Fall, a connection with the Miltonic characters is especially relevant in *FW*, that ‘mighty allegory of the fall and resurrection of mankind’. Echoes of *Paradise Lost* in *Finnegans Wake* give Joyce’s characters increased resonance, turning what would be a mere, everyday human lapse into a mythical, epic error for the parents of mankind in *FW*, HCE and ALP. The observation made by McGreevy in *Our Exag* that Joyce had ‘a wellnigh flawless sense of the significance of words with a power to construct on a scale scarcely equalled in English Literature since the Renaissance, not even by the author of *Paradise Lost*’ might well be taken as evidence of Joyce’s desire for this comparison to be drawn – especially given that Joyce himself had directed the writing of *Our Exag*. However, by referring to that single

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11 Beach, p. viii.
12 Ellmann, 613.
reference to *Paradise Lost*, I do not wish to claim that Milton is the only, or most important source for Joyce in terms of the ‘Genesis’ during his writing of *FW*. Other sources also need to be taken into account, such as the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, the Kabbalah, and Old Norse poetry, to cite a few examples. Campbell and Robinson support the idea that *Finnegans Wake* is related not only to one fall, but also to a variety of them, literary, ancient, and modern:

Finnegan’s fall from the ladder is hugely symbolic: it is Lucifer’s fall, Adam’s fall, the setting sun that will rise again, the fall of Rome, a Wall Street crash. It is Humpty Dumpty’s fall, and the fall of Newton’s apple. It is the irrigating shower of spring rain that falls on seeded fields. And it is every man’s daily recurring fall from grace.\(^{15}\)

Even though the archetype of the Fall is common to a variety of literary works referring back to its biblical origins, upon closer analysis of Joyce’s writing and biography – especially his school background – it is plausible to assert that he has drawn much more from Milton’s account of the Fall than is usually claimed. Examples of this ‘touch’, or sense of contact between apparently unconnected worlds, will be provided in order to demonstrate the latent and pervasive Miltonic presence throughout *Finnegans Wake*. Thus, firstly, it is a fact that both Milton and Joyce approach the primal myth of the fall. More importantly, in regards to style, they share a preoccupation with creating/emulating a prelapsarian language, as Christopher Eagle remarks:

> Joyce’s era shared with Milton’s a similarly intense preoccupation with pinpointing the ‘perfect language’, a language in which word corresponds to thing adequately and with clarity, with the specificity of a proper name, or the irrefutability of a logical syllogism. In both, this preoccupation was rooted in the biblical terms of a lost Adamic language and the possibility of its retrieval, and furthermore, this tension between pre- and postlapsarian language plays out, in a manner befitting two blind poets, through the interplay of clear and obscure modes of signification.\(^{16}\)

Thus, the diligence in crafting the ‘perfect language’ is an intersecting factor between both epics. Milton’s ‘grand style’ revolutionised writing in the 17\(^{th}\) century with blank verse and latinate and invented words, in the search of the ideal prelapsarian manner of expression. Joyce, in turn, united in a single book words that point at diverse etymologies, in a Babelian way, in order to create a pre/post-lapsarian world (as the book is cyclical, the cycle of fall-and-rise is repeated). These words artfully put together, either evoking their etymology or

\(^{15}\) Campbell and Robinson, p. 5.

coupled with others (the famous *portmanteau* words) all contribute to a shaping of an atmosphere – *stimmung*, ‘wrapping’ the actions and characters in the story and imbuing the entire plot with an epic aura.

Furthermore, by revolutionising both syntax and language itself, Joyce develops a salutary obscurity in his telling of the primal myth of the fall, as the ‘book of the dark’ reveals its secrets in the apparent ‘darkness’; the ‘auditory imagination [is] abnormally sharpened at the expense of the visual’ as T.S. Eliot remarks about *Finnegans Wake*, when contrasting and comparing it to *Paradise Lost*. In a similar vein, Eliot argues that Miltonic syntax ‘is determined by the musical significance, by the auditory imagination.’\(^{17}\) When the eyes cannot make sense of writing, musicality leads the way. Obscurity, as Eagle points out, was considered ‘by many of Milton’s contemporaries symptomatic of the postlapsarian or post-Babelian status of language’, while considering, in contrast clarity and accuracy as virtues of a recreated Adamic language.

This recreated prelapsarian language helps shape both *Paradise Lost* and *Finnegans Wake* as epics, or, more specifically, Christian epics. The genre, initiated with Dante, ‘proposes the experience of the individual subject as a definitive revelation of the ultimate reality of human existence and thereby also of divinity’, as William Franke defines it.\(^{18}\) Through the auditory and poetic experience of the elements of the biblical *Genesis* in *Paradise Lost*, phenomena are ‘rendered concrete by the medium of poetic language.’ Franke adds that the proems to Books I, III, VI, and IX ‘insert the poet into the vision he relates’, as the individual subject is paramount for the manifestation of phenomena and revelations.\(^{19}\) In *Finnegans Wake*, the manifestation of the subject is also expressed by the use of stream of consciousness, allowing for the self to permeate the narrative; in fact, ‘Joyce certainly pushes self-conscious reflection in narrative to an extreme, first producing what he calls an “epiphany,”’\(^{20}\) the medium of revelation or “epiphany” becomes language. This epic quality intersects with one of the ways to perceive presence analysed in this thesis, the concept of language as epiphany.

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\(^{17}\) T.S. Eliot, ‘Milton 1’ in *On Poetry and Poets*. Faber and Faber


\(^{19}\) Franke, p.158.

\(^{20}\) Franke, p. 159.
Furthermore, it should be added that the consideration of an epiphany as a process of revelation should not leave out the importance of the reader’s role. As Franke adds, the reader is a ‘further locus of revelation’, as their reading validates and repeats the epiphanic moments of the protagonist.\textsuperscript{21} The repetition of these moments of revelation, as I see it, works as a consolidation of the stimmung that permeates the epic. In the case of this thesis, I argue for a Miltonic stimmung, that is perceivable through references to Milton’s Paradis Lost. These references are varied, initially based on allusions or the use of words used in common by Milton and Joyce, but most importantly, the effect that these words create: an atmosphere that transcends the moment in which they were used, ‘enveloping’ a scene, a moment, or a character in Finnegans Wake, imbuing their actions with an aura that is reminiscent of Milton’s telling of the Fall.

Even though FW does not provide us with a linear narrative, it makes sense to start the analysis from the first page, as in the end we will have a sense of the whole. Thus, my investigation of FW proceeds book by book, in subchapters, as the work is divided in 4 books. Most importantly, an investigation of the examples in a linear fashion profits from this systematic approach due to the intrinsic nature of the concept of stimmung, as the accumulation of detail is paramount in order to compose a conducive ‘atmosphere’ to understanding fully the presence of Milton in Joyce’s opus magnum. The titles of the books used in this thesis are suggestions taken from Campbell and Robinson, who in turn have created them through adapting words from the text itself; the various parts do not have specific names in Finnegans Wake.

4.1 Book 1: The Book of the Parents

Although the title has no apostrophe because, as Ellmann remarks, ‘it meant both the death of Finnegan and the resurgence of all Finnegans’, Campbell and Robinson place the apostrophe in its commonly expected place to summarise the topic of chapter I, ‘Finnegan’s Fall’, as it (among a plethora of other things) retells the story of the mythical Irish giant and hod carrier Tim Finnegan.\textsuperscript{22} Finnegan fell from a ladder and supposedly died, and during his funeral he wakes up after he is accidentally splashed with whiskey. Even though he ‘wakes’ from the dead, his friends convince him to stay in his coffin as he is already going to be replaced –

\textsuperscript{21} Franke, p.157.
\textsuperscript{22} Ellmann, p. 543.
representing the end of an era and the beginning of another one with HCE, the hero in *Finnegans Wake*.\(^{23}\)

Initially, it is possible to think of *FW* as a sequel to *Ulysses*. Harry Levin mentions that ‘[t]he stream of consciousness in *Finnegans Wake* begins at the very point where the stream of consciousness in *Ulysses* left off – the point of falling asleep.’\(^{24}\) Thus, it is possible to infer that Joyce intended to carry some of the recurrent themes in *Ulysses*, such as the fall, into *FW*. For instance, as Ellmann remarks, ‘the last page of *Ulysses* showed Molly and Leopold eating the same seedcake like Eve and Adam eating the ‘seedfruit’ … when man fell, and *Finnegans Wake* also began with the fall of man.’\(^{25}\) There is in *FW* a remarkable ‘touch’, a feeling of physical connectedness between two seemingly distinct worlds as Joyce selects words and allusions that are remarkably Miltonic. Furthermore, Joyce is able to prolong the Miltonic atmosphere thus creating a *stimmung* that permeates the first section of the book, Finnegans’s fall, which is evocative of the fall of man and the fall of Lucifer from heaven. Thus, the theme of the fall, as well as the consequent resurrections it implies, permeate *FW*. Campbell and Robinson discuss the significance of Finnegans’s fall from the ladder, which is ‘hugely symbolic.’ The theme of the fall is passed along through the mythical giant Finnegan to the main character HCE. It is possible to say that Joyce’s objective at the (physical) beginning of the book is also to create the argument for the story and explain the cycle of which HCE is the protagonist.

The first lines of the book provide us with an example of how Joyce condenses the idea of ‘ricorso’, or rise-and-fall cycle of human life and history using the analogy with the flow of the river Liffey:

riverrun, past Eve and Adam’s, from swerve of shore to bend of bay, brings us by a commodius vicus of recirculation back to Howth Castle and Environs… (*FW*, 3.1-3)

Initially, it should be noted that there is a connection of ideas ‘flowing’ from *Ulysses* – the representation of the water as a feminine principle, the sea as *thalatta*, the ‘great sweet mother’ is transposed to *FW*; the river Liffey is also ALP, Anna Livia Plurabelle, HCE’s wife and the great mother in *FW*. She is:

\(^{23}\) Whose name is mainly Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker, but his presence is attested by any three words together with the same initials, HCE.  
\(^{24}\) Levin, p. 122.  
\(^{25}\) Ellmann, p. 545.
Meints Adail, 130

(...) heroine of FW, Mrs Earwicker, Eve, Everywoman, Everygoddess, Everyriver (…) Plurabelle is an addition to the river names ‘Anna Liffey.’ It certainly connects with the plurality of persons that is Eve (‘mother of all living’).  

In a few words, Joyce encapsulates the concept of ALP’s plurality by transforming her into the river – ‘riverrun’ as well as creating an effect of circularity by making the first letter of the first word of the book lower-case; additionally, he provides readers with a reference to a ‘commodius vicus of recirculation’, pointing at the philosopher Giambattista Vico’s ‘ricorso’. Campbell and Robinson mention that ‘the book is composed in a circle; the last word flows into the first (...) and the rosary of history begins all over again.’ The fluid power of the word ‘riverrun’ that ‘characterises the essence of the book itself’ favours the interpretation of the book as a cycle, with no beginning or end.  In other words, limits imposed by these conventions are effaced.

Embedded in the idea of recirculation, (unlike Paradise Lost, whose argument is underpinned by providence) a repetition of the cycle of rise-and-fall of humanity is the reference to ‘Eve and Adam.’ Campbell and Robinson claim that ‘the first four paragraphs of FW remotely suggest the first verses of the Book of Genesis’ which is definitely possible.  When one bears in mind that Finnegans Wake alludes to several other books about the fall, Joyce’s reference to Eve and Adam brings in the stimmung of literary works which have the biblical couple in Paradise as protagonists. On a side note, it is clear that the mere reference to the names of Adam and Eve cannot be considered as Miltonic per se; however, when conjoined with several other elements that bring in the presence of Milton, the stimmung is created and makes the idea of a Paradise Lost atmosphere perceivable. Furthermore, there is evidence of the prevalence of the presence of Milton, as demonstrated by Glasheen in her entry on Milton, in the Census:

English Poet, author of Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained. On these poems (as on Genesis and the Gospels) FW almost never stops commenting. Joyce also makes use of apocryphal literature like the Life of Adam and Eve which is retold in ‘Anna Livia Plurabelle’.

The idea of a ‘recurring fall from grace’ creates an atmosphere or stimmung which involves the characters and situations lending them a Miltonic ‘taste.’ The idea of Milton’s Paradise Lost as a reference for the theme of the fall is justified given its canonical status, as it is

26 Glasheen, p. 11.
27 Campbell and Robinson, p. 23.
28 Campbell and Robinson, p. 23.
29 Glasheen, p. 195.
Meints Adail, 131

‘easily the most famous exploration of the causes and consequences of the matter in Eden.’

Additionally, the choice of lower-case letters for the first word in the book, ‘riverrun’, bestows an idea of continuation and flow rather than a start; the idea of circularity refers to the theory of *ricorso* by philosopher Giambattista Vico, in which he divides history into parts (ages) that are deemed to repeat themselves in a cycle.

Thus, since the Fall – both Adam and Eve’s and Lucifer’s – is a recurrent theme permeating *FW*, this chapter systematically analyses Milton’s presence in *FW* mainly in the light of the main theme of *PL*: I will expand and discuss the relationship between the recurrent Falls in *FW* and the Falls in *Paradise Lost* in the four books of Joyce’s last work. Any linearity possible will be used in favour of enabling the display of evidence of presence and *stimmung*. The examples will be mentioned in a catalogue fashion so as to facilitate the understanding and the perception of Miltonic presence, as the presence and *stimmung* build up through accumulated density in several occasions, as it has been already observed from previous examples.

### 4.1.2 The Fall and the Fallen – Satan, Adam, Eve.

As discussed above and Fargnoli and Gillespie describe it, *Finnegans Wake* is about the cycle of fall and resurrection, as well as sin/acquittal, decay and renewal. The fall of people and objects physically, morally, and metaphorically, has a broader significance, transcending its literal sphere. Additionally, it might represent the fall of several figures in one, as the variegated language of *FW* and its portmanteau words allow for the conflation of characters and situations. Another point to consider is that Joyce had been emphasising human nature and feelings, as well as everyday situations, since *Ulysses*, when Leopold Bloom was made into our Modern Adam. In *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce’s book of the night, the rationale followed is the same: the fall of Finnegan and HCE is a human fall. As for Milton, Leonard calls attention to the fact that ‘[o]ne of the great achievements of twentieth century criticism of *Paradise Lost* is its recognition of the human drama in Milton’s depiction of the Fall.’

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32 Fargnoli and Gillespie, p. 76.
33 Leonard, p. 601.
human drama from Milton’s *Paradise Lost* is recognised and evoked by Joyce in *FW*; the polymorphic characters of ALP, HCE, and their children, Issy, Shaun and Shem are imbued with traits, verbal echoes and allusions that connect them to the human characteristics of Adam, Eve, Satan and the other fallen angels. The strategy adopted by Joyce enables the reader to understand the Earwicker family as characters that transcend their own boundaries, taking part in the rise-and-fall cycle of life, albeit echoing the main Falls of humanity.

The first Fall in *Finnegans Wake*, which is announced by the thunderword and referred to directly, is to be found in the sentence ‘The great fall of the offwall entailed at such short notice the pftjschute of Finnegan’ (*FW* 1.18-19). Campbell and Robinson argue that the word ‘pftjschute’ suggests ‘chute’, French for *fall*, which is also ‘the hissing rush of a falling meteor – Lucifer falling into Hell.’

I do not intend to argue that the sentence in *FW* in itself carries a Miltonic presence; however, Campbell and Robinson’s interpretation of the word ‘pftjschute’ aids in the interpretation of Finnegan’s fall as related to Lucifer’s fall in *Paradise Lost* when we look at the reference in a wider context, associating it with the lines that follow. Firstly, Tim Finnegan (from the popular Irish ballad), unlike Lucifer, does not fall from Heaven, through Chaos into Hell; instead, he falls from the ladder on the surface of the earth and his body becomes part of the geography of Dublin after the fall. This fact is highly significant, as he falls with his ‘humptyhillhead of himself’ to the west, becoming Ben Howth, and a part of his body lies at a place whose name is suggestive for the Fall and rebirth, Phoenix Park: ‘(…) in the park where oranges have been laid to rust upon the green since devlins first loved livvy.’ (*FW* 1.20-24) Phoenix Park, then, becomes Eden; for the meeting of Adam and Eve, we will have our two main characters represented in the shape of rivers, Devlin and Livvy: while Livvy points at the river Liffey, which is represented throughout the book as Anna Livia, Devlin, Glasheen explains, is ‘a little stream in Dublin’, which we can associate with her husband and the hero of *FW*, HCE. Together they represent the mother and father of humanity, Adam and Eve, as HCE is responsible for starting a new cycle after the downfall of Finnegan. In the same passage, we also have the fruit of the original sin, the apple, replaced by oranges in a state of decomposition, as they are ‘laid to rust’, representing the decadence and downfall of the Edenic couple after they have eaten the forbidden fruit.

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34 Campbell and Robinson, p. 29. Footnote 1.
35 Glasheen, p. 74.
The site of Finnegan’s fall, then, presents similarities with the site of Adam and Eve’s corruption through Joyce’s use of figurative language, favouring a comparison between the Fall in Phoenix park and the Fall of Lucifer and the Edenic couple. Finnegan falls and changes shape, becoming a part of Dublin’s geography. Similarly, the fall changes the fallen angels, from their names to their ‘shape’, as they are no longer beautiful creatures as they once were. An example is the transformation Satan and the fallen angels go through after the Adversary is successful in corrupting humankind:

His Visage drawn he felt to sharp and spare,
His Armes clung to his Ribs, his Legs entwining
Each other, till supplanted down he fell
A monstrous Serpent on his Belly prone,
…he would have spoke,
But hiss for hiss returnd with forked tongue
To forked tongue, for now were all transform’d
Alike, to Serpents all, as accessories
To his bold Riot (PL X.511-514, 517-522)

Additionally, the oranges ‘laid to rust’, carry overtones of death and decay. Decay is definitely a keyword here, as Campbell and Robinson point out that Finnegan’s fall is ‘on the exact spot where HCE is to become involved in his misadventure with two girls and three soldiers.’ HCE’s ‘misadventure’ is the crime of indecent exposure and masturbation in public, seen by the two temptresses, hereforth called the Maggies, who will be the cause of his fall:

His howd feeled heavy, his hoddit did shake. (There was a wall of course in erection)
Dimb! He stottered from the latter. Damb! he was dud. Dumb! Mastabatoom, mastabadtomm, when a mon merries his lute is all long. For whole the world to see. (FW 6.9-12)

Finnegan’s and HCE’s stories are intertwined in this paragraph, as we can perceive that the situations described can be applied to both characters. HCE’s will have a sexual tone to it, as we will read the word ‘erection’ differently when we think about Finnegan as a bricklayer, building a wall, and HCE peeping on the two Maggies in the park. In this passage, we can find the clearest reference to HCE’s crime: while observing the temptresses – ‘Maggies’ as remarked by Glasheen, refer back to ‘Magdalene’, or Mary Magdalene - HCE commits the

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37 Glasheen, p. 181.
sin of Onan, masturbation. McHugh adds that ‘merry his lute’ may refer to the masturbatory motion. 38

Additionally, the last sentence can be understood as the physical fall of the giant Finnegan, which was seen and heard all around the world, while when we read it in the light of HCE’s sexual slip, it is possible to understand ‘whole’ as ‘hole’ and as his trousers fall, he is exposed, for the whole world to see. The following episode in the book describe a tour in the Willingdone museum (‘Free will done?’), the place where, as Finn Fordham remarks, ‘Finnegan’s ‘mild indiscretion’ is projected into the battle of Waterloo.’ 39 Campbell and Robinson see the Willingdone battle story as:

a reflex, of course, of the story of HCE, whose fall is to be but a variant of the fall of Finnegan. The fire water that intoxicated the ancient giant, and the two urinating girls who intoxicate HCE, are variant-aspects of the one eternal river-woman ALP. 40

It is possible that Joyce himself favours the interpretation of the scene for both characters – and the fall of the trousers – in the line ‘Gricks may rise and Troysirs fall (there being two sights for ever a picture) (FW 11.35-36) reflects the fall of both Lucifer and Adam and Eve, as there are ‘two sights for ever a picture’.

