Fabled by the Daughters of Industry: Temporality, Reification, and Labour in *Ulysses*

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Statement of Originality

This is to certify that the content of this thesis is my own work. This thesis has not been submitted for any other degree or purpose.

I certify that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work, and that all assistance received in preparing this thesis and all sources have been acknowledged.

Henry Barlow

29/6/2025

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Authorship Attribution Statement

No material in this thesis has been previously published.

Henry Barlow

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As supervisor for the candidature upon which this thesis is based, I can confirm that the authorship attribution statements above are correct.

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Abstract

Joyce's *Ulysses* is obviously preoccupied with time: its occurring in a single day is one of the most famous facts about it. It is also a novel that attends to the role of capitalist economies in shaping people's lives. How do these fit together – how does the novel depict the mediation of characters' experiences and understandings of time by capitalist technological and social formations? And how does the novel's own mediation by these formations impact reader experience? To answer these questions, I interpret the formations of capitalist modernity in terms of Georg Lukács' concept of "reification," the spread of the commodity form to all parts of modern life, leading to a divorce of ideas and experiences from the material life that undergirds them. I use Walter Benjamin's distinction between *Erlebnis* ("isolated experience") and *Erfahrung* ("long experience") to argue that these formations can create experiences that are temporally reified, isolated from the moments which make up their history. The formations I focus on are what Benjamin calls "shock" formations, technologies and social forms which cram too much energy into a short space, such as advertising. What is striking about Benjamin's analysis of these formations is that he accords them the ability to both isolate *and* lengthen experience, in "shock isolated experience" (*Chockerlebnis*) and "shock long experience" (*Chockerfahrung*).

I begin by studying how Joyce depicts characters experiencing *Chockerlebnis* due to advertising and urban anonymity giving the present an excessive energy. Moreover, the novel's formal deployment of periodical forms brings readers to experience a similar *Chockerlebnis*. This cannot be overcome by retreating to the past, however, because Joyce also depicts how Stephen Dedalus experiences a *Chockerlebnis* of the past, wherein the past is overly persistent and Stephen cannot form connections between experiences as a result. This is caused by capitalist technologies that preserve the past, like encyclopediae, anthologies, and dictionaries. By formally approximating mass-produced literary anthologies, the episode "Oxen of the Sun" makes readers experience a *Chockerlebnis* of the past. The novel allows characters and readers to experience *Chockerfahrung* in resistance to *Chockerlebnis*, when the very shock energy that isolates experience is turned towards temporally integrating experience. This is achieved for characters and readers through Joyce's representations of the material life that undergirds what elsewhere in the novel appears reified; through what Benjamin calls the "dialectical image" where a past moment is brought into stark relief with the present, forcing our recognition of the past's unredeemed dreams; and by pushing readers to use external scholarship, a form of shock technology which nonetheless allows a concrete form of readerly labour that embeds us in a historical, social process of interpretation.

Abbreviations

References to the following works of Joyce and Walter Benjamin, as well as the following archival material and Ellmann's biography, are included in text and notes with the following abbreviations.

Ann – Sam Slote, Marc A. Mamigonian, and John Turner, eds., *Annotations to James Joyce's* Ulysses (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022)

AP – Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin MacLaughlin (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1999)

JJ – Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce, Revised Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982)

JJA – Michael Groden, ed., *The James Joyce Archive*, 63 vols. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1977-79)

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

Letters – James Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce*, ed. Richard Ellmann and Stuart Gilbert, 3 vols. (New York: Viking, 1966)

SW – Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings, 4 vols., trans. Edmund Jephcott et al. (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2006)

U – James Joyce, *Ulysses: The Corrected Text*, ed. Hans Walter Gabler (London: Bodley Head, 1986)

Introduction

Life might be so. It did not move or touch
him but it was something quick and neat.

Ulysses, 4.511-12

If someone unfamiliar with Joyce's work knows anything about *Ulysses*, it is two antithetical temporal coordinates: the novel occurs on a single day in 1904 and it parallels an ancient story of an eighteen-year journey, the *Odyssey*. This gets at how central time, and especially temporal heterogeneity, is to *Ulysses*. This applies not only to the historical epochs Joyce depicts or references, but also to how his characters experience time: consider the differences between Molly Bloom's shifting seamlessly between past and present, pubgoers' woolly remembrances of an idealised past as a balm to the present, and Stephen's experience of this history as a nightmare. Reading, of course, occurs in time, and Joyce's heterogeneity of style also gives readers a heterogeneity of temporal experience: what a gulf there is between prose that plunges us into a history of literature ("Oxen of the Sun") and prose that winds us through the shifting sensations one man experiences in a modern city ("Lestrygonians").

This thesis focuses on temporal consciousness: our experience and understanding of time. It examines how for characters in, and readers of, *Ulysses*, such consciousness is impacted by and sometimes resists what Georg Lukács called reification, the spread of the commodity form to all parts of human life. A commodity is defined by an abstract, quantifiable exchange value rather than the concrete social life that undergirds it, and Lukács thought the intensification of capitalist production caused people's experience to be reified into such abstractions, such as conceiving laws as formal rules rather than the outcomes and

instruments of complex social processes.[1] Many of the examples of temporal consciousness in *Ulysses*, when examined more closely, are shown to be caused by capitalist technologies, whether these are the stimulations of modern consumer culture Bloom experiences on Dublin's streets or the mass-produced literary anthologies which undergird "Oxen of the Sun." Yet the deeper point is that all these technologies, whether focused on the present (consumer goods like Kino's eleven-shilling trousers (*U*, 8.90-92)) or the past (literary anthologies), have the tendency to produce an experience which is temporally reified, what Walter Benjamin calls "isolated experience," *Erlebnis* (*SW*, 4:319). However many permutations Bloom's soap may undergo throughout the day, at the point of its purchase it is thought of in terms of its sensory stimulation ("Nice smell these soaps have") and its price, four pence (5.501; 5.511). This experience is isolated insofar as Bloom considers the soap independently of the actual, socially connected life that produced it. This differs from hand-crafted objects experienced in terms of their production history, such as the poignant "little woolly jacket" Molly knits for Rudy's burial, "crying" while making it (18.1448-49). Molly's relationship with this jumper belongs to what Benjamin calls "long experience" or *Erfahrung* (*SW*, 4:319), since she remembers its concrete history and the emotional significance of that history in the shared, tragic life of her family.

This thesis will especially focus on the temporal effects of what Benjamin calls "shock" technological and social formations. Shock was a central part of capitalist modernity for Benjamin, representing its deprivations and its potential. Shocks are energies which exceed an individual's ability to process them, like the onrush of a car (*SW*, 4:328). The typical response to this excess is what Benjamin calls "shock isolated experience," *Chockerlebnis*

[1] Georg Lukács, "Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat," in *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (London: Merlin Press, 1968), 97-98 (hereafter cited in the text).

(4:329), wherein one contains the excess in neat units of experience. Advertisements mobilise sensory imagery to give commodities an abundance of desirous qualities, with the intention of forcing consumers to focus their processing on these qualities, keeping their experience unconnected from the labour which put the advertisement there, our history of consumption, or the labour which produced the goods advertised. What is distinctive about Benjamin's thinking, and what makes it a productive lens through which to explore temporal consciousness in *Ulysses*, is that Benjamin thinks shock does not *only* disconnect past and present in *Chockerlebnis*, but can also connect them more deeply in "shock long experience," *Chockerfahrung* (4:319). Such experiences are connected across time due to, rather than in spite of, the overwhelming shock energy a subject experiences. Benjamin uses the phrase *Chockerfahrung* to describe Baudelaire's mobilisation of shock-like images for the sake of a longer form of aesthetic experience.[2] We might see *Ulysses* in just this way: Joyce mobilises shock energy throughout, above all in his changes of style. What is usually given hundreds of pages to develop, a writer's style, is crammed into ever-shorter spaces as the novel progresses, reaching a high point with "Oxen of the Sun," a veritable costume parade of literary styles whose excessive energy makes it difficult for the reader to integrate their experience of the episode into a coherent narrative. Yet, these stylistic changes lengthen experience, allowing for connections to develop across the novel. This thesis discusses the complicated ways in which this occurs, but for now we may note that insofar as *Erfahrung* involves genuine connection between times, not simply static persistence across time, *Ulysses* affords us ample opportunities for it. Rapid juxtapositions in style allow us to bring together

[2] See his two essays on Baudelaire (*SW*, 4:3-92, 313-55), and the convolute on Baudelaire in *The Arcades Project* (*AP*, Convolute J). Baudelaire grounded his poetry in the notion of *correspondences*, symbols that float free of the concrete world around them and take on such an abundance of associations that they give "*confuses paroles*," "confused speeches" (Charles Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal*, ed. John E. Jackson (Paris: Le Livre de Poche), 55). For Benjamin, the reason this doesn't succumb to a mere *Chockerlebnis* of commodity culture is Baudelaire's use of allegory, turning a "flight of images" to "petrified unrest" by dissociating them from the world around them (*AP*, J54,3). This makes Baudelaire's poetry implicitly critical of the petrifying, destructive force of commodity culture (J55,13).

different aspects of characters – especially Molly, Leopold, and Stephen. Holding these aspects side-by-side gives a sense of the characters' polytropic changes across the day, thickening rather than isolating our experience. The book's shock energy thereby becomes the basis for a connection across time, giving us a readerly *Chockerfahrung*.

Given that reification is grounded in the commodification of labour under capitalism, decommodification and thus dereification of labour can bring about a more temporally integrated experience. *Ulysses* gives ample opportunities to study this process, since it demands different forms of readerly labour. This is again related to the shock quality of its styles: the reader must work to adjust to each new style, and just when they have adjusted a new one begins. It also demands a great deal of the reader's memory, allowing us to study how readers work across a book, turning backwards and forwards, rather than through it. Finally, Joyce scholarship allows us to study reading as a socially grounded form of labour, readers having the work of countless others buoy up their comprehension and, hopefully, appreciation of the minute details of Joyce's book.

After establishing the link between reification and temporal consciousness, I study how *Ulysses* depicts the reifying isolation of experience caused by advertising and urban anonymity, technological and social formations which give the present an excessive energy for characters like Gerty MacDowell in "Nausicaa" and Leopold Bloom in the same episode, "Lotus Eaters," and "Sirens." These technologies, as well as the newspapers which formally undergird "Aeolus" and "Cyclops," also isolate the reader's experience of the book by giving an excessive energy to the present moment. Yet seemingly opposite technologies which preserve the past also create *Chockerlebnis*. Richard Terdiman calls these textual "mnemonic mechanisms," devices like history books and encyclopediae which store information about

the past outside individual memory.[3] We see how encyclopediae and dictionaries create *Chockerlebnis* for Stephen Dedalus in "Proteus." The first part of "Oxen of the Sun" brings the reader to experience Stephen's *Chockerlebnis* of the past through a style that parallels a mass-produced literary anthology. Character and reader are therefore ensconced in a *Chockerlebnis* of the present and of the past. The examples above reflect how it is often the textuality of Joyce's styles, their reification away from the temporally connected condition of speech into the spatialised condition of words on a page, that creates these instances of *Chockerlebnis*. Yet, as Fredric Jameson points out, it is this very reified textuality that enables a partial dissipation of *Chockerlebnis* for character and reader, through its allowing Joyce to depict social practice, crucially including labour, across time.[4] There is another side to this intensification of reification for the purpose of dereification Jameson doesn't discuss, namely Joyce's depiction of characters experiencing what Benjamin calls "dialectical images" (*AP*, N2a,3). These mobilise shock for the sake of placing past and present starkly adjacent, creating a stereoscopic resonance that lengthens experience in *Chockerfahrung*. The tailpiece of "Oxen of the Sun" mobilises textualised shock energy to bring the reader to experience a *Chockerfahrung* of both a dialectical image and dereifying labour. The tailpiece has a shock energy due to its mediation by textual mnemonic mechanisms of dictionaries and word lists. Moreover, to fully understand it many readers need to turn to other textual mnemonic mechanisms – those of Joyce scholarship. Yet, these shock energies become the ground of readerly labour that is dereified in the sense that it links our reading experience across time. It also brings to our awareness the concrete history of social practice that is the ground of literary interpretation. The other side of "Oxen"'s *Chockerfahrung*, the dialectical

[3] Richard Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 30. He uses "extra-individual" rather than textual, but I prefer the latter.
[4] Fredric Jameson, *Ulysses* in History," in *James Joyce and Modern Literature*, ed. W. J. McCormack and Alistair Stead (London: Routledge, 1982), 136, 140-41 (hereafter cited in the text).

image, arises from early twentieth-century demotic parlance being blasted starkly into our present.

This thesis develops ideas first expressed in Jameson's short, brilliant essay on reification and dereification in *Ulysses*. Jameson's central claim, already mentioned above, is that Joyce's textuality, the divorce of his words from orality, creates a constant play of reification and dereification in the novel. I extend this through a more detailed look at the role of capitalist technological and social formations, which Jameson tends to treat in the abstract. Jameson also doesn't explicitly discuss reification's effects on temporal consciousness in the novel, leaving unspecified further details on the operation of reification in characters' and readers' lives. In extending Jameson in both these ways, I bring together key parts of Joyce scholarship heretofore isolated from one another.

Given the centrality of temporality to *Ulysses*, it is unsurprising that the scholarship on this topic is immense. Wyndham Lewis critiqued this feature of *Ulysses*: the novel "lays its emphasis upon, for choice manipulates, and in a doctrinaire manner, the self-conscious time-sense." Lewis' particular critique was that the emphasis on the inner time of characters leads to a chaotic "flux" that exactly parallels the dead mechanism of the world in which characters exist.[5] Maurice Brion, in an indirect riposte to Lewis in *Our Exagmination Round His Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress* (the collection of essays Joyce oversaw to defend the serialised extracts from *Finnegans Wake*), argued that the "relativity" of time in Joyce – the condensation of the *Odyssey* into a day and the temporalities of different styles – is the novel's defining feature and central virtue, enhancing its modernity and its realism.[6]

[5] Wyndham Lewis, *The Collected Works of Wyndham Lewis, Vol. 22: Time and Western Man*, ed. Paul Edwards (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 70, 76 (hereafter cited in the text).
[6] Maurice Brion, "The Idea of Time in the Work of James Joyce," in *Our Exagmination Round His Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress* (Norfolk, Connecticut: New Directions, 1972), 30-31.

Later writers have explored Joyce's use of time in more subtle ways, providing technical analyses of his representations of characters' temporal consciousnesses and his strategies for shaping reader temporal consciousness. John Rickard has traced the complex "connections between memory and subjectivity" Joyce creates, including characters' problematic inabilities to confront their pasts.[7] Fritz Senn, perhaps the most acute interpreter of temporality in Joyce, has elaborated the tension between *Ulysses*' self-consciousness about the fact that "language is essentially consecutive" and its attempts to reach distinctive forms of simultaneity in this medium.[8] Senn has also studied the "metamorphoses, switches, transfers" which create a vast "variety of temporal disruptions." For example, characters misquoting sources serves to disrupt language's historicity.[9] This brings us beyond individual psychology and into broader history, which has been a major area of scholarship on *Ulysses*. Robert Spoo has provided the most thoroughgoing exploration, arguing that *Ulysses* engages with history as a "nightmare," the past being over-present in what Nietzsche called the "malady of history."[10] *Ulysses* critiques conventional historiography as an inadequate response to this malady, since it reduces the past to abstractions. Spoo reads *Ulysses* as

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[7] John Rickard, *Joyce's Book of Memory: The Mnemotechnic of* Ulysses (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 13-14, 45-47. See also Piotr Paziński, "*Ulysses*: Memory and Life," in *James Joyce and After: Writer and Time*, ed. Katarzyna Bazarnik and Bożena Kucała (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 49-74.

[8] Fritz Senn, ""Seemaultaneously sysentangled" (*FW* 161.12): Tales Told of *Nebeneinander* and *Nacheinander*," in *Reading Joycean Temporalities*, ed. Jolanta Wawrzycka (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 39-46.

[9] Fritz Senn, "Dislocution," in *Joyce's Dislocutions: Essays on Reading as Translation*, ed. John Paul Riquelme (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 202, 207-08. For other studies of time in *Ulysses*, see the other essays in Bazarnik and Kucała, eds., *James Joyce and After: Writer and Time*, and Jolanta Wawrzycka, ed., *Reading Joycean Temporalities*; R. Brandon Kershner, "Temporalities in *Ulysses*," *mediAzioni* 16 (2014); Agnieszka Graff, *This Timecoloured Place: The Time-Space Binarism in the Novels of James Joyce* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012); Tony Thwaites, *Joycean Temporalities: Debts, Promises, and Countersignatures* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001).

[10] Robert Spoo, *James Joyce and the Language of History: Dedalus's Nightmare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 6 (hereafter cited in the text). Nietzsche's "malady of history" is from Friedrich Nietzsche, "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life," in *Untimely Meditations*, ed. David Breazeale, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 120 (hereafter cited in the text). I discuss this essay in Chapter Two.

proposing non-reductive "counterdiscourses" of history, such as the nonteleological model of the past in "Penelope" (*Dedalus's Nightmare*, 7, 87).[11]

These studies have been invaluable for elucidating how time operates and is experienced in *Ulysses*. They do not, however, link these to the political economy Joyce depicts, nor the more developed capitalist economies in which he wrote the novel.[12] Spoo discusses literary anthologies not as capitalist technologies that create Nietzsche's "malady of history," the overabundance of the past, but rather as embodiments of a particular idealistic theory, the theory of historical teleology (*Dedalus's Nightmare*, 140-44). Similarly, Rickard does not interrogate how technologies like the shock technologies I examine in this thesis mediate characters' relationships with their pasts. Senn's essay on consecutiveness and simultaneity in Joyce's language is from a recent collection, *Reading Joycean Temporalities* (2018), and like all the essays in this collection Senn's does not relate temporal dynamics to the broader contextual forces that shape them. His earlier essay "Dislocution," however, brings us to the edge of realising the link between temporality and reification. He claims Joyce's temporal strategies turn "things" into "processes," especially for readers ("Dislocution, 201). For

[11] Senn takes a similar view to Spoo (Fritz Senn, "History as Text in Reverse," in *Joyce and the Subject of History*, ed. Mark A. Wollaeger, Victor Luftig, and Robert Spoo (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996), 52-53). For other studies of the relationship between *Ulysses* and history, see the other essays in Wollaeger, Luftig, and Spoo, eds., *Joyce and the Subject of History*; James Fairhall, *James Joyce and the Question of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), which focuses on Joyce's *own* relationship with history rather that of characters and readers which is my focus here. Naturally, the relationship between *Ulysses* and specific historical epochs and events has also received considerable attention. For its relationship with the Dublin of 1904, see Vivien Igoe, *The Real People of Joyce's "Ulysses": A Biographical Guide* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2016). For the Easter Rising and the Irish War of Independence, see Enda Duffy, "Setting: Dublin 1904/1922," in *The Cambridge Companion to* Ulysses, ed. Sean Latham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Enda Duffy, *The Subaltern* Ulysses (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), especially chaps. 3 and 4; Declan Kiberd, Ulysses *and Us: A Guide to Everyday Living in Joyce's Masterpiece* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), especially 156, 166 (hereafter cited in the text); Luke Gibbons, *James Joyce and the Irish Revolution: The Easter Rising as Modern Event* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2023); Paul Saint-Amour, "Rising Timely and Untimely: On Joycean Anachronism," in *The Edinburgh Companion to Irish Modernism*, ed. Maud Ellmann, Sian White, and Vicki Mahaffey (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), 35-50. For World War I, see Fairhall, *Question of History*, chap. 4; Paul K. Saint-Amour, *Tense Future: Modernism, Total War, Encyclopedic Form* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), chap. 5.

[12] Thwaites makes this quite explicit at the beginning of his study (*Temporalities*, xv).

example, the polysemic words in *Finnegans Wake* highlight the active role of the reader in interpretation, turning meaning from a transhistorical entity created by the author into something negotiated socially (209). Yet Lukács' point is precisely that exchange value is a thing-like abstraction from the real social process of a commodity's creation, thus he claims that in dereification "things should be shown to be aspects of processes" (Lukács, 179). In making good on this parallel, my thesis clarifies how the temporal aporias these scholars discuss – the nightmare of history, the more disorienting forms of Senn's "disruption," and the inability to confront the past – arise, and how material practice might resist them.

There has been a wealth of studies on the relationship between *Ulysses* and the political economic context in which it was made and which it depicts. Mark Osteen provides a thoroughgoing account of the ways in which conflicting economies such as consumerism, gambling, and gifts balance one another across the novel.[13] While he mentions advertising and mass-produced commodities (Osteen, *Economy*, chap. 4), other scholars have been more specific in their discussion of the particular capitalist technological and social formations that we see in the novel and how these are placed in the characters' lives. R. Brandon Kershner has outlined how newspapers' status as mass-produced commodities influences their role in characters' lives.[14] Garry Leonard and Jennifer Wicke are the two most significant of the

[13] Mark Osteen, *The Economy of* Ulysses*: Making Both Ends Meet* (Sycaruse: Sycaruse University Press, 1995) (hereafter cited in the text).

[14] R. Brandon Kershner, *The Culture of Joyce's* Ulysses (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), chaps. 5 and 6 (hereafter cited in the text). See also William Brockman, Tekla Mecsnóber, and Sabrina Alonso, eds., *Publishing in Joyce's* Ulysses*: Newspapers, Advertising and Printing* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); John Nash, "'Hanging over the bloody paper': newspapers and imperialism in *Ulysses*," in *Modernism and Empire*, ed. Howard J. Booth and Nigel Rigby (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 175-96; Kiberd, Ulysses *and Us*, 12, 113-23; Hugh Kenner, *The Mechanic Muse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 69-71 (hereafter cited in the text); Terence Killeen, "From the 'Freeman's General' to the 'dully expressed': James Joyce and Journalism," in *Irish Journalism Before Independence: More a Disease Than a Profession*, ed. Kevin Rafter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 200-212 (hereafter cited in the text); Fritz Senn, "Transmedial Stereotypes in the "Aeolus" Chapter of Joyce's *Ulysses*," in *Word & Image Interactions: A Selection of Papers Given at the Second International Conference on Word and Image Universität Zürich, August 27 — 31, 1990*, ed. Martin Heusser, Max Nänny, Peter de Voogd, and Hans A. Lüthy (Basel: Wiese, 1993), 61-68; Ulrich Schneider,

many scholars of advertising in *Ulysses*, and have in different ways traced the complex balance between advertising's determination of desire and its allowing characters windows of agency against other oppressive forces.[15] Sarah Davison, while not explicitly discussing their status as commodities, has explored how literary anthologies and philological studies have an ideology of linguistic imperialism which Joyce subverts in using them to compose "Oxen."[16] While clarifying how these technological and social forms operate in the novel, these studies do not explicitly discuss how they impact temporal consciousness, leaving a dimension of their effects underexplored.[17]

Two prior studies reveal the benefits of relating capitalist development to temporal consciousness in *Ulysses*. Paul Saint-Amour has studied how Dublin's position as "an occupied colonial metropolis gave *Ulysses* a privileged view of the imperial world system"

"Mediatization in "Aeolus" and "Oxen of the Sun"," *European Joyce Studies* 1 (1989): 15–21; Karen R. Lawrence, ""Aeolus": Interruption and Inventory," *James Joyce Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (1980): 389–405 (hereafter cited in the text); Archie K. Loss, "Joyce's Use of Collage in "Aeolus"," *Journal of Modern Literature* 17, no. 4 (1980): 389-405; Cheryl Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), chaps. 1 and 2.

[15] Garry Leonard, *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998) (hereafter cited in the text); Jennifer Wicke, "Advertising and the Scene of Writing in *Ulysses*," in *Advertising Fictions: Literature, Advertisement, and Social Reading* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 121-69; Jennifer Wicke, "Modernity Must Advertise: Aura, Desire, and Decolonization in Joyce," *James Joyce Quarterly* (30/31, no. 4/1 (1993): 593-613 (hereafter cited in the text). See also the other articles in the special issue "Joyce and Advertising" of the *James Joyce Quarterly* (30, no. 4, and 31, no. 1 (1993)); Matthew Hayward, ""But Who Was Gerty?" Intertextuality and the Advertising Language of "Nausicaa"," in Brockman, Mecsnóber, and Alonso, *Publishing in Joyce's* Ulysses, 89-106 (hereafter cited in the text); Franco Moretti, "The Long Goodbye: *Ulysses* and the End of Liberal Capitalism, in *Signs Taken For Wonders: Essays in the Sociology of Literary Forms* (London: Verso, 1997), 182-208; Peggy Ochoa, "Joyce's "Nausicaa": The Paradox of Advertising Narcissism," *James Joyce Quarterly* 30/31, no. 4/1 (1993): 783-793; April Pelt, "Advertising Agency: Print Culture and Female Sexuality in "Nausicaa"," *James Joyce Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (2010): 41-53; Daniel Hengel, "Rewriting Empire and Nationhood: The Phantasmagorical Promise of James Joyce's *Ulysses*" *Nordic Irish Studies* 17, no. 2 (2018): 111-132; Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (London: Verso, 1991), chap. 5 (hereafter cited in the text).

[16] Sarah Davison, "Trenchant Criticism: Joyce's Use of Richard Chenevix Trench's Philological Studies in "Oxen of the Sun"." *Joyce Studies Annual* 2014, 164–195 (hereafter cited in the text). See also Andrew Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge: History, Politics, and Aesthetics in* Ulysses (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 171-82 (hereafter cited in the text).

[17] Where Osteen discusses temporal consciousness, it is usually in terms of the relation between debt and memory (*Economy*, 56-60). This is a different issue to the impact of specific technological and social formations I explore.

whose violence would at last become apparent to inhabitants of colonising nations like Britain in the First World War (*Total War*, 227). This allows a distinctive form of futurity for Joyce's Dubliners, giving them contingent prophecies of what *might* come to pass, for better (an international utopia) or worse (World War I) (236-42). Luke Gibbons explores how technologies like the gramophone, phonograph, gas lamps, and film projection blur the boundary between dead and living through persistence. Events from the past can thereby haunt the subjects of disenchanted imperial capitalism and offer anticipations of futures dreamt of in the past.[18] Both these studies show how a focus on temporal consciousness reveals greater complexity in the effects of capitalist modernity. They foreground its bivalency, how it enforces problematic temporalities and allows more positive ones like distinctive futurities. The technological and social formations I focus on, those inducing excessive shock energies, are not only depicted in *Ulysses*, but part of its very substance.[19] This means my study reveals not only the bivalency Saint-Amour and Gibbons do, but also how this bivalency manifests at the level of character and reader. This makes the dialogue between political economy and temporality all the more concrete and fruitful.

[18] Luke Gibbons, *Joyce's Ghosts: Ireland, Modernism, and Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 7-8, 211-22. Also relevant is his study of how the reified textuality of Joyce's novel allows him to represent the unpredictable, latent political tendencies in 1904 Dublin (Gibbons, *Irish Revolution*, chap. 3).
[19] While Gibbons does mention cinema, a key example of shock for Benjamin, it is used as a way of explaining, rather than a conditioning influence on, the temporal consciousness of Joyce's characters and the prose techniques he used (see especially Luke Gibbons, "Spaces of Time through Times of Space: Joyce, Ireland and Colonial Modernity," *Field Day Review* 1 (2005): 83-85). His discussion of the shocks of modernity in *James Joyce and the Irish Revolution* is more tied to the experience of shell shock and the shocks of political revolution than the shocks of capitalist development (see chap. 5)

Prelude: Reification and Reading

Reification, Labour, and Time

This section interprets the effects of reification on temporal consciousness in terms of Benjamin's distinction between *Erlebnis*, which reification promotes, and *Erfahrung*, which it hinders. A culture of reification is, for Lukács, brought about by the spread of the commodity form and therefore of commodified labour. This means that dereification, and thus the lengthening of experience, might arise from decommodified labour.

Benjamin frames the connection between past and present in terms of two kinds of experience. On the one hand, there is *Erlebnis*, "isolated experience" of moments as disconnected from one another. The vast upheavals in social life across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries furthered this at the expense of *Erfahrung*, "long experience" (*SW*, 4:319). The lengthening of experience, Benjamin suggests, requires a sensory continuity between past and present. He uses the example of Proust's *mémoire involontaire*, where a madeleine dipped in lime-flower tea brings to the narrator's consciousness sensory memories from his unconscious, which are more vivid than the isolated moments of his conscious, intellectual memory.[20] Benjamin also describes a less strenuous route to *Erfahrung*, where parts of the collective and the individual past combine in memory (4:316). In oral storytelling, for example, the experiences of the tellers and the listeners are the final "lacquer" atop "thin, transparent layers" of the "various retellings" (3:150). The expectation that listeners will one day retell the story they hear requires the story's collective memories to be sensorily "integrated into" "the depths" of the listener's experience (3:149, 3:154). While

[20] Marcel Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*, 3 vols., trans. W. K. Scott Moncrief (London: Penguin, 2022), 1:51-56 (hereafter cited in the text).

Benjamin never explicitly clarifies this, sensory continuity alone is not enough for *Erfahrung*, for there can be highly sensuous forms of *Erlebnis*, to which the many forms of intoxication in the *Arcades Project* bear witness. Such experiences, like drunkenness, might be locally sensorily connected but globally disconnected across one's life. Similarly, it seems unlikely that it was *pure* sensory connection Benjamin had in mind in *Erfahrung*, for the ultimate *Erfahrung* is the fulfilment of long-held wishes, which implies a conceptual structure of teleology (4:331).

The spread of *Erlebnis* registers the spread of what Georg Lukács calls "reification." Lukács' account in the classic "Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat" begins with Marx's account of commodity fetishism. For Marx, the commodity form is fetishistic because, like a religious fetish, it obscures the process of human hands making something beneath the "fantastic" form of exchange value.[21] In order for heterogeneous items, with heterogeneous labour histories, to be exchangeable with one another, they must be valued according to what is shared between them, which in Marx's account is the duration of "abstract human labour" necessary to produce them (*Capital*, 16-17, 28). The commodity form's move from use value to exchange value and particular labour process to abstract labour power effectively shifts "the social character of… labor" onto the products of labour themselves: commodities appear connected by their exchangeability, not the actual social relations which produced them (48-49). Marx sums this up, in a famous phrase, as "a particular social relation among people… assumes… the phantasmagoric form of a relation among things" (49). This is an example of one of the substitutions the commodity form makes, which Lukács defines in terms of "processes" being turned into "things": that is, lived

[21] Karl Marx, *Capital Volume 1*, trans. Paul Reitter, ed. Paul North and Paul Reitter (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2024), 48-49 (hereafter cited in the text).

human reality being turned into an abstract "reification" of that reality ("Reification," 179). Lukács' central development on Marx in substituting "reification" for "fetishism" was to give the term a broader scope, emphasising how the commodity fetish is the ur-form of a series of transformations that extend from it in advanced capitalist society, and which fundamentally alter consciousness. We can see this at the level of objects, and of subjects. In advanced industrial capitalism, objects are rarely hand-crafted, the "amalgams of empirical experiences of work," but are instead fractured across a production line as part of the increased division of labour that commodity exchange necessitates (88-99). This parallels a shift in the subjectivity of the worker, from that of the craft labourer who creates a complete object and is paid for their labour *on that object* to the wage labourer who is paid not for their concrete, lived labour, but for a duration of abstract human labour. This wage labourer experiences their own labour as a commodity to be bought and sold and conceives the time they spend labouring not as "qualitative, variable, flowing," but as space-like in its rigid measurability, ruled by a stopwatch that determines the value of every labour process (89-90). Their experience is thus reified into an abstract, non-sensuous duration. Lukács thought this reifying attitude extends to modern subjects' attitudes towards the state (95-98), law (107-09), and art (137-40). Rather than conceiving the state as what it is, the product of a variable social practice (what Marx calls "relations among people") connected across time, subjects of advanced industrial capitalism see it as "permanently established and exactly defined," operating according to "rational formal laws" which don't even have temporal duration (Lukács, "Reification," 97-98). Paralleling the dynamics in Benjamin's temporal categories, abstraction into non-sensuous reality is only one example of reification: writers like Jonathan Lear and Mathis Peters emphasise how non-cognitive, sensory experiences can also be reifying, while Peters

emphasises how the work of dereification can establish cognitive temporal connections in experience.[22]

Like Lukács, Benjamin saw the fetishised commodity as the ur-logic of capitalist culture, and his work in the thirties, the *Arcades Project* and the great essays he wrote in concert with it, can be read as his version of Lukács' project in the "Reification" essay, the project of analysing how the logic of the commodity form pervaded various parts of society in a reifying frenzy. As mentioned earlier, the increase of *Erlebnis* and the disappearance of the lifeforms that are Benjamin's examples of *Erfahrung* register the spread of reification. Unlike the reduction of objects to timeless exchange value, Proust's *mémoire involontaire* involves experiencing objects as permeated with personal memory. Consider, for example, this description of the furniture in the Verdurins' new home in Quai Conti, which Brichot remembers in terms of their home at Rue Montalivet and the narrator remembers in terms of their home at la Raspelière:

> A sofa that had risen up from dreamland between a pair of new and thoroughly substantial armchairs, smaller chairs upholstered in pink silk, the cloth surface of a card-table raised to the dignity of a person since, like a person, it had a past, a memory, retaining in the chill and gloom of Quai Conti the tan of its roasting by the sun through the windows of Rue Montalivet (where it could tell the time of day as accurately as Mme. Verdurin herself) and through the glass doors at la Raspelière, where they had taken it and where it used to gaze out all day long over the flower-beds of the garden at the valley far below, until it was time for Cottard and the

[22] Jonathan Lear, "The Slippery Middle," in Axel Honneth, *Reification: A New Look at an Old Idea*, ed. Martin Jay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 136-37; Mathijs Peters, "Reification and the Duty to Work Through the Past: On Critical Theory and Temporality," *New German Critique* 140, 47, no. 2 (2020): 126-30.

> musician to sit down to their game… (Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*, 3:291-292)

It is such deep experience of objects' histories which, for Lukács, becomes increasingly difficult due to capitalist production, hence its rareness even in Proust's novel (the *Recherche* would be considerably different if *mémoire involontaire* was the norm rather than the exception).

Lukács' discussion of the differing subjectivities of the craft labourer and the wage labourer already suggests how this temporal isolation applies not only to our experiences of objects, but of the work that produces them: the wage labourer experiences *Erlebnis*, while the craft labourer experiences *Erfahrung*. To expand on why this is the case, it is helpful to consider E. P. Thompson's characterisation of this difference. For Thompson, the wage labourer experiences time as something to be "spent," while the craft labourer experiences it as something to be "passed": they have some activity to do, whether it's a celebration, a harvest, a hunt, and they wake up, eat, and so on according to the demands of this task. By contrast, experiences are "spent" when they have been reduced to a duration of abstract labour time, and so become fungible like money.[23] Yet this disconnects them from other experiences: despite their identity in exchange value, one dollar has no connection with another dollar, just as "one hour of work at $25/h" has no connection with another "hour of work at $25/h." Advanced industrial capitalism further isolated the workers' experiences by reducing the work process to a series of repetitive movements which construct only a fragmented piece of a finished product the worker never sees (Lukács, "Reification," 88-89). This is why Benjamin sees factory work as emblematic of *Erlebnis* (*SW*, 4:328-30). To "pass" the time is

[23] E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past & Present* 38 (1967): 60-61.

to live within it, through it, in what Lukács calls its "qualitative, variable, flowing" reality ("Reification," 90). This is a sensorily connected experience. Of course, sensorily connecting some moments can isolate them from others, like when Stephen "passes the time" by getting blackout drunk on Bloomsday. *Erfahrung* requires a deeper form of connection, which in the case of craft labour is created through repetition that is nonetheless never the same, the exact opposite of the repetitive movements of factory workers that create commodities which, Benjamin highlights, are ultimately "always the same" beneath their "newness" due to their reduction to exchange value (*AP*, <Gº, 17>). For Lukács, craft production has "the appearance of something flexible, something constantly renewing itself" for craft labourers ("Reification," 97). Benjamin claims this work is "distinguished by the fact that it draws on long experience [*Erfahrung*] precisely where, for an outsider, it is at most an immediate experience [*Erlebnis*] that arises" – that is, seeming repetitions are in fact what connects the experience (*AP*, m2a,4).[24] This is the temporality of what Benjamin calls the subtly modulating "layers" of "retellings" in oral storytelling, and for this reason he sees storytelling as arising from the "milieu" of craft labour. Storytellers let the story sink into them, "in order to bring it out… again" with their "handprints" over the story like a potter's over their pot, while the listener is listening for the purpose of a later "retelling" and so letting the story sink into themselves in turn (*SW*, 3:149-50). This brings out how a form of less alienated, and for that reason less reified, labour, is more connected across time, an *Erfahrung* as opposed to the *Erlebnis* of factory work. However, Benjamin pointed out that such forms of labour and the lifeforms accompanying them were "vanishing" from twentieth-century life (3:146). Indeed, this replacement of craft labour by wage labour is the ground from which, for Benjamin and Lukács, the logic of reification extends to literally all areas of social life

[24] Square brackets show Benjamin's original German (Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, vol. 5 of 7 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991), m2a4).

(Benjamin, *AP*, 14-15; Lukács, "Reification," 86). Yet if a distorting logic is totalising, how can it be resisted?

Lukács' answer is that, since subjective experience of the realities of the labour process remains beneath the logic of reification, the proletariat can become self-conscious of the disparity between their qualitative experience of labour and its abstraction into clock time under capitalism, and engage in a political revolution that would end capitalism and hence reification ("Reification," 165-69). As Andraž Jež points out, this means Lukács thought that mass exposure to reifying technologies and cultural forms can reduce their potency and allow for "the reflection… needed to transcend the reified immediacy."[25] Jež goes on, however, to attribute this view to Benjamin, which misses what is distinctive about Benjamin's thinking. Benjamin thinks it is not by *reducing*, but *increasing* the potency of reifying technologies and cultural forms, that dereification can occur. This is brought out most clearly in his discussion of shock. As already mentioned in my introduction, Benjamin diagnosed a set of capitalist technological and social forms as inducing *Chockerlebnis* due to their excessive energy. Yet, they could also lengthen experience in *Chockerfahrung*: "it is a shock that brings someone engrossed in reverie up from the depths" (*AP*, J53a,4). [26] Such lengthened experience has the potential to dereify by sensuously connecting subjects with the concrete histories occluded under a regime of reification.

[25] Andraž Jež. ""The Nature of Humanity, or Rather the Nature of Things"—Reification in the Works of Georg Lukács and Walter Benjamin," in *Confronting Reification*, ed. Gregory R. Smulewicz-Zucker (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020), 137.

[26] C. D. Blanton doesn't explicitly discuss this in his essay on the relationship between the philosophy of reification and modernism, yet it would be consonant with his reading of the relationship between allegory and reification in Benjamin (C. D. Blanton, "Modernism and Reification: Lukács, Benjamin, Adorno," in *The Cambridge History of Modernism*, ed. Vincent Sherry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 810-11 (hereafter cited in the text)).

In focusing on shock technological and social formations, I will not directly discuss *Ulysses*' specific commodities, like Plumtree's Potted Meat (*U*, 5.144-47), Bovril (14.1547), or *Sweets of Sin* (10.606-617).[27] This is because the logic of reification is demonstrated more effectively by those forms which are not actually commodities: this was Lukács' central innovation on Marx, and I would argue that where Benjamin analyses commodities themselves in *The Arcades Project* it is less to show the *spread* of the commodity form (which his analyses of phenomena like flânerie, gambling, and cinema show), and more to problematise that form itself through outmoded commodities. This means old commodities are tools of *de*reification in *The Arcades Project* and, while it would be suggestive to study dereification in *Ulysses* in those terms, it is a different approach to the one I take here.[28] Moreover, I will discuss those instances of *Erlebnis* and *Erfahrung* in *Ulysses* which directly bear on capitalist technological and social forms. To paraphrase Adorno and Horkheimer, all reification is *Erlebnis*, but it is not the case that all *Erlebnis* is reification (and vice versa for *Erfahrung* and dereification).[29] Bloom's distraction causes him to forget his past reminders to make sure he has his latchkey (*U*, 5.468) – it would be absurd to interpret this in terms of a broad social logic like reification. On the level of readerly experience, I will not interrogate

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[27] For excellent analyses of commodities (including, of course, popular culture) in the novel, see Leonard, *Advertising*, especially chaps. 2 and 3; Osteen, *Economy*, especially chaps. 4 and 11; Catherine Flynn, *James Joyce and the Matter of Paris* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2019) (hereafter cited in the text); Matthew Hayward, "Plumtree's Potted Meat: The Productive Error of the Commodity in *Ulysses*," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 59, no. 1 (2017): 57-75; Christopher Kempf, ""Addicted to the lubric a little": Spectacle, Speculation, and the Language of Flow in *Ulysses*," *Modernism/modernity* 24, no. 1: 23-43; Jennifer Wicke. ""Who's She When She's at Home?" Molly Bloom and the Work of Consumption," *James Joyce Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (1991): 749-763.

[28] For a suggestion of where this might begin, see Enda Duffy, "The Happy Ring House," in *Joyce, Benjamin, and Magical Urbanism*, ed. Maurizia Boscagli and Enda Duffy (Lieben: Brill, 2011), 169-84; Douglas Mao, "Arcadian Ithaca," in Boscagli and Duffy, *Joyce, Benjamin, and Magical Urbanism*, 30-58.

[29] Adorno and Horkheimer claimed "all reification is forgetting" (Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 191, quoted in Peters, "Reification," 127). While I think this is correct, it is not an apt formulation for the purposes of my claim here, because forgetting can contribute to *Erfahrung.* Proust's *mémoire involontaire* can only occur once one has forgotten the denuded memories that habits create. This is not an explicit theme of my thesis, but is implied in the discussion of over-saturation with the past.

how the reader experiences certain moments of the book as isolated because Joyce does not depict the past event that explains them – to use one of Kenner's examples, Bloom's knowing that Molly and Boylan will meet at four o'clock is not connected to any scene where he comes to know this.[30] Benjamin is not concerned with individual instances of *Erlebnis*: he is rather concerned with how the social and technological formations of capitalist modernity engender *Erlebnis* at the expense of *Erfahrung*. Of course, non-capitalist formations inflect capitalism's reifications: Benjamin, and to a greater extent Joyce, constantly remind us of how what seems new is embedded in older forms of life – which here means older forms of temporal consciousness as well.

Reading *Ulysses*

This thesis interrogates the temporal consciousness of both characters and readers of *Ulysses*. Yet, to borrow the title of Julie Sloan Brannon's book, who reads *Ulysses*, and how should they do so?[31] The first Joycean scholar of reader response was Joyce himself. In letters sent during *Ulysses*' composition, he made scattered, ironic remarks concerning his readers, both real and hypothetical. For example, he commented that slowing the book's progress would relieve "the few readers who honour it with their attention," referring to the actual readers

[30] Hugh Kenner, *Ulysses, Revised Edition* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 50-51 (hereafter cited in the text). Of course, an actual study of this case might not conclude that the reader experiences *Erlebnis* as a result of this gap. Margot Norris refers to Kenner's and other examples as instances of Iserian "incompleteness," suggesting that the gap may prompt the reader to "bring the story itself to life — he lives with the characters and experiences their activities " (Margot Norris, *Virgin and Veteran Readings of* Ulysses (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 3 (hereafter cited in the text); Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 192, quoted in Norris, *Readings*, 10). See Luca Crispi, *Joyce's Creative Process and the Construction of Characters in Ulysses: Becoming the Blooms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 56-59 for an interesting account of how the status of who even "says" that Molly and Boylan meet at four varies between versions of *Ulysses*.
[31] Julie Sloan Brannon, *Who Reads Ulysses?: The Common Reader and the Rhetoric of the Joyce Wars* (New York: Routledge, 2013) (hereafter cited in the text).

who were following its serialisation in *The Egoist* and *The Little Review* (*Letters*, 1:126).[32] Imagining hypothetical readers of "Ithaca," Joyce wrote that his own blindness from overwork was "nothing compared with the reeling of my readers' brains" (*Letters,* 1:168). Yet of course, such overexcitement has a countersign in lethargy, and on multiple occasions in his letters Joyce joked about his "masterpieces" making readers sleepy (2:436, 3:510). Indeed, he put such commentary into his art: in *Finnegans Wake* he imagines himself "making believe to read his usylessly unreadable Blue Book of Eccles," while the *Wake* itself is described as "sentenced to be nuzzled over a full trillion times for ever and a night till his noddle sink or swim by that ideal reader suffering from an ideal insomnia."[33] This is clearly in jest, but it raises important questions of what Joyce requires from readers, and how we should conceive and evaluate his different readers, given his propensity for sentences that need to be "nuzzled over" to unpack their meaning, often due to their polyglottic and intertextual nature. This question has become more vexed every year since the novel's publication, as the supplementary material to which a reader might refer while reading, both aiding and encouraging the "nuzzling" of sentences, only keeps growing. Can we assume a reader has an internet connection with which to look up unknown or foreign words? Even if they do, is it better for them to look up "Chrysostomos" (*U*, 1.26) or take the unknown word in their stride to avoid breaking up their reading process? Can we assume they are following along with a popular guide like Gilbert's or Blamires'?[34] Is a reader limited to such resources "worse" than the reader who has Slote, Mamigonian and Turner's annotations, the most complete to date, open next to them?

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[32] The letter in question was sent to Weaver on 2 July 1919, and so before *The Egoist*'s termination and hence the termination of Joyce's serialisation in it (*The Egoist* folded at the end of 1919 (Mark S. Morrisson, *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception, 1905-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 460)).

[33] James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 179, 120. For a full account of Joyce's aesthetic engagement with his readership, see John Nash, *James Joyce and the Act of Reception: Reading, Ireland, Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[34] Stuart Gilbert, *James Joyce's* Ulysses*: A Study* (London: Vintage, 1955) (hereafter cited in the text); Harry Blamires, *The New Bloomsday Book: A Guide Through* Ulysses (London: Routledge, 1996).

Brannon encourages us to recognise the diversity of Joyce appreciation – there are many "ordinary readers" who, contrary to the myth of difficulty built up around Joyce, can genuinely appreciate his work and aren't simply waiting for the enlightenment of scholarly elucidation (*Who Reads* Ulysses?, 243-46).[35] More polemically, Declan Kiberd does think Joyce has a dearth of ordinary readers today, but blames this on the overly-specialised and technical world of Joyce scholarship, which focuses on stylistic features rather than the emotional and moral significance of his work:

> *Ulysses* was wrenched out of the hands of the common reader. Why? Because of the rise of specialists prepared to devote years to the study of its secret codes – *parallax*, *indeterminacy*, *consciousness-time* being among the buzz words. (Ulysses *and Us*, 8)

Yet Kiberd ignores that Joyce himself actively promoted this specialisation, "insuring [his] immortality" by putting in enough "enigmas and puzzles that it will keep the professors busy for centuries."[36] Moreover, he actively controlled Valery Larbaud's December 1921 lecture about Homeric parallels and literary technique, giving Larbaud what eventually became the Linati schema and telling him about the use of interior monologue in "Penelope" (*JJ*, 519-20). Similarly, Joyce tightly controlled and "authorised" Gilbert's study (*JJ*, 522-23). He had reservations about both of these – he said he gave Larbaud a schema "in order to help him to confuse the audience a little more" and reportedly told Vladimir Nabokov in 1937 that

[35] Nash makes a similar point in an economic context, highlighting the fact that, contrary to Lawrence Rainey's claim that the novel's first edition marketed itself to investors rather than ordinary readers, investors and ordinary readers were overlapping categories in the early 1920's (Lawrence Rainey, "Consuming Investments: Joyce's *Ulysses*," in *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 44; Nash, *The Act of Reception*, 100-102).
[36] Remark from reported to Richard Ellmann by Jacques Benoîst-Méchin (*JJ*, 521).

collaborating with Gilbert to provide a mythological reading of *Ulysses* was a source of regret, "a terrible mistake… an advertisement for the book" (*JJ*, 616).[37] This highlights the unsettled tension between "ordinary readers" and "scholarly" ones. On the one hand, it is possible that the "ordinary reader" of Joyce is intended to be a scholar or at the very least someone approaching the work with scholarship in the background. On the other hand, it is possible that reading with scholarly guides like Gilbert's is deeply problematic, mistaking a marketing strategy for wisdom like so many of Joyce's Dubliners.

Neither Bannon nor Kiberd dwell on the actual experience of reading Joyce's work, whether informed by scholarship or not. Yet we've already seen how this was a central concern of Joyce himself, and attending to it will allow us to specify the effects Joyce's prose has on temporal consciousness. Studies of *Ulysses* inflected by narratology, like those of Kenner and Lawrence, elaborate the relationship between style and readerly experience without being explicitly focused on the latter.[38] Margot Norris builds off these studies in her narratological study explicitly focused on reader response, and explores differences in reading experience by positing hypothetical "virgin" and "veteran" readers:

> the virgin reading simulates a first-time encounter with the narrative innocent of later information that will eventually modify or clarify earlier events and character appraisals. At the same time, a veteran reading shadowing it makes the significance of what is withheld from the virgin available to us. (Norris, *Readings*, 3-4)[39]

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[37] The quote about confusing the audience comes from an unpublished letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver, November 25, 1921, quoted in *JJ*, 519.

[38] Kenner, *Ulysses*; Karen R. Lawrence, *The Odyssey of Style in* Ulysses (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987) (hereafter cited in the text).

[39] Norris uses "reading" rather than "reader," but I do not think much hinges on this difference, for she does also speak of the "reader" (*Readings*, 1). Another interesting account of the reader's experience of *Ulysses*, in terms of how we interact with the Homeric parallel, is Wolfgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), chaps. 7 and 8.

The virgin reader is a hypothetical posit, for they are that exceedingly rare reader who knows "nothing about it [*Ulysses*], with no idea of what to expect, unfamiliar with the characters, ignorant of the events that will unfold, and oblivious to its parallel to Homer's *Odyssey*" (1). Imagining this hypothetical reader helps us to crystallise the experience created when readers *are* aware of these things which, as we have seen, are so closely tied to the novel's distribution that very few actual readers would be unaware of them. To understand the reader's temporal experience of *Ulysses* I take Norris' framing and apply it to a broader focus, not only considering how the reader experiences "events" in time, but also how they experience the work's relationship with other parts of culture – its political context, literary antecedents, and so on. I add to Norris' definition of the virgin reader that they do not have access to the annotations, guides, and even internet access that most modern readers have. The veteran reader, meanwhile, has access not only to these but to the full range of Joyce scholarship (I do not presume they *have* read all of it, but that they could refer to any piece of it to explain or deepen parts of the text). Having access to the history of Joyce scholarship, they are a reader living in the twenty-first century. What I say, however, would apply with various gradations to readers whose scholarship is limited to other eras of reading. I must emphasise that I do not think this is necessarily the *most perceptive* reader: Joyce's own claims above suggest problems with such a claim. Rather, my study will show the temporal experiences open to such a reader, which, for better or worse, are the temporal experiences open to many readers of *Ulysses* today.

My study of these readers' temporal experiences will situate them within a culture of reification. To see how temporal experiences may reflect or resist reification, it is worth

going to the beginnings of reader response theory.[40] Stanley Fish framed his early work in this domain as bringing the temporal dimension of our experience of a text, a dimension which had been obscured by New Critical focus on independent formal structures, to critical awareness:

> Somehow when we put a book down, we forget that while we were reading, it was moving (pages turning, lines receding into the past) and forget too that we were moving with it. A criticism that regards "the poem itself as an object of specifically critical judgment" extends this forgetting into a principle; it transforms a temporal experience into a spatial one; it steps back and in a single glance takes in a whole (sentence, page, work) which the reader knows (if at all) only bit by bit, moment by moment.[41]

Readers might, then, have an experience of a book that moves through time, and *then* forget that, and interpret the book in terms of a spatialised form. What Fish doesn't do here is consider the cultural or technological conditions which might influence such a response, or which such responses might work with or against. Nor does he discuss how different aesthetic forms might influence different forms of "moving" through time. My study will address both of these. What Fish discusses is really a form of reification: the "process" of moving through a text in time is forgotten beneath a thing-like fetish of spatialised literature. Moreover, this forgetting is engendered by one of the first-ever capitalist technologies,

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[40] Such theory is often concerned with whether the meaning of a text lies in reader response, or in some dialogue of reader response and the "innate" features of a text. I do not make any claim with regard to this, but only assume there is some interest in studying how *Ulysses* influences readers' experiences of time – whether this tells us about the text's "meaning" or not is beyond my scope. See essays in Jane P. Tompkins, ed. *Reader Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980) for a representative survey of views in this dimension of reader response theory.

[41] Stanley Fish, "Literature in the Reader: Affective Stylistics," in Tompkins, *Reader Response Criticism*, 83.

printed literature,[42] which actually does spatialise words away from the temporal existence they have when spoken. My study will indicate how Joyce's aesthetic tactics sometimes encourage, sometimes resist this reification of reading, and how his work can therefore be seen as responding to the culture of reification in which it was made.[43]

[42] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 34.

[43] Such an effort can already be seen in Jameson's essay. Joseph Frank famously identified a "spatial form" in *Ulysses*, its diminishing of the importance of narrative time at the expense of exploring a range of Dublin arcana, allusions, and character details "which relate to one another independently of the time-sequence of the narrative" (Joseph Frank, "Spatial Form in Modern Literature, Part I," *The Sewanee Review* 53 (1945): 232). Jameson argues this textuality is a form of reification which simultaneously allows for dereification ("*Ulysses* in History," 136).

Chapter One

"Quick and short and neat":

the Shock of the Present

What Benjamin calls "shock" technological and social formations are where we may study the effects of reification on temporal consciousness. A shock is what Freud calls an "excessive energy" that threatens to overwhelm consciousness if the intellect does not contain it as rapidly as possible (*SW*, 4:317-18).[44] These energies come from the stimuli of capitalism's technologies, such as advertising and traffic, which require people to process in seconds what used to take minutes – someone crossing your path or trying to sell you something (4:328). Advertising, urban anonymity, and newspapers, the focus of this chapter, are bound up in the spread of the commodity form, and the extreme isolation of experience they cause, *Chockerlebnis*, reflects how this spread permeates temporal consciousness, reifying our experience of time. While textual mnemonic mechanisms create a *Chockerlebnis* of history, these technologies give the present an excessive energy, making it so overwhelming that the past disappears. Confronted by a shock stimulus, the intellect attempts to contain its excessive energy in an experience isolated from others, giving the stimulus a "precise point in time" in consciousness (4:319).

In exploring how shock technological and social forms isolate experience in this way, we will have occasion to observe how they simultaneously intermingle with older forms of life that

[44] Sigmund Freud, "Beyond the Pleasure Principle," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey, vol. 18 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1963), 27, quoted in *SW*, 4:317.

are less temporally isolating. This resists Lukács' more extreme formulations of the problems of reified consciousness. For Lukács, the commodity form's movement from "process" to "thing":

> stamps its imprint upon the whole consciousness of man…. And there is no natural form in which human relations can be cast, no way in which he can bring his physical and psychic 'qualities' into play without their being subjected increasingly to this reifying process. ("Reification," 100)

I do not want to deny Lukács' theoretical point that there is a qualitative difference between a society in which the commodity form is the ur-form, "permeating every expression of life" (84), and one in which it isn't: Joyce's Dublin is certainly of the former kind, retaining as it does only traces of a precapitalist mode of production. Yet, this is different to the claim Lukács makes about the commodity form's totalising spread into every cranny of one's psychology. In line with Benjamin's insistence on the way vestiges of the old persist in the new (*AP*, F2a,5), Joyce shows how earlier forms of advertising and social organisation persist simultaneously with modern advertising and urban anonymity.[45]

Advertising

Advertising's excessive energy, its capacity to shock, is what Raymond Williams calls the "magic" it gives commodities, associations in excess of the item's actual use value.[46] In this way, it is an example of a capitalist technology whose concordance with the commodity form

[45] Kiberd, Ulysses *and Us*, 12 argues that Joyce depicted a form of bourgeois civic life already vanishing at the time of composition.
[46] Raymond Williams, "Advertising: the Magic System," in *Culture and Materialism* (London: Verso, 2005), 185 (hereafter cited in the text).

– its barracking for exchange value instead of use value through magical associations – creates a temporally reified experience. Among advertising's many appearances in *Ulysses*, it is in Gerty MacDowell's consciousness that we see the full temporal effects of its shock-inducing magic.

Gerty's consciousness is formed in the language of advertising. When she leans back to titillate Bloom, she reveals "nainsook knickers, the fabric that caresses the skin" (*U*, 13.724-25). The last clause is a phrase from underwear and other garment advertisements in the early twentieth century (*Ann*, 13.724-25).[47] The ad's use of "caressing" makes Gerty associate underwear with the routine of domestic nurture she wishes to perform in a marriage. The underwear: "she aired them herself and blued them when they came home from the wash and ironed them" (*U*, 13.176-77). The dreamed-of husband: "she would care for him… she had a lucky hand also for lighting a fire, dredge in the fine selfraising flour" (13.222-27). Gerty also wears "eyebrowleine which gave that haunting expression to the eyes, so becoming in leaders of fashion" (13.111-12). Joyce here uses a real slogan for Eyebrowlin to reflect how Gerty feels closer to leaders of fashion as a result of wearing it.[48] Advertisements like these create, often through sensory imagery and language, proximity between their commodity and gendered ideals of "femininity" – "Dame Fashion" (13. 149) or "his little wife to be" (13.220).[49] This in turn associates commodities with what Williams identifies as the greatest magic of all, the fulfilment of Gerty's real social needs ("Magic," 189). Gerty has a limp on account of an accident and has to hide this due to society's norms of able-bodied femininity

[47] Versions of it were common enough that in a 1904 *Atlantic* article Walter D. Scott asked "How many [advertisements] describe an undergarment so that the reader can feel the pleasant contact with his body?" ("The Psychology of Advertising," *The Atlantic*, January 1904, 34).
[48] Harald Beck, "Eyebrow Line," *James Joyce Online Notes*, last modified August 27, 2021, https://www.jjon.org/%20joyce-s-environs/eyebrow-line, details an Eyebrowlin ad which mentions "fascinating expression of eyes" and "leaders of fashion."
[49] Ochoa, "Paradox," 785-88, and Leonard, *Advertising*, 101-102, focus on these ideals in "Nausicaa."

(*U*, 13.648-51). When we first see her, she is running an errand for her abusive alcoholic father since he's "laid up" with gout (10.1205-11). Advertising is born of and engenders the patriarchal capitalist culture that creates these hardships, yet it mobilises dreams of their alleviation. This is why, for Benjamin, "the dream consciousness of the collective… awakes, for example, in advertising" (*AP*, K2a,4). Despite the gendered nature of their contents (like Gerty doing the housework while her husband goes to his job), ideals of femininity and the objects associated with them project escapes from hardship. Gerty probably finds "leaders of fashion" Elysian, and the "embryonic bliss of baby talk" (Leonard, *Advertising*, 102-103) in her "womanly wise" marriage to a "manly man" Edenic (*U*, 13.210, 13.223).

These associations freight underwear and eyebrow liner with immense personal and cultural significance, far in excess of their concrete use value in Gerty's life as clothing or even fashion. The ads' abundance of sensory detail associates commodities with powerful social ideals and dreams, thereby threatening to overwhelm Gerty's consciousness. Bringing the gendered ideals of society and the political hopes they weaponise into a comparison with her past would be a painful process of acknowledging the insufficiencies of her life, especially in the moment of seeing an advertisement when she does not have time to work through this pain. To avoid being overwhelmed, Gerty contains the advertised objects, separating them from her past in a *Chockerlebnis* which, prompted by capitalist technology, reifies her experience by abstracting it away from concrete, personal history. Objects are isolated from their own history, as Gerty's underwear and eyebrow liner primarily invoke their magical qualities of caressing and of conduciveness towards the halls of fashion, rather than personal memories. While some sensory associations remain, notably through her clothes' role in her climax across from Bloom ("she was trembling in every limb" on account of Bloom seeing her underwear (*U*, 13.727-28)), for the most part Gerty's thoughts about these sexualised

objects are remarkably intellectualised, since allowing the full sensory stimulation they provide would engulf her in unfulfilled dreams. So, the fabric doesn't caress her skin, but simply brings to mind the phrase "the fabric that caresses the skin," while her memories are often to do with prices and dates of purchase (13.499-501). In this way, advertisements give commodities what Benjamin calls a "precise point in time" in conscious memory, rather than being integrated into unconscious sensory memory. One personal, sensory memory associated with her underwear is the labour she puts into them – the blueing and ironing quoted above. Yet, as Garry Leonard points out, she labours in order to reduce herself to an image devoid of labour, the leisurely advertising image of a "seaside girl" (*Advertising*, 133-34). This was a trope of late Victorian advertising which played on newly popular seaside resorts like Brighton and the loose sexual mores they were rumoured to witness, contradictorily framing the girls as both sexually inviting and modest. Such images are therefore associated with Gerty's dreams of romantic fulfilment and material comfort (Richards, *Commodity Culture*, 227-34). Gerty tries to become such a girl with her blue clothes, straw hat, and ointments, and in doing so obscures her personal memory of the labour that constructed this very image (*U*, 13.90, 13.148-87).[50] Obscuring her labour beneath such an image parallels the obscuring of labour under exchange value in capitalist production in general, and she also "conceals" (13.651) other concrete details of her life beneath this image, especially her limp. She seems to conceal it from herself, as the free indirect narrator refers to it obliquely as "that one shortcoming" (13.650). In her effort to process the shock of advertising's magical associations, Gerty isolates her experience, occluding her past beneath reified values.

[50] Richards notes that Beetham's ointments were advertised in ads with seaside girls (*Commodity Culture*, 232-33). Bloom himself thinks in connection with Gerty "Those girls, those girls, those lovely seaside girls" (*U*, 13.906).

Benjamin highlights how the isolation of one's shock experience is exacerbated by the spread of reifying technologies and cultural formations that proliferate shock stimuli, further reducing the availability of processing time (*SW*, 4:328). Consciousness copes with this by "training" itself to contain these excessive energies. Gerty's omnipresent effort at containment has trained her to contain the people and things around her, such as her friend Cissy. Ideals of femininity, as they are advertised in Gerty's world, are Protean, and Gerty stays ahead of other women by accepting the latest fashions, trying to acquire them, and demeaning her friends for failing to do so. Leonard identifies that Cissy aspires to a different advertising image – the "athletic," vigorous girl (Leonard, *Advertising*, 117). When Cissy runs in front of Bloom she performs this image, and Gerty thinks: "her hat on her anyhow to one side after her run and she did look a streel… with the flimsy blouse… like a rag on her back" (*U*, 13.506-09). Trained by advertising, Gerty makes Cissy "out of fashion" by containing her in impressions as isolated as commodities, reifying her friend.

Gerty is unable to connect her and others' experiences to the past that formed them, the patriarchal and capitalist processes that created the ideals they conform to.[51] Several commentators have pointed out, however, that she is not completely trapped by such forces, as we will see in Chapter Three by examining how the very shock energy that limits her ability to connect past and present can connect them more deeply.[52] Such readings reflect how the scholarly portrait of Gerty MacDowell has come a long way from Senn's claim that Gerty is a "victim," "indistinguishable from the forces that determine her."[53] But there is one

[51] This accords with Benjamin's claim that several subjects of *Chockerlebnis*, especially factory workers, are unable "to complete" important actions (*SW*, 4:328-30).
[52] In addition to Maurizia Boscagli's reading which I discuss in Chapter Three, see Ochoa, "Paradox," and Pelt, "Advertising Agency."
[53] Fritz Senn, "Nausicaa," in Ulysses: *Critical Essays*, ed. Clive Hart and David Hayman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 310. She is indistinguishable "in one way," yet the way in which she *is* distinguishable is not any autonomous action or response on her part, but Joyce's "triumph of indirect characterization."

way in which her interaction with commodity culture is caricatured: she seems to only interact with the new. While she is nostalgic for her personal past, she has little yearning for or contact with a precapitalist lifeform: even the Edenic bliss of marriage involves her husband going out to make money. In this, the mediation of her consciousness by capitalist technological and social formations is somewhat unique in the novel, for other characters reflect how these formations combined with earlier forms of life to produce their effects on temporal consciousness. As Benjamin says, the seemingly "new" in capitalist development always contains lingering traces of the old, like in Marx's example of the first locomotives being modelled on horses (*AP*, F2a,5; Marx, *Capital*, 352-53 n. 18). Advertising did not emerge fully formed, able to present commodities as independent, reified objects and thereby "arrest involuntary attention," as Bloom dreams of doing through "triliteral monoideal symbols, vertically of maximum visibility (divined), horizontally of maximum legibility (deciphered)" (*U*, 17.581-84). Rather, the advertisements of Joyce's Dublin retain a memory of earlier forms of advertising, which on Thomas Richards' account presented commodities not as independent but as parts of a street scene, either announced and sold by street callers or plastered over hoardings that did not give perceptual priority to any one advertisement (*Commodity Culture*, 42-46):

> Mr Bloom stood at the corner, his eyes wandering over the multicoloured hoardings. Cantrell and Cochrane's Ginger Ale (Aromatic). Clery's Summer Sale. No, he's going on straight. Hello. *Leah* tonight. Mrs Bandmann Palmer. Like to see her again in that. Hamlet she played last night. Male impersonator. Perhaps he was a woman. Why Ophelia committed suicide. Poor papa! How he used to talk of Kate Bateman in that. (*U*, 5.192-98)

Eyes "wandering" contrasts sharply with the "arrest" Bloom desires advertisements to have, and which, Richards claims, would be perfected over the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, reaching a culmination with the seaside girls Gerty imitates (*Commodity Culture*, 247).[54] The different effects these forms of advertising have on temporal consciousness are reflected in the fact that Bloom does not ignore past traumatic experiences like Gerty does, but follows his train of thoughts to his father's suicide and theatrical preferences.