This feeling of a Miltonic atmosphere is prolonged through the next pages, wherein the conditions of the fall of Finnegan and HCE’s fall are explained:

What then agentlike brought about that tragody thundersday this municipal sin business? Our cubehouse still rocks as earwitness to the thunder (…) that would blackguardise the whitestone ever hurtleturtled out of heaven. (FW, 5.13-18)

References to the thunder are doubled in this short section, emphasising God’s voice of ire due to the ‘sin business’ of Adam and Eve, as well as a wordplay with the dichotomy black/white to represent the transformation of Lucifer into Satan, an angel of light transmuted into a dark, fallen creature, ‘hurtleturtled’ out of heaven. The stimmung of Paradise Lost’s opening book is present in the theme and references, as well as in the word choice of ‘hurtleturtled’. Milton describes Satan as having been ‘hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky’ (PL I.45). FW’s sui generis incorporation of the word used by Milton conjures up the powerful presence of the antagonist of PL.

38 McHugh, p. 6.
40 Campbell and Robinson, p. 8.
What follows is a reference to the eating of the forbidden fruit and the perpetrator of Eve’s seduction: ‘But so sore did abe ite ivvy’s holired abbles…’ (FW 5.29-30) wherein a specific allusion to PL is to be discovered; as exemplified on Chapter 1.1.2, the fruit of the Fall is termed ‘apple’ by Milton twice, but never in the Bible, where it is named solely ‘fruit’; the coupled words ‘basilikerks and aeropagods’ (FW 5.33) are presented, suggest both the serpent of Genesis and PL, seducer of Eve, and the title of Milton’s famous prose polemic against pre-publication censorship, Areopagitica (1644). Joyce’s previous work, Ulysses, had suffered severe censorship in its handling of the theme of the fall of the everyday Man; references to nudity, sex, masturbation, and bodily functions triggered a series of law suits, all of which hindered the release of the book. Perhaps it was partly in reaction to this bruising experience that Joyce turned from controversially realist depictions of human subjects in Ulysses to depict the fall of HCE in FW in more mythic, and thus less offensive terms to some, drawing on Milton’s poetic version of the story of Adam and Eve, as well as other sources drawn from Hebrew theology and wisdom literature, such as the Zohar, the foundational work in Jewish Kabbalistic literature.41

The story of HCE and ALP as Adam and Eve recurs during the ‘Museyroom’ vignette, wherein a story about Willingdone battle is told. This is another possible version of the story told in the Willingdone museum, as at the conclusion of the tour we will be presented with Eve’s fate (as ALP):

How bootifull and how truetowife of her, when strenghly forebidden, to steal our historic presents from the past postpropheticals so as to will make us alllordy heirs and ladymaidesses of a pretty nice kettle of fruit. (FW 11.29-32)

When Eve went to share the apple with her husband, after the Fall, (according to Milton, as in the Bible Adam and Eve were together and not separated) it is a ‘bootifull’ and ‘truetowife’ attitude of Eve, as she wants him to share the knowledge of good and evil boasted of by the Snake – even though initially Eve had considered keeping the knowledge to herself. However, what she ends up doing is making all of humankind ‘heirs and ladymaidessses’ of nothing; because of the Fall humanity loses everything.

Milton is also present in FW through linguistically playful references to Satan’s ‘hellmates.’ When HCE arrives in ‘Dyoublong’, the reader is introduced to the ‘herodotary Mammon Lujius.’ (FW, 13.20) Campbell and Robinson suggest that this name is formed by

41 For more on the Zohar in FW, see John P. Anderson Joyce’s Finnegans Wake: the Curse of Kabbalah, 10 vols (Boca Raton, FL: Universal Publishers, 2008-2014)
the conjunction of the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, ‘whose gospels are the history book of the Living World.’ I would also add that the name of Mammon as a devil of covetousness was present in *Ulysses* when referring to Mr Deasy, Stephen’s boss at the Dalkey School, but not in the Bible, where the name is used to refer to ‘riches’ in general. Glasheen calls attention to the fact that Milton in *Paradise Lost*’s council in Pandemonium is responsible for reviving the meaning of Mammon as a devil from the Middle Ages. As in Milton’s Pandemonium, Mammon is not alone in Joyce’s *Finnegans Wake*. On the same page in *FW*, we will find references to ‘bulbenboss,’ ‘Tamuz’ and ‘Baal’. (*FW*, 13.24-36). McHugh documents that ‘bulbenboss’ refers to Mount Ben Bulben in Co. Sligo, renowned in Yeats’s poetry. Given the proximity of the sound, spelling, and grouping with other devils’ names in the same page, I suggest that it can also hint at Satan’s second in command, Beelzebub:

One next himself in power, and next in crime,
Long after known in Palestine, and named
Beelzebub. (*PL*, I.79-81)

In *PL*, Tamuz is referred to as ‘Thammuz,’ goddess Ishtar’s husband, whom Glasheen identifies as a ‘Babylonian slain god, called Adonis by Phoenicians’

Thammuz came next behind,
Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a summer’s day (*PL*, I.446-449)

Furthermore, it is known that the late nineteenth-century Scottish anthropologist Sir James George Frazer had written extensively about Tammuz in his study *The Golden Bough*, published in 1890. Frazer claimed that Tammuz is one example of an archetype of a ‘dying-and-rising god’ as an inherent presence in all religions. The term has currently been discredited, but in the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century it was highly influential, and it is likely that Joyce has had contact with his writings.

In the sentence that follows the mention of Thammuz’s name in *FW*, it is possible to find a reference to the damsels ‘in amorous ditties’: ‘An auburn mayde, o’brine a’bride, to be desarted. Adear, adear!’ (*FW*, 13.26-27)

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42 Campbell and Robinson, p. 43.
43 Glasheen, p. 183.
44 McHugh, p. 13.
45 Glasheen, p. 278.
Lastly, a reference to Baal is found at the bottom of the same page in *FW*: ‘On Baalfire’s night of this year…’ (*FW* 13.36) Baal is Astarte’s counterpart, as they are respectively god and goddess of fertility:

(...) had general names
Of Baalim and Ashtaroth, those male,
These feminine. (*PL* I.421-423)

The mention of these names in both *PL* and *FW* in their respective introductory pages might lend the *stimmung* necessary to enable Joyce’s epic to establish a parallel between the threatening description of the fallen angels and their intention of taking revenge on humankind, and a threat to the stability of HCE and ALP’s lives when the gossip about HCE’s lewd act imperils his reputation and brings about his demise.

The falls of Finnegan and that of HCE are permeated by a Miltonic presence through the use of images of the Fall of Satan and, most remarkably, the fall of Adam and Eve in *Paradise Lost*. These images produce an idea of ‘touch’ between the 1667 epic poem and Joyce’s modern circular novel that adds further dimensions to our interpretation of *Finnegans Wake*. The ‘touch’ produces a Miltonic atmosphere, which contributes to a feeling of *déjà-vu* in the reader. As a result of this feeling, the reader is prompted to think of HCE not only as a character created by Joyce, but also as Adam, Satan, a river, a hero, or a commoner.

A hint of Miltonic presence can also be felt when Joyce conflates the traditional story of St Patrick and the banishing of snakes from Ireland with *PL*; this passage presents strong symbolism in the image of the reptile and apples:

*Sss! See the snake wurrums everyside! Our durlbin is swarming in sneaks. They came to our island from triangular Toucheaterre beyond the wet prairie rared up in the midst of the cargon of prohibitive pomefructs (...) And a hundreadfilled unleavenweight of liberorumqueue to con an we can till allhorrors eve. (FW 19.12-25)*

The symbolism of the ‘snake’ as a creature of evil has a strong significance in the Bible, in St Patrick’s story, and in *Paradise Lost*. St Patrick is said to have banished snakes from Ireland. But curiously, these come from ‘triangular Toucheaterre’, which might be a reference to England (from the French *Angleterre*) and to Milton’s *PL*, as they come in ‘the cargon of prohibitive pomefructs,’ as in *pommes*, apples in French. Initially, we should recall that the use of ‘apple’ as the fruit of the fall is primarily Miltonic and not Biblical. Additionally, it makes sense to associate the scene when the fallen angels are in hell planning their actions to corrupt mankind until ‘allhorrors eve’ – a possible reference to the day of the fall.
Furthermore, all the fallen angels turn into snakes after Satan returns to hell to tell them about his success in seducing Adam and Eve into eating the apple:

a greater power
Now ruled him, punished in the shape he sinned,
According to his doom: he would have spoke,
But hiss for hiss returned with forked tongue
To forked tongue; for now were all transformed
Alike, to serpents all, as accessories
To his bold riot: Dreadful was the din
Of hissing through the hall, thick swarming now
With complicated monsters head and tail (PL X.515-523)

Joyce’s reference to a plethora of snakes has Miltonic overtones, as the transformation of the other fallen angels into snakes is, among Abrahamic creation legends and adaptations, uniquely mentioned in PL. Before the corruption of humankind, Satan is the only one referred to as a Serpent, as it is the form in which he disguises himself to enter the Garden of Eden. after his successful enterprise, not only himself, but all the demons ‘were all transformed | Alike, to serpents all.’ there are ‘snake wurrums everyside’, meaning that there is not only one snake threatening ‘durlbin.’ Additionally, the specific placement of this passage in pages 18-19 of Finnegans Wake might have special significance, as it is where several other religious references make an appearance, such as the Talmud, the Koran, the Ramayana and Buddhist books. In Gumbrecht’s conception, stimmung refers to the rhetorical effect achieved when a narrative ‘wraps’ or immerses its readers. In pursuit of this effect, Joyce appears to conflate the myth of Saint Patrick’s expulsion of the snakes from Ireland with Milton’s figuration of the fallen angels as snakes in Paradise Lost in order to give the readers a feeling of déjà-vu; one depiction of snakes recalls the other. Thus, on a closer examination, we are able to see that the reference to a large quantity of snakes (and not only one) and ‘pomefructs’ is subtly suggestive of Miltonic presence.

Chapter I.2 of FW brings us the story of how HCE gained the nickname Earwicker and the rumours of his sexual trespass at Phoenix Park. Here I concentrate on the vignette known for the presence of the ‘Cad with a Pipe,’ a ‘luciferant’, from the Latin luciferens, to carry a light. There is more of Lucifer in the cad than just being a light bearer, as it is apparent in the passage below.

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46 See McHugh, pp. 18-19 for specific references and citations.
47 McHugh, p. 35.
They tell the story (…) how ages and ages after the alleged misdemeanour (…) he met a cad with a pipe. The latter, the luciferant not the orioulate (…) carryin his overgoat under his schulder, sheepside out… unwishful as he felt of being hurled into eternity …. at work upon the ten ton tonuant thunderous tenor tollerin the speckled church. (FW 35.1-32)

Firstly, HCE’s story is told ‘ages and ages after the alleged misdemeanour.’ It is not clear in the passage whose misdemeanour it is, thus making it possible to conflate Satan’s, Adam’s, or HCE’s own incident in the Park into one misdemeanour, turning our main character into a mélange of fallen figures. This interweaving does not make the passage Miltonic per se; however, this ‘hint’ of the theme of the Fall carries a Miltonic touch, which will help build the stimmung of Paradise Lost throughout the passage.

HCE’s meeting with the cad with a pipe – the luciferant – who asks him for the time is crucial for our understanding of his fall here. HCE is the ‘orioulate’, the one with a watch, who stutters, stammers and ends up telling the cad much more than the time: he carries his ‘overgoat under his schulder, sheepside out’, which stands for his guilt about the incident with the two Maggies, but the sheepside out turns him into a ‘goat’ in sheep’s clothing. Even though he does not want to be ‘hurled into eternity,’ the ‘tonuant thunderous tenor’ of the church bells announces his fate. The use of the word ‘hurled,’ Milton’s word of choice when the fall of the angels is mentioned, coupled with the use of ‘eternity,’ which is the way Adam defines the spheres created by God that exceed his understanding, favours an interpretation of Miltonic presence in HCE’s forthcoming fall, as his dialogue with the cad moves towards a confession of guilt. Furthermore, the Miltonic thunder marks the beginning of HCE’s story of his transgression and the beginning of another fall, as his telling will bring his demise:

That whereas the hakusay accusation againstm had been made, what was known in high quarters as was stood stated in Morganspost, by a creature in youmanform who was quite beneath parr and several degrees lower than yore triplehydrad snake. In greater support of his wo (it, quaint anticipation of a famous phrase, has been reconstricted out of oral style …. ) (FW 36.3-9, italics mine)

Campbell and Robinson suggest that in this passage HCE mentions that the accusation against him was made by ‘a creature in human form’ and ‘lower than a snake.’ I would add that the use of the word ‘reconstricted,’ as in Boa Constrictor, also adds to the ‘serpentine’ accusation

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48 ‘Beyond is all abyss, | Eternity, whose end no eye can reach.’ (PL, XII.555-556)
49 Campbell and Robinson, p. 56.
of HCE. Thus, a reading of the vignette bearing in mind the Miltonic ‘touch’, might enhance our understanding of the passage and allow for a fuller sense of where and how the fall of HCE happens, as the characters in *Finnegans Wake* have fluid personalities (like rivers) and go through transformations from time to time.

The presence of Milton recedes slightly in Part 3 of *FW*, which concerns HCE and his self-incrimination, his trial and incarceration. Some diffuse references to the fall and thunder appear, but the one below deserves ‘strict attention and very slow reading’, as advised by Campbell and Robinson:

They answer from their Zoans; Hear the four of them! Hark torroar of them! I, says Armagh, and a’m proud o’it. I, says Clonakilty, God help us! I, says Deansgrange, and say nothing. I, says Barna, and whatabout it? Hee haw! Before he fell hill he filled heaven: a stream, alplapping streamlet, cooly coiled urn, cool of her curls: We were but thermites then, wee, wee. Our antheap we sensed as a Hill of Allen, the Barrow for an People, one Jotnursfjaell: and it was a grummelung among the porktroop that wonderstruck us as a thunder, yunder. (*FW*, 57.7-15)

The Four Zoans, here referred to as the regions of Ireland, are the four old chroniclers who appear clearly for the first time and play an important role in *FW*. They were presented to us previously as Mammon Lujius. Campbell and Robinson point out that ‘[t]he Four Old Men are counterparts of the Four Zoas of the later visions of William Blake.’ A remarkable fact is that in *Finnegans Wake* each of the four represents a region in Ireland, though these divisions are not political but cultural and historical. The arrival of the four chroniclers coincide with the plot in Part 3, which consists of HCE’s fall and incarceration, as well as the dream of his death and burial at sea. Interestingly, Blake’s *The Four Zoas* was to be named *Vala, or The Death and Judgement of the Ancient Man: a Dream of Nine Nights*. Thus, it is possible to see a connection between Blake’s Ancient Man and HCE.

Furthermore, in Blake’s *Jerusalem*, the Four Zoas are described as being derived from the fall of Albion, the primeval man. The name Albion derives from the mythological name for Britain. It might be possible to think of the relationship between coloniser and colonised when considering Blake’s allusion, and even start to see a Miltonic shade behind the presence of Blake in *FW*. In short, the Four Zoas are described as:

Urizen, cold & scientific: Luvah, pitying & weeping

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50 Campbell and Robinson, p. 68, footnote 2.
51 Campbell and Robinson, p. 68.
Tharmas, indolent & sullen: Urthona, doubting & despairing

The most remarkable fact for our purposes here is that in Blake’s *Milton: A Poem* the Four Zoas are associated with Milton’s Adam and Satan. Blake himself illustrated the relationship between Urizen, Luvah, Tharmas, and Urthona on a diagram that comprises three figures that are inspirational for both himself and Joyce, as below:

![Fig. 1: Blake’s illustration of the relationship between the Four Zoas, Adam and Satan on Milton’s track.](http://www.blakearchive.org/copy/milton.a?descId=milton.a.illbk.32)

As the diagram shows, ‘Milton’s Track’ is intersected by the junction between the Four Zoas, and Adam and Satan as the same being, divided into two parts. As Blake explains at the end of Book 1 of *Milton*, both Adam and Satan are formed from the parts of the body of the giant Albion:

> But in the Nerves of the Nostrils, Accident being Formed Into Substance & Principle, by the cruelties of Demonstration It became Opake & Indefinite: but the Divine Saviour Formed it into a Solid by Los’s Mathematic power. He named the Opake, Satan: he named the Solid, Adam.

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As it is known, Blake named his hero Milton after the poet himself. That alone shows a
degree of admiration; Joyce held Blake in high regard as well, even though his references
were more unobtrusive. Murray McArthur points at that in the main aim of his book, *Stolen
Writings*, which is to:

analyse many of the major traces of Joyce’s admiration for Blake, both those that lie
on the surface of his writings and those buried in layers of rich sedimentation. The
evidence demonstrates that on both a personal and an historical level Joyce felt a deep
sense of kinship for the poet who seemed so different from him.\(^{55}\)

The ‘traces of admiration’ mentioned by McArthur reflect a degree of indirect Miltonic
presence, as Joyce incorporates ‘The Four Zoas’ into *Finnegans Wake* to play a crucial role,
that of the Judges. These four judges are heavily imbedded with Milton’s presence as seen
above: Milton’s Adam and Satan are parts that intersect with Blake’s Four Zoas. This type of
intertextuality, as Shawcross discusses, suggests that all of the three – Milton, Blake and
Joyce – have a relationship with one another, but not necessarily as a source, nor as influence;
rather, they are working together in the text of *Finnegans Wake* by the strategic command of
Joyce’s hand.

As we mention the fluidity of characters, Chapter I.4 of *Finnegans Wake* ‘flows’ from
HCE to his wife, ALP, about whom we have heard little thus far. In contrast to Eve, ALP tries
to save her husband by writing a letter (that will be presented in Part 5, ‘Mamafesta’): ‘The
letter! The litter! And the soother the bitther!’ (FW 93.24). There is a remarkable reference to
fruit, women, and woe on page 94, where we also find one of the first references to Anna
Livia:

Ah, furchte fruchte, timid Danaides! Ena milo melomon, frai is frau and swee is too,
swee is two when swoo is free, ana mala woe is we! A pair of sycopanties with
amygdaleine eyes… (FW 94.14-17)

The ‘furchte fruchte’, or ‘fear fruits’ bring to mind the forbidden fruit, as Adam and Eve had
been taught to dread eating the fruit. The mention of ‘Danaides’ reflects Eve’s fateful action
in Eden; McHugh reminds us that the Danaides, daughters of Danaeus, killed their husbands.
Metaphorically, Eve is also guilty of (attempted) murder, as she causes her husband to eat the
fruit despite the impending threat of death in *PL*:

Some cursed fraud
Of enemy hath beguiled thee, yet unknown,
And me with thee hath ruined; for with thee

\(^{55}\) McArthur, p. 2-3.
Certain my resolution is to die:  
How can I live without thee? (PL IX.904-908)

However, the Serpent’s promise was that Adam and Eve would be free, ‘as Gods | Knowing both good and evil, as they know.’ (PL IX. 708-709) With one apple, her apple, the woman is free, and it is sweet that the two are free. With this initial feeling of freedom, ALP’s name, Anna, is associated with ‘mala’ (apple/bad) and woe – a word heavy with Miltonic overtones, as it appears 9 times in PL. The first mention of the word ‘woe’ associated with the fruit of the Fall is right at the beginning of Book 1:

the fruit  
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste  
Brought death into the world, and all our woe’ (PL I.1-3)

‘Woe’ gets another remarkable mention when Eve reaches for the apple and eats it:

nature from her seat,  
Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe,  
That all was lost.’ (PL IX.782-784)

‘Woe’ is linked with the fall in all 9 mentions in Paradise Lost. Such is the importance of this word for Milton’s epic that Leonard mentions the work of Isabel MacCafferty, where ‘she traces the “network” that Milton builds upon “woe.” The phrases ‘all our woe,’ ‘world of woe,’ and ‘woe and shame’ occur repeatedly in the same prominent metrical position.’ Thus, the mention of the word ‘woe’ evokes a powerful image through intertextuality, as the first sentences of Paradise Lost are widely known even to general readers. Furthermore, Joyce studied Books 1 and 2 of Paradise Lost extensively at school, as they were part of the national curriculum. This biographical fact reinforces the applicability of Runia’s notion of one text ‘being in touch’ with another to the case of FW and PL. Joyce’s childhood immersion in PL would have made it natural for him to add the word ‘woe’ when speaking about the consequences of the Edenic trespass.