Of course, Bloom's role in the advertising business naturally gives him a degree of ironic distance from ads, but it's instructive to compare the above passage with the following:

> Mr Bloom… saw a rowboat rock at anchor on the treacly swells lazily its plastered board.
>
> *Kino's*
>
> *I I/-*
>
> *Trousers*
>
> Good idea that. Wonder if he pays rent to the corporation. How can you own water really? It's always flowing in a stream, never the same, which in the stream of life we trace. (*U*, 8.88-95)

As savvy an operator as Bloom doesn't mistake the river for a "neutral" social content, asking how it got there, and the ensuing stream of consciousness reflects what Wicke calls Bloom's "social reading" of advertisements, whereby he puts advertisements to a vast range of different uses ("Modernity Must Advertise," 598-99). Moreover, it occasions his

[54] Perhaps attention economies move in cycles. The paradigmatic form of modern advertising – "targeted" content scrolled past with relatively little attention – seems to inspire responses closer to Bloom's than Gerty's.

modulation of his earlier misquotation from the opera *Maritina*, "Always passing, the stream of life" (*U*, 5.563; *Ann*, 5.563). Yet this doesn't traverse the same distances of the past as he did before the hoarding. Even Bloom, more immune than others to advertising's charm, is more "arrested" by novel forms of advertising than by street hoardings. Unlike the advertisements on hoardings, this ad is set apart from surrounding social life by its placement on a river, and the greater effect this has on Bloom's attention is reflected by italicisation and isolation on separate lines. His experience is reified into a greater temporal isolation by the intensity of stimulation in the present. Between these two experiences of Bloom's and Gerty's more temporally reified consciousness, we see the gradations of advertising's temporal isolations, reflecting how the spread of reification is not total as Lukács' analysis would imply, but sits side by side with less reified forms of life.

Urban Anonymity

For a depiction of the mediation of temporal consciousness by reified social conditions that is more directly reflected in Bloom's consciousness we can turn to how urban anonymity is treated throughout the novel. Bloom experiences various degrees of *Chockerlebnis* through seeing passers-by, through his epistolary relationship with Martha, and to a lesser extent through his erotic encounter with Gerty. The particular character of each of these comes from Dublin's unique form of urban anonymity, the commodification of personality it allows, and the way all of these alternately compensate for and compound one of the most primordial causes of stress, infidelity. In this way, it presents a particularly interesting example of the ways in which Joyce presents the interaction of reifying technological and social formations and the older forms of life they are in the process of reifying.

Benjamin claims the anonymity of cities, experienced most fully in being a "passer-by… in the crowd," is one of the shock-inducing aspects of capitalist modernity (*SW*, 4:32, 4:329). He reads Baudelaire's sonnet "À une passante" ("To a Passerby") as registering this.[55] Catherine Flynn argues that Joyce's engagement with the city is an answer to Baudelaire's challenge to himself in *Le Spleen de Paris* to create a "prose poetry" supple enough to register the sensory stimulations of "huge cities," tracing Joyce's engagement with the Baudelairean figure of the city-dweller as early as his Paris Epiphanies.[56] It is therefore worth discussing Baudelaire's poem and Benjamin's reading of it in detail, especially since Flynn does not discuss anonymity in Joyce and Baudelaire's engagements with the city. The poem begins by describing, without precisely naming it, the sensation of being in a crowd – "*La rue assourdissante autour de moi hurlait*" ["The street around me roared, deafening"]. The poet sees a woman – here are the first two lines of the second quatrain:

> *Agile et noble, avec sa jambe de statue.*
> *Moi, je buvais, crispé comme un extravagant,*
> *Dans son oeil, …*
> [Agile and noble, her leg like a statue's.
> And as for me, twitching like one possessed, I drank
> From her eyes…]

The imperfect "*je buvais"* creates a sense that this interaction occurred over some length of time. Yet the experience has only registered for the poet as an isolated moment – the woman is a statue and the poet's response is registered through the past participle "*crispé*," a more

[55] Baudelaire, *Fleurs*, 145. Below I provide the translation the editors provide in Benjamin, *SW*, 4:24-25.
[56] Flynn, *Matter of Paris*, 1-2, 54-68, quoting Charles Baudelaire, *Baudelaire: Œuvres Complètes* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1968), 146.

literal translation of which is “tensed.” The tercet that follows thus describes the experience as “*Un éclair*” [“a lightning flash”]. Benjamin describes the experience as “the shock with which an impervious desire suddenly overcomes a lonely man” (*SW*, 4:25). That love has an overwhelming energy is hardly unique to capitalism. What Baudelaire’s poem registers, however, is how this energy was made into an excessive shock energy by the rise of urban populations. This rise decreased the likelihood two strangers would see each other twice, and made it so that the poet has to process his attraction to the *passante* while also processing the other stimuli of the *rue assourdissante*. This shock energy leads the poet to contain the experience isolated from his own experiences and the concrete history that makes up the life of the *passante*, abstracting her out of such history and into a reified ideal, a statue.

The poet goes on to claim he was reborn by the *passante*’s gaze, yet Benjamin points out that this is undermined by the shock nature of the experience and the poem’s final two tercets, which reflect on desire’s status in light of their mutual anonymity. The final tercet answers if the poet shall meet the *passante* again as follows:

> *Ailleurs, bien loin d'ici! trop tard!* jamais *peut-être!*
> *Car j 'ignore où tu fuis, tu ne sais où je vais,*
> *Ô toi que j'eusse aimée, ô toi qui le savais!*
> [Elsewhere, very far from here! Too late! Perhaps *never*!
> For where you’re off to I'll never know, nor do you know where I'm going,
> O you whom I could have loved, O you who knew it too!]

This is the poet’s experience of what Benjamin calls “love at last sight,” a form of love unique to the big city which becomes an “eternal farewell” at its very beginning, its “moment

of enchantment." This love bears the "stigmata" of the big city – brevity does not sit well with love, as Wittgenstein recognised in his question of whether love could last only a second (*SW*, 4:324).[57] Love being stuck inside *Erlebnis* is a vivid example of how the novel technological and sociological conditions of capitalist modernity worked not only by appealing to subjects directly, as in advertising, but also indirectly, surrounding diverse social practices in its temporal dynamics. This spread is precisely what Lukács diagnosed in the conceptual shift from commodification to reification. Specifically, it reflects how capitalist urbanism leads personalities to be perceived as reified images, exchange values divorced from concrete history. Lukács was particularly focused on this commodification of the human soul. His examples were disciplines where cognitive faculties are bought and sold, like journalism and academia ("Reification," 100). Yet the human soul is wider than its intellection, and the reduction of love and personal appearance to such a commodified exchange value in Baudelaire's poem equally reflects reification.

Reading *Ulysses* in 2025, one is not struck by the anonymity of the city's inhabitants – indeed, it is hard to imagine such a reaction from someone living in a metropolis of the 1920's like the one which inspired the novel's famous sibling:

> A crowd flowed over London Bridge, so many,
> I had not thought death had undone so many.
> Sighs, short and infrequent, were exhaled,
> And each man fixed his eyes before his feet.[58]

[57] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe, P. M. S Hacker and Joachim Schulte, ed. P. M. S Hacker and Joachim Schulte (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), §583.
[58] T. S. Eliot, *The Complete Poems and Plays of T. S. Eliot* (London: Book Club Associates, 1969), 62.

We are far more likely to be struck by just how many acquaintances Leopold Bloom runs into. Jameson claims that Joyce's Dublin, like Flaubert and Baudelaire's Paris, is "still distantly akin to the village" ("*Ulysses* in History," 135). In the case of Dublin, this is due to its status as a colony – there weren't many jobs available, and a mix of British goods flooding the market and limited capital meant that jobs in private places like factories and offices (where Eliot's Londoners are heading) made up a smaller portion of the market, with a larger share being constituted by the itinerant and public-facing work *Ulysses*' characters engage in (Jameson, "*Ulysses* in History," 134; Osteen, *Economy*, 3-6).[59] Jameson identifies gossip as a key mode of information transmission for Joyce's Dubliners, and something which brings their life closer to the less anonymous village. This de-anonymising economy and gossip both appear when Bloom goes into the Ormond Hotel to spy on Blazes Boylan, who Bloom correctly suspects will soon sleep with Molly. Bloom can enter unashamed under the pretext he's with Richie Goulding, whom he's run into on the street. There are four others he knows who happen to be there – Lenehan, Simon Dedalus, Bob Cowley, and Ben Dollard. Richie exchanges stories with Bloom, and Bloom remembers gossip about Richie – "Rollicking Richie once. Jokes old stale now… begging letters he sends his son with. Crosseyed Walter sir I did sir" which echoes what Richie's nephew Stephen said to himself earlier – "skeweyed Walter sirring his father, no less! Sir. Yes, sir. No, sir" (*U*, 11.646-48, 3.77-78). Stephen doesn't transmit this gossip aloud but, given his and Bloom's mutual acquaintances, it is possible Stephen has told someone who told Bloom, or that they are both nodes in chains of transmission extending back to Stephen's parents. In any event, Jameson points out that the proliferation of gossip like this takes what would be a "reified marker," a character who,

[59] Even a walled workplace like a hospital has a separate space where people gather to drink and talk in "Oxen of the Sun." Analogously to Jameson's point here, Benjamin contrasts Baudelaire's conception of the crowd with Poe's description of it in London (Benjamin, *SW*, 4:326). Eliot's stanza ends with a frenzied address to a familiar face found in the crowd, which ends with a quote of Baudelaire's address to his reader in "Au Lecture" (Eliot, *Poems*, 63; Baudelaire, *Fleurs*, 49-50).

physically present in one episode, is but a "proper name" for the reader, and dereifies this through the thickening transformations produced by the slight differences in word choice and detail ("*Ulysses* in History," 133-35). Here, a notable difference is Richie's pathetic "begging" of his son in Bloom's version. I shall have more to say about this dereification in readerly experience later: the point to note here is that it serves to reflect the temporal connections in Bloom's own experience, whereby the sensory associations of oral storytelling allow someone Bloom sees intermittently – and the same analysis I gave for Richie could be given for the other acquaintances in the hotel – to avoid becoming a reified image like Baudelaire's passer-by, instead remaining a person with a "full-dress narrative" (Jameson, "*Ulysses* in History," 135). The persistence of this less anonymised, reified existence allows Joyce to demonstrate the highly complex temporal effects of the city's anonymity when Bloom writes a letter to Martha while sitting across from Richie.

Bloom's letters are in the silent medium of writing rather than a *rue assourdissante*, yet like Baudelaire's vision of the *passante* they emerge from the mutual anonymity of city inhabitants and feelings of romantic insufficiency. Earlier in the novel, when Bloom is prevented from reading Martha's letter by McCoy's approach, he compensates by looking at a stranger across the road, projecting onto her a male fantasy of submissiveness and comparing her to other anonymous women he's seen – "Careless stand of her with her hands in those patch pockets. Like that haughty creature at the polo match. Women all for caste till you touch the spot. Handsome is and handsome does" (*U*, 5.102-105). This fantasy is partly enabled by their anonymity, which means Bloom's projection is never challenged by their reality, yet anonymity also reduces the fantasy to an incomplete, isolated experience – even the fleeting image of Baudelaire's *passante* is denied Bloom's memory, as a symbol of the modern city, the tramcar, comes between the woman's "rich: silk stockings" and his eyes

which attempt to "Watch! Watch!" them (5.130-131). This compensation for his erotic reading reflects the needs his letters respond to. Martha's anonymity allows him to treat her as a stand-in for the women he sees in the city, with the letters allowing him to sustain his fantasies about them for longer than his fleeting impressions last. Of course, the parts of Martha's personality that are thereby commodified are not her appearance and manner (as in Baudelaire and Bloom's passers-by), but the aspects of personality Lukács focuses on, namely her cognitive abilities. Bloom pays for Martha's epistolary company, having put an ad in the newspaper for a "smart lady typist" (8.326-27) and leaving her "half a crown" (two shillings six pence) with the letter he sends (11.867).

Compensation for Bloom's unfulfilled attraction to passers-by is perhaps a secondary function: what Martha truly compensates for is the fissures in his relationship with Molly. Passing a cabman's shelter, Bloom remembers the lines "*voglio e non"* ["I want to and I do not"], which Zerlina sings in the duet *Là ci darem la mano* ["Then with thy hand in mine"] from *Don Giovanni*, the title of which Bloom goes on to hum right before opening Martha's letter (*U*, 5.224-28).[60] The duet is Don Giovanni's attempted seduction of Zerlina, and is one of the songs Molly will sing on her tour organised by Boylan (*U*, 4.314).[61] Moreover, the letter might remind us of the first mention of Boylan on Bloomsday, when Bloom returns to 7 Eccles Street from the butcher: "Two letters and a card lay on the hallfloor. He stopped and gathered them. Mrs Marion Bloom. His quickened heart slowed at once. Bold hand. Mrs Marion" (*U*, 4.243-45). This is Boylan's letter to Molly (hence "Bold hand"). Bloom interprets the use of "Marion," her stage name, as a disregard for Bloom's own existence, as

[60] Unless otherwise specified, translations of the non-English passages in *Ulysses* are from Slote, Mamigonian and Turner, *Annotations*. I will attach the annotation line number to indicate where the translation occurs – here, it is *Ann*, 5.224, 5.227-28.
[61] The original lines are *vorrei e non vorrei* ["I would and I would not"] (*Ann* 4.327-328).

it was convention at the time to address wives by their husband's names in letters.[62] His epistolary relationship thus compensates for Molly's infidelity – he *too* is sexually active and unfaithful (indeed, he has been so for longer). Kenner points out Bloom's reaction to seeing Boylan's letter reveals the general "principle that any irruption of Boylan into his perceptual field has the effect of suspending Bloom's faculties" (Kenner, *Ulysses*, 47). Kenner focuses on how Bloom doesn't narrate certain things as a result of this suspension, while Catherine Flynn points out how the suspension is evidenced by an even greater emphasis than usual on short sentences made up of monosyllabic words (*Matter of Paris*, 126).[63] We have just seen this with "Bold hand. Mrs Marion Bloom." Seeing Boylan at the end of "Lestrygonians," Bloom thinks "Is it? Almost certain. Won't look" (*U*, 8.1171). Marital infidelity threatens to overwhelm his consciousness in the way a shock stimulus does, and Bloom responds by parcelling stimuli up into containable phrases, thereby shutting his experience off from other parts of the present and his life as a whole.

This amorous *Erlebnis*, unlike in Baudelaire's poem or Bloom's desire for the passer-by, does not bear what Benjamin calls the "stigmata of the big city" (*SW*, 4:324) – while Joyce's telegraphic style allows for a more precise psychological rendering of the experience, one can easily imagine protagonists across the history of realism experiencing such lapses. It does, however, push Bloom towards the novel technological and social conditions of capitalism, like big-city anonymity, and thereby leads to reified *Chockerlebnis*. Kenner points out how Bloom's "engrossing motions, busily curious, block off from his thoughts… the Boylan-

[62] Slote, Mamigonian and Turner point out that "some, but not all contemporaneous manuals of etiquette" recommended using a husband's name in addressing his wife in letters (*Ann*, 4.244). Bloom, in any event, seems affronted.

[63] Kenner's specific example is that we don't know where Bloom puts his hat, and he too forgets (*U*, 4.485-86; Kenner, *Ulysses*, 47). We might also consider how Bloom uses allusion to avoid thinking about the affair or the world around him.

Molly liaison" (Kenner, *Ulysses*, 51). Sometimes, he is engrossed by the distracting stimuli of modernity, yet these often themselves create *Chockerlebnis*, as we see in his compensatory epistolatory relationship.[64] One example of this is the distraction afforded by the commodified epistolary exchange with Martha. In Martha's letter to Bloom, she asks "Are you not happy in your home you poor little naughty boy," reflecting her own suspicion of the problems that prompt their exchange (*U*, 5.246-247). Her postscript is "do tell me what kind of perfume does your wife use. I want to know," reflecting both her desire to know about Bloom (presumably to compensate for her unsatisfied desire to know about other people in Dublin) and the fantasies which anonymity enables – here, her fantasy that she is his wife (5.258). Moreover, it feeds into Bloom's need for something more complete than his fleeting gazes at anonymous women – upon reading the letter, he wonders if he and Martha "could meet one Sunday after the rosary," showing his fantasy that Martha could be one of the anonymous women he sees. Yet the letters also satisfy his need for sexual encounters that are discretely containable, unlike his life with Molly, as he acknowledges that he doesn't want to actually meet Martha, which would end "bad as a row with Molly" (5.270-72).

Bloom's response to Martha, then, compensates both for the excessive energy of his sexual desire for anonymous women, and for the lacks in his relationship. It is not wholly prompted by capitalist social conditions, nor is it wholly divorced from them, and it is fitting in light of this ambiguous position that he writes it sitting across from an acquaintance made more sensuously real to Bloom by gossip, Richie Goulding, after he has seen Boylan enter the Ormond around four o'clock, which he knows to be the arranged hour of rendez-vous between Boylan and Molly. His letter writing is narrated with the syntactical devices we

[64] It is beyond my scope to cover all of these distractions, but see Kenner, *Ulysses*, 51-53. Of course, they are not *all* symbols of modernity – for example, Bloom distracts himself by going into a church.

associate with the isolation of his experience: "Got your lett and flow. Hell did I put? Some pock or oth. It is utterl imposs" (*U*, 11.861-62).[65] Here and throughout the writing, there is an absence of tag clauses to tell the reader what Bloom thinks to himself and what he actually writes, as if both disrupt each other into isolated pieces which do not cohere. Where tag clauses appear, they are "Bloom mur: best references. But Henry wrote: it will excite me" (11.888). The conjunction underscores that what Bloom murmurs has no relation to what the fantastic projection "Henry," referencing his pen name Henry Flower, writes. They do come into harmony by the end, however, reflecting how the letter writing becomes more sensorily integrated with the rest of Bloom's experience than more extreme instances of *Chockerlebnis*, like those we saw in Gerty. Bloom is listening to music, and the meter of his letter begins to mimick its rhythms: "P. S. The rum tum tum. How will you pun?" (11.890-91). There's even a slant rhyme: "P. P. S. La la la ree. I feel so sad today. La ree. So lonely" (11.894). This connects his letter writing more deeply with the rest of his experience, as music's making him (as he later regrets) "too poetical" (11.904) makes what "Henry wrote" reflect how Bloom feels. [66]

Bloom is also aware of the fantasies that sustain the anonymous exchange: "To keep it up. You must believe" – what they must believe in is not specified, but we could venture candidates like "we will never really meet," "you are an attractive woman not unlike the one I saw this morning," "my marital problems don't exist," and so on (*U*, 11.872). He does not ultimately believe in the final (indeed, likely in any) of these, for his letter writing is broken

[65] "flow" refers to the flower which was attached to Martha's letter (*U*, 5.260).

[66] One technological development of modernity relevant to their letter exchange but which I haven't discussed here is print technology, especially the typewriter. This is because I discuss print at greater length in the context of newspapers later in this chapter, and I do not think that the printed condition of the letters is specifically reflected in Bloom's temporal consciousness. See Katherine Mullin, *Working Girls: Fiction, Sexuality, and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 78-82, for an analysis of how Martha's status as a "typist" reflects changing conditions of women's employment in twentieth-century Dublin.

up by his asking "Folly am I writing? Husbands don't. That's marriage does, their wives. Because I'm away from" (11.874-875). While Mark Osteen reads Bloom's letter writing as balancing his "psychic economy" by "purging his dejection" (*Economy*, 292-93), from the more temporally-focused perspective of this thesis it keeps him in a state of *Chockerlebnis* – he is still "away from" his wife, unable to name her, and this experience is as incomplete as the sentence which expresses it. He and Martha do negotiate a relationship with a degree of temporal extension, at the very least beyond that of fleeting gazes at passers-by. Yet, their encounter cannot escape the conditions of reification out of which it arises, the shock energy of urban anonymity that creates lacks in Bloom's experience and the reduction of Martha's abilities to the exchange value of half a crown. Bloom's experience of Martha therefore doesn't sensorily expand the way his experience of Richie can through even a small amount of gossip.

Bloom and Gerty's encounter also reflects Dublin's status as a village-esque city, its inhabitants vaguely known to one another and the shock character of anonymity thereby attenuated. Yet the scene also reinforces how anonymity creates *Chockerlebnis*, specifically by facilitating the commodification of others. We have already seen how Bloom commodifies Gerty, partly in accordance with certain advertising images she performs. Yet, as several commentators have pointed out, Bloom is also commodified by Gerty, turned into a character from the popular literature she reads, a character with no connection to Bloom's lived reality (Osteen, *Economy*, 307-308; Leonard, *Commodity Culture*, 110-11). Gerty reads "the story of a haunting sorrow… written on his face" (*U*, 13.421-22), and we are told "Passionate nature though he was Gerty could see that he had enormous control over himself" (13.539-40). As Kenner points out, "passionate" and "enormous control" are hardly the first words we reach for in describing Bloom (Kenner, *Ulysses*, 105). Bloom himself thinks of a man he sees on

the beach "Ask yourself who is he now. *The Mystery Man on the Beach*, prize titbit story by Mr Leopold Bloom. Payment at the rate of one guinea per column" (*U*, 13.1059-61). This reflects his self-fashioning as much as it does his perception of the man across from him, and therefore his self-reduction to a story, a story in turn reduced to its exchange value. Michael Tratner points out that the *Mystery Man* is a stereotype, and therefore reflects that Bloom can only attach himself to "a story already in place," both as author and as sexual partner.[67] Osteen points out that this, combined with Gerty's positioning of herself as a mass-produced advertising image, reflects how like "massproducts" they have no personal relation to one another's lives (Osteen, *Economy*, 307-08; *U*, 17.369). This allows various escapes – Gerty's from her material conditions discussed earlier, and Bloom's from his feelings of guilt about Gerty. By commodifying her, he can bypass these: thinking about ejaculating in front of women, he thinks "They don't care. Complimented perhaps. Go home to nicey bread and milky and say night prayers with the kiddies. Well, aren't they? See her as she is spoil all" (*U*, 13.853-55). Even as he acknowledges that he doesn't "see her as she is," he reassures himself that she will be "complimented" when she goes home, providing an image of her home life we know to be cruelly false.

That Gerty and Bloom can be thus commodified is facilitated by their mutual anonymity, which stops the concrete reality of either of their lives challenging the reified image they present to the other. They don't even know each other's names. Bloom wonders if Gerty is Martha: "It couldn't be? No, Gerty they called her. Might be false name however like my name and the address Dolphin's barn a blind" (*U*, 13.944-46). The address given refers to the post office where Bloom sends letters his letters for Martha (11.999),[68] suggesting Gerty's

[67] Michael Tratner, "Sex and Credit: Consumer Capitalism in *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly* 30/31, no. 4/1 (1993): 707.
[68] It is also, according to this chapter, the suburb in which Leopold and Molly first met (13.1106). For the novel's ambiguities surrounding their first meeting, see Crispi, *Becoming the Blooms*, chap. 5.

substitution for Martha. Gerty also substitutes for other anonymous women. Bloom reflects after he has ejaculated "Anyhow I got the best of that. Damned glad I didn't do it in the bath this morning over her silly I will punish you letter. Made up for that tramdriver this morning," highlighting how the interaction with Gerty gave him the fleeting romantic encounter he wanted in the morning, as well as something more physically interpersonal than his letters to Martha (*U*, 13.785-86).[69]

However, this appearance of mutual anonymity should be questioned. Most obviously, Gerty and Bloom have mutual friends in the Dignams, who Bloom has just been to assist with getting the deceased Patrick's insurance money (*U*, 12.760-64). Moreover, when we see Gerty in "Wandering Rocks" she passes "Roger Greene's office and Dollard's big red printinghouse" (10.1205-06), at no. 11 Wellington Quay and 2-5 Wellington Quay respectively. At the beginning of "Sirens," Bloom passes the firm Ceppi, Peter and Sons, 8-9 Wellington Quay (11.185), which as Senn points out means they only missed each other by a few minutes.[70] Their encounter is not, as Osteen suggests, a pure capitalist exchange of commodified identities, but something that balances such exchange with a vaguely shared material history of cohabitation. And this has consequences on Bloom's temporal consciousness.[71] In contrast to the disjointed prose of his letter to Martha, the prose of his reflections on Gerty is in the clipped yet fluid style we associate with Bloomian stream of consciousness. And crucially, within this style he provides his most honest reflections on Molly and Boylan:

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[69] See Senn, "Nausicaa," 287-90 for a reading of how Gerty may have been inspired by Martha Fleischman, with whom Joyce had a (primarily) epistolary affair while he was writing "Nausicaa."
[70] Senn, "Nausicaa," 291, quoting *Thom's Official Directory of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (Dublin: Thom's, 1904)*.
[71] It is hard to identify any effects on Gerty's, it must be said – although perhaps we would see these if we had her thoughts after, rather than before the encounter.

> All quiet on Howth now. The distant hills seem. Where we. The rhododendrons. I am a fool perhaps. He gets the plums, and I the plumstones. Where I come in. All that old hill has seen. Names change: that's all. Lovers: yum yum." (*U*, 13.1097-1100)

This holds together the past of his relationship (Howth is where he proposed to Molly) and its uncertain present. Most directly, however, Bloom thinks after realising his watch stopped at four thirty:

> Was that just when he, she?
> O, he did. Into her. She did. Done.
> Ah! (13.848-50)

This is his most direct confrontation with the affair so far, far from the containment of experience we saw in association with Boylan earlier in the novel, those times which prompted him to take solace in his epistolary relationship with Martha. Bloom can now say "My memory's not so bad" with some justice (13.1142).

We have seen various aspects of the commodification of women's personalities, enabled by the capitalist conditions of urban anonymity and paying for correspondence. As indicated in the encounter with Gerty, Bloom commodifies himself in this process as well. It is in "Circe" that all of these commodifications are made most graphic by the representation of the interchangeability of personalities, reflecting their reduction to fungible, abstract exchange value. Here, there are no mediating conditions of the city-cum-village to stop the fantastic dance of reified images.

Before Henry Flower enters the stage in "Circe," there have been a series of textual equivocations between this figure and exchange value. Martha sends him a flower with her letter (*U*, 5.239), bringing to mind the florin coin worth two shillings. Tearing up the envelope that contained Martha's letter, Bloom thinks: "Henry Flower. You could tear up a cheque for a hundred pounds in the same way. Simple bit of paper" (5.303-04). In his appearance in "Circe," Henry Flower blends several romantic stereotypes: he is the *charro* with a "drooping plumed sombrero," the Latin Quarter *boheme* with a "Jacob's pipe," "he has the romantic Saviour's face," and the legs and feet "of the tenor Mario, prince of Candia" (*U*, 15.2478-87).[72] His instrument can transform from a "dulcimer" to a "guitar" to a "lute" to a "harp" (*U*, 15.2481; 15.2489; 15.2621; 15.2629). The epistolary exchange, then, in turning Bloom into Henry turns him into an exchange value, able to take on many forms precisely because he ultimately takes on none.

It is the women we have seen, however, who are depicted as fully exchangeable with one another in "Circe," reflecting how a logic of reification causes Bloom, in dreams at least, to reduce their souls to interchangeable fragments. Like exchange value, each one can spread over a heterogeneous range of people without regard to their particularities and differences.[73] During Bloom's first trial in "Circe," three historical wives of Britain-sympathising Irish political figures accuse Bloom of making unwanted advances on them. They take on features of various women from earlier in the novel. In line with the episode's hallucinatory technique, we might see these as processes of what Freud called "condensation," where the

[72] Slote, Mamigonian and Turner point out the association between Jacob's pipes and the Latin Quarter (*Ann*, 14.1057). While earlier in the novel it is noted that Mario and Jesus look alike (*U*, 7.55-56), in other forms of significance the similarity cannot be maintained.

[73] This is arguably the inverse of the link between prostitution and commodities Benjamin observes in the second Baudelaire essay, the "empathy" by which the commodity and the prostitute reach out to everyone who has money (4:31-32).

"content" of a dream stands for several different things at once.[74] Here one of the most common "methods" of condensation appears, "the construction of collective and composite figures."[75] Jameson would encourage us to read such a construction as not *merely* an expression of Bloom's processes of psychic substitution, but as something made possible by the reification of the personalities he substitutes.[76] Mrs Yelverton Barry, wife of Unionist Barry Yelverton (*Ann* 15.1013), accuses Bloom of making "improper overtures to me to misconduct myself at half past four p.m. on the following Thursday, Dunsink time" (*U*, 15.1021-22), which we have seen Bloom suspect to be the precise time Boylan and Molly had sex (13.848-50). Mrs Bellingham, wife of Lord Mayor of Dublin Daniel Bellingham (*Ann*, 15.1025), is a composite of the anonymous passer-by, Martha, Molly, and Gerty. Her outfit comically exaggerates the "stylish kind of coat with that roll collar, warm for a day like this" (*U*, 5.101-02) that Bloom observed earlier in the passer-by: "*in cap and seal coney mantle, wrapped up to the nose*" (15.1026), and further covering her neck she has a "*huge opossum muff*" (15.1028). She "*steps out of her brougham*" (15.1026-27), inverting the passer-by's stepping *into* an "outsider" (5.98 – an outsider being an open carriage, while a brougham is closed).[77] The accusation, however, details Bloom's stepping into the carriage in question, mobilising his fantasy from earlier. It continues: "Subsequently he enclosed a bloom of edelweiss culled on the heights," which turns out to be "a blossom of the homegrown potato plant purloined from a forcingcase of the model farm" (15.1032-35). The Latin name of edelweiss, a white mountain flower, is *Leontopodium nivale*, meaning that,

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[74] The episode's "Technic" in the Linati schema is "Hallucination" (Richard Ellmann, Ulysses *on the Liffey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 197 (hereafter cited in the text)).
[75] Sigmund Freud, "The Interpretation of Dreams (First Part)," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey, vol. 4 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1963), 279, 293.
[76] Jameson makes a similar point about Freud's notion of "wish-fulfillment" in *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 65-66. Jameson's own interpretation of reification in "Circe" is one of the weaker parts of his essay, spuriously positing that the reader doesn't experience the "signified" of the text, only the "signifier" of text itself ("*Ulysses* in History," 137).
[77] All italics used in quotes from *Ulysses* in this thesis are in the original.

much as the flowers between Henry Flower and Martha Clifford become fetishistic totems of Henry Flower, Bloom here creates a fetishistic totem of his own person, a "bloom of [*Leontopodium nivale*]." This itself marks an equivalence between the flower-inflected epistolary exchanges of Henry and Martha and Leopold and Molly's marriage, for the white mountain flower is an abstracted stand-in for the more colourful rhododendrons on Howth, where Bloom proposed to Molly and Molly famously became "a flower of the mountain" (18.1576). That the edelweiss is in fact a "potato plant" is richly ironic: the complaint seems to be that something natural (a mountain flower) is substituted for something layered in falsehoods: Bloom not only "purloined" it, but it was grown in artificial circumstances, a "forcingcase" being essentially a hothouse for this individual plant (*Ann*, 15.1035), the arbitrary growth emphasised by the participle "forcing" in the portmanteau "forcingcase." Yet, the potato is elsewhere in the novel associated with solidity: it is the "panacea" Bloom's mother gave him to protect against "pestilence," and its presence reassures him through the day's fluctuations (*U*, 15.202, 15.1357, 8.1189).[78] That it would be artificial, and exchangeable for an edelweiss, suggests the reification that exists in this dream, where everything that is solid melts into air like the ecstatic backdrop of rhododendrons on Howth becoming a pale edelweiss.

Bellingham then accuses Bloom of addressing her

> in several handwritings with fulsome compliments as a Venus in furs and alleg[ing] profound pity for my frostbound coachman Palmer while in the same breath he

[78] It also arguably connects Bloom with his Jewish heritage due to its role as *mezuzah*, the scroll of Deuteronomy placed on thresholds of orthodox Jewish households. See Kenner, *Ulysses*, 79-80.

> expressed himself as envious of his earflaps and fleecy sheepskins and of his fortunate proximity to my person, when standing behind my chair… (*U*, 15.1045-49)

This yokes together the fantasy of Martha and the anonymous passer-by, and we then learn Bloom "lauded" Bellingham's "nether extremities, my swelling calves in silk hose drawn up to the limit" (15.1052-53). Given the passer-by's stockings were "Proud: rich: silk stockings," this continues Bellingham's role as a stand-in for the passer-by, as well as for Molly whose stockings are conspicuous on the bed in "Calypso" (4.323). Bellingham is also a stand-in for Gerty, due to Bloom's lauding Bellingham's "nether extremities" and "other hidden treasures in priceless lace" (15.1053).

"The Honourable Mrs Mervyn Talboys" (presumably the wife of Sir George Talboys, a British Baron (*Ann*, 15.1057)) is wearing a riding uniform which includes "fawn musketeer gauntlets with braided drums," something that has presumably been precipitated out of the passer-by before whom Bloom "saw the bright fawn skin shine in the glare, the braided drums" (*U*, 5.111-12). Moreover, that earlier interaction itself precipitated a thought of "that haughty creature at the polo match" (5.103) and Mrs Talboys goes on to specify that her complaint with Bloom originates from when "he saw me on the polo ground of the Phoenix park" (15.1061). The episode from earlier in the day returns with the fact it was "from behind a hackney car" that Bloom saw Mrs Talboys. Talboys therefore condenses two of the passers-by Bloom has seen. Afterwards he sends "in double envelopes an obscene photograph," and implores her "to soil his letter" (15.1076, 1071), and this photograph is itself a condensation, although only a second-time reader knows this: "a partially nude señorita, frail and lovely (his wife, as he solemnly assured me, taken by him from nature), practising illicit intercourse with a muscular torero, evidently a blackguard" (15.1067-69). On a rereading, we know that this merges two photos we read about later in the book: the photo of Molly Leopold shows

Stephen in the cabman's shelter (16.1427-39), and Bloom's "photocard" lying in his drawer in "Ithaca," showing "buccal coition between nude señorita (rere presentation, superior position) and nude torero (fore presentation, inferior position)" (17.1809-11). The photo of Molly has "fleshy charms on evidence in an open air fashion," hardly suggesting "frailty" (16.1428). We should thus see the "frail and lovely" in the photo sent to Talboys as an importation from "Nausicaa," given the high occurrence of "lovely" in that chapter (Hayward, "The Advertising Language of "Nausicaa"," 101 – see e.g. *U*, 13.192, 13.162, 13.519, 13.740). Moreover, the fact there is a señorita clearly associates the card presented with Bloom's anxieties about Molly's infidelities, given that he imagines a suitor arriving in Gibraltar and saying to her "*Buenas noches, señorita. El hombre ama la muchacha hermosa*" (13.1208-209), and his dream on Sandymount Strand paratactically has "Mulvey," her first lover, enter in "black hair heave under embon *señorita* young eyes Mulvey plump bubs" (13.1282). Clearly then, Bloom's desire for Talboys to "soil" this letter reflects his confusion between desire for sexual contact with Molly and anxiety about that contact which he tries to make up for through indirect sexuality, in postcards, cuckoldry, and fantasy.[79]

Bellingham, Talboys and Barry are condensations of Molly, Martha, Gerty, and the anonymous passers-by Bloom has seen. They occur, of course, in the most dream-like chapter of the novel, so what does this hallucination mean for the existence these women have in Bloom's experience? Does it reflect that they are isolated, able to move freely across his experience, or is this a dream which distorts the "real life" experience he has of them

[79] There are other commodities we see permeating Bloom's experience of women in the first trial, notably the light literature Bloom reads in "Wandering Rocks" (*U*, 10.608-617). Mrs Barry says Bloom told her his name is "James Lovebirch" (15.1018), one of the authors Bloom flicks through at the book stall (10.602). She accuses Bloom of offering "to send me through the post a work of fiction by Monsieur Paul de Kock," reversing Molly's earlier request that Bloom get one of his books for her (*U*, 15.1022-23). Her "sabletrimmed blackquilted dolman" repeats the "sabletrimmed wrap" of the woman in the extract Bloom reads from *Sweets of Sin* (10.617), albeit the dolman is "a kind of mantle" (*OED*), considerably more fixed in place than the "wrap."

that's constrained by differing degrees of material circumstances like cohabitation? Recall the Jamesonean point that the ability to condense in dreams is not ideologically innocent: that we *can* thus dream tells us something about the political economy we live in, and what begins in dreams is not so much responsibility as alienation, solidarity, domination. The extreme exchangeability we see in "Circe" is a representation of the extreme potentials of the logic of reification beginning to permeate Dublin in this novel, and hence permeating Bloom's consciousness as a citizen of that city. But in the reality of life in Dublin we see how the *Chockerlebnis* this reification creates exists within, and interacts with, earlier, less reified forms of life. The shock-inducing effects of urban anonymity are attenuated by their occurrence within a village-like town where personalities are extended by gossip, even as some earlier conditions of life, the stresses of love, push Bloom towards shock-inducing activities of anonymised encounters.

Our Shock of the Present

Joyce illuminates the problematic temporality of *Chockerlebnis* further by posing it in the reading experience itself. One ambiguity in Gerty's character rarely remarked on by commentators is that created by the narrative voice. As almost all commentators note, this narrative voice is partly based on the sentimental Victorian narrator, especially Mary Cunningham's *The Lamplighter*.[80] We have already noted the distortion of saying Bloom has "enormous control" over himself, and Kenner goes so far as to say that the prose style gives us "a new Bloom" (*U*, 13.540; Kenner, *Ulysses*, 105). Along these lines, we might ask whether Gerty herself experiences *Chockerlebnis*, or whether we simply read the distortions

[80] A classic analysis of the similarities and differences is Kimberley Devlin, "The Romance Heroine Exposed: "Nausicaa" and "The Lamplighter"," *James Joyce Quarterly* 22, no. 4: 383-396.

of a prose style inflected with advertising language.[81] Her temporal problematic becomes our own – how are we to see through to a lasting impression of her, when she has only (barring brief appearances in "Wandering Rocks" and "Circe") been given to us in disconnected units of awkward prose, in advertising slogans creating ever-new values for her and her world? The problem, naturally, is more attenuated in the case of Bloom since we can bring together representations of him in different episodes, thickening our experience as we saw cross-referenced gossip doing for even a minor character like Richie Goulding. But the incomplete or arbitrarily juxtaposed phrases in the narration of Bloom's letter to Martha disrupt our reading and distance what Kenner calls Bloom's "human reality" from our minds.[82] More extreme examples of readerly *Chockerlebnis*, which aren't reflected in the characters themselves, are those created by Joyce's deployment of periodical forms.

Benjamin uses the newspaper as an example of technologically induced *Erlebnis* before introducing the concept of shock (*SW*, 4:316), and his later examples of shock-inducing technologies include the "advertising pages of the newspaper," but, seemingly, not the journalistic pages (4:328). The shock energy of newspapers as a whole is registered in this remark by T. P. O'Connor, the Irish-born London newspaper manager who denied Joyce a job in journalism 1899 and is mentioned several times in *Ulysses* (*U*, 7.687, 12.1387):

> We live in an age of hurry and of multitudinous newspapers. The newspaper… is… hurried over in a railway carriage, dropped incontinently when read. To get your ideas

[81] Hayward is the only commentator I have found who explicitly asks this question ("The Advertising Language of "Nausicaa"," 105-106).
[82] Hugh Kenner, *Joyce's Voices* (London: Faber & Faber, 1978), 41-42 (hereafter cited in the text). Kenner sees "Sirens" as defined by "screens of language" like this, which silence Bloom's "human reality".

> through the hurried eyes into the whirling brains that are employed in the reading of a newspaper there must be no mistake about your meaning.[83]

This reflects how what Benjamin calls the "principles of journalistic information," including "lack of connection between individual news items," "newness, brevity," and "clarity," could induce *Chockerlebnis* (*SW*, 4:316). Capitalist competition creates an incentive for companies to report on events as quickly and as briefly as possible while being comprehensive, cramming as many facts as possible into a small space and thereby giving each item an excessive energy. This is exacerbated by the pace of publication, which inundates readers with such reports and diminishes their processing time, as well as by headlines which contain a story in a single phrase or sentence.[84] Taken together, these features of newspapers and their distribution train readers to separate the events they read of, containing them within consciousness through immediate understanding. Despite the centrality of newspapers in *Ulysses*, Joyce does not give us a character who experiences extreme *Chockerlebnis* under their influence: Bloom reads the *Evening Telegraph* "in fits and starts" (*U*, 16.1275-76), but both he and Stephen do so in order to "while away a few odd leisure moments" (16.1275), hardly the picture of frazzled, hurried brains O'Connor conjures. In "Aeolus," which takes place in the offices of the Dublin newspapers *Freeman's Journal* and *Evening Telegraph*, the reader themselves experiences the *Chockerlebnis* of newspapers.

The episode's events are mainly narrated in the free indirect discourse of the first six episodes, albeit spread across multiple consciousnesses rather than focused on Bloom or Stephen. This narration is broken up by what scholars have variously called "headlines,"

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[83] T. P. O'Connor, 'The New Journalism,' *The New Review*, October 1889, 419.
[84] This is presumably one of the features Benjamin is referring to when he says the "layout of the pages" in a newspaper isolates experience (*SW*, 4:316)

"crossheads," and "captions." Terence Killeen points out that crosshead is the most technically correct term, as they are "lesser headlines that break up a long slab of text and let it breathe on the page," yet I will use "headline" as the more familiar term of which crosshead is a subset ("Joyce and Journalism," 207). Neither the *Freeman* nor the *Telegraph* used headlines or crossheads in 1904. Crossheads were, however, beginning to be used in the popular British press of 1904, notably in Alfred Harmsworth's *Daily Mail*.[85] As readers, we see how inapt such a format is for representing the spread-out experiences Joyce seeks to write about in his novel. Several interactions are comically spread across headlines, highlighting the arbitrariness of the neat containable bounds they seek to create. Bloom's attempt to use the phone in the *Telegraph* office to determine where he can speak to Alexander Keyes spans ten headlines between his entry into the office (*U*, 7.235) and his departure (7.436). Lenehan attempts to deliver a riddle under two headlines (7.477, 7.504) before delivering it under another (7.513). Stuart Gilbert observes a progression from the stately and descriptive headlines he associates with Victorian journalism ("HOW A GREAT DAILY ORGAN IS TURNED OUT") to headlines that reflect the "vulgarity" of the "modern press" (Ulysses: *A Study*, 159 n. 1). These later headlines are characterised by alliteration ("SOPHIST WALLOPS HAUGHTY HELEN SQUARE ON PROBOSCIS" (7.1032)), non-indicative moods ("HELLO THERE, CENTRAL!" (7.1042)), greater space relative to the action that follows them (Killeen, "Joyce and Journalism," 208), and orthogonality to the action which follows them, as when "WHAT WETHRUP SAID" headlines a sequence where Bloom merely thinks "Big blowout. Wetherup always said that" in the midst of seemingly more significant events like the entrance of *Telegraph* editor Myles Crawford (*U*, 7.337; 7.342). This satirises how the dynamics of capitalist competition which led newspapers to

[85] Stephen Donovan, "'SHORT BUT TO THE POINT': Newspaper Typography in "Aeolus"," James Joyce Quarterly 40, no. 3 (Spring 2003): 527.

have more attention-grabbing headlines fostered the radical dissociation between a story as lived experience and a story as it was experienced by newspaper readers. It also gives the headlines shock energy for us as readers, as their explosive and autonomous character means we struggle to integrate them with the episode's continuous action. That the headlines were intended to be arbitrary is reflected by the fact they were added late in composition, after an earlier version of "Aeolus" without them had been published in *The Little Review*. [86] For Tamara Radak, this gives a sense of the ungovernability of life which the headlines seek to contain, yet this is more likely a position we reach in reflection after reading.[87] During reading, even for a veteran reader, the experience is more likely to be what Karen Lawrence identifies as perpetual "interruption," where the struggle to integrate the headlines with the action that follows isolates headline from action, and each section of action from one another ("Interruption and Inventory," 392-93). In this way, the excessive energy of the headlines creates a readerly *Chockerlebnis*.

"Cyclops" reflects another feature of nineteenth- and twentieth-century periodicals which engendered *Chockerlebnis*: the plurality of different narratives sitting side by side in a single newspaper, and in periodical culture more broadly. Mark Turner points out that this plurality was a marked feature of Victorian periodical culture, and in thirteen lines of "Aeolus," Bloom moves rapidly between the heterogeneous purposes of different newspapers: a column for the "workaday worker" in the Saturday *Evening Telegraph*,[88] the British government's organ *Dublin Gazette* which reports on "stale" information everyone already knows (*Ann*, 7.89-90), and many non-news items from the *Weekly Freeman* (*Ann*, 7.94-95), like "Nature

[86] Michael Groden, Ulysses *in Progress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 64-66.
[87] Tamara Radak, ""Aeolus", Interrupted: Heady Headlines and Joycean Negotiations of Closure," in Brockman, Mecsnóber, and Alonso, *Publishing in Joyce's* Ulysses, 152-53.
[88] Harald Beck, "Workaday workers in the printing works," *James Joyce Online Notes*, last modified 27 December 2012, https://www.jjon.org/joyce-s-allusions/workaday, quoted in *Ann* 7.88.

notes. Cartoons. Phil Blake's weekly Pat and Bull story" (*U*, 7.87-100).[89] Bloom reflects it's "side features" like this, as well as the ads, that "sell a weekly" in the first place, and when he reads the *Evening Telegraph* in "Eumaeus" the first thing that catches his eye is an advertisement for typewriters (*U*, 7.89, 16.1239-40). Unlike "Aeolus"'s headlines, this heterogeneity of style and form was more common to the Irish newspapers of 1904. Reviewing the *Freeman* and *Telegraph* of June 16, 1904, R. Brandon Kershner claims they "are striking in their variety of offerings, with different kinds of advertisement, local, international, and financial news, editorials, reports on parliament, legal notices, and court cases that have been singled out for extensive coverage" (*Culture*, 116). While this heterogeneity in individual newspapers and periodical culture as a whole doesn't seem to impact the characters in the novel, it is mobilised in "Cyclops" to make the reader (virgin or veteran) experience a disorienting mélange wherein one doesn't have enough time to adjust to any one style, or the life that many of them are notionally supposed to be reporting on.

Many of the events that "Aeolus"'s headlines try to contain are oral discourses: stories being created (Stephen's, analysed in Chapter Three) or repeated (the speeches of John F. Taylor and Seymour Bushe). The interaction between oral and printed discourse is both more marked and more complicated in "Cyclops." Benjamin's account of newspapers' effects on temporal consciousness is oriented around a contrast with oral storytelling, which he sees as engendering *Erfahrung* for the reasons mentioned at the beginning of this thesis. The principles of journalism meant that, as Benjamin puts it, newspapers seek above all to convey "in itself" the present moment and explain it to a point where the audience can grasp and understand it fully in one sitting. This is an example of the "objectively distanced" attitude towards events Walter Ong claims print cultures generally create. Ong contrasts this with the

[89] Mark W. Turner, "Periodical Time in the Nineteenth Century," *Media History* 8, no. 2 (2002): 188-90, 194-95.

"empathetic and participatory" relationship orally cultured people have with events, which as we saw above means stories bear the "handprints" of the tellers whose experience they have permeated (*SW*, 3:149).[90] Like in "Aeolus," the effects of periodicals on temporal consciousness are not reflected in characters' experiences in "Cyclops." They are rather felt in the reading experience, through a marked contrast in the temporal effects of different prose styles.

The episode's main narrator is a barfly, and Kenner points out he furnishes the only narration "through the cadence of speech" in the entire novel (*Joyce's Voices*, 77). The narration changes tenses with a natural ease to keep us engaged in the story told, by turns reflective and vivid:

> So we turned into Barney Kiernan's and there, sure enough, was the citizen up in the corner having a great confab with himself and that bloody mangy mongrel, Garryowen, and he waiting for what the sky would drop in the way of drink.
> — There he is, says I, in his gloryhole, with his cruiskeen lawn and his load of papers, working for the cause. (*U*, 12.108-13)

As this brings out, the narrator and the other barflies whose dialogue we witness are very funny: Lenehan's face is "as long as a late breakfast" (12.1179) and upon the narrator's first sip of beer we have a mix of exclamation, oaths, hyperbole, Dublin slang, and onomatopoeia in "Ah! Ow! Don't be talking! I was blue mouldy for the want of that pint. Declare to God I could hear it hit the pit of my stomach with a click" (12.242-43).[91] Through laughter, we

[90] Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (London: Routledge, 2013), 45 (hereafter cited in the text).
[91] "Don't be talking" is a Dublin oath (*Ann*, 8.299).

participate in this oral discourse and feel a concomitant guilt when it turns on Bloom, with no modulation of cadence, diction, or strikingness of simile: “Devil a sweet fear! There's a jew for you! All for number one. Cute as a shithouse rat” (15.1760-61). Between these sections, there are interpolations which burlesque a range of periodical styles, none of which have anything to match “blue mouldy” for aptness, vividness, or humour. Barring some minor exceptions, these interpolations are in the preterite typical of news reporting, but they are differentiated by the use of specialist language, syntax, and cliché.[92] The parody of reporting on a boxing match contains relatively short sentences describing the action sequentially: “The men came to handigrips. Myler quickly became busy and got his man under, the bout ending with the bulkier man on the ropes, Myler punishing him” (12.971-73). By contrast, the parody of legal reporting adds sub-clauses arbitrarily, whether marked by commas or not:

> There master Courtenay, sitting in his own chamber, gave his rede and master Justice Andrews, sitting without a jury in the probate court, weighed well and pondered the claim of the first chargeant upon the property in the matter of the will propounded and final testamentary disposition *in re* the real and personal estate of the late lamented Jacob Halliday… (12.1115-19)

What these passages share, however, is an absence of speakability (Kenner, *Ulysses*, 94-95). The printed form allows clauses to be subordinated based on conceptual or explanatory priority: in the boxing match report “Myler punishing him” can stand alone as an addition to what we’ve just been told about the way the bout ended. When speaking aloud, by contrast,

[92] The exceptions include the report on parliamentary speech (*U*, 12.860-79), interjections of gibberish (12.846-49; 12.1493-1501), and dialogues that parody antiquated ways of speaking (12.786-99; 12.1593-1620). They take up far less space than the long, news report-style interjections without dialogue I discuss. As a result, they do not affect the account I give. If anything, they increase the shock quality of the episode by creating a further diversity of styles (the dialogues in particular presage “Oxen” and so their effect on temporal consciousness aligns with my account of that episode in Chapter Four).

we usually need to string actions together in a way that reflects their *temporal* alignment, and so it would be more natural to have "the bulkier man on the ropes while Myler punished him" (see Ong, *Orality*, 39-40). I assume I need not elaborate on how similar claims apply to the parody of legal reporting.

Other periodical styles burlesqued in Joyce's interpolations include marriage reporting and Irish Revival literature, which frequently appeared in newspapers and magazines (Kershner, *Culture*, 94). Even those styles which seem to describe the past take on the character of newspaper reporting, such as lists. Kershner points out that lists are a marked feature of newspaper reports, and "in the service of a mechanical comprehensiveness, are far more extensive than would be the case in conversation" (*Culture*, 115).[93] Thus, the Irish Revival literature description of a mythological past feels like a newspaper report:

> From his girdle hung a row of seastones which jangled at every movement of his portentous frame and on these were graven with rude yet striking art the tribal images of many Irish heroes and heroines of antiquity, Cuchulin, Conn of hundred battles, Niall of nine hostages, Brian of Kincora, the ardri Malachi, Art MacMurragh, Shane O'Neill, Father John Murphy… (*U*, 12.173-78)

The preterite of literature thereby becomes the preterite of newspaper reporting – the most amusing example of this being the interview with Paddy Dignam from the afterlife in the parody of Theosophy (12.338-73).

[93] Ong similarly points out the non-orality of lists (*Orality*, 97).

By inserting these interpolations in the midst of the barfly narrator's oral discourse and changing style with each interpolation, Joyce gives the interpolations shock energy. It might seem strange to claim shock energy for interpolations whose technique in the Gilbert schema is "gigantism," insofar as shock energy arises from the diminishment of processing time, the condensation of interconnected moments into the short units created by "Aeolus"'s headlines (Gilbert, *Ulysses*, 254). Yet recall that Benjamin sees shocks' excessive energies as coming from a broad societal condition, rather than the general character of a given technology. The Linati schema's technique of "alternating asymmetry" is perhaps the better way of capturing how these interpolations take on shock energy, for it is the abruptness with which we are taken from a spoken discourse to a radically printed one that demands the reader struggle to adjust to the latter, and especially to integrate it into the temporal flow of the spoken discourse that preceded it.[94] This is only exacerbated by the stylistic differences between the different burlesques: among those we have already seen, the parody of Revival language, with its girdles and faux-mythology, is a far cry from the legal reporting above.[95] Moreover, each burlesque is a more-or-less contained "story," not referring to any of the others. From this perspective, the gigantism actually contributes to the excessive energy of each burlesque, increasing its character as what Kenner calls a "pocket of time outside the scene's clock-time" (Kenner, *Ulysses*, 100). The gigantism is created by the piling up of details, above all in lists, which sends the writing on what Lawrence calls "a journey of its own" while the narrative is "frozen," disconnecting each interpolation from not only the spoken dialogue but the *other* autonomous journeys of preceding interpolations (*Odyssey of Style*, 111).

[94] For Linati schema, see Ellmann, *Liffey*, 194. It is their asymmetrical relationship with the "life" they purport to describe that makes Lawrence link "Aeolus"'s headlines and "Cyclops"'s interpolations (*Odyssey of Style*, 102).

[95] Kershner points out that Joyce exaggerates the defining features of each – so the sports paragraph is "sportier" than sports reporting, and so on for the other styles (*Culture*, 118). This adds to the shock quality of the interpolations.

These features give an excessive energy to the reader's present – recall that all the styles approach the tense of daily news, as if the shock energy created by the newspaper's heterogeneity flattens all its writing into a report on what has "just" happened. Kershner claims "The succession of parodic styles is very much like the experience of a reader glancing through a newspaper's varied offerings with their incommensurable narratives" (*Culture*, 120). Yet this ignores that we have to actually read, not glance through, the incommensurable narratives, meaning Joyce is not recreating a historical experience here. Actual newspaper readers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries did not have new issues shoved in their face at every street corner. Rather, like Bloom and Stephen in "Eumaeus," readers of newspapers and other periodicals engage in a process of selection, reading what is of interest to them and ignoring the rest. Rather than representing how it felt to read newspapers and other periodicals in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Joyce has taken the condition of heterogeneous, pluralistic publication and arranged it so that readers don't have time to adjust to the juxtaposed styles.[96] What this means is that the reader's present takes on an excessive energy, making it difficult to integrate an interpolation into a coherent experience with other interpolations or with the scene's spoken discourse. This is a *Chockerlebnis* which, unlike that of "Aeolus"'s headlines, didn't exist in the actual world, but which might be seen as implicit in the technological conditions of periodical publication in the early twentieth century.

Before we leave "Cyclops," it is worth considering how its mobilisation of the pace and heterogeneity of periodical publication engenders another reifying social condition studied earlier: anonymity. As Lawrence emphasises, in addition to their *cadences* of speech, the

[96] If he has reflected any condition of media consumption, it is social media: the arbitrary juxtaposition of different discourses, in wholly different styles, on scrolls as interminable as the list of "Irish heroes and heroines of antiquity" (15.176-99).

barfly passages have a strong sense of a *speaker*, while the interpolations are "anonymous," perhaps even "public" (Lawrence, *Odyssey*, 101-02). Yet even more relevant is how "Cyclops"'s interpolations contrast with the sense of what Lawrence calls "the author's stylistic signature." This is the "initial style," the free indirect discourse of "Telemachus" and "Calypso," which persists in all episodes until this one (Lawrence, *Odyssey of Style*, 102, 112).[97] That style was the thread by which *Ulysses* hung on to the sense of a story being told, despite the style's being interrupted (as in "Aeolus"), stretched, and mutated. "Sirens," the episode preceding "Cyclops," seems the furthest point the initial style can go, due to its extravagances of linguistic interrelation, puns and anaphora inspired by force of language rather than the events described: "Tap blind walked tapping by the tap the curbstone tapping, tap by tap" (*U*, 11.1190)). Yet these are followed soon after by the syntactic rendering of the rhythms of thought that give us a sense of "narrative voice" in the first eleven episodes: "Cowley, he stuns himself with it: kind of drunkenness" (11.1191).[98] In the interpolations of "Cyclops," the letters that tap in "Sirens" start to wildly cavort. Some features repeat across the interpolations – long lists, a preterite reporting tense, and textualised syntax – and some features differ radically – subject matter and imagery. This makes each one feel like an autonomous journey of text. The barfly might be anonymous, but the interpolations are far more divorced from the temporal and sensuous conditions that would let us understand the history and personality behind them: indeed, this divorce is so radical that they seem more anonymous than any human we physically come across, however, briefly, could be. The interpolations present too much content in too little space, leaving us unable as readers to integrate what they say into a sense of the coherent perspective from which it is told or

[97] See Lawrence, *Odyssey of Style*, chap. 2; Kenner, *Ulysses*, chaps. 1-6 and *Joyce's Voices*, chap. 2 for analyses of the "initial style."

[98] Kenner argues nothing in "Sirens" is "immune to monkey-business" except Bloom's interior monologue which is always rendered in precise order in accord with "objectivity" of psychic presentation (*Joyce's Voices* 77).

written, just as we can't integrate them into the events described in the barfly passage.[99] This anonymity is therefore a further dimension of the interpolations' ability to induce *Chockerlebnis* in the reader.[100]

Joyce brings readers to experience *Chockerlebnis*, how technological and sociological developments of advertising, urban anonymity, and especially periodical culture force people to process an excessive energy quicker than they are naturally able to, thus training them to contain their experiences as isolated units. In fact, he even exaggerates the shock energy of periodical culture in "Cyclops," as if mobilising the potential for *Chockerlebnis* implicit in it. Like the characters we have studied, the reader's experience is temporally reified by an excessive energy in the present: parts of the novel are divorced from the concrete history of social practice that defines experiences as rich and unique, and reduced to something that stands isolated, autonomous, and abstracted. Lukács reads this as a submission to, rather than a critique of, the logic of reification. He claims that all schools of modernism from naturalism to surrealism share a formal property of focusing intensely on "immediate" experience, the reified experience of social life under capitalism, which therefore makes the works themselves abstract and reified: "When the surface of life is only experienced immediately, it remains opaque, fragmentary, chaotic and uncomprehended. Since the objective mediations are more-or-less consciously ignored or passed over, what lies on the surface is frozen and any attempt to see it from a higher intellectual vantage-point has to be abandoned."[101] For

[99] I am here also describing the increasing presence of the famous critical construct of "The Arranger," who on Kenner's formulation is an autonomous narrator separate to the main narrator, playing games with text and who is crucially anonymous. The Arranger's voice is "not a voice at all, since it does not address us, does not even speak" (Kenner, *Ulysses*, 65). See also David Hayman, Ulysses: *The Mechanics of Meaning* (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1970), 70-88.

[100] This sense of anonymity is also marked, for Lawrence, in the reader's "increasing alienation from the character" of Bloom, who as the passage I've just quoted indicates is our "anchor" in "Sirens," but only given to us through barfly narration and parody in "Cyclops" (Lawrence, *Odyssey of Style*, 118-19).

[101] Georg Lukács, "Realism in the Balance," in *Aesthetics and Politics*, trans. Ronald Taylor (London: Verso, 1977), 39.

Lukács, Joyce's effort to depict the temporal isolation of experience in a world permeated by reification submits to the latter by offering no view into a more temporally connected form of experience, no opportunity to see the world of interconnected social practice which reification obscures from us and which realist literature gives us. Lukács' critique of modernism is of course simplistic. The way *Chockerlebnis* varies between Gerty and Bloom, responding to differing degrees of technological and sociological reification, means that what Lukács calls "objective mediations" of experience are hardly "ignored" in *Ulysses*. Yet the question remains: what is the significance of the reification of readerly experience which Joyce's formal experimentation brings about? Many scholars of the past three decades have been happy to deploy Lukácsean claims about the novel's formal reification as a way of demonstrating its aesthetic value. Kershner, Leonard, and Wicke all make versions of the claim that *Ulysses* embodies the form of a reifying technology, and that this makes it more vital than those fussy Victorian novels so beloved by Lukács. For Kershner, *Ulysses* shares the newspaper's "overriding focus on the present that highlights the most trivial detail as long as it pertains to *now*" (*Culture*, 127); for Leonard, the epiphanic method bears structural parallels with the methods of advertising (*Advertising*, 1-3); for Wicke, *Ulysses* is literally "a species of advertisement in its own right," an advertisement for Ireland's modernity ("Modernity Must Advertise," 608). To my mind, all of these mistake specific instances of Joyce inducing readerly reification for a global reification of the novel as a whole.[102] The role of reification in *Ulysses* can be better understood if we follow Benjamin in tracing the power of the shock energies which create reification to dereify. [103]

[102] This is not to make any claim about the book's actual status as an object marketed and sold in a capitalist marketplace. For excellent analyses of this, see Kevin Dettmar, "Selling "Ulysses"," *James Joyce Quarterly* 30/31, no. 4/1 (1993): 795-812, and especially Rainey, "Consuming Investments."

[103] The inability to do this also limits Daniel Shea's study which anticipates my analysis of *Ulysses* in terms of *Erlebnis* and *Erfahrung*. Shea claims that *mémoire involontaire* and the Joycean epiphany are examples of how modern literature concerns itself with *Erlebnis* (Daniel Shea, "A Rank Outsider": Gambling and Economic Rivalry in *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (2010): 80). The Prelude of the present thesis clarifies how *mémoire involontaire* is aligned with *Erfahrung*, not *Erlebnis*.

First, however, I need to give a more complete account of how *Chockerlebnis* arises. Given that the examples studied so far arise from the excessive energy shock technological and social formations give to the present, it is natural to think that a return to history is how we can recover the past that they make vanish. Joyce and Benjamin show us the tremendous problems in doing so – how the persistence of the past in textual mnemonic mechanisms like history books, encyclopediae, and anthologies gives these mechanisms the capacity to disconnect the past from the present in a *Chockerlebnis* oriented towards the past itself.[104]

[104] Many of the "Cyclops" interpolations do focus on the past (for example, the parodies of the Irish Revival). Yet I have shown how the experience of reading them is the experience of reading a freshly reported story, rather than a confrontation with the historical past.

Chapter Two

"Sands and stones. Heavy of the past":

Chockerlebnis of History

The *Chockerlebnis* of the past comes into view through a figure in Benjamin who intimates this condition, without quite reaching it: the flaneur. History books bring the flaneur to a *Chockerlebnis* of the past that, like Bloom's *Chockerlebnis* caused by urban anonymity and old forms of advertising, is attenuated compared to Gerty's advertising-induced *Chockerlebnis*. Stephen Dedalus has a far more thoroughgoing *Chockerlebnis* of the past than anything in Benjamin, due to his greater immersion in textual mnemonic mechanisms.

Intimations of *Chockerlebnis*

Benjamin's flaneur experiences a genuine sensory connection with their past characteristic of *Erfahrung*, yet this connection is diminished by the shock energy of a form of textual mnemonic mechanism, books about Paris. Walking through the streets of Paris, the flaneur experiences the "superposition" of "far-off times and places interpenetrating the landscape and the present moment" (*AP*, M2,4). Benjamin himself experienced the "intertwining" of Paris and the open air of Morocco at the Place du Maroc, and he describes the flaneur finding the slope behind Notre Dame de Lorette "rise all the more insistently" upon realising "here, at one time, after Paris had gotten its first omnibuses, the *cheval de renfort* [extra horse] was harnessed to the coach." This knowledge of Paris is gathered through a mix of "word of mouth" – a form of oral storytelling – and books about the city which were increasingly popular throughout the nineteenth century (*AP*, M1,5). The proliferation of these books is an

example of how the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw an increase in archival capacity through textual mnemonic mechanisms. Joyce used a battery of these in writing *Ulysses* – "imagination is memory," he claimed with Vico, yet this meant his imagination needed the support of mechanisms such as textbooks, dictionaries, anthologies, *Thom's Dublin Directory 1904*, and the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.[105] Terdiman argues the proliferation of these mechanisms created an "archival consciousness," where people experience the past through "abstract" knowledge, rather than through the sensory associations of "natural memory" (*Present*, 97). Benjamin associates the former with *Erlebnis* and the latter with *Erfahrung*, and the oral storytelling which forms part of the flaneur's knowledge of Paris creates *Erfahrung* by integrating collective memory into a listener's experience through sensory association. This suggests that the flaneur integrates the abstract "dead facts" of books about Paris into the body of experience transmitted to natural memory through oral storytelling. These facts become "sensory," as if "experienced and lived through," when the city's superposed historical spaces "awaken a surprising resonance" between a collective past and the flaneur's own (*AP*, M1,5, M1,2). This resonance plumbs the extent to which the flaneur experiences an *Erfahrung* that departs from Terdiman's archival consciousness.

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[105] Remark reported in Frank Budgen, *Myselves when Young* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 187, quoted in Ellmann, *James Joyce*, 661n. For textbooks, see Ronan Crowley, "The Macrogenesis of *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*," in *The New Joyce Studies*, ed. Catherine Flynn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 138-154. For dictionaries, see John Simpson, ""And words. They are not in my dictionary": James Joyce and the *OED*," in *New Quotatoes: Joycean Exogenesis in the Digital Age*, ed. Ronan Crowley and Dirk Van Hulle (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 46-50. For anthologies, see sources cited in Chapter Four, as well as Gregory M. Downing, "Joyce's 'Oxen of the Sun' Notesheets: A Transcription and Sourcing of the Stylistic Entries," *Genetic Joyce Studies* 2 (Spring 2002). For *Thom*'s, see Sam Slote, "The Thomistic Representation of Dublin in *Ulysses*," in *Making Space in the Works of James Joyce*, ed. Valérie Bénéjam and John Bishop (London: Routledge, 2012). For the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, see studies cited in the present chapter. Saint-Amour, *Tense Future*, 190-203 details the changes the encyclopedia underwent in the nineteenth century, as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* expanded on Diderot and d'Alambert's *Encyclopédie* while retaining important similarities.