Furthermore, the passage adds another reference to fruits peculiar to the Fall: the ‘pair of sycopanties’ points at the ‘clothes’ worn by Adam and Eve after the trespass, when they realise they are naked and feel ashamed:

Some tree, whose broad smooth leaves together sewed,

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56 ‘Ena milo melomon’, from Greek ‘ena melo, melo mou’: one apple, my apple. McHugh, p. 94.
57 Leonard, p. 244. For more information, see Isabel Gamble MacCafferty, Paradise Lost as Myth (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1959).
And girded on our loins, may cover round
Those middle parts; that this new com'er, Shame,
There sit not, and reproach us as unclean.
So counseled he, and both together went
Into the thickest wood; there soon they chose
The fig-tree;  

(PL IX.1095-1101)

McHugh points out that the word ‘sycophant’ here is derived from the Greek *syko*, ‘fig.’ Even though there is dissonance between the type of fig leaf used by Adam and Eve in the Bible, in *Paradise Lost*, and in Joyce’s reference to ‘fig’, it is possible to agree that despite the variety, fig leaves were the material of choice, as these leaves are mentioned only in the context of Adam and Eve in the Bible and in *PL*. Hogan calls attention to the fact that in the Kabbalistic tradition, ‘the fig was seen as the fruit of the Fall.’ This passage is awash with Miltonic ‘touch.’ The association of ALP with Eve will happen in this passage for the first time, and that happens specifically due to the presence of Milton evoked by means of ‘touch.’ Thus, the mentions above work harmoniously to compose a picture of Eve not only as a source of disobedience and woe, but also hope and redemption for her husband and children.

Still on the subject of ALP as hope and redemption, the next part starts with an invocation of her name:

In the name of Annah the Allmaziful, the Everliving, the Bringer of Plurabilities, haloed be her eve, her singtime sung, her rill be run, unhemmed as it is uneven! (*FW* 104.1-3)

Joyce creates an invocation conjoining the Suras of the Koran (McHugh cites that it starts ‘In the name of Allah, the merciful, the Compassionate’) and the Lord’s prayer. Campbell and Robinson remark that this passage is a ‘prayer to her as the Mother of the World,’ uniting in one personality the traits of the Hindu figure Maya, who is the ‘Bringer of Plurabilities’ and the Catholic figure of the Virgin. I would add that the reference to ‘eve’ (even in lower-case) gestures at Eve in the Bible and in *PL*, and makes ALP an even more ‘Plural’ mother, as her name Plurabelle suggests. Thes other references here in the invocation to ALP are not Miltonic as far as I can see; my aim in mentioning them here is solely to help shape the picture of Anna Livia as the character that represents all women, including Eve and Lilith. In

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58 McHugh, p. 74.
60 McHugh, p. 104.
61 Campbell and Robinson, p. 95.
order to show further how this conflation works, it is useful to look in more detail at the first section of part 5, where a number of names that were given to the ‘mamafesta’, the letter written by Anna Livia to honour and defend her husband HCE, are listed. Among these names, there are a few references to the Fall, such as:

*Meadly Ventures of Two Lice and the Fall of Fruit (...), Allolosha Popofetts and Howke Cotchme Eye, Seen Aplies and Thin Dyed, I big U to Beleaves from Love and Mother (...), A Nibble at Eve Will That Bowal Relieve, (...) First and Last Only True Account all about the Honorary Mursu Earwicker, L.S.D., and the Snake (Nuggets!), by 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...* (FW, 106.21-30 and 107.1-5)

All of these monikers assigned to ALP’s letter have at least some connection with the Edenic couple and their Fall; consequently, ALP and HCE may be associated by readers, wittingly or unwittingly, with Adam and Eve. Interestingly, Joyce’s Eve (i.e. ALP) assumes a heroic stance instead of adopting the guilt and contrition of Eve in *PL*. In *FW*, ALP is not the one who is responsible for the trespass, HCE is. However, instead of blaming HCE, ALP intends to redeem the image of her husband and writes her manifesto to appeal to higher powers. Similarly, in *PL* Adam endeavours to explain their case to God and Michael, but to no avail.

An instance that adds an extra layer of significance to ALP’s letter is that it is dictated by ALP to her son Shem the penman. There is no conclusion in regards to HCE’s crime in the trial; however, another issue is solved in it: to find the author of the letter, which is her son. In a similar fashion to the situation in the Stygian Council in *PL* II.402.429, there is no conclusion to it either, as none of the devils volunteer to go to Earth and try and find a way to confront God; the only solution found is that Satan goes himself. The reason for a parallel between Shem and Satan here at a similar moment in both stories is the beginning of an investigation about the identification of the two characters. After all, Shem is a writer, Joyce’s *alter ego* in the story. He is singled out at the end of the trial and book 5, and we will learn more about him in the following books. A similar rationale is applied to Milton’s Satan; the story becomes more centred upon him after he starts his journey to leave Hell, even though his presence recedes slightly in books VI and VIII, wherein Raphael and Adam converse regarding the creation of the world, and Books XI and XII, where his deed is already done, Satan has succeeded in corrupting mankind. Shem is a writer and his name will change throughout the book. He is usually associated with Joyce, as his alter-ego, and as we can expect from the previous discussions about Stephen Dedalus and Lucifer/Satan in this thesis,
there is definitely something Luciferian to be investigated around Shem. Initially, in the ‘mamafesta,’ there is a hint of Shem’s presence as a writer when speaking about appropriation:

being tantamount to inferring from the nonpresence of inverted commas (sometimes called quotation marks) on any page that its author was always constitutionally incapable of misappropriating the spoken words of others. (FW 108.33-36)

Later in the story, Shem is accused by his brother Shaun of being a ‘pelagiarist’:

(…) how few or how many of the most venerated public impostures, how very many piously forged palimpsests slipped in the first place by this morbid process from his pelagiarist pen? Be that as it may, but for that light phantastic of his gnose’s glow as it slid lucifericiously within an inch of its page… (FW 182.1-5)

Any writer who does not use inverted commas and misappropriates the spoken words of others is to be accused of being a ‘pelagiarist,’ in Shaun’s words. Plagiarism is also a Satanic quality; Paul Baines speaks of ‘the central transgressive action of Paradise Lost with its original Satanic forger.’ We should remember that ‘forgery’ is a word with Joycean overtones, from Stephen’s wish to ‘forge in the smithy of his soul the uncreated conscience of his race.’ (P, 253) Christine Rees calls attention to the fact that Milton himself refers to his main character as Satan, the ‘first grand thief’ (PL IV.192) who

is the father of plagiarists, who not only copies the divine works, but also denies their source. In claiming his own originality, his self-authorship, he attempts to erase the authorship of God.

Further on the topic of plagiarism, Rees also highlights William Lauder’s 1749 Essay on Milton’s Use and Imitation of the Moderns in his Paradise Lost, where he accuses Milton of plagiarism. Rees argues that

Lauder’s accusation of plagiarism levelled against Milton might appear to realign the author with his own Satan, an identification that eighteenth-century critics work hard to avoid by separating the demonic rebel from the divinely inspired genius.

In this case, if we consider Shem as Satan, we might be faced with a case of the original rebel: Shem aims to claim his own originality in whatever he writes – and with whatever instruments he can find.

His costive Satan’s antimonian manganese limolitmious nature never needed such an alcove so (…) boycotted him of all muffonsuet candles and romeruled stationery for

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63 Rees, p. 105.
64 Rees, p. 105.
any purpose, he winged away on a wildgoup’s chase across the kathartic ocean and made synthetic ink and sensitive paper for his own end out of his wit’s waste. (*FW* 184.36 – 185.1-8)

When Shem’s instruments of writing, pen and paper, are removed from him, he turns himself into his material; he makes ink from his excrement and uses his skin as paper. Comparably, in *Paradise Lost*, the issue of indissociability is present: when Satan and his crew are sent away from Heaven, Satan intends to make ‘a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven’ (*PL* I.255), and finally realizes that ‘[w]hich way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell’ (*PL* IV.75). Satan realises there is no division between his own self and his infernal dwelling; on a similar note, Shem is also indissociable from his own writing. Shem is his own creation, as the materials he uses are derived from himself. In addition to the identification with Satan’s sense of being himself his own creation and place, the tone of Shaun’s accusation sheds even more light on such identification:

> Do you hold yourself then for some god in the manger, Shehohem, that you will neither serve nor let serve, pray nor let pray? (*FW* 188.18-19)

The echo of Satan’s *non serviam*, a ‘remark [that] was made before’, as Cranly points out to Stephen (*P*, 239) marks the apex of a chain of connections running from *PL* through Stephen Dedalus and culminating in Shem. Like Satan and Stephen, ‘I will not serve’ echoes in Shem’s character and provides us with a Miltonic *stimmung* that permeates Joyce’s building of the profile of ALP’s son, Shem. When we see beyond the meaning of the words ‘serve nor let serve,’ added to the previous chapters’ discussion about Stephen Dedalus’s Satanic profile, it is possible to identify this same profile in Shem. Glasheen sees Shem’s stance as ‘luciferian’, and comments that he is given the penance of writing “Anna Livia Plurabelle”, ‘a kitchen maid’s version of *Paradise Lost*’\(^65\). Thus, we can say that his mother does not give up on Shem when he loses his faith, but rather defends her son and tries to save him:

> (… when’s day’s woe, and lo, you’re doomed, joyday dawns and, la, you dominate) it is to you, firstborn and firstfruit of woe, to me, branded sheep, pick of the wasterpaperbaskel, by the tremours of Thundery and Ullerin’s dogstar, you alone, wind-blasted tree of the knowledge of beautiful and evil, (…) the child of Nilfit’s father, blzb (…) because ye left from me, because, O me lonely son, ye are forgetting me! (*FW* 194.11-21)

Shem is the ‘firstborn and firstfruit of woe.’ This passage refers to symbols that are also remarkable in *Paradise Lost*, as the use of the word ‘woe,’ the reference to thunder, and the ‘tree of knowledge of good and evil’, as well as the mention to blzb (Beelzebub), Satan’s

\(^65\) Glasheen, p. xliii.
second in command. The conflation of ‘and’ and ‘evil’ into ‘andevil’ is telling, as it transforms Shem in a ‘beautiful andevil,’ in a way comparable to Satan, who even in Hell maintains the haughtiness of his former self.

Therefore, the appreciation of the Miltonic *stimmung* through Joyce’s incorporation/creation of his own Christian epic style after Milton facilitates our interpretation of the characters in Book I of *Finnegans Wake* – the first moment of contact with Finn, HCE, ALP, Shem and Shaun, among others. The idea of the Fall shapes our understanding, underpinning the story of *FW* (if it can be called a ‘story’) as readers anchor their reading through reference to the well-established archetypes of Milton’s characters in *Paradise Lost*. These archetypes are instrumental in the production of meaning, enriching our perception of Joyce’s characters’ personae as we associate them with Milton’s epic of the Fall of mankind (among a plethora of other references) and transpose it to the recurrent cycle of fall and resurrection of mankind in *Finnegans Wake*.

### 4.2 Book 2: The Book of the Children

Campbell and Robinson describe Book 2 of *Finnegans Wake* as ‘the book of the children’ or ‘The Book of the Sons’, in contrast with the previous ‘Book of the Father and Mother’, which ‘belongs in the deeps, where history becomes transmuted to legend, and legend takes on the aura of myth, and myth leads the mind to the mysteries of the Form of forms.’ The Book of the Sons, comparatively, belongs in the present, and this will make ‘this book … seem even darker than the first – as the sense of the present is darker than the sense of the past.’ It might be expected that Milton’s presence would be harder to detect in Book 2 of *Finnegans Wake* given that the book concentrates on Shem and Shaun, the children of HCE and ALP, and that Adam and Eve’s children play only a very minor role in *Paradise Lost*. However, this is not the case. Milton remains a significant presence in Book 2, most obviously apparent in the children’s relationship with their parents, ALP and HCE, who were previously mostly associated with Eve and Adam, and in the relationship between the two brothers themselves. Milton’s presence can be detected in many references to Shem and Shaun, who are constantly likened to warring brothers in the Old Testament such as Cain and Abel and Esau and Jacob (all four of whom are depicted in the final two books of *Paradise Lost*). Additionally, and most importantly for our purposes, there is a Miltonic pair of ‘brothers’ referred to that is

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66 Campbell and Robinson, p. 141.
extremely significant: Lucifer and Michael. As we have previously observed, Shem the penman distinctly resembles Joyce himself, Stephen Dedalus, and consequently, Milton’s Satan. Some of the references will also connect their sister Issy with Eve, or with a temptress, such as the Kabbalistic Lilith. As for the thunder, God’s wrathful voice still resounds significantly throughout the book.

4.2.1 Mick, Nick, and the Maggies: The Mime of Adam, Eve, Satan, Michael, and Lilith

The first chapter is named ‘The Children’s Hour’ by Campbell and Robinson. Here, there is a play presented to the parents by the children, Shem, Shaun, and Issy, ‘The Mime of Mick, Nick, and the Maggies.’ Here, Shem/Nick will be named Glugg, and Shaun/Mick, Chuff, while Issy is one of the Maggies, the schoogirls/temptresses that caused HCE’s Fall. Campbell and Robinson summarise the theme of the play:

Glugg is thrice tempted to adventures which he cannot accomplish (…) Each of his failures results in a dance of triumph of the girls around Chuff, and in an excess of black bile within his own unhappy soul. First he swears to himself the three oaths of Exile, Silence, and Cunning; next he shows repentance, but confesses his father’s and mother’s sins instead of his own; finally, he indulges in sinful lustful thoughts.

In this summary, it is possible to recognise something already touched upon in this thesis: the oath of Exile, Silence, and Cunning made by Stephen Dedalus in Portrait. This is less than surprising if we remember that Shem is ‘the penman,’ who, like Stephen, shares many characteristics with Joyce. The order of actions here, though, is different to that in Portrait. Stephen’s last action was a reference to exile, silence, and cunning; he had indulged in sinful thoughts earlier, before he repented and turned to religion, only to fall again. Glugg’s trajectory here resembles much more closely that of Satan in PL, Book I, as per the examples below:

Satan’s oath of Exile:

Here we may reign secure, and in my choice
To reign is worth ambition though in Hell:
Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven. (PL I.261.263)

Cunning:

67 Campbell and Robinson, p. 143.
If then his providence
Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
Our labor must be to pervert that end,
And out of good still to find means of evil; (PL I.162-165)

Repentance when he first sees Adam and Eve:

Oh, then, at last relent: Is there no place
Left for repentance, none for pardon left? (PL IV.79-80)

And lastly, Satan’s indulgence of evil thoughts:

So farewell, hope; and with hope farewell, fear;
Farewell, remorse, all good to me is lost;
Evil, be thou my good. (PL IV.107-109)

Additionally, Glugg is jealous as the girls dance around his brother, Chuff, after he fails to accomplish each challenge. For a better understanding of Glugg, it is important to remember that Satan’s motivation to tempt mankind is also jealousy. The presence of Milton’s Paradise Lost through references to Satanic actions intertwined with those of Glugg provides us with a ‘touch’ that increases the depth of Glugg/Shem/Nick as a character. Once we are able to see him through these ‘satanic lenses,’ these enrich the character and make the conflict between brothers more tangible, as there will be references comparing both to Cain and Abel, and Esau and Jacob.

Joyce himself explained that the game they play in the mime,

is the game we used to call Angels and Devils or colours. The Angels, girls, are grouped behind the angel, Shawn, and the Devil has to come over three times and ask for a colour.68

The boys are described a few pages into the chapter and the identification mentioned above becomes even clearer:

Chuffy was a nangel then and his soard fleshed light like likening. (…) But the duvlin sulph was in Glugger, that lost-to-lurning. (…) To part from these, my corsets, is into overlasting fear. Acts of feet, hoof, and jarrety. (FW 222.23-31)

Paradise Lost is rich in descriptions about an angel with a sword, Michael, who is in charge of restoring order in Heaven (by wounding Satan) and in Eden (by evicting Adam and Eve). As Eily-Meg Maqueen remarks,

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the aggressive, powerful side to his personality is revealed in Milton's repeated description of him in relation to flames: he is one of the ‘flaming warriors’ (PL.XI.101) and his sword is described as having a ‘flame/Wide waving’ (PL.X.120). Thus, even though he is an angel, he has an aggressive side which is deemed necessary for the establishment of justice; Chuff/Shaun, the ‘good’ brother, has shown his aggressive side when accusing and punching Shem on Book I, as discussed previously.

Glugg, in turn, has ‘the duvlin sulph’. Or, ‘the devil himself’, as McHugh interprets it, is ‘Glugger’. A ‘glugger’ stands for ‘empty noise; a foolish boaster,’ characteristics suitable for one who is dubbed ‘the devil himself.’ Furthermore, another sentence already familiar for us is the biblical ‘Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire!’ from Matthew 25:41, but also intoned by Stephen’s friend Cranly in Portrait. In Matthew, the sentence does not refer to the fallen angels, but to the ones who did not help their brothers in need; however, the ‘everlasting fire’ is ‘prepared for the devil and his angels,’ thus representing the fire of hell. Additionally, the ‘acts of feet, hoof, and jarrety’ represent a corruption of St. Thomas Aquinas’ three theological virtues, faith, hope, and charity. The corruption of the three words brings to mind a rather generic demonic imagery, of the devil with cloven hooves for feet. Even though Milton does not mention this detail, and nor does William Blake in his illustrations for Paradise Lost, Gustave Doré captures this feature in some of his nineteenth-century portrayals of Satan.

70 McHugh, p. 222.
Glugg/Shem’s satanic strain and his identification with Milton’s Satan is made clearer when he mentions having been ‘ambothed upon by the very spit of himself, first on the cheekside by Michaelangelo, and besouns that’s, over on the owld jowly side by Bill C. Babby’ (FW 230.3-4). In PL, Milton mentions the war in heaven in which Satan (back then, Lucifer) is ‘ambushed’ and wounded by his brother’s sword, Michael, the ‘very spit of himself’, and befriended by ‘Bill C. Babby’, or Beelzebub. Glugg/Shem does not have his brother’s sympathy nor friendship, he ends wounded and making an attempt to hide it from everyone else:

An they bare falls witless against thee how slight becomes a hidden wound?
Soldwoter he wash him all rime bigfeller bruisy place blong him. He no want missies blong all boy other look bruisy place blong him. (FW 247.22-25)

Glugg’s sorrows are dubbed ‘the sorrors of Sexton’ (FW 230.11) again in a reference to Marie Corelli’s The Sorrows of Satan. Glasheen compares Glugg to ‘Marie Corelli’s sorrowful Satan, [who longs] for love of a good woman.’ Looking back at Ulysses, John Eglinton proposes that Stephen’s students write Paradise Lost at his dictation and call it The Sorrows of Satan; Eglinton’s reference to Corelli seems to suggest that this would be an appropriate title for Stephen’s own biography. Additionally, a direct ‘portmanteau-style’ reference to Milton increases the intensity of the association between Shem and Satan: ‘With tears for his coronaichon, such as engines weep. Was liffe worth leaving? Nej!’ (FW 230.24-25) Two references to Satan are deftly conflated here, as below:

Thrice he assayed, and thrice in spite of scorn,
Tears such as angels weep, burst forth: at last
Words interwove with sighs found out their way. (PL I.619-621, my emphasis)

nor aught availed him now
To have built in Heaven high towers; nor did he escape
By all his engines, but was headlong sent
With his industrious crew to build in hell. (PL I.748-751, my emphasis)

In Book I of Paradise Lost, when Satan first raises himself to speak to his fallen comrades in arms, in a way he ‘crowns’ himself ruler of their new dwelling, Hell. The conflation of ‘tears such as angels weep’ and ‘by all his engines’ in Glugg/Shem’s lamentation brings to mind the
occasion of the Fall and Satan’s initial sorrow. A hint of regret is perceivable in the last line’s reference to ‘liffe’ – standing for ‘life,’ but also for ALP in her river form, the Liffey, and associated with Eve in *Finnegans Wake*. The question is twofold: Glugg/Shem questions if it was worth leaving Heaven, and if Eve was worthy of Adam’s sacrifice for her, as he ate the apple in order to be with her, even if it cost them Eden. Initially, the answer is ‘No,’ says the regretful Glugg.

Glugg then proceeds to tell of the sins of his mother, the ‘woman who did’:

Helpmeat too, contrasta toga, his fiery goosemother, laotsey taotsey, woman who did, he tell princes of the age about. You sound on me, judges! Suppose we brisken up. Kings! Meet the Mem, Avenlith, all viviparous out of couple of lizards. She just as finny as he is fulgar. (*FW* 242.25-29)

ALP is named ‘Avenlith’, a possible conflation of Eve and Lilith, both mother of humanity and the first temptress/wife of Adam. Furthermore, the reference to a ‘couple of lizards’ might bring to mind another reptile, the serpent, thus consolidating the figure of Anna Livia as both tempted and temptress. The mention of Lilith is also responsible for the creation of an effect of presence as ‘being in touch’ as well as mediated presence, as both Joyce and Milton were known to resort to the Jewish Bible and the Kabbalah – thus resulting in a direct instance of presence from the Kabbalah to both writers, as well as filtered to Joyce through his reading of Milton’s *Paradise Lost*.

Avenlith’s sins described, the father of humanity, here HCE, has his sins disclosed by Glugg as well in the already familiar scene of the Willingdone battle, wherein references to the thunder and to Astarte make an appearance:

But heed! Our thirty minutes war’s alull. All’s quiet on the felled of Gorey. Between the starfort and the thornwood brass castle flambs with mutton candles. Hushkah, a hom! Gadolmagnetog! God es El? Housefather calls entreatingly. From Brandenburgenthor. At Asa’s arthre. In thundercloud periwig. With lighting bug aflash from afinger. (*FW* 246.3-8)

HCE here is the father of humanity, the Housefather who ‘calls entreatingly’: the threat in his call echoes God’s thunderous voice, and the use of ‘thor’ at the end of the name of the famous landmark in Berlin, Brandenburg Gate (Brandenburger Tor, in German), brings once more to mind the God of thunder. This reference is recurrent in *Finnegans Wake*, as the thunder is a remarkable feature that marks the end of a cycle.
Additionally, there is a Miltonic ‘touch’ here in the mention of ‘Asa’s arthre’, Astarte (or Ashtoreth), the Semitic goddess whose male counterpart is Baal. Ronald Meldrum writes that she was considered ‘[a] celestial being – the Queen of Heaven – she was associated both with the planet Venus and the moon.’ He adds that ‘Milton makes frequent reference to Ashtoreth’ in Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, Samson Agonistes, and On the Morning of Christ’s Nativity.73 It is particularly relevant for us here to think of HCE and ALP as Baal and Astarte, initially because Astarte was considered the goddess of motherhood and fertility and ALP, taking the shape of the river Liffey, incorporates the power of women to generate life. Another aspect to be considered is that both Baal and Astarte were worshipped through ‘extreme licentiousness’ and orgiastic riots; licentiousness through indecent exposure is the reason for which HCE is to be judged and defended by ALP. The fall of both looms closer as the thunder comes near, ‘In thundercloud periwig. With lighting bug af lash from afinger.’

At the end of the battle, Glugg aims at explaining what had happened at the battle ‘of Whatalose’:

For these are not on terms, they twain, bartrossers, since their baffle of Whatalose when Adam Leftus and the devil took our hindmost, gifting her with his painapple, nor will not be atoned at all in fight to no finish, that dark deed doer, this wellwilled wooer, Jerkoff and Eatsoup, Yem or Yan, while felixed is who culpas does and harm's worth healing and Brune is bad French for Jour d'Anno.’ (FW 246.26-32)

Even though the battle reflects HCE’s Willingdone Battle, actually this time the battle is between the two brothers for the love of the Maggies. Joyce reverses Milton’s depiction of the Fall, where Eve gives the apple to Adam. Now ‘Adam Leftus’, a reversed Adam, makes a gift to Eve of ‘his painapple.’ McHugh makes two interesting considerations here: the noun ‘gift’ in German means ‘poison’, while ‘painapple’ can be also read as ‘cain-apple’, a ‘fruit of the strawberry-tree’. Thus, this reversed Adam poisons his Eve with his ‘cain-apple.’ The reference to Cain also brings with it satanic overtones, as McHugh mentions that ‘according to Kabbalists, [Cain is] offspring of Satan & Eve.’74 It is worth keeping that in mind, because, as discussed previously, Kabbalah plays an important role for Milton and Joyce, and the satanic stimmung contributes in a significant, if underappreciated way, to building up Shem’s personality throughout the book. As Campbell and Robinson point out, the brothers ‘are not

74 McHugh, p. 246.
on terms since their last battle, nor will they be atoned in any fight to a finish, that dark-deed
deer and this well-willed woor. The dark-deed doer, Glugg, and the well-willed woer,
Chuff, are here paralleled with ‘Jerkoff and Eatsoup,’ Jacob and Esau, another pair of warring
brothers.

The tragic conclusion is that ‘felixed is who culpas does’; thus, Shem looks to take
revenge on his overly-popular brother, so that he will reap the rewards of committing ‘felix
culpa’ (the happy fall, or, in the context of PL and Original Sin, the ‘fortunate fall’). Even
even though the paradox of the fortunate Fall is not exclusively Miltonic, its importance is
remarkable for the context of PL. William Marshall enumerates several authors who comment
on this theological paradox in Milton’s work. Additionally, he argues for its importance in
PL:

But this meaning [of felix culpa], that Man shall be redeemed through the sacrifice of
the Son of God, emerges from the poem in two ways – by the explicit statement of the
poet, of God, and finally of Michael in the last two books; and by implication in the
action which appears to bring Satan’s victory.  

Even though the paradox of felix culpa is not solely Milton’s construction, its importance is
emphasised by the poet through direct statement twice, as Marshall argues, and mainly
implicated in the crucial action by Satan that brings about Adam and Eve’s Fall. Thus, its
importance in Paradise Lost is undeniable – and historically, this relevance was at its largest
extent discussed in regards to the passage below:

Oh goodness infinite, goodness immense!
That all this good of evil shall produce,
And evil turn to good; more wonderful
Than that which by creation first brought forth
Light out of darkness! Full of doubt I stand,
Whether I should repent me now of sin
By me done, and occasioned; or rejoice
Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring;
To God more glory, more good-will to men
From God, and over wrath grace shall abound. (PL XII.469-478)

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75 Campbell and Robinson, p. 155.
Andrew J. Mitchell argues that *O felix culpa* ‘marks the influence of John Milton’s *Paradise Lost* upon the *Wake*’ as he comments on the work of Hogan.\(^77\)

Campbell and Robinson describe Book 2, Chapter 2 as referring chiefly to ‘the medieval studies of the Trivium (Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric) and Quadrivium (Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, Astronomy) and to the esoteric doctrines of the Kabbala.’\(^78\) Even though the chapter consists in the man of the children’s school problems, these inevitably involve allusion to their parents, appearing as the Miltonic Adam and Eve, and a review of the process of creation. The first pages discuss the matter of creation. Joyce also starts in *medias res* through a reference to ‘Ainsoph, this upright one.’ Ainsoph is the creator in the Kabbalah, and the same threatening thunderous voice seems to apply to him, as a few lines later we find the first reference to HCE ‘Hoo cavedin earthwight/At furscht kracht of thunder’ (*FW* 262.11-12). The first crack of thunder might mark the fall of Satan from heaven due to the begetting of God’s son – ‘Sow byg eat’ (*FW* 262.19), as well as Adam and Eve’s role in the world, being first parents of humankind, as well as Ainsoph’s mating with his creation – HCE and Issy. On his practice of this incestuous act, HCE is likened to Satan, and Issy, to Sin. The reference to the thunder precedes HCE’s fall – ‘Haud certo ergo’ (*FW* 263.28). Milton’s ‘touch’ can be perceived through the marginal note made by Shem, highlighting the fact that the fall of HCE as Adam is derived from *Paradise Lost*: ‘Hearasay in paradox lust’ (*FW* 263.29) and a reference to Adam as an archetype: ‘O felicitous culpability, sweet bad cess to you for an archetypt!’ (*FW* 263.29-30) As Shem is the writer, and most of the action in *Paradise Lost* is conveyed through Satan’s perspective, it is apt to hear the story of creation from his creative self. Hogan adds that this might be ‘the most important and revealing’ alternative titles given to *Paradise Lost* in *Finnegans Wake*. He argues that lust is ‘a consequence of the fall, and a very important one.’\(^79\) Adam and Eve engage in lustful lovemaking immediately after their trespass (which was motivated, in turn, by a lust for knowledge). In *Finnegans Wake*, we should recall that in Book 1 one of the reasons for HCE’s fall was his indecent exposure in the park – a lustful act performed in view of the two temptresses, thus, his own ‘paradox lust.’ Additionally, his guilt is perpetrated due to his stuttery talk to the cad with a pipe, the ‘luciferant’, to whom he tries to justify himself for this


\(^{78}\) Campbell and Robinson, p. 163.

trespass; however, via the cad, the story travels high and low and the ‘hearsay’ leads to his being accused. Now, in Book 2, HCE falls again as Ainsoph for his incestuous act.

Like HCE, humanity is doomed to the cycle of rise-and-fall ‘under one…original sun’ (FW 263.27) – ‘the original sin, which we continually repeat, represented as a sun around which we continually orbit.’ I would add the wordplay with similar-sounding words (sin/sun and son/sun) are common both to Milton and Joyce; for instance, Satan never refers to the Son, but to the ‘sun’:

\[
\begin{align*}
to \text{ thee I call,} \\
\text{But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,} \\
\text{O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams,} \\
\text{That bring to my remembrance from what state} \\
\text{I fell (…)} (PL IV.35-39)
\end{align*}
\]

John Leonard calls attention to the fact that this passage marks the only moment after the Fall in which Satan only ‘indirectly ventures the name of his actual conqueror’, the Son/sun, as he ‘holds back the name for five lines before allowing it to pass his lips, and even when he does add “thy name | O Sun” he makes no open reference to the Son of God.’

Joyce employs a similar strategy by using the words Sin/Son:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{TAFF (who still senses that heavinscent houroines that entertrained him who they were sinuorivals from the sunny Espionia but plied wopsy with his wallets in thatthack of the bustle Bakerloo, (11.32), passing the uninational truthbosh in smoothing irony over the multinothcheralled infructuosities of his grinner set). The rib, the rib, the quean of oldbyrdes, Sinya Sonyavitches! (FW 348.27-34)}
\end{align*}
\]

McHugh points out that the Pan-Slavonic word ‘Sin’ stands for ‘Son’, and it is possible to observe in the passage above some examples, which will recur throughout the book. The wordplay in the passage above enables Joyce to conflate multiple ‘touches’ of Paradise Lost, including Satan’s tentative of deflecting the use of the name of his nemesis. The ‘heavinscent houroines’ might point at the angels, led by the Son, who ‘entertrained’ through the means of the war in Heaven their ‘sinuorivals’ – rivals in sin, the rebellious angels – from a ‘sunny’ place, illuminated by the light of the Sun/Son. On the other hand, the Son/Sun does not shine in hell, but Sin does instead: ‘peep of tim boys and piping tom boys, raising hell while the sin was shining’ (FW 385.10-11)

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80 Hogan, Joyce, Milton, p. 195.
Joyce’s punning exchange of the word ‘sun’ for ‘sin’ gives the sentence a whole new depth of meaning: ‘raising hell’ ceases to be figurative and becomes evocative of the infernal realm, as ‘the sin was shining.’

HCE’s second fall is illustrated by Issy, who is now Eve, Lilith, and Sin. The imagery of Adam and Eve’s fall brings Eden to mind:

As they warred in their big innings ease now we never shall know. Eat early earthapples. Coax Cobra to chatters. Hail, Heva, we hear! This is the glider that gladdened the girl that list to the wind that lifted the leaves that folded the fruit that hung on the tree that grew in the garden Gough gave. Wide hiss, we’re wizening. (FW 271.22-29)

HCE’s inverted initials carry overtones of the fall, ‘earthapples’, ‘cobra’, ‘Heva’, and on a footnote on this page – as footnotes are all written by Issy in this chapter - she calls the cobra a ‘slippering snake charmeuse.’ (FW, 271, footnote)

The children are urged ‘to leave the haunted past, learn how to fight for themselves as at Waterloo, how to praise the fallen father at his wake. First, they must learn their letters as Glasheen summarises the plot of this section. One of the references in the text that brings in a Miltonic stimmung is the name of a pub, ‘The Goat and Compasses’, where ‘that royal pair in their palace of quicken boughs hight’ (FW 275.14-16). It is important to remark that Shem and Issy know their letters (i.e. are highly literate); as ‘Shem (…) is the Devil, or the Devil’s son, Cain, [and] Issy knows her letters because she has eaten of the fruit, and she proves her knowledge.’ It is likely that the reference to the royal pair is an allusion to Adam and Eve, and the name of the pub refers back to God’s ‘Golden Compasses’ in Paradise Lost:

He took the golden compasses, prepared
In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
This universe, and all created things (PL, VII.225-227)

God takes the compasses to circumscribe the universe: Shem, in turn, takes the compasses and gives them to his brother, in order to represent their ‘geomater’, their mother. Their problem-solving, related to their origin (and mother, ALP) starts when Shem, now Dolph, proposes a problem about triangles to his brother Shaun/Kev: ‘Probe loom! (…) Concoct an equoangular trilliter.’ (FW 286.20-22). The conventional symbol for ALP in FW is the

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82 Glasheen, L.
triangle (or Delta Δ); Glasheen clarifies that it is ‘Joyce’s informal sign for FW I, viii’ the ‘Anna Livia’ section. However, as Dolph is the libertine, while Kev is the ingenuous one, he is also aware of the fact that a ‘delta is also an alluvial deposit at a river’s mouth, and in FW this delta is the mother’s dung-heap.’ 83

In sequence, he challenges his brother to draw two circles – Shaun/Kev is going to play the role of the creator, as God with the compasses, in Paradise Lost. Shaun’s creation is a picture of their ‘geomater’, their mother.

And to find a locus for an alp get a howlth on her bayrings as a prisme O and for a second O unbox your compasses. I cain but are you able? (FW 287.8-12) Shem/Dolph’s question reflects their filiation: Cain and Abel appear again, associated with the brothers. The ‘touch’ produced by the use of Milton’s God’s ‘golden compasses’ enables the brothers to emulate the creator, albeit mockingly: ‘Under pretense of teaching Euclid, Shem guides Shaun on a tour of their mother’s genital geography.’ 84 The Vesica Piscis and two intersecting circles (see pic. 3) is the mystical figure that symbolises the womb and is part of Euclid’s first proposition, as McHugh clarifies. 85 The ‘golden compasses’ are used, actually, to draw a picture of ALP’s genitalia. Kev admits his intention: ‘I’ll make you to see figuratleavely the whome of your eternal geomater.’ (FW 296.30-31 and 297.1) Albeit somewhat rude, that is Kev’s attempt to explain the origin of life and the universe, where all life starts. A parallel between God’s use of the golden compasses to create the universe and the brothers’ use of compasses to explain the origin of life is achieved through the Miltonic ‘touch’ of a figurative element of creation, the compass, in the hands of different creators.

Pic. 3 The diagram drawn by the twins. From FW p. 293.

83 Glasheen, li.
84 Glasheen, lii.
85 McHugh, 293.
Before he asks his brother for another act of creation, Shem/Dolph call his attention by interjecting ‘Lucihere!’ (FW 295.35) That can be interpreted as ‘look here!’ but also as ‘Lucifer here,’ referring to himself and asking his brother to pay attention to him. Then, he requests (not very politely, and now morphing into Nick and Mick) the next act of creation, the writing of a letter:

I’d likelong, by Araxes, to mack a capital Pee for Pride down there on the batom where Hoddum and Heave, our monsterbilker, malked his bawd of parodies. And let you go, Airmienious, and mick your modest mock Pie out of Humbles up your end.

The ‘capital Pee for Pride’ is also represented towards the bottom of the diagram and might represent hell, McHugh suggests. Satan’s fall happened because of pride, thus it is possible to use his sin metonymically, even though it might also represent ‘parodies,’ or ‘paradise’, because of the earlier mention of ‘Hoddum and Heave’, Adam and Eve and the fact that the ‘monsterbilker’ (from Ibsen’s The Masterbuilder, representing God in FW) placed them there. The presence of Milton is most in evidence here in the person of Shaun/Mick, as Shem/Nick calls him ‘Airmienious.’ It is often claimed that Milton was sympathetic to the ideas of Arminianism, a doctrine which arose from the Dutch theologian Jacob Arminius’s (1560-1609) challenge to certain aspects of Calvinist doctrine, on three key points, as Stephen M. Fallon clarifies:

[Milton agreed] that saving grace is offered generally to all of fallen humanity, that it is resistible, and that predestination to salvation is therefore conditional on one’s free choices enabled by this grace.

Shem/Nick appears not to be fond of Arminianism (as he possibly considers himself someone who is not going to be offered saving grace) thus he tells his brother to ‘mick’ his ‘modest Pie of Humbles up [his] end.’ He does not believe in salvation at all. Despite all rudeness, Mick acquiesces: ‘Of course, it’s awful angelous. Still I don’t feel it’s so dangelous. Ay, I’m right here, Nickel, and I’ll write.’ (FW 296.15-18) In the letter, there is a reference to Adam and Lilith: ‘here is nowet bader than the sin of Aha with his cosin Lil’ (FW 298.22-23), which might bring to mind the incestuous relations between HCE and Issy, as well as Satan and Sin. However, as Glasheen mentions, the letter is so poorly forged that it gives Shaun away,

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86 McHugh, p. 296.
leading to Shem mocking him. Shaun hits Shem, and tells him to ‘Forge away, Sunny Sim’ (FW 305.4-5) The idea of the devil as a forger is still present here, and so are Joyce himself and Stephen Dedalus. Stephen intended to ‘forge in the smithy of [his] soul the uncreated conscience of [his] race.’ (P, 253) and Joyce is present due to the use of the nickname given by his brother Stanislaus, ‘Sunny Jim’, not to mention that ‘Sim’ and ‘Sin’ are phonetically close.

Lastly, when the father arrives to inquire what the children have been learning about, and they say they have completed their courses in ‘art, literature, politics, economics, chemistry, humanity, &c.’ (FW 306.13-15, Glasheen’s emphasis) They have actually studied ALP and HCE, their father and mother, as origins of life. The clock chimes 10, upon which they go for tea. These 10 chimes are rather significant, as they are represented by the 10 Sephiroth of Kabbalah. The Sephiroth is the Tree of Life in Kabbalistic Judaism. In the Jewish Kabbalist view, both trees in the Garden of Eden, the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life were alternative perspectives of the Sephiroth. Campbell and Robinson explain that the ten numbers, stand for spiritual principles and represent ‘the stages of the descent (or fall) of Eternal Spirit into phenomenal manifestation.’ From 1 to 3, they are principles of the Father; 4 to 6, the principles of the Son, and 7 to 9, of the Holy Spirit. The 10th principle is the feminine. By adding ‘mother zero’ to any of the principles, the cycle begins again; life starts over. Their intention to start anew is made clear by the letter written and signed by the three of them, ‘seems to wish their parents Merry Christmas, but in fact, wishes them dead.’ Out with the old, in with the new, seems to be the idea of the youngsters. Comparably, in Paradise Lost, death also plays a transformative role. Death, which was the threat for Adam and Eve if they ate from the tree of Knowledge, is actually the chance of a new beginning:

The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide;
They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way. (PL XII.646-649)

‘Hand in hand’ also accompanies the occasion of HCE’s redemption from the fall: it is shown in The Norwegian Captain episode in II.3, as the Captain and HCE are blended. A passage

88 Glasheen, p. liii.
89 Glasheen, p. liii.
90 Campbell and Robinson, p. 191, footnote 2.
91 Campbell and Robinson, p. 193.
92 Campbell and Robinson, p.193.
Meints Adail, 162

Meints Adail, 162

retells how ALP and he met, as well as their wedding, with sentences echoing The Book of Common Prayer’s marriage vows:

Him her first lap, her his fast pal, for ditcher for plower, till deltas twoport. While this glowworld’s lump is gloaming off and han in hende will grow. (*FW* 318.12-14)

‘Till deltas twoport’ is an interesting way to refer to both as rivers, ALP as the Liffey and HCE as another river that flows into the Liffey. The highly Miltonic phrase in *Paradise Lost* is present here to join our Adam and our Eve, ‘han in hende’, ‘hand in hand.’ Alastair Fowler explains that the joined hands emblematis ‘pledging of faith.’⁹³ ALP trusts HCE and they join their faith and forces to live life together.