Benjamin quotes the following passage from Flaubert as illustrative of the flaneur: "I see myself very clearly at different ages of history… I have been a boatman on the Nile, a leno [procurer] in Rome…, then a Greek rhetorician in Subura."[106] This passage brings out the ease with which the flaneur flits between different "epochs" and "images," as if each were a different outfit. This attenuates their *Erfahrung*, which must involve some form of *interaction* between past and present. In the case of oral storytelling, Benjamin claims that the integration of collective memory and listener experience should ideally occur so thoroughly that the story bears the listener's "traces" when they retell it (*SW*, 3:149). By contrast, the flaneur's past and present are arbitrarily superposed in their imagination, isolated from one another by their lack of mutual influence. The reason for this isolation is the influence of books about Paris. The number of characters and events in an orally transmitted story is limited by the requirement of thoroughgoing integration into the listener's experience (*SW*, 3:153-54), while the flaneur must contain the excessive energy of the abundance of epochs each street corner gives forth. This reflects how the abundance of text which capitalism created gave this text an excessive energy which is difficult to integrate with other experience. Textually transmitted experiences from the past thereby take on the character of commodities: they can float freely into the present due to their fungibility, yet this very fungibility is enabled by a divorce between their reified appearance and their concrete historical existence. Nonetheless, the flaneur's *Chockerlebnis* of history is still attenuated by the older form of oral storytelling, much like Bloom's *Chockerlebnis* when confronted by old forms of advertising.[107] The interpenetration of past and present, while remaining at the level of sensation, allows historical experience, however reified, to enter the flaneur's unconscious, sensory memory.

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[106] Gustave Flaubert, Letter to George Sand 29 September 1866 in Gustave Flaubert and George Sand, *The George Sand-Gustave Flaubert Letters*, trans. A. L. McKenzie (Charleston: Nabu Press, 2010), 25, quoted in *AP*, M17a,5.

[107] The flaneur has a parallel ambiguity with respect to the more present-focused shocks of commodity culture (see *AP*, M1,3).

Textual mnemonic mechanisms did, however, produce an experience of history as isolated as Gerty's more extreme *Chockerlebnis*, making the past's over-persistence as problematic as its disappearance.

"Dead breaths I living breathe": Stephen's *Chockerlebnis* of History

In his broadside against the over-historicisation of life and knowledge, Nietzsche called the "cultured" people of his day "walking encyclopedias" ("Uses," 79). Stephen Dedalus is such a walking encyclopedia. Joyce's portrayal of him shows how something like the flaneur's superposition can, through a more thoroughgoing permeation with the shock energy of textual mnemonic mechanisms, lead to a *Chockerlebnis* of the past, with serious consequences for artistic productivity.[108] At the beginning of *Ulysses*, Stephen has only "a capful of light odes" to his name (*U*, 14.1119). Part of the reason he is so inert is that he is weighed down by the past. He feels intense guilt over his refusal to pray for his mother on her deathbed and is also weighed by the political and cultural past. These burdens are brought out most clearly in the "Proteus" episode, where he walks along the same beach where "Nausicaa" takes place, Sandymount Strand. Stephen figures the waves as "strandentwining cables" that bring in the past and deposit it in layers on the shore he walks on – "His boots trod again a damp crackling mast, razorshells, squeaking pebbles, that on the unnumbered pebbles beats, wood sieved by the shipworm, lost Armada" (3.148-49). This references the deposits of the Spanish Armada whose wrecks ended up in Ireland and Scotland (*Ann*, 3.149), as well as Edgar's convincing the suicidal Gloucester that they are near Dover in *King Lear* – "The murmuring surge / That on the unnumbered idle pebble chafes / Cannot be heard… so

[108] *Ulysses* has many relationships with encyclopediae which are beyond my scope to treat. See Saint-Amour, *Tense Future*, 223-62 and the special issue "Encyclopedia Joyce" of the *James Joyce Quarterly* (55, nos. 1-2 (2017-2018)) for recent scholarship in this area.

high."[109] It is ambiguous what the demonstrative "that" refers to in Stephen's "that on the unnumbered pebbles beats," suggesting that he is repeating the quotation without strict connection to the world around him. To this extent, he is repeating printed words that are abstracted, exogeneous to his experience. More radically, "these heavy sands are language tide and wind have silted here" (*U*, 3.288-89) figures Stephen's entire mind as exogeneous, for all the human language which makes it up has been deposited by the ceaseless waves of the past.

Nietzsche claims that, by the mid-nineteenth century, the extent of information stored in textual mnemonic mechanisms meant that learning the full history of art or society required distortions of the natural operations of memory. A student had to "travail in an effort to receive, arrange and honour" historical material ("Uses," 78). The textualised abstraction of what Stephen remembers, the fruit of hours "in the stagnant bay of Marsh's library" (*U*, 3.107-08), suggests that he has forced his natural memory to "travail" on a vast amount of information. The episode's art in the Linati schema is "philology" (Ellmann, *Liffey*, 188), suggesting Stephen's words are "heavy of the past" (*U*, 3.290-91) due to his study of their history, and that he has travailed over textual mnemonic mechanisms like dictionaries to find the "archaic or unusual" words he uses throughout the episode – "grike," "gigant," "spousebreach" (*U*, 3.285, 3.210, 3.292; Osteen, *Making*, 64).[110] Just as Stephen studies in Marsh's library, in the early stages of writing *Ulysses* Joyce went to the Zentralbibliothek in Zurich to take notes on his reading.[111] One of the odd Renaissance English words in the

[109] William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, IV.vi.20-22 in Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan, eds., *The New Oxford Shakespeare: Modern Critical Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), quoted in *Ann*, 3.148-49. All other Shakespeare quotes are from this edition and will be given by title and line number in the text.
[110] The *OED*'s data lists these words' frequencies between 1900-1910 at less than 0.001 uses per million words.
[111] Philip F. Herring, ed., *Joyce's Notes and Early Drafts for Ulysses: Selections from the Buffalo Collection* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), 4 (hereafter cited in the text).

episode, "fubsy" (*U*, 3.131), comes from Joyce's notes on the library's copy of Thomas Otway's *Souldier's Fortune* (Herring, *Notes*, 23).[112] Encyclopediae were another source of archaic words – Ruth Von Phul traces heraldic terms like those in "On a field tenney a buck, trippant, proper, unattired," to the entry for "Heraldry" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (*U*, 3.336-37).[113] These genetic materials continue to define Stephen's DNA. Despite the young Stephen's desire to use words "according to the literary tradition" rather than "according to the tradition of the marketplace," his consciousness here is defined by capitalist production's preservation of the past.[114] Its ability to spread the past in textual mnemonic mechanisms gives the externally persistent historical record an excessive energy, which Stephen has crammed into his consciousness used to the sensory associations of natural memory. His intellect responds to this shock by struggling to contain the excess. This is not to say the past is *permanent* for Stephen – several commentators have pointed out how the Protean sands of his memory shift throughout the episode.[115] Rather, this shifting is another reflection of his struggling to contain the past, eventually turning it into the isolated pieces of a shipwreck.

The shipwreck's pieces do not intertwine so much as coexist, unintegrated, in an equally discretised present. History is superposed upon Stephen's shore as upon the flaneur's Paris, yet while the flaneur's past is as living as their present, Stephen's present is as dead as his past. This difference is partly explained through differing patterns of memory formation, where the flaneur uses the sensorily associative method of oral storytelling to a greater degree

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[112] See Thomas Otway, *The Soldiers Fortune*, I.I.346 in J. C. Ghosh, ed., *The Works of Thomas Otway*, *Vol. 2: Plays, Poems, and Love-Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932).
[113] Ruth Von Phul, "The Boast of Heraldry in the "Proteus" Episode of "Ulysses"," *Journal of Modern Literature* 1, no. 3 (1971): 399-401; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 13.311-30. John Simpson traces "spousebreach" (*U*, 3.292) to the same entry (Simpson, "Joyce and the *OED*," 47).
[114] James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, ed. Jeri Johnson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 157 (hereafter cited in the text and notes as *Portrait*).
[115] See especially Sam Slote, *Joyce's Nietzschean Ethics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), 49-50 for an analogy between the genetic composition of the episode and this feature of Stephen's relationship with the past.

than the encyclopedic Stephen. We see Stephen's distance from orality later in the novel when, after hearing Professor MacHugh's rendition of John F. Taylor's speech, Stephen reflects on the futility of political oratory through a literary reference – political speeches are "Gone with the wind… Dead noise" (*U*, 7.880-82).[116] In an inversion of the flaneur, Stephen's archival consciousness extends to what he has received orally. For the young Stephen at the beginning of *A Portrait*, Irish politics is whatever "they were arguing at home about" (*Portrait*, 13). Yet despite the fact the Stephen of *Ulysses* met the Irish revolutionary Kevin Egan when he was in Paris, his memory of Egan's activity is contorted beyond orality by teeming clauses of historical reference and archaic words: "Lover, for her love he prowled with colonel Richard Burke, tanist of his sept, under the walls of Clerkenwell" (*U*, 3.246-49). The historical references here, which Joyce copied into his notes for *Ulysses* from the entry for "Fenian" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, are to Ricard Burke, a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood who was jailed in Clerkenwell with the man upon whom Kevin Egan is based, Joseph Casey.[117] While the flaneur's generation of epochs is limited by sensory associations, the particular stories they have heard and street corners they arrive at, Stephen has thrown himself uninhibited into a textually-available past, and has been trained by this vast archive to contain all of his experiences as isolated units. As with the flaneur, capitalist production creates an abundance of the textually available past whose excessive energy must be contained in discrete units. The past's knowledge and culture, its facts, quotes, and stories, are thereby reified, taking on the fungible character of exchange value and able to arbitrarily appear in present experience. Yet here we see what happens when the shock energy of textual mnemonic mechanisms is brought to a more extreme point than in the

[116] This refers to Ernest Dowson's "Non Sum Quam Eram Bonae Sub Regno Cynarae," in *Ernest Dowson Collected Poems* ed. R. K. R. Thornton, and Caroline Dowson (London: Bloomsbury, 2003), 85, quoted in *Ann*, 7.880. Stephen's parable at the end of "Aeolus" partly mitigates, partly deepens his distance from oratory.
[117] National Library of Ireland, Joyce Papers 2002 MS 36,639/3, 16; Wim Van Mierlo, "The Subject Notebook: A Nexus in the Composition History of *Ulysses* — A Preliminary Analysis," *Genetic Joyce Studies* 7 (2007): 24-25; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 10.254-56; *Ann*, 3.247.

flaneur. The free-floating past cannot even be sensorily integrated into Stephen's present experience, let alone undergo the deeper interactions required for *Erfahrung*. This is a *Chockerlebnis* of history, caused by the persistence of the past under capitalism rather than its disappearance which we saw in the reified technological and social formations of the previous chapter.

We see the consequences of this *Chockerlebnis* in Stephen's inability to perform the long-term artistic labour he seeks. This would require the transformation of the past as in Benjamin's account of oral storytelling. Yet Stephen cannot even make a coherent experience of the isolated quotations and events in his consciousness, making it impossible to even begin such transformation. When Stephen does write a poem, it borrows heavily from the last stanza of Douglas Hyde's translation of the anonymous Irish folk song "My Grief on the Sea." Most conspicuously, both rhyme "south" with "mouth," and Stephen's final line "mouth to her mouth's kiss" (*U*, 3.397-98) closely resembles Hyde's "His mouth to my mouth."[118] Stephen's poem continues the overwhelming presence of the past in his consciousness, another reified wave of dead matter he cannot work into something living: "dead breaths I living breathe, tread dead dust, devour a urinous offal from all dead" (*U*, 3.479-80).

At the end of "Proteus," Stephen's past is both as all-encompassing as a shore and as rigidly divided as soup cans. This problematic *Chockerlebnis* of history is also posed in the reading experience. Some readers of *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*' preceding chapters have surely

[118] Douglas Hyde, *Love Songs of Connacht* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969), 31. Robert Adams Day, "How Stephen Wrote His Vampire Poem," *James Joyce Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (1980): 185-86 gives a full account of their similarities and differences, albeit with greater emphasis on Stephen's eventual artistic growth which we see intimated in scenes like his writing "The Parable of the Plums" (*U*, 7.920-1058). I discuss this scene in Chapter Three. His eventual artistic growth does not contradict the paralysis I identify here.

wondered where their Stephen is beneath the waves of literary and historical reference in "Proteus." Virgin readers, especially modern ones, likely do not understand these references, or learn of them through those discrete units of information, chronologically arranged and precise to the line number, that make up our cherished (by the present author, let it be clear) annotations. The fragmentation of Stephen's character into the residue of the past, and the subsequent difficulty of achieving a temporally integrated reading experience, annoyed Wyndham Lewis: he called *Ulysses* an "immense *nature-morte*" – that is, an atrophied *still* life – and explained this quality "ensuing from the method of confining the reader in a circumscribed psychological space into which several encyclopaedias have been emptied" (*Time and Western Man*, 74). Those of us less impatient than Lewis must overcome this problem. Yet how? Nietzsche's strategy of overcoming the overwhelming persistence of the past through "forgetting" ("Uses," 120) leaves one in *Erlebnis*. Given the origins of the *Chockerlebnis* of history in reification, overcoming it rather requires dereification through the creation of genuine connections between present and past, a temporal connection capitalist technologies obscure. This simultaneously overcomes, of course, the *Chockerlebnis* created by the excessive energy of the present, studied in the first chapter. I now detail several ways in which *Ulysses* dereifies experience by forming of connections between past and present, both for character and reader. In Chapter Four I will use "Oxen" to more fully explore how our reading experience creates a *Chockerlebnis* history, and how this is overcome in that chapter's tailpiece.

Chapter Three

Thing to Process: Strategies of Dereification

We have seen how excessive shock energies force characters and readers of *Ulysses* to divorce their experience from the concrete, temporally connected world of social practice, instead containing experience in abstracted, temporally isolated units. While Lukács saw this as reflecting the text's reification, we shall now see how Joyce in fact counteracts this reification through strategies of dereification. We have already had occasion to observe, following Jameson, how gossip dereifies personality, taking the glimpsed fragments of other people in urban life and thickening them into "full-dress narrative" ("*Ulysses* in History," 135). As Jameson goes on to observe, a deeper strategy of dereification is the representation of social practice underlying what appears reified elsewhere in the text. This method applies to both characters and readers, sometimes simultaneously, so I shall have to break from my earlier organisational principle and discuss these forms of experience in tandem. The Jamesonean analysis I elaborate stresses how an aspect of the work's reification, its textuality, enables its dereificatory functions. There are further ways in which the intensification of reification can bring about dereification in *Ulysses*, such as Benjamin's dialectical image. This is a stark juxtaposition of a single time from the past and the present which mobilises shock energy to produce a genuine connection between them.

Social Practice

One example of advertising in the novel I have not yet discussed is the famous sandwichmen advertising Wisdom Hely's stationery store. The containment of experience caused by advertising is inscribed textually:

> At Ponsonby's corner a jaded white flagon H. halted and four tallhatted white flagons halted behind him, E. L. Y 'S… (*U*, 10.1237-39)

The containment of experience created by advertising is inscribed in the separation of letters, reflecting the reduction of people to letters on their hats, here compared to a literal container, a "flagon." For Jameson, the "the exotic picture-postcard vision of a tourist Dublin" created by this archaic form of advertising is eventually dissolved back into "the underlying reality of human relations and human praxis" in "Eumaeus." This happens through gossip, Corley saying to Stephen "I'd carry a sandwichboard only the girl in the office told me they're full up for the next three weeks, man" (Jameson, 135-36; *U*, 16.200-01). There are many other examples that highlight how what appears abstracted, isolated in a moment, is actually the product of such praxis. In "Aeolus" we see not only "HOW A GREAT DAILY ORGAN IS TURNED OUT" (*U*, 7.84), but also how one of its advertisements, for Alexander Keyes' tea, wine and spirits, comes about: Red Murray must cut out the original version of the advertisement (7.31-32), Bloom must take it to the *Telegraph* office and tell the foreman that Keyes wants it reprinted with a slight variation, suggesting something to put in "a little par" underneath it (7.156-57). Bloom must then meet with Keyes to ask for the renewal, requiring a phone call that tells him he actually needs to go to Dillon's auction rooms (7.411-31). Having arrived at Dillon's he has his call back to the *Telegraph* offices rebuffed by the editor Myles Crawford and must run back to the office only to have Crawford rebuff the ad itself

(7.671-73, 7.991-94). Not taking this fully seriously, Bloom goes to get a copy of the revised ad from the National Library (8.1167). I have listed these actions in this detail to highlight just how many steps we see in one part of the process of producing an ad: canvassing it. Yet Joyce of course doesn't simply list the steps like this: rather, the steps occur as a process of concrete labour, situated within a social world of relations between people. It is not a "foreman" Bloom sees, but a political figure (councillor Nannetti) engulfed in the "hell of a racket" created by newspaper printing, with a "sallow face" that contrasts vividly with Crawford's which is "scarlet" and "beaked" (7.85, 7.128, 7.135, 7.344). The Keyes ad has to vie for newspaper space with a range of other text, such as Mr Deasy's letter to the editor which Stephen brings in and the archbishop's letter, the initial absence of which brings about yet another tedious task for the "dayfather," who is described in a sympathetic sequence of participles: "bowed, spectacled, aproned" (7.196-97).[119] Even though we don't see the capitalists who are underpaying these workers (the newspaper owners and Alexander Keyes), we see how what is printed and advertised in a newspaper is the outcome of material process conditioned by social relations like the church's authority, the Irish drinking culture which makes tipsy Crawford snap at Bloom, and the power that an editor has over foreman, dayfather and typesetter which means Crawford can drink with his buddies while the others slave away in a noisy room.

Of course, these newspaper workers are still having their labour commodified, the qualitative experience of working reduced to the measurable time they spend on the job. It is for someone observing labour that dereification can occur, like Bloom in whose consciousness many of the above observations occur. Bloom is paid by commission, so the same reifying

[119] Slote, Mamigonian and Turner say about "Dayfather": "though the word is otherwise unattested, it must mean the shop steward or foreman of the staff in the printing office" (*Ann*, 7.195).

reduction of qualitative experience to measurable quantity of time doesn't apply to him, even if the tasks on which he labours are reduced to their exchange value and are to that extent reified. This is not to say that it is simply an absence of reification that dereifies, however. Jameson points out how the reader's ability to perceive these processes of human praxis underlying what is reified is enabled by *Ulysses*' textualised reification. Mechanically reproduced books reify words out of what Ong calls the "human lifeworld" of oral storytelling, where they are absorbed concurrently with the labour that produced them (*Orality*, 42). Yet *Ulysses* is not just any printed book: as the analysis of "Cyclops" demonstrated, it accentuates its textuality, often making it impossible for us to even *imagine* an oral speaker transmitting it in a concrete lifeworld (Kenner makes this point in contrast with Dickens as typical of the covert orality of much nineteenth-century writing (*Mechanic Muse*, 68-69)). Jameson points out that the intensification of this reified textuality allows readers to cross-reference gossip and thus dereify the markers of "proper names." Likewise, the reader who experiences *Chockerlebnis* under the mediation of advertising and newspapers can have this mitigated (especially for veteran readers who remember other parts of the book and can easily turn to them) by such cross-referenced observation outlined above. *Chockerlebnis* cannot be wholly mitigated, of course. Advertising slogans like those that crop up syntactically untethered in Gerty's consciousness have their reified autonomy diminished by our knowledge of "Aeolus" (as well as Corely's comment in "Eumaeus"), but the process requires multiple readings and never quite spills over into full dereification, not least because unlike the Keyes ad we don't see the actual social processes underlying Gerty's ads, and must imagine them occurring somewhere in Dublin or the rest of the world based on what we see in "Aeolus" and "Eumaeus." Jameson suggests that this is one of the novel's strengths: it mobilises the power of reification and dereification to allow "contraction" and "expansion" (Jameson, "*Ulysses* in History," 135). The reader is thereby kept alert, constantly on guard

against reification rather than innocently succumbing to its power as Lukács might claim. Moreover, elsewhere in "Eumaeus" our and Bloom's experiences of newspapers are more conspicuously dereified, bringing into the world of human praxis that which we previously perceive in reified form in "Aeolus" and "Cyclops."

When Bloom reads the *Evening Telegraph*, there are several amusing errors in the report on Patrick Dignam's funeral. Bloom is reported as "*L. Boom*," while "*M'Intosh*" is listed as an attendee since at the funeral Hynes mistook Bloom's saying "Macintosh" for the name of the man in the macintosh (*U*, 16.1260-1261, 6.891-898). By going back to "Aeolus," we see the labour of the typesetter:

> He stayed in his walk to watch a typesetter neatly distributing type. Reads it backwards first. Quickly he does it. Must require some practice that. mangiD kcirtaP… How quickly he does that job. Practice makes perfect. Seems to see with his fingers. (7.204-16)

This typesetting and the source of Hynes' mistake are two examples of us readers, along with Bloom, seeing what is usually obscured behind textuality in newspapers. There's also a line of "bitched type," "*.)eatondph 1/8 ador dorador douradora*" (16.1263, 16.1257-58). Kenner points out that when mistakes were made on linotype machines, compositors would run their fingers down the columns to complete the line so it could be taken out later. Kenner claims Joyce has misremembered "etaoin," the letters of the leftmost column of a linotype keyboard and hence the usual text that would appear in such contexts (*Mechanic Muse*, 7-8). Harald Beck, however, points out that this could be a sequence of letters which the compositor idly

types out as a "doodle," either from distraction or after making a mistake.[120] Whatever the cause, the line brings human praxis into the consciousness of any reader of the newspaper. But Bloom and the reader of *Ulysses* can go further in this, because we were there: Bloom thinks the "bitched type" was caused by Nannetti calling "Monks the dayfather about Keyes's ad" (*U*, 16.1758-59). This is actually mistaken: Nannetti calls Monks the dayfather about the archbishop's letter. Yet the reader, with the benefit of the printed book in front of them, can go back to "Aeolus" and check this, allowing Bloom's misremembering to become another representation of social practice, how (for better or worse) the actions and labour of others are not mechanically reproduced in our mind but always subject to distortions of memory. Marjorie Howes has called this process of cross-referencing what we read against what has come earlier in the novel an "aesthetic of parallax" in which "textual moments… are only intelligible in relation to what has been said before."[121] The important thing to notice here is that this process, in line with what Jameson says about the process of cross-referencing that happens in gossip, dereifies what is a reifying cause of *Chockerlebnis* for readers of "Aeolus" and "Cylcops," a newspaper report. With Bloom, we connect the present of newspaper reading in "Eumaeus" to earlier in the day and the novel, rather than focusing on the immediate "event" being reported like Benjamin's newspaper readers (*SW*, 3:147-48).

Bloom's processes of observation are processes of transformation that serve to dereify for himself and the reader the world that surrounds him, whether it is its advertisements, newspapers, or the commodified labour that produces them. Stephen engages in a process of transformation which is more clearly a process of labour, leaving the newspaper office and

[120] Harald Beck, "Eatondph and douradora," *James Joyce Online Notes*, last modified August 27, 2021, https://www.jjon.org/joyce-s-words/eatondhp.
[121] Marjorie Howes, "Sirens," in *The Cambridge Companion to* Ulysses (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 129. She proposes it as the mirror of Kenner's "aesthetic of delay," where details from earlier in the book only make sense in light of what comes later, another cause of cross-referencing (see Kenner, *Ulysses*, chap. 8).

creating an artwork that not only defies the reifying tendency of the newspaper office, but of his vampire poem which could only repeat the past, not transform it. The link between newspapers' reporting on the present and textual mnemonic mechanisms' preservation of the past is directly suggested in "Aeolus," when Stephen thinks of "Akasic records of all that ever anywhere wherever was" (*U*, 7.882-83). "Akasic" relates to the "akasha" or ether in Hindi philosophy (*OED*), and David Rando points out how this registers the fact "Stephen is surrounded by machines that absorb and imprint their own collection of memories and traces."[122] Rando's view in fact reifies machines to be independent of the human labour that operates them, shown up by Bloom's humorous recognition that they cannot keep recording things without human intervention: "Now if he [the foreman Nannetti] got paralysed there and no-one knew how to stop them [the machines] they'd clank on and on the same, print it over and over and up and back. Monkeydoodle the whole thing" (*U*, 7.102-03). Nonetheless, Rando helps us see the link between the excessive amount of text created by newspapers and by "Akasic records of all that ever anywhere ever was," those books Stephen studies in the library, reflecting how Stephen must overcome both in his artwork.

We can think of this overcoming in multiple senses. Firstly, Stephen must appeal to the capitalist newspaper editor without commodifying his artistic abilities. Crawford asks Stephen "to write something for me… Put us all into it, damn its soul. Father, Son and Holy Ghost and Jakes M'Carthy" (*U*, 7.616-21 – Jakes M'Carthy was a sports reporter (*Ann* 7.621)). While Stephen initially sees this as the monetary machinations of a "lazy idle little schemer," Crawford perhaps touches a sore spot when he says of the journalist Ignatius Gallaher "That was a pen. You know how he made his mark?" (*U*, 7.617, 7.630-31).[123]

[122] David Rando, *Modernist Fiction and News: Representing Experience in the Early Twentieth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 4, 151 n. 27.
[123] "Lazy idle little schemer" is a phrase Father Dolan uses before pandying Stephen in *Portrait*, whom he directly calls "Lazy little schemer" and "Lazy idle little loafer" (*Portrait*, 41-42).

Stephen, who after writing "his" vampire poem wondered "Who ever anywhere will read these words?," has yet to make his mark – on the world or even on the art he produces, seeing as it recycles the past (*U*, 3.414-15). This is perhaps why, before hearing MacHugh's oration, he thinks "Noble words coming. Look out. Could you try your hand at it yourself?," the word "hand" creating a sense of physical effort in the world, making a "mark" rather than composing poems which move from "fleshless lips of air" limned by his mouth to paper discarded on a beach (7.836-37, 3.401-402). Overcoming the textual overload of textual mnemonic mechanisms and newspapers also requires a balance of past and present: he cannot create art that merely fixates attention on the present like a newspaper, nor can he recycle the reified past like his vampire poem did under the influence of Akasic records crowding his experience. He achieves this through a parable, and we can see the dialectic between past and present at its inception, when he hears "Racing special!" He thinks "Dublin. I have much, much to learn" (7.914-15). This references his saying to Deasy he won't stay as a teacher, and asking himself about Dublin "And here what will you learn more?" (2.404). It registers his move away from art that repeats a past reified by the overabundance of text and towards art which brings that past into active dialogue with the present. After the second repetition "Racing special!" he thinks "Dubliners" (7.920-22). Insofar as Stephen is Joyce, their unique aesthetic has for its midwife a newsboy.

The parable itself reflects this process of actively transforming the past, labouring to connect past and present in something new. It is about "two Dublin vestals," Anne Kearns and Florence MacCabe (*U*, 7.932; 7.948). Florence MacCabe is someone Stephen thought of upon seeing midwives in "Proteus" (3.34). Stephen adds precise details to situate them in contemporary Dublin and its immiserations: "Anne Kearns has the lumbago for which she rubs on Lourdes water… Florence MacCabe takes a crubeen and a bottle of double X for

supper every Saturday" (7.948-51). The story ends with them, after they "settle down on their striped petticoats, peering up at the statue of the onehanded adulterer [Admiral Nelson]," "spitting the plumstones slowly out between the railings" while "wiping off with their handkerchiefs the plumjuice that dribbles out of their mouths" (7.1025-27). The frankly sexual imagery of the ending, combined with the description of the British Nelson as an "adulterer," suggests the contrast of British agency and Irish paralysis in sexual terms: these women can only satisfy their sexual desire through indirect fantasy. This reframes MacHugh's earlier oration comparing the English to the Egyptians and the Irish to Jews living in bondage (7.828-70) in a far more enigmatic, pessimistic light. MacHugh himself thinks Stephen should call the story "*Deus nobis haec otia fecit*" ["God wrought this for us"], but Stephen makes the connection clearer by calling it "*A Pisgah Sight of Palestine* or *The Parable of the Plums*" (7.1057-58). MacHugh's suggested title, taken from Virgil (*Ann*, 7.1056), might be taken as a nationalist's mockery of the idea that Ireland's teleology is a Christian one. Stephen's makes the irony more biting: Ireland, like Moses, *is* religiously ordained, yet stuck with independence in sight and out of reach, a Moses kept alive on Pisgah. MacHugh points out "We gave him that idea," and Osteen interprets this as registering how Stephen is entrapped by the past just as much as the Irish citizens he critiques (*U*, 7.1061-62; Osteen, *Economy*, 213-14). Stephen is, however, less entrapped than he was with his vampire poem, reflecting an enhanced ability to work the past into something new, as evidenced by his audience's initial inability to realise the parallel. He has also succeeded in describing contemporary Dublin without keeping attention riveted on the present. Despite the fact Crawford says "That's new… That's copy" in the middle of the story (7.1008), he tries to temper the discussion of sexuality ("Easy all… We're in the archdiocese here" (7.1015-16)) and, at the end, asks "Finished?" (*U*, 7.1031). This is a knowing reference to the abrupt endings of *Dubliners*' stories, and the difficulties Joyce had selling them on a

capitalist marketplace. But it also reflects how Stephen's story creates a different form of temporality to the contained newspaper story, leaving itself open at the end as a way of suggesting to the reader they must read deeper into it, connect it to other experiences.

Of course, Stephen's parable is interrupted for the reader. The intrusions of Dublin life itself (like newsboys rushing down in front of Crawford) might dereify this story and Joyce's art as a whole for the reader, as if the author is self-reflexively commenting on how the novel we're reading came out of a concrete, interconnected form of human life. The rushing and shouting that prompted *Dubliners*, he seems to be saying, never ceased for the rest of his writing life. It is also interrupted by the newspaper headlines, which provide glosses whose verbiage is at odds with what Stephen is actually saying. "THOSE SLIGHTLY RAMBUNCTIOUS FEMALES" has an implication of movement which is at odds with Stephen's picture of a paralysed Dublin, better underscored by his word "giddy" (*U*, 7.1012-14). The use of alliteration in "DAMES DONATE DUBLIN'S CITS SPEEDPILLS VELOCITOUS AEROLITHS, BELIEF" creates a rhythm wholly at odds with the stasis Stephen seeks to create (7.1021-22). As Richard Brown points, however, these headlines in fact represent the next stage that must be achieved in Stephen's art if he is to represent "LIFE ON THE RAW" (7.938).[124] Despite the fact they disrupt the sense of cohesion in Stephen's story, they must be aesthetically integrated, as they are in *Ulysses*, if the novelist is to reckon with the full panorama of modern life, including its reifying tendencies.

[124] Richard Brown, ""Literature, the Press" (*U* 7.607): Joyce Rewriting Literature Trough[through] Benjamin," in *James Joyce, Metamorphosis and Re-Writing*, ed. Franca Ruggieri (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2010), 34-35.

Dialectical Image

We have already mentioned Jameson's claim about how Joyce's representation of social practice is abetted by the novel's reified textuality. Jameson does not specify the full range of ways in which reification is intensified for the sake of subsequent dereification, however. Consider the sandwichboard men. According to Jameson, they "troop unevenly through the text, seeming to move towards that ultimate visual reification" of Bloom's "one sole unique advertisement" which, as mentioned above, would be an ideal of reification that "arrests involuntary attention" (Jameson, "*Ulysses* in History," 135; *U*, 17.1170, 17.583-84). Yet this ignores the fact that their trooping is hardly towards ultimate visual reification. The very intensity of reification reduces the men to letters, which take on a life of their own, and yet this makes the seamless surface of "H. E. L. Y 'S." disintegrate for the reader. The "jaded" H and the hungry Y ("drew a chunk of bread from under his foreboard… and munched as he walked") reflect how an extreme degree of reification ends up, paradoxically, disrupting the advertisement and bringing our attention to the individual human lives underneath it (*U*, 10.1236, 10.127-28).