However, the time comes for the children to try to overthrow their father. With their ‘infernal machinery’ (*FW* 320.33) – that Glasheen understand to be the television set – the next stories are going to be shown in order to continue telling the troubled past of HCE and ‘convey their murderous wish to their father.’⁹⁴ The wish is conveyed through the next TV play, about the Russian General (blended with HCE) whom Buckley attempts to murder. The ‘infernal machinery’ hints at Milton and echoes the military power of the fallen angels to pervert mankind and overthrow their father during the war in heaven, as below:

Some one intent on mischief, or inspired
With devilish machination, might devise
Like instrument to plague the sons of men
For sin, on war and mutual slaughter bent. (*PL* VI.503-506)

Not distant far with heavy pace the foe
Approaching gross and huge, in hollow cube
Training his devilish enginery impaled
On every side with shadowing squadrons deep,
To hide the fraud. (*PL* VI.551-555)

Given the previous comparisons and parallels between Shem and Satan discussed here, at this point the reader is aware that Shem is the one capable of ‘devilish enginery’ and ‘devilish machination’, thus the Miltonic touch here enhances our perception that all the machinery is Shem’s work, while he is ‘impaled’ on the two sides by his brother and sister, who signed the ‘nightletter’ from the previous chapter and plot the parricide with him.

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⁹³ Fowler, p. 678. For more on the ‘hand in hand’ motif, see page 34 of this thesis.
⁹⁴ Glasheen, liv.

*(knock within)* Knock, knock, knock! Who’s there, i’ th' name of Beelzebub?95

In *Finnegans Wake*, any mention of the twins usually evokes, explicitly or implicitly, Adam and Eve’s sons, Cain and Abel. McHugh asserts that Joyce told Sweeney that Cain and Abel are the origin of war and the extra ‘w’ in Twwinns’ was for Eve, born without an Adam’s apple.96 Thus, given Joyce’s quite confusing explanation, I would argue the fallen couple’s children stand for war – but the war is not only theirs, but also Eve’s. Eve’s role, was to bring ‘death into the world, and all our woe’ (*PL* I.3). If there was no apple, and consequently no prohibition of eating it in Eden, there would not be any ‘woos,’ or ‘woes’, as Eve would not be trespassing. Additionally, following Joyce’s curious rationale of mentioning that Eve is ‘without an (Adam’s) apple,’ hints at the idea that without Eve, there would be no war. Hogan highlights the significance of the word ‘woe’ for Milton, as he ‘uses some version of the word woe almost forty times in *Paradise Lost*, all of which gives the term a Miltonic resonance, at least in the context of the fall.’97

Other echoes of Milton are also perceivable in this chapter through intertextuality; Joyce brings renowned and admired fellow writers into his work, creating a relationship with them, ‘not necessarily as source and not necessarily as direct influence.’98 An example of this kind of intertextual reference is the line ‘Of manifest ‘tis obedience and the. Flute!’ *(FW 343.36)* which, as McHugh points out, clearly echoes the opening line of *Paradise Lost*, ‘Of man’s first disobedience, and the fruit’ (*PL* I.1).99 It is remarkable that this passage and the next allude so clearly by means of parody and subversion to Milton’s epic poem, in the story of Finn’s and HCE’s fall. Allusions to *Paradise Lost* recur throughout, and other significant and crucial sources of reference for Joyce also appear:

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96 McHugh, p.330.
99 McHugh, p. 343.
Which goateye and sheepskeer they damnty well know. Papaist! Gambanman! Take the cawraidd’s blow! Yia! Your partridge’s last! (FW 344.5-7)

Here the prominence of characters such as ‘goateye’ (Goethe), ‘sheepskeer’ (Shakespeare), ‘damnty’ (Dante) precede the reference to Milton’s ‘partridge’s last’ (Paradise Lost), while further on in the book, we will find another reference to Goethe and Milton:

(...) and, bespeaking of love and lie detectors in venuvarities, whateither the drugs truth of it, was there an iota of from the faust to the lost. (FW 355.35-36 and 356.1)

Goethe’s famous tale of Faust and his pact with the devil stands here beside ‘the lost’, Paradise Lost itself, which are likely to be the most renowned and commonly known stories that provide the devil with a voice and a seductive personality, and on which Joyce might have based his archetype of a ‘devilish personality’.

‘The lost’ is again present in a reference to the peace Adam and Eve enjoyed before the Fall, which encompasses an instance of intertextuality with Finnegans Wake itself:

‘For (peace peace perfectpeace!) I have abwaited me in a water of Elin (...) (I shall call upon my first among my lost of lyrars beyond a jingoobangoist, to overcast her) (FW 364.20-33)

The term ‘peace peace perfectpeace’ calls to mind the beginning of book 1, Chapter 2, when HCE was introduced to the reader. ‘Hag Chivychas Eve, in prefall paradise peace…’ (FW 30.14-15) when the ‘first among my lost of lyrars’ appears to tempt Eve. The wordplay with ‘lost’ and ‘lot’ reflects Paradise Lost and its main character, the first liar, Satan. The stimmung of Milton’s Satan remains from Book 2 and is transposed to Book 3, ‘Watches of Shaun’. Shaun, the postman, is on occasion (chiefly on the story of Mookse and the Gripes) associated with Michael, but during his ‘backwards via crucis’ the line between good and evil is blurred in his personality, opening the way for the presence of Milton’s Satan to manifest itself.

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100 There is another reference to Dante as “Denti Alligator” in FW, page 439, which is discussed further in the thesis.
4.3 Book III: ‘Watches of Shaun’

Book III is almost entirely dedicated to Shaun, even though it is actually ‘the dream of Mr. Earwicker between the late hour of his arrival in bed and the first crack of dawn’\textsuperscript{101}; Chapters 1, 2, and 3 are alternatively named ‘First Watch of Shaun’ ‘Second Watch of Shaun’ and ‘Third Watch of Shaun.’ Glasheen describes the first three chapters as ‘a dialogue between an Ass and Hermes, Shem and Shaun. If it is a \textit{via crucis} travelled backwards – a black \textit{via crucis}, it is also the way traveled backwards by Hermes…’ Furthermore, she asserts that the \textit{via crucis} extends across chapters 1 and 2, and maybe 3 as well, while chapter 4 ‘never seemed to [her] to be about Shaun.’\textsuperscript{102}

In order to situate it in the bigger picture, we can say that Book III is defined as the ‘book of the desired future,’ while Book I stood for the ‘forgotten past,’ and Book II, ‘the present.’ A change of focus is required as well as opportune, as HCE and ALP’s children stand for the future generation. Thus, much of the Miltonic presence in this book arises from instances where the figure of HCE stands as our modern Adam and ALP as our modern Eve, while the Shem/Shaun conflict plays out the Cain/Abel one (with some hints of Michael/Lucifer). It might be expected that the presence of Milton might recede slightly in Book 3 given its focus on Shaun. However, Milton’s presence manifests itself in numerous variegated examples that appear to gesture at \textit{Paradise Lost} and Milton’s epic style in general, rather than more particularly at Milton’s depiction of Adam, Eve, and Satan.

In chapter 3, in his role as a messenger (like Hermes and the postman), Shaun becomes a vessel through which HCE speaks and claim his innocence. Thus, we find references to \textit{Paradise Lost} in HCE’s fall again. Glasheen explains that the passage starting on page 501 consists of a ‘spirit radio’ now ‘tuned to HCE’s fall’, which goes ‘through a rerun of the persons and events of I, ii-iv.’\textsuperscript{103} The Four Judges ask questions and HCE’s voice answers. There are a few references to HCE’s fall, which liken him again to Adam.

Additionally, HCE talks about the ‘Orania epples’ (\textit{FW} 504.24), an allusion to the fruit of the fall and to Urania, Milton’s muse, invoked at the beginning of \textit{Paradise Lost}, as well as in the first verses of book VII: ‘Descend from Heaven, Urania, by that name / If rightly thou art called’ (\textit{PL} VII.1-2). The same paragraph discloses another reference to apples, ‘pommes annettes… and cock robins muchmore hatching most out of his missado

\textsuperscript{101} Campbell and Robinson, p. 255.
\textsuperscript{102} Glasheen, lvii
Joyce’s reference to ‘eggdazzles’, or *Yggdrasil*, the tree of knowledge in Norse mythology, inevitably prompts thoughts of the trees in *Paradise Lost* and, more broadly, mythical and biblical stories of the fall of man more generally. Other references to *Yggdrasil* can be detected in the lines in *FW* that follow:

> her downslyder in that snakedst-tu-naughsy whimmering woman't seeleib such a fashionaping sathinous dress out of that exquisitive creation and her leaves, my darling dearest, sinsinsinning since the night of time (*FW* 505.7-10)

The wordplay in the fragment ‘snakedst-du-naughsy’ can sound similar to the non-Norwegian speaker to ‘you naughty snake’. When one becomes aware of the fact that the verb to speak in Norwegian is *snakke*, the pun becomes even more brilliant. McHugh mentions that this sentence could be interpreted as ‘Snakke du Norsk?’, or ‘Do you speak Norwegian?’

The main difference between Nidhogg, the serpent at the root of Yggdrasil, and Milton’s Serpent, is the fact that Milton’s effectively speaks, an ability Nidhogg does not possess, even though its name in Norwegian means ‘malice striker.’ The ‘sinsinsinning,’ apart from the obvious reference to sin, imitates too the movement of snakes. Joyce also points to the leaves from the tree with which the woman makes a ‘sathinous dress’, a reference to the clothing made from leaves after the Fall in *PL*:

> Those leaves  
> They gathered, broad as Amazonian targe;  
> And, with what skill they had, together sewed,  
> To gird their waist; vain covering, if to hide  
> Their guilt and dreaded shame.  (*PL* IX.1110-1114)

The connection between *Yggdrasil* and *Paradise Lost* is reinforced by a reference to another animal, this time on a tree, in addition to the ‘touch’ of verbal echoes

> Amengst menlike trees walking or trees like angels weeping nobirdy aviar soar anywing to eagle it! (*FW* 505.16-18)

The mention of an eagle in this context alludes to Vedfolnir, the eagle that sits on the top of Yggdrasil, and it brings us back to the image of Satan sat like a ‘cormorant’ on the top of the Tree of Life in *Paradise Lost*, imagery that is common to both Norse mythology and Milton’s epic poem. In the same paragraph, so as to strengthen the parallel, HCE compares the trees to
‘trees like angels weeping’, which brings to mind Lucifer’s tears after the fall of the rebel angels in PL: ‘Tears such as angels weep, burst forth’ \textit{(PL I.620)}.

Finally, when asked if he is ‘derevatorv of … the true tree’ \textit{(FW 505.26-27)}, HCE responds with a single word: ‘Upfellbowm’ \textit{(FW 505.29)}, which can be read as ‘up fell down’, but also as \textit{Apfelbaum}, German for ‘apple tree’. HCE condenses into one word Lucifer’s fall, as well as Adam and Eve’s, Finn’s, and his own. Furthermore, he does not forget to mention the perpetrator of evil in the garden:

\begin{quote}
this looseaffair brimsts of fussforus! And was this treemanangel on his soredbohmend because Knockout, the knickknaver, knacked him in the knechtschaft? \textit{(FW 505.32-35)}
\end{quote}

The ‘loose affair’ smells of ‘fussforus’; Phosphorus and ‘looseaffair’, or Lucifer, are both the same, standing for the planet Venus in the morning, the Morning Star. The ‘treemanangel’ is Shem/Nick, and Knockout, Shaun/Michael. The brothers are connected with their father’s fall as they are referred at a few lines below as ‘Ahday’s begatem!’ \textit{(FW 506.10)} or ‘Adam’s begotten’ when we understand HCE as Adam and the brothers as Cain and Abel.

At the end of the chapter, there is a final comparison that helps us understand the plurality of HCE and feel the imminence of his ultimate fall. Glasheen asserts that there is a ‘high-spirited boast’ from HCE where the word ‘repent’ escapes him. But his apparent repentance is not to be taken seriously: HCE is ‘damned because he is Masterbuilder of this our masculine civilization… and as such, he rivals God’s prerogative of creation. HCE builds, therefore he falls.’\textsuperscript{105} I would compare this inevitable inclination of the Fall to Lucifer’s, as he rivalled God in Heaven by creating Sin; when he fell, he did not repent, but intended to keep on building, ‘make a Heaven of Hell / a Hell of Heaven.’ \textit{(PL I.255)} Lucifer/Satan is also a masterbuilder, thus rivalling God as a creator. Both HCE and Satan are incompatible with God’s grace, hence they fall.

\subsection*{4.4 Book 4: ‘Ricorso’}
Book 4 concludes the idea conveyed throughout Book 3, which is the end of an era and the beginning of a new one, with the former hero being supplanted by a younger one. It marks ‘HCE[‘s] sleep (…) and the attributes of the coming man, Shaun.’ The Viconian idea of the Ricorso marks Joyce’s idea of a moment of return:

Vico […] emphasizes the cyclical feature of historical development. Society progresses towards perfection, but without reaching it (thus history is “ideal”), interrupted as it is by a break or return (ricorso) to a relatively more primitive condition. Out of this reversal, history begins its course anew, albeit from the irreversibly higher point to which it has already attained.

It is a new beginning: HCE goes to sleep, ALP metamorphoses herself again into the ever-changing river and flows away. ‘The proclamation that follows is full of renewal and of cleansing … predictions of the arising of a son, who will succeed HCE (595:34-596:34)’. The shortest book in Finnegans Wake conveys a Miltonic presence at its subtest. The stimmung of Milton’s story of the fall of Man is found in a promise of a new beginning, transformation, and redemption, which is the same premise of Book 4. As life moves on, ‘the actual fleshly son he [HCE] once begot buds the future. (…) Book IV will show his incipient power seeding forth.’ Furthermore, ALP’s return to her fluid form as a river is a sign of cleansing and renewal.

The first lines of Book 4, initially, echo a salutation and a theme common to PL books XI and XII:

Sandhyas! Sandhyas! Sandhyas!
Calling all downs. Calling all downs to dayne. Array! Surrection!
Eireweeker to the wohld bludyn world. (FW 593.1-3)

‘Sandhyas,’ as McHugh proposes, echoes the ‘Sanctus! Sanctus! Sanctus!’ Latin exhortation to God in the Catholic liturgy. I would add that these lines reflect Adam and Eve’s lamentations and prayers at the end of Book X:

they forthwith to the place

106 Fordham, xlv.
109 Campbell and Robinson, p. 337.
110 McHugh, p. 593.
Repairing where he judged them, prostrate fell
Before him reverent; and there confessed
Humbly their faults, and pardon begged; with tears
Watering the ground, and with their sighs the air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeigned, and humiliation meek. (PL X.1079-1085)

As a consequence of their prayers, the Son intercedes for Adam and Eve with God, who ‘calls all downs’: He convokes Michael and a cohort of angels to go down to the Garden and evict the couple:

[God] ceased; and the archangelic power prepared
For swift descent; with him the cohort bright
Of watchful Cherubim (PL XI.126-128)

The next phrase in FW, ‘Array! Surrection!’ connects with the good news Michael brings, of the coming of Christ and his return from the dead:

For this he shall live hated, be blasphemed,
Seized on by force, judged, and to death condemned
A shameful and accursed, nailed to the cross
(…) so he dies,
But soon revives; Death over him no power
Shall long usurp; (PL XII.411-421)

These three initial lines of Book IV evoke a Miltonic atmosphere that prepares us to read the seemingly unrelated vignettes of this book in an epic context. I do not mean to claim that this would be the best or only way to interpret Finnegans Wake. Rather, detecting the connections between FW Book 4 and Paradise Lost is one interpretative possibility among many, but one that can help the reader more fully understand some of the glancing references scattered through the three vignettes, culminating in ALP’s monologue, in which a Miltonic overtone becomes more explicit. Given that even Glasheen considers the vignettes confusing, it’s important to acknowledge that I therefore provide just one possible way of understanding them.

Firstly, before the beginning of the first vignette, we prepare for the theme: Kevin (Shaun) will replace his father, HCE, and a peculiar phrase might be a reference to him, ‘sod on a fall’ (FW 596.2), or ‘son of a fall,’ as he is the child of ‘atman as evars’ (FW 596.24), – Adam and Eve – who was born after the fall. Some elements point at the fall, as in ‘You have eaden fruit. Sai whuit. You have snakked mid a fish.’ (FW 597.35-36) ‘Eaden can echo
‘Eden,’ as well as ‘eaten’; and, as previously mentioned, the Norse verb ‘snak’ (speak) recalls Eve’s dialogue with the Snake before eating the apple.

The first vignette, ‘The Isolation of St. Kevin’, which retells the ‘Anna Livia’ chapter, contains some echoes of *Paradise Lost*. ‘Hwy, dairmaidens? Ashtoreths, assay!’ (FW 601.8) reverberates as a reference to the demon Astarte/Astaroth, cited by Milton as the female counterpart of Baal, gods of fertility and lust. Interestingly, it contains a reference to ‘maidens’, women as temptresses, which were the temptation of Kevin (Shaun), in Book 3, when he delivers a rather sexual lecture to his sister and her friends from St Brigid’s. Shortly after the lines quoted above, we find a citation of ‘S. Clouonaskieym’s’, which refers, coincidentally, to Milton’s Park Chapel, in Clonskeagh, a southern suburb of Dublin.

The second vignette, a colloquy between St Patrick and Archdruid Berkeley, ends with what I interpret as an allusion to the coming of the Son, or Messiah:

That was thing, bygotter, the thing, bogcotton, the very thing, begad. (FW 612.31-32)

In this passage, ‘thing’ is not necessarily a thing, but the *Thing*, the Scandinavian tribal council, of which Thor, god of thunder, is the patron. Hence, the ‘thing, bygotter’, might be understood as a reference to Odin, God, and HCE as fathers, while ‘the very thing, begad’ might be understood as referring to Thor, Christ, and Shaun simultaneously. The use of three variations of *beget* is thought-provoking as it refers back to the word used multiple times by Milton in *PL*, and in most of these instances the word is used to address the Son. The reference to Thor and the Son, when coupled with Shaun confers to the postman a responsibility for the next cycle of humanity, after the ‘thunder’, the thunder pronouncement of the new age.”

A final explicit reference to Milton is evident in the content of the letter ALP wrote to prove her husband’s innocence:

Back we were by the jerk of a beamstark, backed in paladays last, on the brinks of the wobblish, the man what never put a dramn in the swags but milk from a national cowse. (…) Sneakers in the grass, keep off! (FW 615.25-29)

ALP’s curious reference to the popular child’s tale about Jack and the Beanstalk in ‘paladays last’ might reflect their innocent state before the fall – before HCE’s encounter in the park.

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111 Campbell and Robinson, p. 47, footnote 2.
with the ‘Sneakers’, which I would associate with the snakes and temptresses that caused his fall in Phoenix Park.

Lastly, ALP’s fluid monologue recalls HCE and her life together, ‘we’d be married till delth to usparth.’ (FW 626.31) As Kitcher puts it, ‘[w]e are ready, it would seem, for the affirmation of ALP’s closing monologue. Her elegy for the life she has shared with HCE promises to develop the resolution to which the dreamer has come.’ Furthermore, it shows awareness of the fall, ‘First we feel. Then we fall’ (FW 627.11), but not regret. ALP’s acceptance of her fate is expressed with a reference to the cherubim that accompany Michael to evict Adam and Eve from the Garden, as below:

So soft this morning ours. Yes. Carry me along, taddy (…) If I seen him bearing down on me now under whitespread wings like he’d come from Arkangels, I sink I’d die down over his feet…’ (FW 628.8-11)

Comparatively, even though Eve had lamented before the loss of Paradise, she is now consoled.

This further consolation yet secure
I carry hence; though all by me is lost,
Such favour I unworthy am vouchsafed,
By me the Promised Seed shall all restore.
So spake our mother Eve; and Adam heard
Well pleased, but answered not (PL XII.620-625)

Like ALP, Eve is the righteous owner of the last spoken words of the poem. Both know of their regenerative power and their new beginnings, as Eve promises to ‘all restore,’ and ALP exclaims ‘Finn, again!’ (FW 628.14) Both can make a new beginning. ALP is leaving – like Adam and Eve, who go through the gates of the Garden of Eden to start anew on a different place. ‘The keys to. Given!’ (FW 628.15) ALP flows again into the beginning of the book after the final sentence ‘A way a lone a last a loved a long the’ (FW 628.15.16) – the ricorso is completed, ready for a new beginning. Similarly, for Adam and Eve, we know it is not the end when we read the final lines:

The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide:
They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way. (PL XII.646-649)

112 Kitcher, p. 242.
For both of them, Eve in *Paradise Lost* and ALP in *Finnegans Wake*, the ‘end’ is an opportunity to start anew.

The critical tradition of reading *Finnegans Wake* as an epic about the Fall of Man is enriched by an awareness of the pervasive Miltonic presence that inhabits the work. It is, of course, central to Joyce’s method in *Finnegans Wake* to produce playful echoes of a plethora of literary and historical sources. This method is key to the complexity of the roles Joyce’s characters play, and the multiple identities they possess. ALP is Eve, Lilith, the Virgin Mary, the river Liffey. HCE is Finn McCool, Adam, Christ, God, another river; he dies and comes back from the dead. Joyce is not simply a mirror for literary tradition, passively reflecting all that has gone before. Rather, in *Finnegans Wake* as in *Ulysses*, Joyce actively engages with that literary tradition, and it is this collaborative, sometimes competitive, approach that gives rise to numerous authorial ‘presences’ in his work, Milton’s not least among them. Joyce’s active engagement is such that the perception of the literary tradition itself is changed for the reader who reads *Finnegans Wake* after reading *Paradise Lost* and other works by Milton. This changed perception, probably achieved at this point of the thesis, is paramount for the understanding of last chapter’s topic, the thunder and Joyce’s thunderwords in *Finnegans Wake*. 

5. THE THUNDER — THE VOICE FROM THE GREAT BEYOND

The powerful thunder and the lengthy thunderwords in *Finnegans Wake* are invariably acknowledged and an object of close scrutiny in any analysis of the ‘book of the dark.’ There are ten of them, and the nine first are one-hundred letters long, while the last has one extra letter, and the letters forming these words are definitely not random; as already thoroughly investigated by Glasheen, Campbell and Robinson, among others, the thunderwords are formed by a plethora of other words in multiple languages, thus reflecting the multifariousness of the work and Joyce’s creative ability. Furthermore, the thunder represents the end of an era and the beginning of a new Viconian cycle, as Campbell and Robinson remark that it is ‘identical with the Viconian thunderclap, the voice of God’s wrath.’

A study deserving of mention that deals exclusively with the thunder is Eric McLuhan’s *The Role of Thunder in Finnegans Wake*, a rich and lengthy investigation of the ten thunderwords, to whom I owe a number of insights in this chapter. The scope of McLuhan’s work is limited by the analysis of *Finnegans Wake* as a Menippean satire (which ‘aims its attacks at the reader’), and I intend to complement his investigation by analysing the thunderword and the presence of Milton in the form of his God in *Paradise Lost* in this chapter.

As a starting point, it is important to remark that Joyce’s inception of the thunder as the voice of a wrathful God is a form of Miltonic presence. Firstly, because there are no references to the thunder nor to God’s voice as thunderous in Genesis. The only references to thunder as a manifestation of God’s wrath in the Bible are in 1 Samuel:

Is it not the wheat harvest today? I'll call upon the LORD, and he will send thunder and rain. Then you will know and understand that you have done a great evil in the sight of the LORD by asking for a king for yourselves.

The adversaries of the LORD shall be broken to pieces; out of heaven shall he thunder upon them: the LORD shall judge the ends of the earth; and he shall give strength unto his king, and exalt the horn of his anointed.

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113 Campbell and Robinson, p. 29.
114 Eric McLuhan, *The Role of Thunder in Finnegans Wake* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997)
115 McLuhan, p. ix
116 1 Samuel 12:17 and 2:10.
Conversely, in *Paradise Lost*, all instances of God’s thunderous voice are wrathful and threatening, with most related to the Fall of Lucifer. There are 36 instances of the word in Milton’s epic. It is clearly a crucial aspect for Milton, and Joyce uses it with a similar purpose: to highlight lapsarian moments. These are climatic instances to take into account when considering the place of thunder in *Finnegans Wake*. Some examples of God’s wrathful thunder associated with the Fall of the angels are below:

(…) into what pit thou seest  
From what height fallen, so much the stronger proved  
He with his *thunder*: and till then who knew  
The force of those dire arms? (*PL* 1.91-94)

The fiery Surge, that from the precipice  
Of Heaven received us falling, and the *thunder*,  
Winged with red lightning and impetuous rage (*PL* 1.173-175)

And what I should be, all but less then he  
Whom *thunder* hath made greater? (*PL* 1.257-8)

The advantage, and descending tread us down  
Thus drooping, or with linked *thunderbolts*  
Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf. (*PL* 1.327-329)

Additionally, the thunder of God seems to have physical effects in *Paradise Lost*, as it leaves Lucifer’s face scarred:

    Darkened so, yet shone  
    Above them all the archangel: but his face  
    Deep scars of *thunder* had intrenched, and care  
    Sat on his faded cheek (…) (*PL*1.599-602)

Milton’s God is proved ‘stronger’ ‘with his thunder’, as well as ‘winged with red lightning and impetuous rage’, thus being ‘made greater’ by his weapon of punishment. Bearing in mind the nature of Milton’s thunder as the voice and the weapons of a punishing God, I then proceed to the analysis of the ten ‘thunderwords’ in *Finnegans Wake* in the sequence they are presented.

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*Italics mine in all examples.*
5.1 BOOK 1: IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE THUNDER

On the first page of *FW*, we are struck by a 100-letter word that marks the first Fall, the first thunderclap of the 9 subsequent ones:

The fall (bababadalgharaghtakamminar...hounawnskawtwoohoordenenthurnuk! (*FW* 3.15-17)

This first instance of what we will henceforth call the ‘thunderword’ is formed by words in different languages meaning ‘thunder.’ The plurality of languages used for thunder in this word intends to encompass the universality of the Fall, as man’s life is composed of a continuous cycle of rise-and-fall, a ‘daily recurring fall from grace.’

Glasheen mentions that the thunder ‘speaks 10 times in *Finnegans Wake*’, and that ‘9 times it says 100 letters, and the 10th time it says 101.’

Even though every appearance of the thunderword marks a lapsarian moment, which, as Campbell and Robinson argue, ‘terminates the old aeon and starts the cycle of history anew,’ each of them will have a different shape by the use of other wor(l)ds.

For instance, this first appearance represents the physical fall of the legendary giant, Tin Finnegan. Joyce chooses to transform the thunder into a long onomatopoeic word composed of the word ‘thunder’ itself in various languages, instead of just repeating the word. Additionally, in this first instance of the use of the word in *FW*, Joyce retains the word ‘fall’ immediately preceding it, thus delimiting clearly what he is referring to, while the word ‘thunder’ is used by Milton’s Satan several times to refer to his own fall and God’s wrath.

Joyce’s association of the thunder with the Fall establishes a link with *Paradise Lost*, thus enabling an instance of presence of Milton in the form of ‘touch’, which, according to Gumbrecht, enables literature to function ‘as the place of epiphany’. As we know, Joyce is famous for the epiphanies of his earlier works, and Gumbrecht is aware of that. He points at the ‘incantatory potential of language’ in literature, as well as to the theological concept of epiphany that is able to make things ‘either absent or present’.

By making the thunder a notable feature preceding lapsarian moments, Joyce evokes the presence of the voice of Milton’s God. The sound of the thunder enables an effect as of a magical apparition of God from out of nowhere – making a God who was apparently ‘absent’ show itself. The same metaphor can be applied to Milton, as through the association of the thunder with an

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118 Campbell and Robinson, p. 5.
119 Glasheen, p. 283.
120 Campbell and Robinson, p. 29.
omniscient and omnipotent God with a thunderous voice, Milton’s *Paradise Lost* and the Fall of man are invoked. Furthermore, as we will be able to see during the exploration of the next examples, the ‘thunderword’ is not attributed to any specific character of the book; it just ‘happens’ as a force of nature, or the voice of a disembodied God, as Stephen Dedalus defines it, ‘[God is a] shout in the street.’ (*U*, 2.385) This is one of the instances in which the biblical God could be mistaken for Milton’s God, as Shawcross mentioned earlier, that many people would take characters and situations from *PL* to be from the Bible. Joyce himself might have made this ‘mistake’; as explored in chapter 2, Milton was an important part of his education and he knew ‘Lycidas’, ‘L’Allegro’ and ‘Il Penseroso’ by heart, so he could inadvertedly have attributed characters and situations to the Bible when in fact they are from Milton and expressions of Milton’s God and his wrathful voice of thunder, in order to make clearer the instances of Fall in *Finnegans Wake*.

Thunder, initially absent from the biblical Genesis, was transformed into God’s voice of admonition by Milton in *Paradise Lost*, while Joyce, in turn, does not assign the thunder to any specific character, but its presence in both *Paradise Lost* and *Finnegans Wake* work as omens of a repositioning of the previously established order. Tim Finnegan falls, dies, and is replaced by HCE, while Satan, Adam, and Eve are made to leave their heavenly abode for having defied supreme authority. No replacements are assigned for the protagonists in *Paradise Lost*, but as the thunder resounds several times in *FW*, it is possible to understand that, in addition to the Viconian ‘thunderclap’ (which marks the beginning of a new cycle and the end of the previous one), the thunder also precedes the continuous cycle of fall-and-rise of humanity, and the several falls from grace presented in religious texts and in *Paradise Lost*. The use of a natural phenomenon as the thunder to represent the voice of God, as in *Paradise Lost*, might have been a resource from which Joyce drew inspiration in order to create the thunderword as a prelude to the Fall from grace in *Finnegans Wake*. Additionally, this inspiration is also perceivable through the creation of an atmosphere, *stimmung* – in Joyce’s case, relating a natural phenomenon with the Fall – that enables understanding, even if the reader is not aware of Milton’s usage of thunder as a prelude for the Fall. The use of thunder and nature ‘wraps’ the characters and creates an ominous atmosphere, as the voice of God, the supreme judge, brings consequences to the actions of the fallen. The thunder announces and accompanies the Fall of the angels from Heaven, while in *FW* the thunder introduces Tim Finnegan’s fall which brings about his death. The sighs and signs of woe of nature are a reaction to Eve’s trespass, which will bring about the end of their innocence and God’s
judgement. These sounds are strategically placed by Milton preceding or simultaneous to the lapsarian action.

Comparatively, in Genesis, there are no thunderous sounds preceding the Fall. God’s voice is heard after Adam and Eve’s eating of the fruit – and His voice is not described as ‘thunderous’:

6 And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat.

8 And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God amongst the trees of the garden. 122

Thus, when we contrast both the Biblical God’s voice – not always described as thunderous - and the voice of Milton’s God – which is ‘thunderous’ every time it is wrathful, it is possible to argue that Joyce weaved a Miltonic ‘touch’ around the use of thunder and the thunderword. This ‘touch,’ as per Gumbrecht’s concept, consists in the moment that Milton’s God is called to mind when we associate the thunder with the threatening voice that precedes the Fall. The main objective of the thunderword in FW is to contribute to a richer understanding of Joyce’s book. Thunder as the voice of God the punisher does not occur in the Bible as frequently as it does in PL. Thus, Milton’s presence is paramount here to enable the reader to associate the falls in FW with those in PL.

For example, the dialogue between Mutt and Jute suggests a strong reference to the fallen angels when they find themselves in Hell, in PL Book I:

Mutt – Ore you astoneaged, jute you?
Jute – Oye am thonthorstrok, thing mud. (FW 1.15-16)

As Campbell and Robinson point out, ‘astoneaged’ and ‘thonthorstrok’ correspond to ‘astonished’ and ‘thunderstruck,’ 123 words used by Milton in the Argument of Book I, as well as in the conclusion of the war in heaven, to describe the state of the angels at the moment of the fall, as below:

Here Satan, with his Angels lying on the burning lake, thunderstruck and astonished… (PL I. The Argument).

122 Genesis 3:6 and 3:8.
123 Campbell and Robinson, p. 47.
They, astonished, all resistance lost,
All courage; down their idle weapons dropt (PL VI.838-9)

The overthrown he raised, and as a herd
Of goats or timorous flock together thronged
Drove them before him thunder-struck (PL VI.856-8)

In addition to the echo provided by Joyce’s deployment of words used by Milton, I argue that
the role of these two words is to establish a particular atmosphere in the text that enables the
reader to transcend the literal content of the dialogue between the two characters. This
‘atmosphere’ is not mere intertextuality; the stimmung created by the use of these two words
placed closely in FW as in PL, and in both cases at the very beginning of the Book 1, helps
create the feeling of a physical touch between the two works. Additionally, Joyce reinforces
the importance of the thunder by making ‘thunderstruck’ into ‘thonthorstrok’, or as Campbell
and Robinson put it, ‘Thor’s thunderstroke.’ ‘Thingmote’, the word that follows, is the
Scandinavian/Viking tribal council, and Thor, the god of Thunder, was the patron of the
Thing, the council. Jute’s affirmation, ‘I am Thingmote’ (‘thingmud’) will bear a larger
signification, that he is ‘the thunder pronouncement of the new age.’124 Campbell and
Robinson’s assertion strengthens the claim that both in PL and in FW crucial moments of
radical change (and Viconian ages, consequently) are marked by thunder, as Milton also
relies heavily on God’s thunderous voice in order to highlight these occasions. The first such
moment in FW marks the fall of Tim Finnegan and the beginning of a new era with HCE.

The second instance of the thunderword marks a new Fall:

And he clopped his rude hand to his eacy hitch and he ordurd and his thick spch spck
for her to shut up shop, dappy. And the duppy shot the shutter clup
(Perkodhuskurunbargruayayagokgorlayorogromitghundhurthrumathunradidillif
aititillibumullunukkunun!) And they all drank free. (FW 23.3-8)

This specific passage is part of story of the prankquean, identified here with Grace O’Malley,
from the Irish legend. Glasheen retells the story in brief:

Irish legend says Grace sailed to Howth Castle and demanded entrance. The Earl of
Howth [Jarl von Hooter] refused her because he was at dinner. Angry, she kidnapped

124 Campbell and Robinson, p. 47, footnote 2.
his young heir and did not return him until the earl promised that his doors would always stand open at mealtime.125

Glasheen associates Grace O’Malley with the Prankquean as ‘temptress, whore, enchanter… [who] provokes [the earl] from passivity to action.’126 Her transgressive action when kidnapping the earl’s heir triggers the second thunderword, which is linked to an action taken out of anger – the earl is incensed by her boldness and the doors to his castle are opened. The thunderword can either be a transcription of the noise of the doors being opened or his sound of bellowing anger when ordering that the doors be opened. Campbell and Robinson support the idea of the thunder voice that ‘resounds now through the anger of the old Jarl. It is his own impotence that has unstrung him.’127 The idea of a woman as ‘temptress’ who provokes action characterises a ‘touch’ of Milton, as Eve’s plucking the fruit has immediate consequences to the Earth and nature at the moment of the Fall:

   Earth felt the wound; and nature from her seat,
   Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe,
   That all was lost. (PL IX.782-784)

Additionally, her actions trigger the sound of thunder – also associated with the Fall – here represented by the thunderword and interpreted as the orders of the Jarl to open the doors.

Another fact that favours our interpretation of Jarl van Hooth’s voice as the thunder is his epithet, Boanerges, mentioned a page earlier: ‘For like the campbells acoming with a fork lance of lightning, Jarl von Hooth Boanerges himself, the old terror of the dames…’ (FW, 22.30-32). Boanerges, as Glasheen explains, means ‘[s]ons of Thunder – the name Jesus gave to the apostles James and John.’128 Thus, we can talk about an indirect presence of Milton through this Biblical reference, as it is possible to infer Jarl’s (Boanerges’s) anger in the thunderword above. Additionally, on a broader and more speculative note, as Joyce was quite fond of coincidences, especially with names, we might be able to associate him and John Milton to the apostles James and John, due to the similar and crucial use of thunder in their most expressive works, FW and PL. The lines that follow closely the thunderword provide us with a definitive link between Milton and Joyce: ‘O foenix culprit! Ex nickylow

125 Glasheen, p. 214.
127 Campbell and Robinson, p. 49.
128 Glasheen, p. 34.
malo comes mickelmassed bonum.’ (FW 23.16-17) Here we can find a reference to *felix culpa*, or the happy fall, as advocated by St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, of whom Joyce was an avid reader. Jeromme Ficek argues that Milton ‘bears witness to the same paradox when, just after Adam has been told by the Archangel Michael what awaits them in the Second Coming when Christ shall reward the faithful and receive them into bliss, he has Adam burst forth’:\footnote{Jerome L. Ficek, ‘The Paradox of the Fortunate Fall in Contemporary Theology’ in Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society 3.3 (1960) 70-75, p. 70.}

Oh goodness infinite, goodness immense!
That all this good of evil shall produce,
And evil turn to good; more wonderful
Than that which by creation first brought forth
Light out of darkness! (PL, XII.469.473)

In addition to the concept of the ‘happy fall,’ which is not exclusively Miltonic, but is reinforced by the English poet, Joyce is able to weave the brothers Shem and Shaun into the fabric of the Fall using their pseudonyms Nick and Mick. Glasheen explains that Nick – ‘Old Nick’ – is the Devil, while Mick is St Michael, the Archangel.\footnote{Glasheen, p. 193.} The ‘nickylow malo’ then, can be read as ‘the evil (related to the devil)’ or we can read it as figurative, using ‘malo’ for ‘mala’ (apple), the representation of the Fall, whereas the ‘mickelmassed bonum’ is the ‘good (related to Michael).’

Some references in this passage in isolation bring to mind sense of ‘touch’ between Milton and Joyce as in previous examples; furthermore, an additional feeling of *déjà-vu* (as in *stimmung*) serves to reinforce and deepen the resonance of the narrative of the fall in *Finnegans Wake*. The Irish legend of Grace O’Malley, representing ‘grace o’ malice’ or ‘grace out of malice’, out of a malicious action, a trespass, Adam and Eve eventually achieved grace – the ‘fortunate fall’, while the voice of the angry old Jarl is likened to God’s voice. Furthermore, we have echoes of Satan (as Nick), the apple (in ‘malo’) and Michael (in Mick) – all clear references to the Fall.

The third instance of the thunderword in Book 1 appears asa literal fall: In HCE’s pub (who is now Mr. Porter) the glasses fall to the floor, due to ‘someone trying to applaud while holding a glass of beer and then dropping it,’\footnote{Campbell and Robinson, p. 60. Footnote 1.} before the crowd breaks into singing ‘The Ballad of Persse O’Reilly’.

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\footnote{Jerome L. Ficek, ‘The Paradox of the Fortunate Fall in Contemporary Theology’ in Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society 3.3 (1960) 70-75, p. 70.}
\footnote{Glasheen, p. 193.}
\footnote{Campbell and Robinson, p. 60. Footnote 1.}
Glass crash. The (klikkaklakkaklaskaklopatschabatraçecrepypettygradda
gsimmisammihothappluddaypladdypkonpot!) (FW 44.19-21)

‘Persse O’Reilly’ is another name for HCE; the French word perce-oreille means ‘earwig.’ The earwig, Glasheen explains, is an insect (Forficula Auricularia) that was believed to creep into the ears at night, when people slept on the ground. The story of the ballad is about the gossip surrounding HCE and the incident in the park. When the word of his shameful act goes around the city, it ‘enters’ people’s ears. Furthermore, there is a wordplay with HCE’s name as well: ‘earwig’ and ‘Earwicker.’ Thus, the thunderword here precedes the story of HCE’s Fall – the deafening sound of glasses falling to the ground and the crowd singing about his crime.

An additional indirect reference to Milton can be found in the ballad:

Have you heard of one Humpty Dumpty
How he fell with a roll and a rumble
And curled up like Lord Olofa Crumple
By the butt of the Magazine Wall,
(Chorus) Of the Magazine Wall,
Hump, helmet, and all? (FW 45.1-6)

The fall described in the song is metaphorically HCE’s, as it recapitulates the fall of Humpty Dumpty and associates it with Oliver Cromwell and his army, who had encamped by the walls of Wexford in 1649 in an attempt to supress the Irish Revolution that had commenced in 1641. More than six hundred thousand died during Cromwell’s incursion in Ireland. This incursion was vehemently supported by Milton, as mentioned by Hadfield: ‘[Milton] showed little tolerance for the other peoples within the British Isles.’ Even though Cromwell did not lose this battle, Joyce seems to compare his strategy to an ambush, which would be dishonourable for him and unfair on the Irish. The reference to the Magazine wall, which was erected much later than 1641, is relevant as it is part of the Magazine Fort, a bastion fort built in Phoenix Park in 1735 by the British in case of an insurrection of the natives, and it was

132 Glasheen, p. 81.
134 Hadfield, p. 186.
occupied by the British Armed Forces until 1922. Interestingly, there is a quite relevant connection between Cromwell and the thunder as the voice of the supernatural. In his biography of Cromwell, Thomas Carlyle mentions an event that occurred in London while Cromwell’s troops advanced through Scotland and the West Midlands: on the 22nd of October 1651, Reverend Christopher Love was beheaded, ‘[t]o the unspeakable emotion of men.’ On that occasion, ‘the very Heavens seemed to testify a feeling of it, - by a thunderclap, by two thunderclaps’ followed by ‘a terrible thunderclap, and darkening of daylight’ when the Parliament passed the sentence. Finally, after his beheading, a thunderstorm arises ‘that threatens the dissolution of Nature.’ The threatening nature of the thunder in the popular imagination at that time is likely to have affected Milton’s inclination to shape it into the voice of his reproachful God. In turn, Joyce profited from the figure of Milton’s wrathful, thunder-voiced God, so the thunderword is no character’s word: it precedes and highlights the turning points in Finnegans Wake, including a fall from grace, fall of a reputation, a literal fall, and all of these simultaneously.