Catherine Flynn argues for the relevance of Benjamin's concept of "profane illumination" to *Ulysses*. Benjamin imagines this as a "materialistic, anthropological" illumination of everyday reality we see in Surrealist literature (*SW*, 2:209). By mobilising the forces of technology, profane illumination can unveil the unconscious, collectively transmitted dreams underlying our everyday reality (*SW*, 2:217-18). The specific technological forces which are mobilised are the kitsch, discarded commodities, of the previous century, since these may be "detached from [their] original functions" and "brought to "assembly."" (*AP*, H1a,2). Flynn reads this above all in "Circe," and the appearance of Bloom's dead son Rudy at the end. Rudy appears like a nineteenth-century mechanical doll, with "*a little bronze helmet*" and

"*diamond and ruby buttons*" (Flynn, *Matter of Paris*, 197-201; *U*, 15.4958, 15.4965-66). Yet Flynn focuses on how Joyce and Benjamin respond to the problem of desire in capitalism, rather than the related but distinct problem of *Erlebnis*: how can people come to unite experience across time, when several parts of capitalist culture (not just consumer culture, but also its mechanical preservation of material across time) keep experience isolated?[125] To answer this, we must turn to another part of Benjamin's thinking, the dialectical image.

The dialectical image is how Benjamin theorised the ability of reifying shock stimuli to create *Chockerfahrung* rather than *Chockerlebnis*.[126] By "blasting" an epoch out of the "continuum of history," this image creates a "constellation" between a past moment and a present one in which historical thinking experiences "a shock, by which thinking is crystallised as a monad" (*SW*, 4:396. Rolf Tiedemann glosses the Benjaminian "monad" as an image which contains all of "history in itself").[127] The shock is the present's recognition that the past "has a claim" on it, due to its power to realise the past's dreams. This claim must be established through sensation:

> Doesn't a breath of the air that pervaded earlier days caress us as well? In the voices we hear, isn't there an echo of now silent ones?... If so… then our coming was expected on earth. (*SW*, 4:390)

[125] While Flynn mentions that Benjamin and Joyce's sensuous modes of engagement resist commodity culture by "enabling… the recovery of historical experience," this is not greatly developed (*Matter of Paris*, 172).
[126] For another reading of the presence of Benjamin's dialectical image in *Ulysses*, see Kershner, "Temporalities of *Ulysses*": "The memories Joyce has seized for us in Ulysses are chronologically unstable, drawing us irresistibly both into the deep past and toward the novel's future." Yet he applies this to the novel as a whole, with all the pasts it uncovers having the same "vividness and immediacy for the reader that lets it impersonate immediate perceived action." He's analysing "Proteus," and our analysis of that chapter has suggested the potential problems with such a too-vivid experience.
[127] Rolf Tiedemann, "Dialectics at a Standstill," in *AP*, 940.

The past's shock energy is not contained by the intellect, but overwhelms consciousness by entering unconscious, sensory memory to connect past and present in *Chockerfahrung* (4:318). For Benjamin, the unfulfilled dreams advertising's magical associations mobilise give it "latent" "explosive materials," yearnings for a better world in "images of the everyday in Utopia" (*AP*, K2,3, G1a,4).[128] The dialectical image suggests that this explosivity lies in what happens when we acknowledge these dreams as unfulfilled. While this bears many similarities with profane illumination, the important point to note is that Benjamin insists on the fact that a dialectical image holds two eras together at once, rather than the more overlapping integrations that occur in profane illumination which we might liken to the flaneur's experience of history. Ben Moore argues that Benjamin's thinking about a utopian dimension to advertising has been ignored by scholars of modernist literature due to an undue focus on *Ulysses*, which for Moore encourages pessimistic readings on which advertising is a "hegemonic" discourse that commodifies all experience.[129] Our study of Bloom's relatively autonomous, curious experience of advertising should make us question this. Yet Gerty too reflects advertising's heterogeneity: the dreams advertising associates with commodities are excessive energies that can be contained in *Chockerlebnis* or open windows to *Chockerfahrung*.

Maurizia Boscagli reads Gerty as mobilising Benjaminian shock when she reveals she has a limp upon her departure from Bloom. Bloom thinks "glad I didn't know it when she was on show" (*U*, 13.775-76), revealing the disjunction Gerty creates between what Boscagli calls the "materiality" of her suffering and the idealised advertising image that obscures that

[128] The first of the cited passages refers to fashion, but Benjamin applied similar thoughts to advertising.
[129] Ben Moore, "Walter Benjamin, Advertising, and the Utopian Moment in Modernist Literature," *Modernism/modernity* 27, no. 4 (2020): 771. He singles out Moretti, "The Long Goodbye."

suffering.[130] While Gerty initially mobilises advertising's dream image of the seaside girl towards momentary sexual satisfaction, this shock energy is ultimately brought into a further shock. This is the shock of a recognition between her history of holding the dreams of freedom and comfort advertising plays on, and her present in which they remain unfulfilled. This recognition arises from the sensory continuity between past and present created by the materiality of her limp. However "wild, untrammelled, free" (*U*, 13.673) advertising images present her as, however often she may fleetingly feel this when she approximates such images, Gerty's suffering remains.

Gerty here identifies the connection between past hardships and the enduring promise for, and failure of, their alleviation. While this represents a step towards connecting past and present, she is ultimately unable to furnish the deeper connection between past and present Benjamin imagines in the dialectical image.[131] Gerty's wishes for genuine freedom and satisfaction are shared by other women, within (see for example Mina Kennedy and Lydia Douce's frank conversation about patriarchal romance (*U*, 11.66-84)) and outside the novel, but Gerty's disjunction between these wishes and her reality occurs in a less historical and collective vocabulary than Benjamin's dialectical image. This is not insignificant, for it means Gerty's shock recognises the unfulfillment of dreams rather than the responsibility to realise them which, since political, must be framed collectively. Moreover, Benjamin claims dialectical images must "polarise" the past's dreams and the present, in order to bring out the betrayal of the former (*AP*, N7a,8). Gerty "cites" (*SW*, 4:395) a continuous past of hardship

[130] Maurizia Boscagli, "Spectacle Reconsidered: Joycean Synaesthetics and the Dialectic of the Mutoscope," in Boscagli and Duffy, *Joyce, Benjamin, and Magical Urbanism*, 144-45. It is consonant with my reading here to hold that this suffering is material due to the material political structures of patriarchy and ableism, which make Gerty's limp a site of suffering.

[131] Boscagli's inability to recognise this, which we might read as a political insufficiency, is a weakness of her otherwise stimulating reading.

rather than a particular part of her life, and polarises it with dream images of the present rather than of the past. Such dream images, however, are bound up with the sensory appeals to consumption Gerty responds to with *Chockerlebnis*.[132] The starkness, and therefore the shock potential, of Gerty's *Chockerfahrung* is limited by both the continuity of the past and the currency of the dream images. To borrow a term from statistics, there's too much noise here to clearly see the past's betrayal. Gerty resists the past's disappearance only briefly, in a glimpsed *Chockerfahrung* as she departs. Advertising's ability to connect past and present, and its attendant capacity for political awareness, remain latent for her. Its full potential must be redeemed by later generations who suffer no desire to buy the commodities of 1904.

Stephen, as Gerty's twin sufferer of extreme *Chockerlebnis*, also experiences a corresponding *Chockerfahrung*. The textual mediation of his memory of Egan makes the past of the Irish Republican Brotherhood appear starkly, blasted out of the continuum of history rather than diluted by noise like the spilling sensations of the flaneur's epochs, or the sensory appeal of Gerty's advertisements. The distance afforded by this textualisation lets Stephen see that the past is gone, with its dreams unfulfilled: "They [the Irish people] have forgotten Kevin Egan, not he them" (*U*, 3.263-64). Yet this unfulfillment receives a shock of recognition only through sensation, the touch of Egan's "weak wasting hand" which transmits the past's dreams to Stephen (3.348-49). This recognition is more historical and collective than in Gerty's *Chockerfahrung*, yet still does not extend to the responsibility to realise Egan's dreams – Stephen quickly moves to other memories, remembering Egan only by repeating his "movement… nodding for his nap" (3.438-39). It is once more up to future generations to realise the positive side of the shock potential of textual mnemonic mechanisms, to build

[132] Benjamin values cultural "refuse" in which this appeal is weakened (*AP*, N1a,8; Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989), 4-5), although this is not to say that we engage with them non-sensually. Flynn, *Matter of Paris*, 194-95 gives a good account of how Benjamin imagines a sensory mode of engagement with outmoded commodities.

Stephen's spark into a more consuming "flash" (*AP*, N9,7) of *Chockerfahrung*. That is, it is up to us as readers to mobilise the shock energy of these mechanisms towards recognising our responsibility to realise the past's dreams. This mobilisation is made possible by reading "Oxen of the Sun" today, with the wealth of Joyce scholarship available to us.

Chapter Four

History, Labour, and Dereification

in "Oxen of the Sun"

Recall that Stephen's monologue in "Proteus" brings readers to experience a *Chockerlebnis* of history. The reader experiences a more extensive *Chockerlebnis* of history which the characters themselves do not experience in "Oxen of the Sun." Joyce creates a fake history of English literary style in this episode, progressing through styles in a way that notably mirrors a textual mnemonic mechanism he used to write the episode, the literary anthology. In addition to creating a shock-inducing overabundance of the past like other textual mnemonic mechanisms, these also promote a linear conception of history. This was a historical ideology Benjamin critiqued for its reification of the past, turning it into a thing-like fetish divorced from the processes that genuinely connect it to the present. "Oxen" reflects Benjamin's criticism: anthologies' attempts to create a linear history of styles falling one after another in neat units gives those units an excessive shock energy which means readers must isolate them from one another. This containment in short units means styles are abstracted from not just the historical conditions that produced them, but from the development of a style across a lengthy work or series of works. This abstraction is how "Oxen" adds further complexity to Benjamin's criticism: styles can float free, spilling into one another and disrupting a sense of stylistic history. This goes further than Benjamin's claim about linear history, that it disrupts the connection between past and present, to claim that some ways of promoting this history disrupt linear continuity itself, as the reader endures a confusing historical mélange analogous to Stephen's *Chockerlebnis* of history. Such a mélange reinforces, rather than takes away

from, Benjamin's claims about linear history's reification of the past, for it makes past literary styles as fungible as commodities reduced to exchange value. The disruption of continuity through shock, however, opens a window for the dialectical image of the episode's tailpiece. This is one aspect of the tailpiece's mobilisation of the textual mnemonic mechanisms' shock energies for the purpose of *Chockerfahrung*. The other aspect is the temporal connection of experience that can occur through the concrete social practice of readerly labour.

Positivist Historicism in Print

One tension in Stephen's monologue on Sandymount Strand is between the past as linear sedimentation – "these heavy sands are language tide and wind have silted here" (*U*, 3.288-89) – and the past as indistinguishable from the present, the Spanish Armada's wrecks and the words Shakespeare wrote two decades later rising to the topmost layer of sand in "His boots trod again a damp crackling mast, razorshells, squeaking pebbles, that on the unnumbered pebbles beats, wood sieved by the shipworm, lost Armada" (3.148-49). This tension is not extensively thematised in "Proteus," however, since Stephen predominantly experiences the past in the latter mode, as disorientingly present rather than linear. But linear conceptions of history are foregrounded in literary anthologies that Joyce used to create "Oxen," the form of which the episode mirrors. These textual mnemonic mechanisms create a veneer of steadily progressing literary styles, implicitly subscribing to the nineteenth-century ideology of positivist historicism which Benjamin powerfully critiqued. Positivist historicism attempts to view the past "the way it really was" (*SW*, 4:391).[133] This reduces the past to a "mass of data" in "homogeneous empty time" – a chronology of events separated like the

[133] This is Leopold von Ranke's formulation, which Benjamin quotes without attribution.

"beads of a rosary" (*SW*, 4:396-97). This linear connection between events is not the sensuous continuity of *Erfahrung*, for it implies the present can access the past without being affected by it – historicism's mass of data is an "inventory" of goods lying in wait for selection (*SW*, 3:267). Mr Deasy is the clearest representative of such a view in *Ulysses*, embodying the version that particularly incensed Benjamin in conceiving of the linear connection between events as a grand progress "towards one great goal" – for Deasy, "the manifestation of God" (2.381; *SW* 4:394-95).[134] He thus assumes the past is available "as it really was" to what Stephen ironically calls his "glorious, pious and immortal memory," and he chides Stephen with "you fenians forget some things" (*U*, 2.272-73).[135] Such a view, for Benjamin, might connect past events, but the condition for this connection is the disconnection of the historian themselves. In Howard Caygill's terms, the historian does not have experience "*with* the past," but only the "experience *of*," it, precipitated in Mr Deasy's dry, often incorrect recitation of facts ("sir John Blackwood who voted for the union… put on his topboots to ride to Dublin from the Ards of Down to do so" (*U*, 2.279-83)).[136] Only experience *with* the past genuinely connects it to the present in a substantially lengthened experience. In the domain of culture which literary anthologies seek to cover, positivist historicism manifests as a cultural history that sees the past as an "inventory" of riches for the present (3:267). Benjamin critiques such a history as reifying, "congeal[ing]" process – the concrete realities of the past and "their transmission" due to "a constant effort of society" – into "thing" – "cultural treasures" (*SW*, 4:391). Literary anthologies create such a reifying

[134] I treat this only as an *example* of positivist historicism, which was often far less teleological than Benjamin implies (John McCole, *Walter Benjamin and the Antinomies of Tradition* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), 288-289).
[135] The Fenians were an anti-Unionist revolutionary organisation, but here Deasy means any anti-Unionist. "Glorious, pious and immortal memory" ironically recalls a Protestant toast to William of Orange (Slote, *Nietzschean Ethics*, 170 n. 7).
[136] Howard Caygill, "Walter Benjamin's Concept of Cultural History," in *The Cambridge Companion to Walter Benjamin*, ed. David S. Ferris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 90. Sir John Blackwood was both anti-Union and died too early to vote on it (*Ann*, 2.279).

cultural history through a radicalisation of the general temporality of mechanically reproduced print.[137]

Roland Barthes claims that the smooth "running" together of typographically normalised letters on a page makes print seem like the "depositary" of an "essential valour," "continuity."[138] Barthes frames this as the "grand category of continuity that is the story," something that "goes its way towards its denouement or conclusion."[139] Here Barthes speaks of the printed book, under whose temporality subsequent criticism has subsumed its "poor parents" ("Littérature," 177).[140] Benjamin teaches us to make a distinction here that Barthes does not, between the continuity of the novel and of oral storytelling. To be sure, both have a sense of being "living" and "organic," as opposed to what Barthes calls "the ungratefulness, the sterility of mechanical constructions, of creaking and cold machines," which characterises discontinuity in literature. Yet Barthes claims that a continuous story is presumed to come from the artist's "spontaneity," and this will be disrupted by any sign of "labour" (177).[141] Recall, however, that oral storytelling arises out of the teller's and listeners' labours, and the marks of these labours persist in the story told. It is in fact the reification of print out of Ong's "human lifeworld" that creates the particular kind of continuity Barthes identifies: so many beads of a rosary to be counted down for salvation, lying upon the homogeneous, empty blankness of the page behind. Prose anthologies like those Joyce used to write "Oxen"

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[137] For a similar view of these anthologies in "Oxen," yet expressed more in terms of the anthologies' organicist ideology than their imbrication with capitalism, see Spoo, *Language of History*, 138-44.
[138] Roland Barthes, "Littérature et Discontinu," in *Essais Critiques* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1964), 177, translations my own (hereafter cited in the text) "c'est évidemment que cette surface est dépositaire d'une valeur essentielle, qui est le *continu* du discours littéraire."
[139] "écrire, c'est couler des mots à l'intérieur de cette grande catégorie du continu, qui est le récit;… une fluence de paroles au service d'un événement ou d'une idée qui <<va son chemin>> vers son denouement ou sa conclusion."
[140] "il faut bien tolérer quelques parents pauvres au roman".
[141] "ici, le « filé » des substances vivantes, organiques, l'imprévision charmante des enchaînements spontanés; là, l'ingrat, le stérile des constructions mécaniques, des machines grinçantes et froides (c'est le theme du *laborieux*)."

take this condition of sequential words in a book and apply it to the whole history of literature, mechanically reproducing earlier oral and print forms in a way that explicitly frames them as units in a steady, linear progression to the present day. Absent from such a view is the concrete process of transmission by which these words reach us, making the past seem an inventory of goods lying safely in history, treasures for the reader to sample.[142]

As early as "Aeolus"'s headlines, Joyce uses page layout to disrupt the sense of smooth linear progression Barthes discusses. [143] "Oxen of the Sun" has no such breaks in its text, marking it out from the material immediately preceding and following it. Before, we have had "Nausicaa"'s three tripled "*Cuckoo*"s which intrude into what would be its final two paragraphs, as each triple is placed in the centre of the page with paragraph breaks before and after. They interrupt the narration, making it uncertain how it would have continued:

> taking tea and sodabread and butter and fried mutton chops with catsup and talking about

[142] Many of the anthologies and other sources Joyce drew on also presented a recognisably imperialist version of this history. Gibson points out that the "Whig interpretation of literature," which presented an unbroken continuity of English literature, was substantially developed in the years between Joyce's birth and his writing *Ulysses*, including through publications such as anthologies (Gibson, 8-13). For an accounts of this episode in terms of the relationship between imperialism and the textual mnemonic mechanisms Joyce used to compose "Oxen," see Spoo, *Language of History*, 138-44; Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge*, 171-82; Davison, "Trenchant Criticism," 187-90; Sarah Davison, "Oxtail Soup," *Genetic Joyce Studies* 14 (2014): 5-6 (hereafter cited in the text). *GJS* does not give page numbers, so I will refer to page numbers of the pdf available on the website (https://www.geneticjoycestudies.org/). It would certainly be profitable to extend the present thesis through a consideration of imperialism, and a profitable place to start would be Jameson's claim that imperialism created a form of reification in the colonial metropolis which Joyce's Dublin, and *Ulysses* in turn, was half subject to, half able to see through (Fredric Jameson, "Modernism and Imperialism," in *The Modernist Papers* (London: Verso, 2007), 152-169).

[143] I owe my application of Barthes to *Ulysses* to Lawrence's analysis of "Aeolus" (Lawrence, "Interruption and Inventory," 392).

Cuckoo

Cuckoo

Cuckoo

> because it was a little canarybird that came out of its little house to tell the time that Gerty MacDowell noticed… (*U*, 13.1294-1300)[144]

After "Oxen" comes "Circe," a "play" which upends standard prose layout entirely with alternation between stage direction and "spoken" utterance. Given these surrounding layouts, it is notable that "Oxen"'s is so continuous, underlining the sense of forward progression in time created by its anthology-like progression through prose styles across English literary history, from Old English to Carlyle.

"Oxen" ends in a "style" prose anthologies would never include but which nonetheless arises from other mnemonic mechanisms like word lists, a style Joyce called a "frightful jumble" of early twentieth-century demotic parlance (*Letters*, 1:139). In the same letter (to Frank Budgen), Joyce revealed he intended the "procession" of prose styles that makes up the bulk of the episode to be "linked back at each part subtly with some foregoing episode of the day and, besides this, with the natural stages of development in the embryo and the periods of faunal evolution in general." Critics initially took Joyce at his word here, demarcating

[144] The other two triples admittedly have a more complicated relationship with the text before and after, ending as they do with a full stop and thus perhaps concluding the paragraph that precedes them. The first is preceded by free indirect narration of Bloom. "Just for a few" is Bloom's rationalisation of how he can "Let him [Boylan]" sleep with Molly (13.1276, 13.1278, 13.1288), and so the ensuing "*Cuckoo*"s could refer to "a few" instances of cuckolding, and the "times" of these affairs. The final triple is preceded by free indirect narration of Gerty, "that foreign gentleman that was sitting on the rocks looking was," and so the ensuing "*Cuckoo*"'s refer to Bloom's being a cuckold (13.1303). Nonetheless, their typographic separation reflects that these are not connected to the characters' thoughts and feelings (Gerty has no conception of Bloom's marital situation), and so at the very least they function as interruptions in the paragraphs that precede them, but most likely cut them off.

sections clearly by historical style.[145] Even if this teleology is negative, leading to the "frightful jumble" at the end of the episode, it encourages the idea that the episode's words are linearly progressing, a "chronicle" "allincluding" yet far from "farraginous" (*U*, 14.1412).[146] This appellation for *Ulysses*, coming right before the "frightful jumble," in fact applies to "Oxen" as much as it does to the rest of the novel. Scholars like Sarah Davison and Ronan Crowley have recently pointed out that its prose styles are non-linear. Not only are there jumps in the timeline, like the Ruskin (*U*, 14.1379-90) imitation coming before that of the man who influenced Ruskin, Carlyle (14.1391-1439), but material from a given writer occurs before and after their allotted "section."[147] While Davison has elaborated both the non-linearity of the episode's prose history and the textual mnemonic mechanisms through which Joyce composed the episode, she and other scholars have yet to elaborate the link between these. Doing so clarifies the temporal experience of reading the episode, and how we can understand the relationship between this and reification.

To understand the procession's temporality, we must understand what precedes it, three oral utterances then two paragraphs of tortuous faux-Latin prose. Joyce describes this as the procession's "prelude" in his letter to Budgen (*Letters*, 1:139), and it forewarns readers of the ahistoricity of the procession to follow: its text is so extremely divorced from the concrete conditions of social practice by which words are transmitted that we are warned of the dangers of such reification.

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[145] Janusko's is the most thoroughgoing attempt to do this, and his work on the allusions in the different sections set up the later critical interrogation of whether the procession is indeed linear (Robert Janusko, *The Sources and Structures of James Joyce's "Oxen"* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983) (hereafter cited in the text)).
[146] "farraginous" means "indiscriminate, miscellaneous" (*OED*).
[147] Sarah Davison, "Joyce's incorporation of literary sources in 'Oxen of the Sun'," *Genetic Joyce Studies* 9 (2009) (hereafter cited in the text); Ronan Crowley, "Earmarking 'Oxen of the Sun': On the Dates of the Copybook Drafts," *Genetic Joyce Studies* 18 (2018) (hereafter cited in the text). *GJS* does not give page numbers, so I will refer to page numbers of the pdfs available on the website (https://www.geneticjoycestudies.org/).

Upending History Before it Begins

"Oxen" is famous for beginning with some of the most difficult prose in all of *Ulysses*. Before that, however, we have three tripled utterances: the Druidic fertility prayer "Deshil Holles Eamus" (*U*, 14.1) using respectively an anglicised Irish word, the name of the street where the episode takes place, and a Latin word to say "Let us go rightward to Holles Street" (*Ann*, 14.1); another fertility prayer "Send us bright one, light one, Horhorn, quickening and wombfruit" (*U*, 14.2-4), which Gilbert reads as likening the sun to Andrew Horne, the owner of the National Maternity Hospital where the episode takes place (Ulysses: *A Study*, 291); and "Hoopsa boyaboy hoopsa!" (14.5-6), which Gilbert reads as the exclamation of a nurse upon a baby boy's birth (Ulysses: *A Study*, 291). Despite the confusion doubtless caused by polylingualism and references to Dublin arcana, the sense of the words is metrically reinforced, thereby framing them as oral utterances. Nonetheless, this sequence of oral utterances opens with two languages that were written more than spoken in the early twentieth century. Early in the novel, Haines' desire for the Irish to "speak Irish" (*U*, 1.431) is the object of Joyce and Buck Mulligan's scorn, while Latin became what Ong calls a "learned language" – a language which is no one's mother tongue and has no purely oral speakers – in the early Middle Ages. This dissociates it from unconscious affective attachments of childhood, and bars it from sensory integration into one's life (*Orality*, 109-112). This might be part of the reason Stephen inserts Latin funeral rites he said over his mother's body between an image of her vengeance and his repudiatory rebellion against it, a movement which reflects his failure to work through his repressed guilt for her passing: "Her eyes on me to strike me down. *Liliata rutilantium te confessorum turma circumdet: iubilantium te virginum chorus excipiat.* Ghoul! Chewer of corpses!" (*U*, 1.276-78).[148] All

[148] The phrase translates as "may the band of shining Confessors, crowned with lilies, encircle thee; may the choir of joyous Virgins receive thee" (*Ann* 1.276-77).

this is to say that "Oxen" encourages us to experience even its opening oral invocations as ancient yet textualised invocations, preserved for us through abstracting textual mechanisms like anthologies (such as the Irish-preserving *Love Songs of Connacht* from which Stephen cribbed his poem) and dictionaries.[149] The Latinate paragraphs that follow demonstrate in far more thoroughgoing and tortuous detail the possibilities for abstraction in written language.

In his letter to Budgen, Joyce described this passage (*U*, 14.7-59) as "a Sallustian-Tacitean prelude (the unfertilized ovum)" (*Letters*, 1:139), while in a letter to Weaver he described it as a "headpiece" of "opposite chaos" to that of the "frightful jumble" that closes the episode (*Letters*, 3:16). Davison points out that the embryological framework implies the "development" of the ovum comes from the infusion of Saxon words Joyce keeps absent from this passage ("Trenchant Criticism," 186-88). What this means is that Joyce is beginning his "procession" of historical English styles with a style that has no historical existence – Slote, Mamigonian, and Turner point out it is "as if poorly translated from the Latin" (*Ann*, 14.7-59). Latin is a language without strict rules for word order, and this passage often feels as if someone had translated it into English without changing the order: "concerning whatsoever matters are being held as most profitably by mortals with sapience endowed to be studied" (*U*, 14.8-9). While one would have to change words to get an idiomatic rendering in any historical form of English, by making "mortals" closer to the verbs it is subject and object of we get something far easier to understand: "concerning whatsoever matters are being held by mortals endowed with sapience as most profitably to be studied." The sentences given this tortuous ordering also sprout unnecessary adjectives and adverbs like growths of mould on pages buried for centuries: "copiously opulent" (14.47); "from all

[149] Thus, in the mock-Gothic apparition of Haines in "Oxen," he appears with "a portfolio full of Celtic literature" (14.1013).

accident possibility removed" (14.45) – this last made more awkward by the fact "accident" hasn't been an adjective (a synonym of "accidental") since the seventeenth century (*OED*). The use of participles ("concerning," "being held") and infinitives ("to be studied") furthers a sense of overwhelming description: actions exist in the abstract, rather than in the concrete. Individual sentences have too many words for the relatively few conjunctions by which we might connect them, and Joyce strings together these adjectivally and adverbially burdened phrases in long bundles with no auditory devices or rhythm. These features add up holistically to a disconnected reading experience:

> Universally that person's acumen is esteemed very little perceptive concerning whatsoever matters are being held as most profitably by mortals with sapience endowed to be studied who is ignorant of that which the most in doctrine erudite and certainly by reason of that in them high mind's ornament constantly maintain… (*U*, 14.7-11)

By the time the reader gets to "who is ignorant," they have likely forgotten the "who" being referred to, and will have to read back up to realise it is "that person" referred to at the very start. They may well have to re-traverse what they were originally told about *that person*, or rather their "acumen," before they get back into the swing of things and find out what that acumen-belittled person is ignorant *of*. The reader is again caught short on "constantly maintain," since between it and its subject ("the most in doctrine erudite") there has been a clause that utterly defies English word order – "and certainly by reason of that in them high mind's ornament." This separates the demonstrative "that" from its referent, "high mind's ornament," without any further relative pronoun to bring us back to it (such as "that in them

which is high mind's ornament").[150] We are not told that it is "the most in doctrine erudite" who *are* "high mind's ornament." So, the reader goes back again, reads again…

This leads to a highly spatialised phenomenology of reading, in which the reader has to re-traverse text until they can connect those parts that are artificially separated. This is to say that the continuity the surface of the prose implies, the units proceeding one after another in a linear flow, is utterly disrupted. This results in *Chockerlebnis* – there are too many words, and a paucity of opportunities for connecting them, so for mere comprehension one has to isolate them, tackling one sub-clause at a time then gradually forming a meaning. "That person" and "who is ignorant" must be grouped together *against*, rather than *with*, "acumen is esteemed… studied." An inauspicious beginning for a journey "across" a history, as Joyce no doubt intended it to be.

This is perhaps the episode's most radical instance of readerly *Chockerlebnis*, yet its relationship with textual mnemonic mechanisms is more difficult to trace than in the sections that follow. The rest of the episode was constructed out of words Joyce lifted from anthologies, as well as other textual mnemonic mechanisms like dictionaries and historical studies of literary and non-literary language.[151] The only source scholars have traced for the Latinate section is "except with proliferent mothers prosperity all not to can be," which Robert Janusko traces to an extract from Francis Bacon's *Essays* Joyce wrote on a notesheet,

[150] Slote, Mamigonian and Turner gloss this phrase as "who certainly deserve veneration for their learning" (*Ann*, Appendix).
[151] The technical study of the history of English prose, George Saintsbury's *History of English Prose Rhythm*, was heavy on extracts and Joyce used it much like an anthology (see Janusko, *Sources*, 94-100 for a comprehensive list of Joyce's notes from this book). The technical study of English etymology in general was Richard Chenevix Trench's *On the Study of Words*, which Davison has shown Joyce used both for specific words, and to inform his selection of words from other textual mnemonic mechanisms ("Trenchant Criticism," 185). Davison notes, in a reading consonant with that I will go on to give, how Trench's study has an imperialist ideology of positivist historicism Joyce resists in "Oxen"'s tailpiece (187-90).

"the best condition is not to will, the Second not to Can" (*NBM*, 4.123).[152] Indeed, rather than taking from others Joyce often reverted to coining entirely new words based on Latin words, such as "omnipollent" (*U*, 14.16), based on *omnes*, "all," and *pollere*, "to be strong."[153] This is not a style overburdened with mnemonic mechanisms, but a style with no memory. By creating an illusion of history that is fooling nobody, however, Joyce warns us of the reified ahistoricity of the styles mediated by textual mnemonic mechanisms that are about to come. Coming after "Nausicaa," unnecessarily long, grammatically incorrect clauses like "certainly by reason of that in them high mind's ornament" float as free of their surroundings as Gerty's advertising slogans. The procession will show how when literary history exists in overwhelming abundance bound up in commodified textual mnemonic mechanisms like anthologies, it becomes as disconnected from real historical conditions as the brand-new commodity. Before his parade of anthologised prose, Joyce hints at history's reification with a style so frustrating we can immediately push it over as an unhistorical fabrication. Marx says of the "embryonic form of bourgeois production" where products are inching towards commodification that "its Fetish character is comparatively easy to be seen through."[154] We might say that in giving us an "embryo" of mechanically reproduced print, Joyce showed the fetish character of that print, its separation from the history of social practice that produced it. Before that, however, we have had the tripled oral utterances giving us a curious blend of oral

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[152] Robert Janusko, "Another Anthology for "Oxen": Barnett and Dale," *James Joyce Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (1990): 58. The specific note is "not to can." Janusko shows that the Bacon quote comes from the anthology Annie Barnett and Lucy Dale, eds., *An Anthology of English Prose (1332 to 1740)* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912), 63. Throughout, I will be referring to Joyce's notesheets for "Oxen." These are sheets currently kept at the British Museum, which Joyce double or single folded in order to write notes for the episode (A. Walton Litz, *The Art of James Joyce* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 129-30). The notesheets for "Oxen" are available in Philip Herring's manuscript version and the *James Joyce Archive*'s facsimiles. Since the former is more accessible, I refer to the latter only when considerations of the notes' physical layout arise. I refer to Herring's transcription by Herring's numbering system (<sheet number>.<note number>). The "Oxen" notes occur between pp. 162-264 of Herring's volume.

[153] *OED* lists no use of "omnipollent" before or after Joyce.

[154] Karl Marx, *Capital Volume I*, *ed. Frederick Engels, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2010)*, 93 – this is a different translation to the one used elsewhere in the thesis. I wanted to capture the overtones of gestation in Marx's language. All other references are to the first translation I cited, the 2024 Princeton University Press edition.

and print forms, orality preserved through mechanically reproduced print. This foreshadows another side of the episode, the blend of oral and print forms we find in the *Chockerfahrung*-inducing tailpiece.

The Procession

In a conversation with Arthur Power years after *Ulysses*' publication, Joyce said the following of Proust's style:

> his innovations were necessary to express modern life as he saw it. As life changes, the style to express it must change also. Take the theatre: no one would think of writing a modern play in the style the Greeks used, or in the style of the Morality plays of the Middle Ages. A living style should be like a river which takes the colour and texture of the different regions through which it flows. The so-called classical style has a fixed rhythm and a fixed mood which make it to my mind an almost mechanical device. Proust's style conveys that almost imperceptible but relentless erosion of time which, as I say, is the motive of his work.[155]

This claim's irony in light of Joyce's choosing to write the scenes of "Oxen" in a panoply of historical styles, in light of the moment when the progression enters the Middle Ages and it references the title of the morality play *The Summonyng of Everyman* by conspicuously using both "everyman" and "every man" in the first sentence (*U*, 14.107-08; *Ann*, 14.107), of Joyce's composing this episode by arranging notes "mechanically" copied from mechanically-reproduced prose anthologies and histories, of Joyce's not only making the

[155] Arthur Power, *Conversations with James Joyce* (London: Millington, 1974), 79.