The thunderword also marks the moment of HCE’s demise and resurrection in Part 4, thus it is paramount for our understanding that we know what is happening in this passage. Campbell and Robinson describe the passage between pages 81-96 as ‘evidence of a posthumous trial’; in which HCE’s sons, Shem and Shaun are present. Their presence in the trial makes it ‘clear that they have inherited not only aspects of the character but even something of the life history and guilt of the fallen patriarch.’ The idea of an inherited guilt mirrors the biblical and Miltonic consequence of the Fall, with Adam and Eve’s children inheriting Original Sin. Furthermore, as in any trial, facts from the past are discussed, and in a few paragraphs preceding the thunderword, there is another familiar scene describing HCE’s tussle in the park:

Mickmichael’s soords shrieking shrecks through the wilkinses and neckanicholas’ toastingforks pricking prongs up the tunnybladders. Let there be fight? And there was. Foght. On the site of the Angel’s, you said? Guinney’s Gap, he said, between what they said and the pussykitties. In the middle of the garth, then? That they mushn’t toucht it. (FW 90.10-15)

137 Campbell and Robinson, p. 82.
Here the warring angels – Michael and his sword, as well as ‘neckanicholas’ (‘Nick’ being another name for the devil, as mentioned before) with their ‘toastingforks’, characters from the war in Heaven before the Fall of the Angels, which is told in detail to Adam by Raphael in PL Book 6. We can find a Miltonic touch in the passage cited above, with ‘Mickmichael’s soords’ against the ‘neckanicholas’ toastingforks’ making ‘shrieking shrecks’:

Now storming fury rose,  
And clamour such as heard in Heaven till now  
Was never; arms on Armor clashing brayed  
Horrible discord, and the madding wheels  
Of brazen chariots raged; dire was the noise  
Of conflict; (...) All Heaven  
Resounded; and had Earth been then, all Earth  
Had to her centre shook. (PL VI.207-219, italics mine)

The war in heaven mixes itself with HCE’s conflict in ‘the middle of the garth’ when he sees the ‘pussykitties,’ the two urinating girls, the cause of his undoing. As discussed previously, on more than one occasion the moments of HCE’s Fall are intertwined with those of Satan and Adam. Joyce puts these in quite a few words, and I would suggest that these can activate the readers’ minds to associate them with the Miltonic epic; the reader would be then aware of the impending lapsarian moment.

The thunderword makes its appearance a few lines after the mention of the war in heaven and the fall of HCE:

Such as truly pearced our really's that he might, that he might never, that he might never that night? Treely and rurally. Bladyughfoulmoecklenburgwhurawhorascortas-trumpapornannynkocksapastippatappatupperstrippuckputtanach, eh? You have it alright. (FW 90.29-33)

Campbell and Robinson identify this instance as ‘the voice of thunder, this time heard by one of the sons through the noise of his father’s tussle in the park.’ They also add that there are many references to prostitution in this word. HCE is definitely involved in a conflict in the park after he is seen by the policeman observing the girls. Furthermore, the references to prostitution that shape this word probably refer to the sexual nature of his trespass. The Son’s eviction of the rebel angels from heaven, on the other hand, has no sexual overtones at all, albeit the thunder also marks the moment of fury in which Satan and his crew are sent ‘headlong …down from the verge of Heaven:’

138 Campbell and Robinson, p. 86, footnote 1.
Yet half his strength he put not forth, but checked
His thunder in mid volley; for he meant
Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven:
The overthrown he raised, and as a herd
Of goats or timorous flock together thronged
Drove them before him thunder-struck, (…)
Headlong themselves they threw
Down from the verge of Heaven; eternal wrath
Burnt after them to the bottomless pit. (PL VI.853-863, italics mine)

Raphael’s telling of the War in Heaven and the subsequent fall of the angels works as reverse chronology, as it is told in flashback (in Book VI); bringing the reader’s memory back to Book I in PL, where after being thrown from Heaven to the bottomless pit, Satan and his crew wake up in Hell and the demons are introduced, one by one. There is an interesting coincidence between what happens after the thunder in PL and the thunderword in FW, as a ‘touch’ of Miltonic demons takes place:

he did not fire a stone either before or after he was born down and up to that time.
And, incidentalising that they might talk about Markarthy or they might walk to Baalastartey […] (FW 91.11-14)

Glasheen relates Ashtaroth to Astarte, describing her as a ‘semitic goddess’, with Baal as ‘her male counterpart.’ Both Baal and Astarte are cited in the Bible, but I believe that this mention, in this specific order, fusing Baal and Astarte in the same word, is a clue of Miltonic touch, as in the passage from PL below, when it is mentioned that the demons:

had general names
Of Baalim and Ashtaroth – those male,
These feminine. (PL 1.421-423)

Additionally, a few lines further, another demon is introduced

Astoreth, whom the Phoenicians called
Astarte, queen of heaven’ (PL 1.438-439)

What makes these events the most remarkable in regards to being expressions of Miltonic presence is the order in which they are presented: both in PL and FW they are mentioned after the fall of the angels, even though in Milton the story of the war in Heaven is told in Book VI and the mention to Baal and Astarte (among others) is made in Book I, when the devils are being introduced in order of importance. It is also worth noticing that the act of fusing both
names together might also signal Joyce’s intention of establishing a ‘touch’ between the fall of Satan and the fall of HCE in Phoenix Park, giving this earthly fall a deeper signification, instead of considering the indecent act a simple misdemeanour; his action has serious consequences that transcend man’s legal sphere, it has metaphysical and secular implications. Thus, these examples provide strength to the claim that Joyce had Milton (among other writers) in mind, and specifically the story of the fall as told by the English poet.

The last mention of the thunderword in Book 1 is to be found in Part 5, the ‘Mamafesta’ chapter, in which the letter dictated by ALP and written by Shem is analysed. Its aim is to defend her husband, HCE, from the accusations levelled against him. A description of the letter is given:

First and Last Only True Account all about the Honorary Mirsu Earwicker, L.S.D., and the Snake (Nuggets!) by 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 Lucalizod about Privates Earwicker and a Pair of Sloppy Sluts plainly Showing all the Unmentionability falsery Accusing about the Raincoats. (FW 107.1-7)

Anna Livia’s purpose with the letter is to claim her husband’s innocence of the crime of indecency, which he is being accused of. She mentions ‘the Snake,’ conspirators trying ‘to Fall him’ and ‘a pair of Sloppy Sluts.’ At the trial, her letter is discussed, and after some deliberation, it is finally met with the thunderword:

a man alones sine anyon anyons utharas has no rates to done a kik at with anyon anakars about tutus milking fores and the rereres on the outerrand asikin the tutus to be forrarder. Thingcrooklyxineverypasturesixdixlikenchimaroindhersthemaggerykinkinkankanwithdownmindlookingated. Mesdaims, Marmouselles, Mescerfs! Silvapais! (FW 113.6-11)

The thunderword now ‘rings through the cozy gossip of the letter’ until one of the four judges asks for silence, ‘Silvapais!’ Apparently, this thunderword is composed of the hearsay and speculations about HCE’s crime in court. We can associate this ‘hubbub’ with a moment in PL Book II, during the Stygian Council. The fallen angels need to decide their strategy and choose who is going to fight for them. This moment comes right after Mammon’s speech:

He scarce had finished, when such murmur filled
The assembly as when hollow rocks retain
The sound of blustering winds, which all night long
Had roused the sea... (PL II. 284-287, italics mine)

As mentioned above, Campbell and Robinson associate the thunderword with the gossip inside the courtroom. There is another possible analogy: as we will see in FW I.8, the Anna Livia book, the washerwomen are those who turn into rocks after gossiping about ALP and HCE. I would argue that these two events in FW are complementary and can be found in the passage above from PL; there is murmur in the court/council, and it is associated with ‘when hollow rocks retain / The sound of blustering winds,’ similar to the gossip of the washerwomen/rocks.

As in PL, the voice of the thunder will sound again in other instances in FW. The appearances of the thunder are more frequent in Book 1 as the motif of the Fall needs to be emphasised to explain Finn McCool’s demise, HCE’s ascension to take Finn’s place and start a new cycle, as well as his own demise in turn. Yet further instances of reference to the thunder, not necessarily followed by the ‘thunderword’ can be found throughout FW and are analysed below.

5.2 BOOK 2: THE FALL OF THE PARENTS

In Book 2, even though the motif of the Fall recedes slightly, the presence of Milton through the use of the thunder still resonates, favouring a Miltonic stimmung so that the consequences of trespassing and the Fall are not forgotten. The first instance of the thunderword in Book 2 consists of God’s wrathful voice resounding in the room, ending the children’s play, just as they set out to sing about Old Forrester Farley, ‘who was fond of the sound of thunder:’

Wold Forrester Farley who, in desperation of deispiration at the diasporation of his diesparation, was found of the round of the sound of the lound of the.
Lukkedeordenandurraskewdylooshoofermoyportertooryzooyalphabetoportyaskakroidverjkapakkapuk.

Byfall.

Upploud!

The play thou scouwburgst, Game, here endeth. The curtain drops by deep request. (FW 257.23-32)

This instance of the thunderword is an echo of the father slamming a door, which ends their play. Eric McLuhan interprets the sonority of this multifarious word as:

a round of sound of applause, of the curtain crashing down, of the patrons from ‘the gods’ (gallery) exiting from the Playhouse, and of the closing of the Playhouse doors.

141 Campbell and Robinson, p. 161.
(...) The thunder is followed by more applause (Ger, *Byfall*) and the raising-up loud of the ear.\textsuperscript{142}

An aspect worth mentioning is that McLuhan calls this chapter ‘The Phoenix Playhouse’, which makes sense when we understand the sound of thunder as a Viconian sign of the end of an era, the fall of the old and the rise of the new – renovation, rebirth: ‘the way is clear for the age of the gods – Finnegan included – to return.’\textsuperscript{143} The cycle is ready to begin again, for all of them as nightfall approaches. The fate of the boys – now called Nick (Shem) and Mick (Shaun) is delineated: ‘Nekulon shall be havonfalled surely Makal haven hevens.’ (*FW* 258.14) Nekulon, or Nick, Satan/the Devil shall fall from heaven, and surely Mick, Michael, shall reign in heaven. As Glasheen puts it, the Mime of Mick, Nick and the Maggies

(...) is a play about dubious battle on the plains of heaven. Nick-\textsuperscript{Glugg-Shem} is the rebel who presumes to seize his father’s prerogative of sex-creation; Mick-\textsuperscript{Chuff-Shaun} is the pure, sexless angel who opposes the Devil, but, as in *Paradise Lost*, is not strong enough and makes it necessary for the father to intervene decisively in the battle.\textsuperscript{144}

Glasheen sees this chapter in *FW* as an Oedipal drama wherein one son (Nick/Shem) attempts to supplant the father, while the other son (Mick/Shaun) opposes his brother but is unable, without his father’s intervention, to gain the decisive victory. Glasheen goes further to draw a parallel with *Paradise Lost*, and in particular Satan’s rebellion against God the Father and Michael’s strenuous yet indecisive opposition to Satan in Book VI, until aided by the overwhelming force of God in the person of the Son. It is tempting to see in Joyce’s imitation, or even parody, of Satan’s rebellion in *PL* his own Oedipal or Bloomian revolt against one of his literary fathers, Milton. However, the effort of this thesis has been to show how Joyce sought not so much to commit literary parricide and supplant his ‘father’ Milton, but rather to use his work to generate a Miltonic *stimmung* or atmosphere, changing in degree and intensity in different places in *FW* in tune with Joyce’s thematic and generic purposes, namely the evocation of the story of the fall, told in the form of epic. Or, as Shawcross puts it, the reader sees that a relationship exists between earlier and later text, but not ‘necessarily as source and not necessarily as direct influence.’\textsuperscript{145} Joyce’s aim in engaging with, rather than attempting to supplant Milton should not, however, be thought of as a modest or uncompetitive one. As T.

\textsuperscript{142} McLuhan, p. 144.
\textsuperscript{143} McLuhan, p. 145.
\textsuperscript{144} Glasheen, p. xlvii.
\textsuperscript{145} Shawcross, ‘John Milton and his Spanish…’, p. 40
S. Eliot argues, any new work has the power to alter the existing order: ‘the whole existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered’\(^{146}\). Thus, the Miltonic *stimmung* created by Joyce’s reworking of the Oedipal drama of *Paradise Lost* not only enriches and deepens the intertextual resonance of *FW*, it also casts *Paradise Lost* itself in a new light.

In the next part, the children plot the overthrowing of their father as a new era is about to begin. Bearing the ‘rebirth’, as well as the satanic conflict between the two brothers in mind, it is time to move on. We will find the thunderword again in HCE’s pub, in Book 3. The main thread of ‘The Pub’ happens in HCE’s pub, but there are several parallel narratives – not consecutive – TV plays (*The Norwegian Captain* and *How Buckley Shot the Russian General*) and a musical programme, as well as some radio intermissions. It is possible to see HCE represented by a character in each of the plays. Glasheen comments that the plays might have been created by Shem, as it is part of the children’s plan to take the father down.\(^{147}\) It is possible to perceive in all of the parallel narratives a hint of HCE’s past, present, and future: as Campbell and Robinson put it, we will find the ‘all flavouring, all-justifying presence of the tavernkeeper, HCE.’\(^{148}\)

Right at the beginning we will find that HCE is guilty of one sin that has historically caused the first Fall: ‘yet that pride that bogs the party begs the glory of a wake.’ (*FW* 309.6-7) Pride has undone him, to the point that his death will need to be honoured with a suitable wake so that he will not die in shame. However, as the tavern-goers start to recall HCE’s story, it is time for the thunderword. The thunderword we find here has echoes of Finnegan’s fall, likened to Humpty Dumpty, which is also HCE’s fall.

Bump!

Bothallchoractorschumminaroundgansuminarumdrumstrumtruminahumptadumpwaultopofooolooderamaunstumup! (*FW* 314.7-9)

The theme of the Fall is under discussion, and as Campbell and Robinson remark, ‘HCE’s reputation is going to pieces.’\(^{149}\) The presence of the thunderword carries within itself the presence of Milton’s God, with the thunderous voice. Campbell and Robinson mention the place of the fall as ‘[w]here the muddies scrim ball. (…) And the maidies scream all.’ (*FW*

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\(^{146}\) Eliot, p. 38.

\(^{147}\) Glasheen, lv.

\(^{148}\) Campbell and Robinson, p. 196.

\(^{149}\) Campbell and Robinson, p. 200.
314. 12-14) The ‘muddies’ and ‘maidies’ are the temptresses, the Maggies. The initial Miltonic ‘touch’ here is indirect, as the phrases above, ‘muddies scrim ball’ and ‘maidies scream all’ sound as ‘the Magazine Wall’, in Phoenix Park. From that point on, they proceed to tell the story of the Fall, and it shows clearer Miltonic overtones from Paradise Lost:

And forthemore let legend go lore of it that mortar scene so cwympty dwympty what a dustydust it razed arboriginally but, luck’s leap to the lad at the top of the ladder, so sartor’s resorted why the sinner the badder! (FW 314.15-18)

The ‘legend’ of Humpty Dumpty and Tim Finnegan is intertwined here with the Fall of Adam and Eve and HCE. That ‘mortar scene’ refers to Tim Finnegan’s occupation – a bricklayer – and it can also refer to ‘mortal sin’ for the Edenic couple. Additionally, McHugh explains that a cwmp in Welsh is ‘a fall.’ Dustydust’ points to the certain death after their trespass/fall, which is Biblical but also Miltonic, as Jesus tells Adam: ‘For dust thou art, and shalt to dust return.’ (PL X.208) The word ‘arboriginally’ also brings to mind the idea of a tree (from Latin Arbor), as Adam and Eve ate from the forbidden tree, they committed the first ‘mortar scene’.

An example of mediated presence here is the reference to ‘sartor’s resorted’, Thomas Carlyle’s Sartor Resartor. As James Atherton notes, this is not the only reference in Finnegans Wake to the work. On 352.25 we can find ‘shutter reshottus’ and in 68.21, a corruption of the name of the main character, ‘Tawfulsdreck’. Tyler Tychelaar remarks that the literary sources for Professor Diogenes Teufelsdrockh (Devil’s dung, in German) include the British Romantics and their creations. However, firstly, one of these sources predates the Romantic period – Milton’s Satan. Tychelaar mentions that

The Editor of Sartor Resartus remarks of Teufelsdrokh, ‘what a Gehenna was within; that a whole Satanic School were spouting, though inaudibly, there.’ Gehenna is, of course, another word for Hell, so like Milton’s Satan, Teufelsdrockh has a ‘Hell within (...) ‘Satanic School’ refers to the Romantic school of poetry as practiced by Byron and Shelley, thus linking him to Romantic wanderer figures.’

Joyce’s sympathy for the ‘Satanic school’ has already been discussed here, as well as his liking for Byron and Shelley. Eric Ziolkowski describes FW as a ‘curious blending of

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150 McHugh, p. 314.
Miltonic with Goethian-Faustian, German Romantic ideas about God, evil and the devil’ and adds that its main character, Dr Diogenes Teufelsdrockh, ‘like the Genovese Frankenstein, who studied at the University of Ingolstadt, [Teufelsdrockh] is a caricature of a Teutonic academic [who is also] something of a modern Prometheus.’ Additionally, the reference to Teufelsdrokh as a wandering figure brings together a possible parallel between the professor and HCE, who roams around the world with a ‘hell within’, his feeling of guilt he carries for the incident in the park and the incestuous desires towards his daughter. The idea of having a Hell within oneself, as Milton’s Satan puts it ‘Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell’ (PL IV.75) brings the reader the stimmung of disquiet and despair of Satan’s momentary repentance after flying to Earth in order to tempt the Edenic couple.

Other Miltonic references on the same page are ‘intervulve coupling’ (FW 314.20), given Adam and Eve’s lustful intercourse after the eating of the apple; ‘eve her sins’ (FW 314.25), and the ‘sohns of a blitzh all the tuone tuone and thunder allout...’ (FW 27-29): Blitz, German for ‘thunder’, and tuono, Italian for the same, both bring to mind the ‘Sons of Thunder’ or Boanerges, that might now be applied to Shem and Shaun, as HCE is the thunderous God referred to in the previous chapter, and his fall is recalled here by the sound of thunder.

Following a variation of the felix culpa as ‘phaymix cupplerts’ (FW 331.2-3), wherein I argue that HCE tries to share the guilt with the temptresses in Phoenix Park, the ‘phoenix culprits,’ and proceeds to prove his love for his wife:

if hec dont love alpy then lad you annoy me. For hanigen with hunigen still haunt ahunt to find their hinnigen where Pappappapparrassanuaragheallachnatullaghmonganmac macmacwhackfalltherdebblenonthedublandaddydoodled and anruly person creeked a jest. (FW 332.3-9)

This is the occasion of the eighth thunderclap, and a continuation of the radio programme ‘The Caging of the Rover,’ staging the point at which the marriage is going to be consummated. McLuhan highlights the main themes of the tale:

As the tale now progresses, following the close of thunder 7, work on the suit for the Captain involves a second fitting (320) and the presentation and rejection (322) of the

product. At the same time, there is a marriage proposal (318), a wedding (325ff.), a
honeymoon (329) in which the marriage is consummated in camera (...) 154

As with all the tales in this chapter, this one is to be interpreted as the wedding of HCE and
ALP; and the presence of God’s thunderous voice is an omen for the incoming Fall;
Furthermore, the thunder leads us to again associate the pair with Adam and Eve. McLuhan
interprets the movie wedding as ‘a marriage of the gods’ as well, given HCE and ALP’s
almost supernatural shape-shifting characteristics.155

Another point that contributes to our interpretation of the thunder as the voice of God
is the sequence that follows:

Such was the act of goth stepping the talk of Doolin (...) Him that gronde old mand to
be that haard of heaering ( afore said) and her the petty tondur with the fix in her
changeable eye ( which see), Lord, me lad, he goes with blowbierd, leedy, plasheous
stream. (FW 332.10-23)

There we will find references to the act of God (the thunder), the ‘gronde old mand,’ HCE,
who might have ignored the thunderous warning as he was ‘haard of haering,’ and ALP, the
‘blowbierd, leedy, plasheous stream.’