"erosion of time" "perceptible" but making it blot Bloom and Stephen's actions out of readerly consciousness, registers less the incoherence of Joyce's stated conception of style than "Oxen"'s departure from that conception, and the temporal dislocations that attend this. In his letter to Weaver, he asked whether she thought the procession of styles is "peopled by extinct beings?" (*Letters*, 3:16).[156] The "beings" of the styles Joyce constructs are "extinct" partly because they *do* reflect their time, and so take on values we know aren't held by the characters or the author. In the section imitating John Bunyan, for example, not only are condoms still made of "oxengut" (*U*, 14.465) rather than the rubber condoms which would have been available to the men at the table,[157] but the use of them is condemned as serving "Carnal Concupiscence" (*U*, 14.454). To make this condemnation, the narrator uses phrases Joyce copied into his notebooks directly from *The Pilgrim's Progress*, speaking of God's "grievous rage that he would presently lift his arm up and spill their souls for their abuses." "Grievous rage" and "spill thy souls" occur within fifty words of each other in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and Joyce copied them into a notesheet for "Oxen" next to each other (*NBM*, 4.13, 4.14; Janusko, *Sources*, 134).[158] Thirty pages later, Bunyan mentions "continual abuses done by them" (referring to "the baser sort"), which Joyce copied into the same margin of the notesheet, modulating it slightly to "for their abuses done by them" (*NBM*, 4.36; Bunyan, *Progress*, 120, quoted in Janusko, *Sources*, 135). Janusko has identified the dozens of other quotations from Bunyan Joyce wove into the episode – with reference to the edition Joyce likely owned, Janusko finds notes taken from across 102 pages of *Pilgrim's Progress* (Janusko, *Sources*, 133-36). While these seem to have been taken from an independent copy

[156] Weaver, it seems, had compared the episode to "Hades."
[157] Rubber condoms were introduced in the nineteenth century, albeit oxgut condoms continued to be used due to their lower cost (*Ann*, 14.465).
[158] John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (Urbana: Project Gutenberg), retrieved 1 April 2025, from https://www.gutenberg.org/files/39452/39452-h/39452-h.htm, 78-79 (hereafter cited in the text), quoted in Janusko, *Sources*, 134.

of *Pilgrim's Progress*, given the broad range of pages Joyce copied the notes from, Joyce's placement of Bunyan may have been suggested by Bunyan's inclusion in William Peacock's anthology *English Prose from Mandeville to Ruskin*, which Joyce used extensively in composing "Oxen."[159] While Joyce himself labelled the ensuing section "Pepys-Evelyn," it includes adaptations of two quotes from the section after Bunyan in Peacock, an excerpt from Georg Savile, Marquess of Halifax's political work *The Character of a Trimmer*.[160]

The most represented author in this section, however, comes still later in Peacock's anthology, Samuel Pepys. The opening description of rain upon Dublin incorporates Pepys in several places

> So Thursday sixteenth June Patk. Dignam laid in clay of an apoplexy and after hard drought, please God, rained, a bargeman coming in by water a fifty mile or thereabout with turf saying the seed won't sprout, fields athirst, very sadcoloured and stunk mightily, the quags and tofts too. (*U*, 14.474-77).

Janusko identifies how "stunk mightily" comes from a notesheet entry Joyce took upon reading the Pepys entry in Peacock, "look very ill, and in a sick dress, and stunk mightily" (*NBM*, 2.43-44; Peacock, *English Prose*, 123, quoted in Janusko, *Sources*, 115). Janusko

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[159] See William Peacock, ed. *English Prose from Mandeville to Ruskin* (London: Grant Richards, 1903), 105-14 (hereafter cited in the text), including the passage with "continual abuses" (Peacock, *English Prose*, 108). I will primarily discuss Peacock's anthology in my analysis of "Oxen." For a very comprehensive overview of Joyce's use of Peacock, see Janusko, *Sources*, 100-128. Other anthologies Janusko has identified Joyce's use of include A.F. Murison's *Selections from the Best English Authors (Beowulf to the Present Time)* (Robert Janusko, "Yet Another Anthology for the 'Oxen': Murison's 'Selections'," *Joyce Studies Annual* 1 (1990): 117–31) and Barnett and Dale, *Anthology* (for an overview, see Janusko, "Another Anthology").

[160] These are "the seed won't sprout" (*U*, 14.476; *NBM* 2.52) and "nought but dry flag and faggots that would catch at first fire" (*U*, 14.480-81; *NBM* 2.48), both after "sometimes like dry flag prepared to catch at the first fire, or like seed in the ground ready to sprout up on the first shower" (Peacock, *English Prose*, 117, quoted in *Ann*, 14.476).

identifies eight other quotes from the Pepys extract in Peacock across this section. The *James Joyce Digital Archive* sources "drought," also taken from Joyce's notesheet, to the extract in Peacock as well.[161] The abbreviated name and date at the beginning also reflect Pepys' diary style. But attention to the Pepys extract in Peacock shows how Joyce used vocabulary not in the notesheets – perhaps when beginning the episode he opened the anthology back up, or perhaps he used his legendary powers of memory. In any event, Pepys' description of the "Great Plague," the first extract in Peacock, mentions going to "the barge" with the King, and includes exclamations "God forgive me!" and "blessed be God!" (Peacock, *English Prose*, 122). Pepys' other extract in Peacock, about "The Great Fire" (Peacock, *English Prose*, 124), may have inspired the naturalistic theme of this section, focusing on rain without forgetting to mention that "those in ken say after wind and water fire shall come" (*U*, 14.523).

Lawrence claims the Pepys-imitating "recording of quotidian details" is an "abrupt switch" from the Bunyan-imitating "pious address to the company" (Lawrence, *Odyssey of Style*, 137).[162] This is especially clear in their contrasting lists of names. The Bunyan-imitating section emphasises the characters' vices and virtues, taking after the naming of characters in *The Pilgrim's Progress*. This occurs across the novel, most notably in central characters such as Christian and Wanton, but the "Vanity Fair" section (excerpted in Peacock) was likely a more direct inspiration: "Mr. Blind-man, Mr. No-good, Mr. Malice, Mr. Love-lust, Mr. Live-loose…" (Bunyan, *Progress*, 126-27; Peacock, *English Prose*, 113). Joyce's imitation follows suit, with slightly more specific vices:

[161] Peacock, *English Prose*, 125, quoted in Danis Rose and John O'Hanlon, eds., *The James Joyce Digital Archive*, updated May 14, 2025, https://jjda.ie/u/ff/unbs/s14all.htm#s14025aq.
[162] See also Osteen, *Economy*, 231, where he claims each style "is deaf to its own ideology and to other voices."

> Mr Cavil and Mr Sometimes Godly, Mr Ape Swillale, Mr False Franklin, Mr Dainty Dixon, Young Boasthard and Mr Cautious Calmer (*U*, 14.468-70)

The Pepys imitation, by contrast, keeps moralising to a minimum, shortening names and adding information without comment:

> Dixon jun., scholar of my lady of Marcy's, Vin. Lynch, a Scots fellow, Will. Madden, T. Lenehan, very sad about a racer he fancied and Stephen D. Leop. Bloom (14.505-507)

Lawrence doesn't point out that Joyce in fact accentuates the differences in prose styles by removing the moralising from Pepys, emphasising the quality of neutral "recording." In the Pepys extract in Peacock,[163] the first-person perspective shifts naturally from minutia of observation to lament: "We stayed till, it being darkish, we saw the fire as only one entire arch of fire from this to the other side the bridge, and in a bow up the hill for an arch above a mile long; it made me weep to see it" (Peacock, *English Prose*, 128). Joyce's Pepys foregoes the first person until the very end of the section, and there it is merely to say "I hear" about acts he otherwise relates without comment, even if they are exceedingly tragic : "'Tis her ninth chick to live, I hear, and Lady day bit off her last chick's nails that was then a twelvemonth and with other three all breastfed that died written out in a fair hand in the

[163] John S. Atherton, "Oxen of the Sun," in Ulysses: *Critical Essays*, ed. Clive Hart and David Hayman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 324. points out Joyce relied on the Pepys extract in Peacock so heavily that he reproduced the "jerky" rhythm created by Peacock's editorial practice of "curtailing and dividing sentences" that in the original Pepys were carefully calibrated. In the opening sentence of Joyce's imitation, the final clause is an afterthought, no note on which to end: "fields athirst, very sadcoloured and stunk mightily, the quags and tofts too" (14.476-77).

king's bible" (*U*, 14.515-18).[164] This makes for a more marked contrast with the Bunyan imitation than would occur by flipping between the Bunyan and Pepys extracts in Peacock.[165]

By exaggerating changes across "styles" in this way, Joyce accentuates the *Chockerlebnis* anthologies create. An "imperceptible but relentless erosion of time," the sense of an author's style Joyce valorised to Power, comes to our consciousness through extended reading, and cannot be experienced in these short windows. With each change in Joyce's procession, the reader struggles to adjust to the radically new world they are dropped into. If a style is a "river," Joyce has squeezed rivers into jars across his imitations, creating a shock energy where the reader has too little time to process what they read, and this is exacerbated by emphasising the difference between styles.[166] This effectively isolates the imitations from one another, making it hard to even have a holistic view of them as separated beads of a single rosary, the positivist cultural history anthologies strives for. More generally, the story of *Ulysses* is lost to our view, as Kenner notes that Stephen and Bloom's thoughts disappear behind the styles which render them: does Stephen hear "the voice of the god Bringforth" in thunder, or is this just the distortion of a Bunyan imitation (*U*, 14.435-36; Kenner, *Joyce's Voices*, 78-79)? Lawrence claims stylistic changes in narration give "birth to various manifestations of the characters": all that was solid about them melts into air each time a new imitation begins, yet this new manifestation is a distinctive personality we struggle to integrate with earlier experiences of these characters (*Odyssey of Style*, 132).

[164] "Lady day" is the name of the Feast of the Assumption in Ireland, while "nails" refers to the superstition it is bad luck to cut babies' nails with scissors before they are twelve months old (*Ann*, 4.516).
[165] The Bunyan imitation is more faithful than the Pepys one – *The Pilgrim's Progress* doesn't need much editing to become moralistic.
[166] Cf Brion: "In my opinion, if the recent books of Joyce are considered hermetic by the majority of readers it is because of the difficulty which the latter experience in falling into step, in adapting themselves to the rhythm of each page, in changing "time" abruptly and as often as this is necessary" ("Idea of Time," 31).

The excessive energy of these stylistic imitations comes from their mutual containment, showing how the effort to present a linear history in anthologies creates a *Chockerlebnis* of the past that makes it more difficult to perceive links between literary styles. This aligns with Benjamin's critique of positivist cultural history: by containing cultural works in separated beads leading up to the present, they are reified in a way that makes it impossible to connect them, with each other or with the present. We shall now see how Joyce introduces a counterdynamic to the containment of prose styles, namely by having different styles spill into each other. This exacerbates the shock quality of the imitations while also disturbing not only the *connection* between styles but any linear *continuity* at all. This reflects how radically literary anthologies undermine the linear history they seek to present.

Sarah Davison has forcefully argued that "the historical pageant of English prose style on [sic.] 'Oxen' is in fact pan-historic pastiche-work and not the series of consecutive homogenous parodies as hitherto supposed" ("Incorporation of Literary Sources," 13). To construct the Pepys section, Joyce took phrases from extracts in Peacock before Pepys' ("clean consumed" (*U*, 14.478; *NBM*, 3.122) from Raphael Holinshed (Peacock, *English Prose*, 30, quoted in Janusko, *Sources*, 108) and after Pepys' ("womenfolk skipping off" (*U*, 14.489; "skip" in *NBM*, 1.08) from Defoe's "I was surprised to see a skip" (Peacock, *English Prose*, 132, quoted in Janusko, *Sources*, 116). There are other imitations which make this phenomenon clearer, however. Davison has examined some in detail, so I have selected another, which is from what is called the "Elizabethan Chronicle" section (Janusko, *Sources*, 79). The passage describes Stephen pouring drinks for everyone other than "the prudenter" (Bloom) who "shadowed their approach from him" and likening this to the Eucharist: "quaff ye this mead which is not indeed parcel of my body but my soul's bodiment" (*U*, 14.277-83).

He then shows the table the money he was given for teaching in the morning, and provides a paternalistic theory of creation or "postcreation":

> Be not afeard neither for any want for this will comfort more than the other will dismay. See ye here. And he showed them glistering coins of the tribute and goldsmith notes the worth of two pound nineteen shilling that he had, he said, for a song which he writ. They all admired to see the foresaid riches in such dearth of money as was herebefore. His words were then these as followeth: Know all men, he said, time's ruins build eternity's mansions. What means this? Desire's wind blasts the thorntree but after it becomes from a bramblebush to be a rose upon the rood of time. Mark me now. In woman's womb word is made flesh but in the spirit of the maker all flesh that passes becomes the word that shall not pass away. This is the postcreation. *Omnis caro ad te veniet*. (14.284-94)

To fully understand the temporality of this passage, we must study both how Joyce wrote it, and its explicit discourse of labour in the extract. Towards the end, Stephen denigrates maternal labour as inadequately eternal compared to God's spirit, despite the fact they are in a waiting room while Mina Purefoy is going through labour above them. The "glistering coin" and "goldsmith notes" are falsely claimed to be the fruits of his artistic labour – this is reinforced by a pun on Oliver Goldsmith, the famous Irish poet. He seems to have told this lie earlier in the day as well, for before this Lenehan says Stephen stood drinks (presumably for the company in "Aeolus") after "He had received the rhino for the labour of his muse" (14.264-65). Readers know he actually got this money from teaching. Stephen's claim that this money "will comfort more than" "want" "will dismay" seems obviously false: surely money can only comfort as much as want is reduced? It needs to be understood, however, in

terms of his theory of "postcreation": by escaping the winds of "desire," we can reach "eternity's mansions," just as by escaping the condition of maternal dependence, being "word… made flesh," we can enter a transcendent unity with God, becoming "the word that shall not pass away." In a complex series of parallel images, Stephen frames money as transcending "want," nature (the bramblebush and rose) as transcending "desire," and humanity as transcending "flesh." All of this is a reification of the real process of concrete labour in time. For, just as the mother's childbearing labour (which is uncoincidentally obscured from the reader's consciousness in this episode) is obscured as unimportant compared to the eternity of union with God, Stephen's earlier labour of teaching has been obscured as unimportant compared to the exchange value of the money he brandishes. Furthermore, that money's transcendent, "glistering" exchange value is figured as more important than the "want" which it is money's actual *utility* to alleviate.

Such a theory of "postcreation" is an expression of the alienation of commodified labour: it is as if concrete labour never happened, and all that matters is a transcendent, timeless value. For mothers, this value is appropriated by someone else, God who takes on the children mothers go through such pains to birth. These abstracted exchange values are figured as an eternity that is "time's ruins." As Wittgenstein suggests, eternity is "not infinite temporal duration but timelessness," accessed by living "in the present." [167] Wittgenstein was more sanguine about such an abandonment of time: from the perspective of this thesis, his remark tracks how the eternity Stephen dreams of here truly slices time into a single present, an *Erlebnis*. Yet, this traps him in the same overburdening past as in "Proteus." As Osteen points out, Stephen's theory of aesthetic creation which transcends history ironically occurs

[167] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, trans. D. F. Pears and B. F. McGuinness (London: Routledge, 1961), 6.4311.

within borrowed language (on which more below). In forgetting Mina's labour, he is "failing to use literary history productively for artistic birth… Stephen is neither laboring nor in labor" (Osteen, *Economy*, 246). To reconnect past and present and have genuinely temporal experience, one needs to dereify the reifying forces that keep us trapped in *Chockerlebnis*. Specifically, one must engage in unalienated labour, which connects concrete life in time with the fruits that result from it, thereby connecting past and present in *Erfahrung*.[168]

Such a reified divorce from the past is created in a different way for the reader – through a distinctive *Chockerlebnis* created by the historical mélange of the episode's temporal weave. An accurate account of the literary makeup of this extract, and how Joyce developed it from textual mnemonic mechanisms, requires working through the many intertextual allusions systematically. I shall list the source, its notesheet entry, the draft of "Oxen" it originally appeared in, and any additional commentary on it. In this section, notesheet entries will be given through reference to not only Herring's transcription of the notesheets, but also their facsimiles in the *James Joyce Archive*, since I will refer to their spatial layout. Unless otherwise specified, the notes are identical to the quoted text from the novel. The most up-to-date account of the dating of the drafts is Ronan Crowley's ("Earmarking"), and I will follow his names for the drafts:

- Early draft – completed between February and April 1920. The passage I am quoting is in a copybook in the Buffalo archive, V.A.11 15-17 (*JJA* 21-23).

[168] There are further temporal dimensions to Stephen's theory of postcreation it would be profitable to explore and relate to my discussion of labour, but which are too complicated to enter into here. The Eucharistic nature of the theory of postcreation bears clear similarities with Stephen's university dream that the artist become "a priest of the eternal imagination, transmuting the daily bread of experience into the radiant body of everliving life" (*Portrait*, 186). Moreover, it would be interesting to study the relationship between the reification of time into abstracted values in postcreation and Stephen's inability to connect past and present in his vampire poem in "Proteus." There are many suggestive parallels between Stephen's language here and in "Proteus," and before we read his vampire poem he thinks the very phrase he will later associate with postcreation: "*Omnis caro ad te veniet*," "all flesh shall come to thee" (3.396-97; *Ann*, 3.396-97). See Slote, *Nietzschean Ethics*, 49-70 for an extended analysis of the way Stephen's theories of creation change between "Proteus" and "Oxen."

- Later draft – completed between April and May 1920. The passage I am quoting is in a notebook at the National Library of Ireland MS 36,639/11/C, 0v-1.
- Fair copy for Rosenbach typescript – completed in May 1920.[169]

References will be to these drafts.

I will make clear when the text I am discussing is a revision like an insertion – otherwise, assume it is what Crowley calls the "base layer" of a given draft ("Earmarking," 3). For the sake of explication, I break the chronology of quotations in one point, bringing "Mark me now" earlier than it occurs in the text.

Text: "Be not afeard neither" (14.284)

Source: Baumann, *Londinismen (Slang und Cant)*, xxiii, "afeard, ax, 'em".[170]

Notesheet: *NBM*, 17.58; *JJA*, 1.39

Draft number: Later draft, 1, revision: Joyce crossed out "have no fear," which was itself part of an insertion on the base layer made in margin.

Commentary: *Londinismen* was Baumann's German guide to London slang and cant. While "afeard" has an Old English origin, it had become regional slang by the time Joyce was

[169] James Joyce, *James Joyce's* Ulysses: *A Facsimile of the Manuscript* (New York: Octagon Books, 1975) (hereafter cited in the text as *Rosenbach MS*). Page numbers given by <episode number>.<sheet number>. For further information on Joyce's drafting for "Oxen," see Luca Crispi, "A *Ulysses* Manuscripts Workbook Appendix: A New Census of *Ulysses* Holograph Manuscripts," *Genetic Joyce Studies* 17 (2017).

[170] Heinrich Baumann, *Londinismen (Slang und Cant)*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Langenscheidtsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903), xxiii (hereafter cited in the text), quoted in Chrisse Van Mierlo, "'Oxen of the Sun' Notesheet 17: Commentary and Annotations with a New List of Sources, and Transcriptions or Oxtail Soup: the Ingredients," *Genetic Joyce Studies* 14 (2014): 6-7 (hereafter cited in the text. *GJS* does not give page numbers, so I will refer to page numbers of the pdf available on the website (https://www.geneticjoycestudies.org/)). I do not have access the 1903 edition Mierlo claims Joyce more likely possessed, but in the 1887 edition "afeard" is listed in the dictionary (Heinrich Baumann, *Londinismen (Slang und Cant)*, 1st ed. (Berlin: Langenscheidtsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1887), 2). Throughout, I shall refer to Van Mierlo's edition – as shall become clear, my argument is centrally about how other Joyce scholarship helps us understand the episode.

writing (*OED*). The note presumably went on to remind Joyce of Caliban's "Be not afeard; the isle is full of noises" (*The Tempest*, III.ii.126).[171]

Text: "quaff ye this mead" (14.281-82); "See ye here" (14.285)

Source: John Wyclif, *Sermons*, "And bring ye a fat calf, and slay him, and eat we, and feed us." Janusko's sourcing work shows us that the same extract from Wyclif's *Sermons*, his rendering of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, is featured in Peacock's anthology (*English Prose*, 6, quoted in Janusko, *Sources*, 103), and an extract-heavy (thus anthology-like) study of the development of English prose Joyce used equally in writing "Oxen," Saintsbury's *History of English Prose Rhythm*.[172]

Notesheet: "bring ye, eat we" *NBM*, 7.112; *JJA*, 1.29

Draft number: Fair copy, P373.

Commentary: Wyclif was a Middle English, not an Elizabethan writer.

Text: "were then these as followeth"

Source: Raleigh, *Sir Richard Grenville's Last Fight in the* Revenge, "were these as followeth…" (Peacock, *English Prose*, 35, quoted in Janusko, *Sources*, 110).

Noteseheet: *NBM*, 3.105; *JJA*, 1.25.

Draft number: Early draft, 16, revision: Joyce inserted this phrase on the verso of the previous page. In its original form, it was "and to them his words were these as followeth" – it became "His words were then these as followeth" in the fair copy (*Rosenbach MS*, 14.14).

[171] With thanks to Samuel Milch for pointing out to me this allusion to *The Tempest*.
[172] George Saintsbury, *A History of English Prose Rhythm* (London: Macmillan, 1912), 61, quoted in Janusko, *Sources*, 95.

Text: "Mark me now"

Source: Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, 1.v.2, ghost says "Mark me."

Notesheet: Not on any notesheet, but it is possible Joyce copied it directly from his memory or from an edition of *Hamlet*.

Draft number: Fair copy (*Rosenbach MS*, 14.14).

Commentary: In "Scylla and Charybdis," it is in reading *Hamlet* and interrogating whether Shakespeare should be seen as the ghost or as Hamlet that Stephen develops a paternalistic theory of creation, elements of which continue into his theory of postcreation. Namely, he argues in "Scylla" that "Fatherhood… is a mystical estate, an apostolic succession, from only begetter to only begotten. On that mystery and not on the Madonna… the church is founded and founded irremovably because founded, like the world, macro and microcosm, upon the void. Upon incertitude, upon unlikelihood" (*U*, 9.837-42). Therefore, he deduces, Shakespeare is *both* the ghost and Hamlet at once, "the son consubstantial with the father" (9.481). The idea of such a "mystical estate" presages the idea in the passage at hand that motherhood is mere fleshly creation while fatherhood allows what is created to live forever, like the Father himself.[173]

Text: "Know all men, he said, time's ruins build eternity's mansions."

Source: Sir Philip Sidney, *A Stag Hunt*, "the time's haste" (Peacock, *English Prose*, 55, quoted in Janusko, *Sources*, 112); William Blake, "The ruins of time build mansions in eternity" (From a letter to William Haley (*Ann*, 2.9), quoted in Yeats' introduction to an edition of Blake's poems he edited, which was among the books Joyce consulted while

[173] I here draw on Slote's elaborate reading of how Stephen's "theories of creation" develop across the novel (*Nietzschean Ethics*, especially 53-70 for "Scylla" and "Oxen").

writing *Ulysses*).[174]

Noteseheet: "the time's haste" *NBM*, 3.90; *JJA*, 1.25.

Draft number: Early draft, 17.

Commentary: when Joyce wrote this draft he had already written "Nestor," in the Rosenbach Manuscript of which (dated December 1917) and all subsequent drafts there is "A phrase, then, of impatience, thud of Blake's wings of excess. I hear the ruin of all space, shattered glass and toppling masonry, and time one livid final flame" (*Rosenbach MS* 2.1; *U*, 2.8-10). Parts of this phrase recur several times throughout the book (3.249; 15.4244-45). The early "Oxen" draft exactly reproduced Blake's quote, and it was in the fair copy that the syntactic variation ("of time" to "time's") quoted above was introduced (*Rosenbach MS*, 14.14), blending the Sidney and Blake quotes.

Text: "Know all men"

Source: De Quincey, *Confessions of an Opium Eater*, "Know all men by these presents, that I, S.T.C., a noticeable man with large grey eyes, am a licensed opium-eater."[175]

Noteseheet: *NBM*, 15.02; *JJA* 1.37.

Draft number: Later draft, 1, inserted above line.

Commentary: De Quincey receives an imitation section unto himself in "Oxen" (*U*, 14.1078-1109). The notesheet entry occurs in the left margin, with an unusual amount of space between it and the notes above and below. Janusko has traced ten of these to Joyce's reading of a volume of De Quincey's works. There are also several De Quincey quotations in

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[174] William Blake, *Collected Poems*, ed. W. B. Yeats (London: Routledge, 2005), xxix; Michael Gillespie *Inverted Volumes Improperly Arranged: James Joyce and his Trieste Library* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 101.

[175] Thomas De Quincey, *The Works of Thomas De Quincey, Vol. 2: Confessions of an English Opium-Eater, 1821–1856*, ed. Frederick Burwick, David Groves, Grevel Lindop, Robert Morrison, Julian North, Daniel Sanjiv Roberts, Laura Roman, and Barry Symonds (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2000), 106 (hereafter cited in the text), quoted in Robert Janusko, "Further Oxcavations: Joyce's "Oxen" Notes from Swift, Steele, Goldsmith, Landor and De Quincey," *Genetic Joyce Studies* 2 (2002).

two columns on the right side of the page. Janusko traces five of the De Quincey quotes from this notesheet to words across *Ulysses*, only two of which ("lancinating" (*U*, 14.1089; *NBM*, 15.13; De Quincey, *Confessions*, 105n., quoted in Janusko, "Oxcavations") and "house of (astron.)" (*U*, 14.1099; *NBM*, 15.17; mix of quotations from "Murder Considered as one of the Fine Arts" and "The English Mail Coach") occur in the designated De Quincey parody in "Oxen."[176] While the list in the left margin primarily has phrases from a similar section in the De Quincey volume Joyce consulted, the other quotes Janusko identifies come from all across it, indicating that Joyce may have been turning to particular pages of De Quincey based on the promptings of his memory, rather than systematically working through the book.[177] De Quincey was, after all, one of the authors Stanislaus said Joyce knew pages of "by heart."[178] While his use of "know all men" might seem a trifle insignificant, as if Joyce were just flicking through his notesheets and struck back upon this, such a position becomes harder to maintain when we note that the opening of the De Quincey parody contains the other term in the Blakean image from "Nestor" quoted above, "space," and a reference to the eternity to which time's ruins are to bring us: "silence that is the infinite of space: and swiftly, silently the soul is wafted over regions of cycles of generations that have lived" (*U*, 14.1078-80).

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[176] Both passages speak of a "house of life" in an "astrological" context. See Thomas De Quincey "The English Mail-Coach, or the Glory of Motion," in *The Works of Thomas De Quincey, Vol. 16: Articles from Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, Macphail's Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Journal, the Glasgow Athenaeum Album, the North British Review, and Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 1847–9*, ed. Frederick Burwick, David Groves, Grevel Lindop, Robert Morrison, Julian North, Daniel Sanjiv Roberts, Laura Roman, and Barry Symonds (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2003), 413; "Postscript [to 'On Murder, Considered as One of the Fine Arts']," in *The Works of Thomas De Quincey, Vol. 20: Prefaces &c., to the Collected Editions, Published Addenda, Marginalia, Manuscript Addenda, Undatable Manuscripts*, ed. Frederick Burwick, David Groves, Grevel Lindop, Robert Morrison, Julian North, Daniel Sanjiv Roberts, Laura Roman, and Barry Symonds (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2003), 64, both quoted in Janusko, "Oxcavations."

[177] See Janusko, "Oxcavations." I do not have access to the 1908 Cassell and Company, Ltd. edition Joyce used (Thomas E. Connolly, *The Personal Library of James Joyce: a Descriptive Bibliography* (Buffalo: University of Buffalo Press, 1957), Item 66, quoted in Janusko, "Oxcavations.").

[178] Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper* (New York: The Viking Press, 1958), 89.

This apocalyptic nineteenth-century discourse of time, which as analysed above creates an eternity that is but *Erlebnis*, is continued through a reference to Yeats. As mentioned above, Yeats edited the Blake volume from which Joyce may well have taken "eternity's mansions." "Desire's wind blasts the thorntree but after it becomes from a bramblebush to be a rose upon the rood of time" (present in a slightly different form in the early draft) references the title of Yeats' poem "To the Rose upon the Rood of Time" (*Ann*, 291-92), a poem that references "the ancient ways."[179] These are

> Cuchulain battling with the bitter tide;
> The Druid, grey, wood-nurtured, quiet-eyed,
> Who cast round Fergus dreams, and ruin untold;
> And thine own sadness, whereof stars, grown old
> In dancing silver-sandalled on the sea,
> Sing in their high and lonely melody.[180]

In this paean to ancient ways and, later, "In all poor foolish things that live a day,/ Eternal beauty wandering on her way," we have a less formally controlled journey through the domains of nature in the words "wood," "sea," and "stars" that we get in the song Mulligan sings to Stephen, reminding Stephen in turn of his singing it to his mother, "Who goes with Fergus?" (*U*, 1.239-53). This song references the same Fergus in "Rose":

[179] Early draft, 17. Specifically, its first incarnation was "… mansions in eternity so will the thorntree, blasted by the winds of desire, become from a bramblebush to be the rose upon the rood of time."
[180] William Butler Yeats, *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats* (New York: Macmillan, 1964), 31.

> For Fergus rules the brazen cars,
> And rules the shadows of the wood,
> And the white breast of the dim sea
> And all dishevelled wandering stars.[181]

On top of this, "Rose" speaks of "ruin untold" – a connection that is not insignificant given its reference to a "rood of time" and the Blake image of "ruins of time" which Yeats copied into his introduction to Blake. Stephen has taken a faint echo in Yeats ("rood"/"ruin") and turned it into an elaboration ("What means this?") of "time's ruins": in being ruined, time is both spatialised and sacrificed in becoming a "rood," due its double meaning as crucifix (as in "Christ's rood made she on breastbone" (*U*, 14.83-84)) and area.

As so often happens in this episode, the "Elizabethan" section's status as "English" is upset by the intrusion of Latin: Stephen says "*Omnis caro ad te veniet*," translated as "all flesh shall come to thee [God]" and originating in eighteenth-century requiems (*Ann*, 3.396-97). More scandalously for a sense of historical progression, later in the section Stephen goes on to quote Léo Taxil, a nineteenth-century French writer: "*parceque M. Leo Taxil nous a dit que qui l'avait mise dans cette fichue position c'etait le sacre pigeon, ventre de Dieu!*" ["because Mr Léo Taxil has told us that the one who put her in this wretched position was the damned pigeon, bowels of God!"] (*U*, 14.306-07; *Ann*, 14.306-07).[182]

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[181] Yeats, *Poems*, 43. "Who Goes With Fergus?" also has the image of "dance upon the level shore," a more inland version of what the stars do in "Rose."

[182] This last is one of the connections with "Proteus" mentioned above in n. 168 (see 3.167-70). Stephen is referring to the following imaginary dialogue between Mary and Joseph, from Taxil's *La Vie de Jésus*:
"Qui donc, si ce n'est un homme, vous a mis dans cette fichue position ?
— C'est le pigeon, Joseph !"
["Who, then, if it wasn't a man, put you in this awful position?
It was the pigeon, Joseph!"] (translation my own)
Léo Taxil, *La Vie de Jésus* (Paris: P. Fort, 1900), chap. 4.

This is all to say that what is notionally "Elizabethan" weaves backward-looking (the young Yeats, as the poems in question are from 1893) and forward-looking (Blake) nineteenth-century voices, as well as older Middle English and the Biblical discourse of "In woman's womb word is made flesh but in the spirit of the maker all flesh that passes becomes the word that shall not pass away" (*U*, 14.292). Ironically, a quote from the most famous Elizabethan writer, Shakespeare, was taken from a German-language reference work, underscoring the heteroglossic quality of this episode's style. The section not only links back to literary history, but links forwards to the artificial history Joyce will construct later in "Oxen" (through foreshadowing the De Quincey section), and the history of Bloomsday (through the links back to works by Yeats and Blake cited earlier, and to Stephen's reading of *Hamlet*). A similar analysis could be applied to the other prose imitations in this episode.[183] This disrupts the idea of "styles" as self-contained beads in a linear progression: the Renaissance "styles" of Sidney, Raleigh, and Shakespeare are yoked to earlier and later styles, graphically represented in the blend of Sidney and Blake in "time's ruin" discussed above.

At the level of explicit discourse, the passage promotes a reifying theory of labour which supports the idea that our concrete existence in time should be forgotten beneath abstracted value. Readers have their experience of this paragraph reduced to an abstracted *Chockerlebnis* by the sheer density of historical intermingling. I have outlined a dense web of relations between the texts Joyce quotes and the rest of *Ulysses*, constructed gradually in painstaking drafts and revisions. This labour wasn't solely mechanical notetaking from anthologies and other textual mnemonic mechanisms, but blended this with using quotations

[183] See Davison "Incorporation of Literary Sources," 13-17 for analyses of several other passages in these terms.

from literature he knew by heart.[184] Nonetheless, the result for the reader is but a strange motley corresponding to no particular Elizabethan style. Even for the veteran reader who knows the references, it is hard to imagine *sensorily* integrating these references with one another in an experience that connects different eras of literary style at play. To demonstrate this, and hence the way that "Oxen"'s heteroglossia contributes to shock energy, we may turn to earlier heteroglossic Ulyssean prose, which can produce more temporally connected readerly experience.