Finally, the thunderclap resounds all the themes present in the context of the episode,
and I will highlight here the ones related to the wedding: for instance, pappa, for a patriarchal
figure as HCE or Finn McCool; parrassan, for parson, echoing the theme of the wedding;
rassanu, for ‘raise anew’, symbolising Finn’s fall and HCE’s rise; allther, for ‘all there’ or
‘altar’; debble, for both ‘devil’ or the projector as ‘infernal machinery’ (symbolising the
children’s attempt to depose the father), but also as ‘doubling’, in marriage; and doodle, for a
dalliance or wedding.156

There are a couple of flashbacks from book 1, chapter 2, as Campbell and Robinson
mention.157 They name the passage below ‘Mezzotint on the Wall’:

On the mizzatint wall. With its chromo for all, crimm crimms. Showing holdmenag’s
asses sat by Allmeneck’s men, canins to ride with em, canins that lept at em, woollied
and flundered. (FW 334.20-27)

154 McLuhan, p. 173.
155 McLuhan, p. 183.
156 McLuhan, p. 184-191.
157 Campbell and Robinson, p. 213
The mention of the ‘Magazine wall’, which is part of the magazine fort built in Phoenix Park, reminds us of the fall of Humpty Dumpty and HCE. Joyce’s mention to ‘chromo for all, crimm crimms’ echoes the name of Oliver Cromwell, which brings to mind the Irish 1641 Uprising, as well as the idea of Milton as a fervent supporter of Cromwell’s military offensive against the Irish. Canino argues that, after the uprising, the Irish ‘were seen by Milton and most Englishmen as monsters and devils who owed their allegiance not simply to Rome and Spain, but also to Hell itself.’ Her article about *Paradise Lost* and the Irish Rebellion expands on the topic of how Milton ‘mined his personal experience of rebellion and revolt in order to breathe life into his portrayal of Satan and the devils – the great originals of political insurgency – in *Paradise Lost*.’ I believe Canino’s observation enables a view of the Miltonic presence in the last sentences of the passage above as well. ‘[H]oldmenag’s asses sat by Allmeneck’s men’ brings to mind the Humpty Dumpty nursery rhyme line, ‘all the King’s horses and all the King’s men’, and their antagonists are ‘canins to ride with them, canins that lept at em…’ The demonic, canine reference we are provided with evokes the keeper of the gates of Chaos, Satan’s daughter, Sin:

About her middle round
A cry of Hell-hounds never-ceasing barked
With wide Cerberean mouths full loud, and rung
A hideous peal; yet, when they list, would creep,
If aught disturbed their noise, into her womb,
And kennel there; yet there still barked and howled
Within unseen. (*PL* II.653-659)

In *FW*, the threatening hell-hounds are referred to as the antagonists, appearing to portray an image of the battle between heaven and hell, the King’s horses versus the demonic dogs, making the reference to Cromwell even more Miltonic. Furthermore, as the dogs are ‘woollied and flundered,’ the outcome of the war in heaven is alluded to, and relates the dogs to the demons, who ‘speed’ with ‘[t]he blasting volleyed thunder’ (*PL* IV.925) This discreet use of two words with Miltonic sound creates a ‘touch’ that produces added meaning to Joyce’s allusion to Cromwell, linking both the English general and Milton, the battles during the Irish Rebellion and the War in Heaven.

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158 Canino, p. 23.
5.3 **BOOK 3: THE FINAL THUNDERS**

Lastly, as we approach the end of the third book, the last Viconian cycle is coming to a close. Book 3 is mostly focused on the children, Shem, Shaun, and Issy, as the older generation, represented by her parents, HCE and ALP (Mr and Mrs Porter) goes to sleep. Change is coming for the children as well; Shaun’s metamorphosis and its parallels with the Fall of Satan and his transformation in Hell are explored here.

Chapter 1 ‘First watch of Shaun’ is a starting point for the reader, who is about to witness Shaun’s metamorphosis. Our postman, walking his inverted *via crucis*, emulates the messenger Hermes and goes through several changes. It is noticeable that in some points, the Luciferian stance that was attached to Shem is now present in Shaun as well – there is a blurring of boundaries between the personality of the two brothers, culminating in Joyce’s fable, ‘The Ondt and the Gracehoper.’ Kitcher explicates and clarifies this inversion:

> (...), Shaun, who had played ‘angel’ to Shem’s ‘devil’ in the Phoenix Playhouse, is cast in reverse as the Ondt/devil. (...) he traces the earth-labyrinth and his main concern is space.\(^{159}\)

There is a Miltonic similarity between the Ondt and Satan, when the latter decides to cross the gates of Hell in order to get to Earth and tempt Adam and Eve:

> Paved after him a broad and beaten way  
> Over the dark abyss, whose boiling gulf  
> Tamely endured a bridge of wondrous length,  
> From Hell continued, reaching the utmost orb  
> Of this frail world; (*PL II.1026.1030*)

However, unlike Satan, Shaun/Ondt does not have wings but a cocoon (representative of his metamorphosis that is yet to come), ‘in the process of becoming a car and then turning into an airplane, as a patterkiller becomes a flutterby.’\(^{160}\) Shaun’s ‘engines’ originate the ‘cough of the internal combustion engine’ which composes the 9\(^{\text{th}}\) thunderword:

> I apologuise, Shaun began, but I would rather spinooze you one from the grim gests of Jacko and Esaup, fable one, feeble too. Set us here consider the causus, my dear little cousin (husstenhasstencaffinoffintsussemstossemdamandamnacosaghcusaghhobixhatoux

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\(^{159}\) Kitcher, p. 198.  
\(^{160}\) Kitcher, p. 200.
When introducing the satirical fable, he alludes both to Esau and Jacob, the warring brothers, and Aesop, the Greek fabulist, with Shaun hurling vituperation at his brother Shem/Gracehoper. The long thunderword will consist in ‘pairs or doubles; coughing of an engine, of Shaun’ as well as reference to ‘all parts of the Wake and early thunders, as well as engines and innovation.’ For instance, the first word (Husten, German for ‘cough’) comprises another German word, Hus, meaning ‘house’, which resounds the theme of ‘cocoon’, Shaun’s ‘house’ before the metamorphosis. Shaun’s metamorphosis is significant and might echo a Miltonic idea when we analyse it as his inverted via crucis; whilst Satan (when still Lucifer) was ‘hurled headlong’ from Heaven and changed from a beautiful angel into a hideous infernal creature with a different name, Shaun’s transformation is from his ‘devilish’ form, as the Ondt corresponds here to a devil-like creature, into a ‘Gracehoper’.

The last thunderword, which makes effective Shaun’s metamorphosis, is pregnant with complex implications for the whole of humanity as well:

Ullhodturdenweirmudgaardgringnirurdmolnirfenrirulkkiokkibaugiman
dodrrerinsurtkrinmgerackinarockar! Thor's for yo!
- The hundredlettered name again, last word of perfect language.
But you could come near it, we do suppose, strong Shaun O, we foresupposed. How?
(FW 424.20-25)

Kitcher explains:

In Viconian terms, [the thunderword marks] the resurrection of the ‘age of the gods’ as an environment, displacing that of mere men. In the thunder, this awakening is invoked by the presence of names of various tribal gods from Norse mythology. In the thunderword, it is possible to find Ull as the Norse patron god of skiing and archery; hodtur, a blind god; the sign of the gods, turdenvier, or tordenveir, Norse for ‘thunderstorm’; gringnir, or Grimnir, representing Odin and the return of gods; and molnir, or Mjollnir, Thor’s hammer. There is a return to the thunder as the voice of God, as in Paradise Lost. The angels gather around the ‘throne supreme’ and he speaks with thunderous voice:

They towards the throne supreme,

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161 Kitcher, p. 205.
162 Kitcher, p. 225.
Accountable, made haste, to make appear,  
With righteous plea, their utmost vigilance  
And easily approved; when the Most High  
Eternal Father, from his secret cloud,  
Amidst in thunder uttered thus his voice. (PL X.28-33)

Both in *Finnegans Wake* and *in Paradise Lost* the age of gods (or God) is a consequence of the fall of man and their subsequent metamorphosis. Adam and Eve are no longer immortal and pure; HCE will no longer rule, and the cycle will be repeated with his deposition (probably by his children), starting a new Viconian cycle, the Theocratic age once again.

Even though it is not considered a thunderword per se, as it is shorter than those discussed here, I would like to add that there is a ‘micro-thunderword’ in III.4. ‘Thon's the dullakeykongsbyogblagroggerswagginline’ (*FW* 582.32), which coincides with the moment of HCE and ALP’s coitus. McHugh considers ‘Thon’ as a reference to Thor, god of thunder, while Campbell and Robinson argue that this word is the ‘noise of the night tram from Dalkey.’ However, I believe it represents more than the noise of a tram. One reason is the fact that it marks the beginning of their intercourse.

Furthermore, it precedes a reference to Milton’s Sin, Satan’s daughter and mother of Death, object of incest by her father. The description of the female, ALP, presents a few aspects comparable to Sin, as below:

Poor little tartanelle, her dinties are chattering, the strait’s she’s in, the *bulloge* she bears! (…) the rate of her gate of going the pace, *two thinks at a time* (…) Bossford and Phospherine! One to one on! (*FW* 583.3-13, my emphasis)

Sin stands at the gate on the strait that divides Hell and Chaos. The ‘bulloge’ might refer to ‘bulge’ as well as to ‘bulldog,’ which might represent the dogs that come out of her stomach, fruit of her rape by Death, her son. She is ‘two thinks at a time,’ two things, daughter and wife. ‘Bossford and phospherine’ might be an allusion to both Satan and Sin; ‘Bossford’ echoes ‘boss,’ as he is the ‘boss’ of hell, as well as Phosphor, another name for the planet Venus, as well as for Lucifer. We can possibly think of Phospherine as his female counterpart, a ‘Lucifer lady’, perhaps?

Lastly, the short thunder carries a Miltonic presence, which is strengthened because of HCE’s worry about his inability to procreate, and that ‘[i]t will be known through all Urania

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163 Campbell and Robinson, p. 331.
soon.’ (FW 583.16). As we will discuss further, infertility is closely linked to the Devil for both Milton in PL and Joyce in FW. Now, Joyce’s choice of using ‘Urania’ instead of ‘the whole world’ or anything similar contributes to an establishment of Milton’s presence; Joyce could have invoked any muse, but he chooses the muse of Astronomy, who is also Milton’s muse: ‘still govern thou my song, / Urania, and fit audience find, though few.’ (PL VII.30-31) I see this invocation of Urania as a strong point of ‘touch’ between FW and PL, as it dons the long passage between 582.28 and 589.16 with a stimmung of Paradise Lost: HCE and ALP’s intercourse likened to Adam and Eve’s in Eden; HCE likened to Satan due to his incestuous desires, brought up here through a reference to Sin; and lastly, the reference to Urania hints at the idea that Joyce might have resorted to the same muse as Milton to achieve a similar effect, to refer to the classical and artistic depiction of the fall of man.

As the new cycle is ready to begin in Book III.4 and the Ricorso happens effectively in Book 4, there are not any formal occurrences of the thunderword in the same format as the ones discussed above (even though there are more generalised references to thunder). The ricorso, as proposed by Vico, consists in a preparation for a new era, and the (physical) end of the book, ‘A way a lone a last a loved a long the’ invites the reader for a connection with the first word in the book, ‘riverrun’, and re-live the cycles. The repetition of the cycle echoes the fate of humankind, as recounted to Adam by Michael: ‘Doubt not but that sin | Will reign among them, as of thee begot.’ (PL XII.285-286) Humanity is doomed to repeat the cycle of life-death, tainted by the original sin.
6. CONCLUSION

The single act of defiance which [Joyce] placed at the heart of our literature was a text which could be viewed in many ways. I read it as an act of permission. (...) I see it as the heartbroken backward glance of an exile, recalling every detail, every vista, against the long years of absence.164

Joyce’s act of defiance in creating cryptic, exotic, ‘unreadable’ and polymorphic texts has undoubtedly fulfilled his playful aim of keeping academics busy for years after his death, as well as his will to defiance through his ‘heartbroken backward glance of an exile’, as Boland describes. Given that his writings both prompt and permit a myriad of views, it is entirely in keeping with the spirit of Joyce’s art that a reader should approach the text in search of fresh meanings. My aim in this thesis was precisely that: to offer a new perspective on Joyce work by focusing in particular on his response to his predecessors. I singled out Joyce’s engagement with John Milton both because of the scarcity of critical works discussing their relationship, and because I believe that Milton is a uniquely important figure in Joyce’s work. Thus, an analysis of Milton’s presence in Joyce’s writing was due. This particular notion, of Milton’s ‘presence’ in Joyce rather than his ‘influence’ on Joyce, also constitutes a significant part of the original contribution to knowledge of this thesis. The few critical works to date that have focused on Joyce’s response to Milton – by Blamires, Shawcross and Hogan – have tended to conceive of that response in Bloomian terms, of Milton’s influence on Joyce, and the kinds of anxieties and strategies that Joyce felt and devised as a consequence.

By contrast, this thesis has sought to explore ‘pastures new’ by proposing a model of Joyce’s engagement with Milton that is both more collaborative in intent and less Oedipally-charged than previous critical readings of Joyce’s ‘call’ to Milton. As the concept of influence presupposes a ‘strong’ precursor and a ‘weak’ successor, who desperately (and unsuccessfully) tries to escape the ties that bind him to the ‘father’ poet (Bloom’s concept of presence invariably assumes the poets to be male), his only choice is metaphorically to ‘kill’ the father in an Oedipal working out of his relationship with his literary predecessor. Despite Joyce’s competitive nature and his stated wish to outdo Shakespeare, reducing his dizzyingly varied deployment of literary references, allusions and echoes of every kind to ‘inescapable influence’ fails to do justice to the creative impulse at the heart of his work. For this reason, I

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chose to adopt an alternative model or concept of literary relations in an effort to explain Joyce’s engagement with his precursors in ways that would not suffocate or diminish Joyce’s creative agency. My work with the concept of ‘presence’, informed by Gumbrecht, Runia, and Shawcross, as well as Gumbrecht’s concept of stimmung, aimed at revealing Joyce as the ‘forger’ of his own forerunners. Instead of fighting or resisting their presence, Joyce invites it by allusion, reference, and the creation of an ‘atmosphere’ peculiar to the particular literary precursor (in this case, Milton), chosen in order to imbue his own work with an even wider and deeper range of signification. As Joyce was an avid reader of Milton and could recite some of his poems by heart, I believe it unlikely that Joyce fought against Milton in a Bloomian way. Even though the Irish writer was extremely competitive and reasserted his wish to outdo Shakespeare whenever possible, Joyce’s creative energy was devoted at least as much to incorporating his precursors as outdoing them, and to building his characters with them, but not without a competitive sense. The concept of ‘presence’, then, provides us with a less subordinated relationship between the earlier and the later poet, and more of a collaborative interaction (though not, of course, wholly devoid of antagonism and criticism).

Chapter 1 focused on the presence of Milton in Chamber Music, Joyce’s collection of poems, and Dubliners, his short story collection. As my analysis shows, most of the Miltonic presence in these works is chiefly perceivable through Joyce’s evocation of a particular ‘atmosphere’, mood, or what Gumbrecht refers to as stimmung, more diffuse and less overt than direct allusion or reference. More specifically, the presence of Milton’s Paradise Lost is perceivable in Chamber Music and Dubliners through the aggregative effect of verbal echoes and the invocation of the funereal theme of Milton’s famous elegy ‘Lycidas’. Impending death is a theme common to both the couple in the poems in CM and, of course, also for Adam and Eve in PL. For the purposes of this thesis, Chamber Music and Dubliners are significant for showing evidence of the beginning of what would become Joyce’s career-long experiment with evoking the presence of literary forebears in his work.

Joyce evokes the presence of Milton in his ensuing works, Stephen Hero and A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, through numerous verbal echoes of, and allusions to, Paradise Lost. In unpacking Joyce’s generation of a Miltonic presence in SH and Portrait, I found it helpful to deploy Eelco Runia’s concept of presence as ‘being in touch’ – a model of literary relations in which earlier writers act as agents that help build the literary voice and personality of later ones. This notion is vital when considering Joyce’s creation of his main character and alleged alter ego Stephen Dedalus, as Joyce’s background in Jesuit schools
provided him with first contact with the study of Milton, especially of his epic on the Fall of the angels and Man. This early exposure gave rise to a rich source of allusive resources, as for instance, the highly descriptive ‘hell sermon’ during which the reader can feel Stephen’s despair, conversion to pioussness and posterior fall due to the main satanic fault, pride. Furthermore, there are several biographical intersections between the author and his character. Anecdotes associating Joyce and Lucifer due to his looks and proud manners, as recounted by Ellmann, converge on the creation of Stephen, whose fall was already consummated when he entered university – in the words of his mother in Stephen Hero – and further, when he decides not to serve, either home, fatherland, or church, at the closing pages of Portrait. Pride and a refusal to serve, to ‘pay knee-tribute’ as causes for a fall from grace are echoed from Milton’s PL in the pages of SH and Portrait, creating a resounding presence of Milton’s Satan in Joyce’s Stephen – the Satanic Artist.

Stephen’s satanic strain is carried on from Portrait to Ulysses. In addition to the presence of Milton’s Satan in Joyce’s main character, a stimmung of Paradise Lost is also perceivable in Leopold Bloom’s narrative – there are hints of Milton’s Adam in his personality which are made manifest through the Miltonic ‘touch’ of Ulysses’s language, in both an unmediated as well as a mediated manner. Like Chamber Music, Ulysses also evokes the mood and theme found in Milton’s ‘Lycidas’, the stimmung of death by drowning and unfulfilled potential. Stephen Dedalus, Joyce’s alter ego, teaches Milton’s poem during the ‘Nestor’ episode in Ulysses, right after he hears the news about a drowned man at Forty Foot and before memories of his deceased mother take over his thoughts. Through the use of words Miltonic in nature, the reader is made aware of Joyce’s artful weaving of Milton’s presence. Stephen’s Luciferian non serviam, his pride and the ‘darkness’ and ‘fall’ surrounding him, strengthen the association between the young character and Milton’s Satan.

While the presence of Milton hovered around Stephen and Bloom during the day in Ulysses, night-time comes in Finnegans Wake. Even though initially Joyce’s linguistic hodgepodge seems to draw a curtain of darkness and drowsiness before the reader’s eyes, once past the seeming obscurity, there is definitely a lot of fun to be had, and an astonishing range and depth of intertextual signification. The constant metamorphoses of the main characters HCE, ALP, Shem, Shaun, and Issy contribute to the melange of possible readings of the story, all of which are contained in a Viconian cycle of life and death. The presence of Milton in Finnegans Wake is manifested in many different ways, as I show in Chapter 4, but is, of course, not the only literary antecedent invoked, and evoked, by Joyce. Numerous
references and nods to Shakespeare, Dante, Ibsen and a multitude of other precursors crowd the pages of FW, but none more so than Joyce’s engagement with Milton. Lastly, the presence of the thunder – for Milton, the voice of a wrathful God, and for Joyce, the 100-letter word encapsulating lapsarian elements – is the object of Chapter 5, wrapping up with sound and fury my analysis of a fascinating and little studied companionship between Joyce and Milton, that has previously been chiefly understood in terms of the concept of literary influence. Above all, this thesis has been at pains to show that Joyce’s engagement with Milton extends pervasively throughout the former’s works, and the idea of ‘presence’ rather than ‘influence’ can be more helpful to understand to tackle the complexity of their relationship. I thus hope to have contributed both to studies of Joyce’s creative process and the interpretation of his works, and to studies of Milton’s reception and literary afterlife.
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