I have mentioned some instances of *Chockerlebnis* in the early Bloom chapters, but these have mostly been attenuated – his viewing advertisements, for example. For the most part, these chapters ("Calypso" through "Hades," with a return in "Lestrygonians" and the second half of "Nausicaa") have heteroglossic prose that becomes like the river Joyce described to Power, unified enough that readers aren't disrupted out of the intense sense they are "following" Bloom yet various enough that we experience a person and a city in all their wondrous variety (the same could be said for Molly in "Penelope"). Here is just one example:

> He passed, dallying, the windows of Brown Thomas, silk mercers. Cascades of ribbons. Flimsy China silks. A tilted urn poured from its mouth a flood of bloodhued poplin: lustrous blood. The huguenots brought that here. *Lacaus esant tara Iara*. Great chorus that. *Taree Iara*. Must be washed in rainwater. Meyerbeer. *Tara: bom bom bom*. (*U*, 8.620-24)

[184] It is beyond my scope to elaborate further on the complex relations between writerly labour and readerly labour, or on the temporality of the former in general. This is due to how complex it is to retrace even a portion of Joyce's writerly labour. I cannot resist one observation: The reader's *Chockerlebnis* is an abstracted entity, unconnected to the concrete process of Joyce's writerly labour, much as wage labour results in abstracted exchange value. I hesitate to call this Joyce's "alienation," insofar as it seems to have been his intention or at least a price he was willing to pay (remember his reference to his readers' brains reeling). Yet it bears some structural parallels which it would be interesting to study further.

We slip between third person narration "He passed… mercers," into what is presumably Bloom's thoughts, "Cascades… silks." The third-person narration modulates to a more imagistic diction using several classic Ulyssean moves, the alliteration of "-ood," the portmeanteau "bloodhued," and the connection of clauses by a colon. We are then back in Bloom's thoughts, contrasting the reference to blood with a prosaic historical fact ("the hugenots brought that here") only to have this fact itself lead into references to blood, the latinised Italian of "*Lacaus esant tara lara*" ("*La causa è santa*" ["the cause is sacred"]) taken from a chorus of Meyerbeer's *Les Hugenots* which "justifies the murder of the Hugenots" (*Ann* 8.263-64). There are several different epochs (contemporary Dublin, nineteenth-century France), geographical locations (China, Dublin, France), languages (English, Latin, Italian), and forms of experience (musical, martial, religious, poetic, commercial) coming together, windows which this thesis, unlike Mr Bloom, unfortunately does not have time to "dally" at. What is important to note is that, experiencing this prose style, the reader can integrate a plurality of dictions into a vast yet sensorily vivid experience of Bloom, and of Dublin.

Stephen's consciousness can lead to a less integrated readerly experience, as already analysed in "Proteus." Yet the heteroglossia of much of the narration focused on his consciousness is more conducive to temporal connection than "Oxen." Take the following example from "Scylla and Charybdis":

> Do and do. Thing done. In a rosery of Fetter lane of Gerard, herbalist, he walks, greyedaubum. An azured harebell like her veins. Lids of Juno's eyes, violets. He

> walks. One life is all. One body. Do. But do. Afar, in a reek of lust and squalor, hands are laid on whiteness. (*U*, 9.651-54)

This passage plausibly occurs entirely in Stephen's mind, yet he synthesises several historical discourses and styles. It opens with a discourse of Victorian ethics, via the quotation Stephen famously "cribbed out of Meredith" (14.1486), "*The sentimentalist is he who would enjoy without incurring the immense debtorship for a thing done*" (*U*, 9.550-51).[185] The "rosery of Fetter lane of Gerard, herbalist," and "greyedauburn" use precise historical detail about Shakespeare's neighbour and appearance (*Ann*, 9.651-52) to give what Stephen elsewhere calls "local colour" to his evocation of Elizabethan England. "Azured harebell…" alludes to *Cymbeline*, specifically Arvirargus' mourning Imogen (asleep), who he thinks is Fidele, saying she "shalt not lack… The azured harebell, like thy veins" (IV.ii.222-24, cited in *Ann*, 9.652). This establishes a chain of floral imagery that gives precise visual detail to the Elizabethan scene while creating dramatic and mythological connections in "Lids of Juno's eyes, violets," reaching back as it does to Shakespeare's own mythological reference in *The Winter's Tale* ("The winds of March with beauty; violets, dim, / But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes" (IV.iv.120-21), quoted in *Ann*, 9.652-53), violets being flowers with which Perdita longs to strew her beloved Florizel. It is as if we are in Shakespeare's mind as he walks down the lane, composing his plays or calling them to mind as he sees flowers. The floral imagery reflects his artistic fecundity, in line with the famous image from Sonnet 15: "And all in war with time for love of you,/ As he takes from you, I engraft you new" (*Sonnets*, 15.13-14). One of the quotes comes from a catalogue of flowers that mourn a woman mistaken for a man, while the other comes from a girl who mistakes her own identity

[185] See George Meredith, *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel — Volume 3* (Urbana: Project Gutenberg), retrieved 29 June 2025, from https://www.gutenberg.org/files/39452/39452-h/39452-h.htm, chap. 24: ""Sentimentalists," says The Pilgrim's Scrip, "are they who seek to enjoy without incurring the Immense Debtorship for a thing done.""

hoping for the symbolic rebirth of a Spring marriage. This balanced intertextuality registers the fecundity and mobility of Shakespeare's mind: "He walks," after all. It is on this phrase that Stephen departs Shakespeare's mind, and he ironically proceeds with reflections that abandon this Shakespearean interrogation of identity by protesting too much the solidity of Stephen's own identity. Their telegraphic syntax reflects his mind working through these philosophical issues of selfhood: "One life is all. One body. Do. But do." Stephen's anxiety about his lack of artistic productivity, the tolling of imperatives to "Do," is made more touching by its contrast with Shakespeare's mobility and artistic fecundity. Using a double entendre on "do" as a hinge by which to exit this philosophical speculation, we move to an olfactory representation of Elizabethan debauchery ("reek of lust and squalor…") which repeats the central word "reek" to stamp itself on Stephen's earlier reminiscence on Dublin debauchery in "Aeolus": "Damp night reeking of hungry dough. Against the wall…. Quicker, darlint!" (*U*, 7.927-29). This suggests the non-parturitive sexual pleasure that is condemned in the Bunyan imitation in "Oxen." These styles together – the Victorian morals that one should take responsibility for creation; the historical detail and intertextual references that create a vivid sense of Shakespeare's creative fecundity; Stephen's conscience telling himself to create as a way to hold to his "One body"; the sexual imagery that upsets those dilemmas through a quasi-aesthetic pleasure that is non-"productive" (insofar as non-parturitive) yet disrupts the location of aesthetics in "One body" – create an astonishingly complex series of images through heteroglossia, yet ones that balances precise sensory details with a plurality of thematic and philosophical valences, productive tensions that the reader can elaborate forever.

These passages use heteroglossia to create opportunities for temporal connection unavailable in "Oxen." They can do this because, for a veteran reader who knows the references, these

passages bring historical references to bear upon our vivid sense of the characters' minds and the city they live in. The most sensorily vivid image in the Elizabethan imitation in "Oxen," decking the scene in Elizabethan garb like Stephen's "local colour" in his picture of Shakespeare, is "glistering coins of the tribute and goldsmith notes the worth of two pound nineteen shilling that he had, he said, for a song which he writ" (*U*, 14.285-86). Yet the prose style is knowingly dislocated from the events described, so it is hard to really grasp or picture the scene in its terms. This is exacerbated by the fact readers have not had time to adjust to its style thanks to its location in a progression of juxtaposed styles. The characters are not reached by the Elizabethan costume change, so the sensory vividness of that change is considerably attenuated. One also can't bring the Elizabethan scene into sensory interaction with the nineteenth century discourse of eternity and ruin Stephen goes on to crib from Blake and Yeats. I have given intellectual reasons for the link between "glistering coins" and "eternity's mansions," but I do not experience the revealing of coins in terms of Blakean eternity in the way I do the history classroom in "Nestor":

> —Very good. Where?
>
> The boy's blank face asked the blank window.
>
> Fabled by the daughters of memory. And yet it was in some way if not as memory fabled it. A phrase, then, of impatience, thud of Blake's wings of excess. (2.5-9)

This is to say that, due to the short space in which the Elizabethan style may develop, heteroglossia becomes less organic than it is elsewhere in the novel. Rather than creating connections between different epochs it creates an atemporal babble, flattened by readers and critics into a simplistic designation like "Elizabethan." The episode's shock quality therefore stems from contradictory movements: first, the rapid juxtaposition of different overall styles,

as we saw in contrasting Bunyan and Pepys; second, the slippage of styles outside the neat bounds these juxtapositions seem to create. These movements, however, work *together* to create the overall shock energy of the episode. Benjamin's analysis of shock suggests that the episode's initial critical paradigm, tracing a linear development of styles, is a practice of containment which reflects the dominant readerly experience of needing to parcel the episode into isolated units due to the excessive energy of those units. With Davison's work, the critical perspective departed the readerly one by highlighting how underneath the appearance of linear progression there exists a heteroglossic intermingling of different styles. My reading suggests that this heteroglossia creates a *Chokerlebnis* that reflects how the result of literary anthologies can be to upset the boundaries that they themselves attempt to erect between authors moving linearly across history. By not giving readers a substantial enough portion of prose to integrate the style of a writer into their experience, they turn those styles into reified abstractions, sensorily separated from other styles but for that very reason free to float into any style whatever. Marx identified a paradoxical tension in the commodity form, whereby an ordinary object like a table is "metamorphosed into a sensuous supersensuous thing," independent from other parts of our life and the "social relations" that produced them, yet able to enter into an infinite variety of "relations" with other commodities due to the fungibility of exchange value: the table-as-commodity "turns upside down and spins bizarre notions out of its blocky head, a performance far more fantastic than if it were to start dancing of its own accord" (*Capital*, 47-49). This is a fitting description of the quality style takes on in this procession. Unlike the juxtapositions between styles, the heteroglossia within them creates readerly *Chockerlebnis* and exacerbates the episode's shock energy, reflecting the effect of textual mnemonic mechanisms: the word in the age of mechanical reproduction, when all that is solid in reading melts into air.

This heteroglossia-induced *Chockerlebnis* disrupts the very continuity positivist historicist prose anthologies seek to enshrine, going further than the disruption of connection with which Benjamin condemned this ideology. Such discontinuity cannot alone overcome an ideology of linear history: doing so requires genuinely connecting events beyond the stately progression of rosary beads. But recall that discontinuity is the basis of the dialectical image, one epoch blasted into another. The final "frightful jumble" uses discontinuity to give readers the opportunity for such an experience. This tailpiece is a return to the blend of the oral and the textualised which the ritual invocations at the very start of the episode suggested, made more vivid by the infusion of contemporary oral cultures. While it might initially induce further *Chockerlebnis*, again created by textual mnemonic mechanisms, with the aid of scholarship these shock energies can be turned toward *Chockerfahrung*. The early twentieth century can then be blasted into our experience, creating a dialectical image out of the shock-induced discontinuity that frustrates us in the procession. Moreover, we may engage in a process of dereified readerly labour, genuinely connecting past and present across our reading experience and revealing the basis of interpretation in social practice.

Such unalienated labour is sorely needed by the end of the procession, when we are reminded again of the ideology of alienated labour which has defined the episode thus far. Ironically, it is two critics of Victorian capitalism, Dickens and Carlyle, in whose parodies this ideology reemerges. In the former, we have "the brave woman [Mina Purefoy] had manfully helped" "the physician" – beyond the assumption that performing labour is a "manly" activity and the excruciating pain of childbirth is a mere "help" to the work of physicians, the nurses who have appeared throughout the episode are not credited at all (*U,* 14.1312-13). Moreover, we have a repetition of the idea that the ultimate value of childbearing is transfigured in some kind of union with God, for Mina breathes "a silent prayer of thanksgiving to One above, the

Universal Husband," and has a passionate desire to be reunited with her Particular Husband, Theodore Purefoy (14.1318-19). The value of her childbearing is ultimately defined by the child's value for men, divorcing her concrete labour from the child it produced. In the Carlyle parody, the narrator enjoins Theodore to "labour like a very bandog" for the sake of population growth, "let scholarment and all Malthusiasts go hang" (14.1414-15). The narrator commiserates with Theodore's "drooping under thy load, bemoiled with butcher's bills at home and ingots (not thine!) in the countinghouse," a reference to Purefoy's job as "second accountant of the Ulster bank, College Green branch" (14.1416-17, 14.1324-25). As Osteen points out, there is an analogy between the usury Thedore performs for others' financial deposits and his and Mina's generation of children, which is grounded in their hopes of generating "interest" on their child in the form of social advancement, christening him "Mortimer Edward after the influential third cousin of Mr Purefoy in the Treasury Remembrancer's office, Dublin Castle" (*U,* 14.1334-36; Osteen, *Economy*, 236-40).[186] Lukács points out that interest is one of the highest forms of reification, quoting Marx's analysis of it as "a fetish form of capital," in which "the social relations" of production underlying commodities are completely obscured, as if they were "a mere accessory and by-product of… reproduction," "money generating money."[187] Thus, Mina's labour is not only forgotten beneath the fetish of the child's value for men, but along with Theodor's own

[186] In one of "Circe"s funniest hallucinations, Bloom gives birth to eight children – the number the Purefoys have after Mortimer's birth – and their names all have puns on words for silver or gold "Nasodoro [from the Spanish and Italian word for gold "oro"], Goldfinger, Chrysostomos [the name of the Greek orthodox bishop mentioned in "Telemachus" (*U*, 1.26) whose name means "golden-mouthed" (*Ann*, 1.26)], Maindoree [perhaps "main d'or," hand of gold in French), Silversmile, Silberselber, Vifargent [French word for quicksilver], Panargyros [inserting "arg," from the French word for silver "argent," into "panegyric"]" (*U*, 15.1827-28). They have "valuable metallic faces" (15.1823-24) and they realise the Purefoys' dreams of social advancement, being "immediately appointed to positions of high public trust in several different countries as managing directors of banks, traffic managers of railways, chairmen of limited liability companies, vicechairmen of hotel syndicates" (15.1828-32).

[187] Karl Marx, *Capital Volume III*, ed. Frederick Engels, trans. Ernest Untermann (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2010*)* 389-90, quoted in Lukács, "Reification," 93-94.

labour it is obscured beneath the subsequent advancement of that child within the patriarchal capitalist society of early twentieth-century imperial Dublin.

Osteen goes on to point out the irony of Joyce making Carlyle obsessed with population growth and, due to the above parallels, economic growth. Carlyle was a fervent critic of capitalism, which he called "Mammonism," and had explicitly Malthusian critiques of its growth-obsession ending up "in 'over-population;' in howling universal famine, 'impossibility,' and suicidal madness."[188] Joyce took notes on all the Carlyle passages in Peacock for use in "Oxen," and the following (excerpted from *Sartor Resartus*) illustrates the difference between Joyce's parody and the real Carlyle:[189]

> Stitch away, thou noble Fox: every prick of that little instrument is pricking into the heart of Slavery, and World-worship, and the Mammon-god. Thy elbows jerk, as in strong swimmer-strokes, and every stroke is bearing thee across the Prison-ditch within which Vanity holds her Workhouse and Ragfair, into lands of true Liberty (Peacock, *English Prose*, 332).[190]

This makes a clear distinction between Carlyle's ideal of aesthetic labour and wage labour. It could be argued that Joyce reifies Carlyle, turning him into a caricature of a Victorian obsessed with capitalist growth and obscuring even the sample of Carlyle's work reproduced in Peacock, taking out of context phrases like "toil on" (Peacock, *English Prose*, 339; *NBM* 19.90; *U*, 14.1414). Yet, Joyce does this in order to underscore the reified nature of Caryle's

[188] Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (Urbana: Project Gutenberg), retrieved 30 June 2025, from https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/26159/pg26159-images.html, 231, quoted in Osteen, *Economy*, 238.
[189] I will not go into the full details of the specific words and phrases Joyce took from Carlyle, for which see Janusko, *Sources*, 126-27.
[190] See *NBM*, 19.87 "ragman," which actually gets used in "Circe" (15.222, 15.225).

conception of labour. In the two passages that follow in Peacock, one from *Sartor Resartus* and one from the non-fictional *Past and Present*, Carlyle valorises craft and aesthetic labour more explicitly. Osteen points out that despite claiming "Labour is Life" (Peacock, *English Prose*, 336), there is no room for women's labour like Mina's in Carlyle's vision of labour (Osteen, *Economy*, 238). This is brought out in his injunction to Christopher Wren to "vanquish and compel" "by man's strength" the nets that surround him, "contradictory… things and persons, from the mutinous masons and Irish hodmen, up to the idle Nell-Gwyn Defenders, to blustering redtape Officials, foolish unarchitectural Bishops" as well as "Equitable Nature herself… if he constrain her not!" (Peacock, *English Prose*, 337).[191] There is a fetish character underlying Carlyle's conception of labour, which reifies anonymous toil into the fetish object of the "Great Man" producing the individual work of genius. This is the same reified conception of cultural history we have been studying in literary anthologies, one of which these Carlyle passages occur in. The effect this has of alienating others from the fruits of their labour is clearly expressed in "Oxen"'s Carlyle imitation, the narrator praising Theodore Purefoy for "fructifying" the "Godgiven preformed possibility" lying in Mina (*U*, 14.1413).[192]

[191] "Irish hodmen" and "Nell-Gwyn Defenders," Nell Gwyn being the Stuart king Charles II's mistress, give a strong anti-Catholic and anti-Irish tenor to this exhortation to labour on the Anglican cathedral St. Paul's. Carlyle's views on the Famine were moderate, placing the responsibility on British mismanagement and arguing for a solution to the problem through establishing a firmer self-government in the Irish aristocracy (See "Ireland and Sir Robert Peel" and "Legislation for Ireland," in *Essays on Politics and Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2022), 209-213, 201-204. Nonetheless, he was far from a believer in Irish independence.

[192] Joyce's notesheets have "in thee lay a godcreated" (*NBM*, 19.89). But the original Carlyle quote in Peacock this was inspired by is even closer, "in thee too lay a god-created Form" (*English Prose*, 333), suggesting Joyce may have remembered the full quote and produced "Godgiven preformed." Osteen makes a similar point to mine: "Mrs. Purefoy's labor in fact fits Marx's description of the worker in capitalist production" (*Economy*, 241).

Redemption in Opposite Chaos

Joyce described the tailpiece of "Oxen" as the "opposite chaos" to the faux-Latin headpiece (*Letters*, 3:16). If the headpiece seems marked by extreme textuality, this tailpiece seems marked by extreme orality. It opens thus:

> All off for a buster, armstrong, hollering down the street. Bonafides. Where you slep las nigh? Timothy of the battered naggin. Like ole Billyo. Any brollies or gumboots in the fambly? (*U*, 14.1440-42)

After the procession's contortions of not-quite historical textual units spilling into each others' boundaries, we are dropped into what seems to be a "contemporary" Dublin vernacular, samples of which might have charmed the reader in "Telemachus," the early Bloom episodes, or in "Cylcops." And, indeed, this is using contemporary slang, albeit of an English rather than Irish origin: "slep" (*NBM*, 11.1) is a London abbreviation of "slept" (Baumann, *Londinismen*, xxv, quoted in Mierlo 8); "brolly" (*NBM*, 17.88) of "umbrella" (Baumann, *Londinismen*, 19, quoted in Van Mierlo, "Notesheet 17," 10); "Billyo" (*NBM*, 17.84) is London slang for the devil (Baumann, *Londinismen*, 12, quoted in Van Mierlo, "Notesheet 17," 10);[193] "fambly" is the Cockney pronunciation of "family" (*Ann*, 14.1442).[194] Other forms of slang also appear in these sentences: "armstrong" (*NBM*, 17.1) is Suffolk Coast dialect for "arm in arm" (taken from Fitzgerald's "Sea Words and Phrases from the Suffolk Coast"), and "Timothy of the battered naggin" refers to a Dublin tale of a miserly

[193] It is "Billio" in both the notesheet and *Londinismen*.
[194] I have returned to referring only to Herring's notesheet transcription, since the spatial layout of the notes is not relevant for this section.

eccentric priest who ran an inn next to St Patrick's Cathedral (*Ann*, 14.1441).[195] Contrary to what Benjamin's writings on oral storytelling might suggest, this sense of contemporary oral culture on the page does not, at first, sensuously connect events for the virgin reader. This is primarily because Joyce foregoes speaker attribution or any indication of quotation. So, one of the key ways in which oral storytelling creates *Erfahrung* for Benjamin, the integration of a story into a teller's life, is disrupted by the ambiguity of the "speaker" of these words. Moreover, the demotic speech integrates slang from several regions. Joyce has crammed too much oral discourse into a short space, creating an excessive energy that brings the reader up short, a *Chockerlebnis* in which the reader struggles to work out what's happening. Just as in the earlier sections of "Oxen," this *Chockerlebnis* of orality was enabled by textual mnemonic mechanisms.

The slang I have already quoted, as indicated by my parenthetical citations, came in large part from different kinds of textual mnemonic mechanisms to the literary anthologies that largely supported Joyce's writing of Oxen's procession. Joyce mostly used "dictionaries and word lists" that, Van Mierlo points out, study language as something non-literary, and often more "technical" (Van Mierlo, "Notesheet 17," 19). The mediation by these mechanisms once again produces *Chockerlebnis*. Here, the shock character comes not from excessive energy produced by temporal variety (as in the procession), but geographical variety in the demotic and literary language used.

[195] Edward Fitzgerald, "Sea Words and Phrases from the Suffolk Coast," in *Variorum and Definitive Edition of the Poetical and Prose Works of Edward FitzGerald*, vol. 6 (New York: Doubleday, Page and co., 1902), 207 (hereafter cited in the text), quoted in Van Mierlo, "Notesheet 17," 13.

Joyce uses the American slang "thunderation" and "durned" in "Thunderation! Keep the durned millingtary step" (*U*, 14.1462; *NBM* 20.58, 20.2). Sarah Davison has traced this to Joseph Crosby Lincoln's *Cap'n Eri: A Story of the Coast*.[196] "Whatten tunket" (14.1546, *NBM*, 17.35) comes from the same source (Lincoln, *Cap'n Eri*, 3, quoted in Van Mierlo, "Notesheet 17," 12).[197] Davison points out that Joyce ignored Lincoln's narrator, who spoke in "more standard English," focusing instead on the most idiomatic or striking examples of language in the text (Davison, "Oxtail Soup," 10). Just as he exaggerated the Pepys-Bunyan difference, Joyce here "exaggerates linguistic markers of national difference for comic effect" (19). Lincoln's novel also brought Joyce seafaring slang like "abaft" (*NBM*, 17.37; *Cap'n Eri*, 7, quoted in Davison, "Oxtail Soup," 7). Together with the use of seafaring words taken from Fitzgerald, this stretches the section's geographic reach, insofar as seafarers lived on countries' peripheries: "When sailors come ashore, they bring their international slang and cant to a community that is already on the periphery of national culture" (Davison, "Oxtail Soup," 13). This polyglottic aspect of seafaring slang is brought out by "Horryvar, mong vioo" (*U*, 14.1522, a bad pronunciation of "au revoir, mon vieux"; *NBM*, 17.8 ("Horry war")), taken from Fitzgerald's "HORRYWAUR" (Fitzgerald, "Sea Words," 217, quoted in Van Mierlo, "Notesheet 17," 13). This is of course something which Joyce's very use of Lincoln tells us: to learn American slang he had to supplement his knowledge from American acquaintances with texts that crossed seas.[198]

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[196] Joseph Crosby Lincoln, *Cap'n Eri: A Story of the Coast* (New York: A. L. Burt and Company, 1912), 307, 143 (hereafter cited in the text), quoted in Davison, "Oxtail Soup," 8-9.
[197] In *Cap'n Eri* and the notesheet, it is "where in tunket."
[198] "Your corporisty sagacitating O K?" (*U*, 14.1482-83) comes from "How's your corporosity sagacitating?," an American phrase Joyce learned from Myron Nutting (*JJ*, 519).

This suggests how the geographic spread of oral slang in this tailpiece is mediated by the very shock-inducing technologies studied so far, something brought out even more clearly when newspaper discourse makes its appearance in the midst of characters' oral utterances:

> Shut his blurry Dutch oven with a firm hand. Had the winner today till I tipped him a dead cert. The ruffin cly the nab of Stephen Hand as give me the jady coppaleen. He strike a telegramboy paddock wire big bug Bass to the depot. Shove him a joey and grahamise. Mare on form hot order. Guinea to a goosegog. Tell a cram, that. Gospeltrue. (*U*, 14.1513-17)

"Blurry" is slang for bloody, "ruffin" for the Devil, "cly" for take, and "nab" for head (*Ann*, 14.1513, 14.1514). Joyce took both "Dutch oven," meaning "mouth," and "dead cert," from Baumann (*NBM*, 17.81, 17.15; Baumann, *Londinismen*, cx, quoted in Van Mierlo, "Notesheet 17," 9; Baumann, *Londinismen*, 29, quoted in Van Mierlo, "Notesheet 17," 7). Slote, Mamigonian and Turner point out that "The ruffin cly the nab of the Harmanbeck" is the first line of a thieves' cant song "The Beggar's Curse," which is quoted in Baumann, (*Londinismen*, xliv, quoted in *Ann*, 14.1514). Lenehan goes on to imagine how Bantam Lyons must feel towards him by rehearsing a story about "Stephen Hand" who has gotten a tip from a telegramboy coming from the Bass brewing company which, like Lenehan's tip for Sceptre earlier in the day (*U*, 8.829-30), proved to be ill-advised. This telegram (or "tell a cram," more London slang from Baumann (*NBM*, 17.79; *Londinismen*, cxiii, quoted in Van Mierlo, "Notesheet 17," 9)) is rendered in "Mare on form hot order. Guinea to a goosegog," the latter meaning "long odds" (*Ann*, 14.1517), but the whole passage is written in the clipped style of telegrams that formed the basis of newspaper reporting. Moreover, Van Mierlo has identified that "jady," meaning "tricky, jadish" (*OED*) and "hot order" were copied into

Joyce's notesheets from the *Freeman's Journal* Saturday April 17, 1920 reports on horseracing (*NBM*, 17.96; Van Mierlo, "Notesheet 17, 16-17). Contemporary print discourse, from the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05, also appears a few lines later, with "Jappies? High angle fire, inyahl Sunk by war specials." "High-angle fire" was commonly used in reporting, and "war special" was a common byline (*Ann*, 14.1560-61).

In addition to this mediation of oral discourse by the shock technology of newspapers, we see the interface of oral and print culture in quotes from poetry. The poets selected are often those who attempted to continue the vanishing oral cultures of their nations, but whom these university students would have received at least partly through textual reproduction. The drinkers protest "We are nae fou. We're nae tha fou" (*U*, 14.1505), the chorus of Robert Burns' "Willie Brew'd a Peck of Maut" ("fou" meaning drunk in Scots).[199] The same poem has "And Rab and Allen came to pree," which in *Ulysses* becomes "Hoots, mon, a wee drap to pree" (*U*, 14.1532). "Jock braw Hielentman's your barleybree" (14.1489-90) synthesises "my braw john Highlandman" from "The Jolly Beggars" and another line of "Willie Brew'd"'s chorus, "And ay we'll taste the barley bree" (Burns, *Poems*, 73, quoted in *Ann*, 14.1489-90). The Burns examples are particularly noteworthy insofar as they introduce the Scotch dialect, furthering the geographical dispersion of demotics in this section, again through a partly textualised medium. Anonymous Irish songs, reproduced at the turn of the century in anthologies like Hyde's, are also quoted: "One time nought but claret drinking" becomes "Bowsing nowt but claretwine" (*U*, 14.1508; Ann, 14.1508). An Irish poet who like

[199] Robert Burns, *The Complete Works of Robert Burns: Containing his Poems, Songs, and Correspondence* (Urbana: Project Gutenberg), retrieved 29 June 2025, from https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/18500/pg18500-images.html#songsLXXXIX, 241 (hereafter cited in the text), quoted in *Ann*, 14.1505.

Burns tried to continue an oral tradition, Thomas Moore, is quoted in "If she who seduced me had left but the name" (14.1496-97).[200]

Nineteenth-century poetry, several twentieth-century newspapers, nineteenth-century popular literature, contemporary slang from at least four countries: Joyce called this a "jumble" with justice. This geographical and (to a lesser extent) temporal jumble gives an excessive energy to the tailpiece, creating a *Chockerlebnis* in the reader who struggles to integrate these different registers. This *Chockerlebnis* is exacerbated by the lack of context given to the oral exclamations, which isolates them in a very similar way to the Latinate headpiece.[201] Someone calls for the marching song of "British Beatitudes!," and before the beatitudes there follows: the (most likely) unrelated speeches of Mulligan's nonsense from a French song "*Retamplatan digidi boumboum*"; Mulligan's spoof of the Irish revival whose "Druidrum press" (punning on Dun Emer Press) will "print" this song with "Calf covers of pissedon green"; and several imperatives for the gang to "Get a spurt on" (*U*, 14.1453-57). The beatitudes are: "Beer, beef, business, bibles, bulldogs, battleships, buggery and bishops" (14.1453-60).[202] The "b-" alliteration, preceding imperatives, and samples of Dublin humour give these materials a unique vivacity. They also take the reader back to Mulligan's spoofs of the Irish revival in "Telemachus" ("new art colour for our Irish poets: snotgreen" (*U*, 1.74) and "Five lines of text and ten pages of notes about the folk and the fishgods of Dundrum. Printed by the weird sisters in the year of the big wind" (1.365-67)). Yet, a virgin reading is

[200] The reference is to the first line of "When He, Who Adores Thee," "When he, who adores thee, has left but the name" (Thomas Moore, *The Irish Melodies, National Airs, Sacred Songs, Etc., of Thomas Moore* (New York: D & J Sadlier & Co, 1874), 51, quoted in *Ann*, 14.1496-97).
[201] A more trivial similarity between the headpiece and tailpiece is that Latin is used in the latter, such as "*Nos omnes biberimus viridum toxicum, diabolus capiat posterioria nostria*," "We shall all have drunk the green poison [absinthe]—let the devil take our backsides" (14.1533-34; *Ann*, 14.1533-34).
[202] Slote, Mamigonian and Turner say that Mulligan could be referring to the British Beatitudes as what shall be published by the Revival press (*Ann*, Appendix). I don't agree, seeing as Mulligan has been singing his song on either side of someone calling for the Beatitudes. The Dun Emer Press was run by Yeats' sister Elizabeth (*Ann*, 1.365-66).

likely not marked by vivacity or temporal connection to "Telemachus," but by a stubborn abutment against the materials read, and especially by a frustration at having to trace back over the text to realise that "beer… bishops" are the "Bishop Beatitudes" referred to earlier (unless "atitudes" coming right before is enough of a hint). Like in the Latinate headpiece, this requirement to stitch the passage's timeline together threatens to disconnect its materials from one another, grouping them together in distinct units rather than holistically integrating them. It comes to seem as if orality does nothing to mitigate the fact these words are as separated from their context as the commodified words of the headpiece or the procession, able to split themselves apart and float across one another. This is discontinuity, however, with a difference. Far from the arbitrary breaking up of clauses in the Latinate headpiece, Joyce here splits up phrases out of documentary realism: people simply said other things between the Beatitudes being called for and their recitation. Much of this episode cries out to be aided by scholarship, and it is scholarship that has helped develop my reading above. I have already observed how annotations in particular are a textual mnemonic mechanism bearing shock energy, there being a welter of information for every scene of the novel. The same, every Joyce scholar knows, applies to scholarship on *Ulysses* in general – it can feel like the scholarship on a given part of the novel is so abundant that one struggles to actually experience that part coherently. Yet these shock-inducing mechanisms helps us to read this episode polyphonically and thereby forge a *Chockerfahrung* through the temporal connections created in our readerly labour.

I say "polyphonic" reading since the British Beatitudes passage creates, across several reads, a sense of the dense web of speech, of different languages and references floating between something as simple as a chant and its initiating call. Consider this passage as well:

> Hurroo! Collar the leather, youngun. Roun wi the nappy. Here, Jock braw Hielentman's your barleybree. Lang may your lum reek and your kailpot boil! My tipple. Merci. Here's to us. How's that? Leg before wicket. Don't stain my brandnew sitinems. Give's a shake of peppe, you there. Catch aholt. Caraway seed to carry away. Twig? Shrieks of silence. (*U*, 14.1489-93)

A virgin reader will be confused by the juxtapositions, much like in the procession of prose styles, registering only a sense of rapid changes of diction and rhythm, perhaps glimpsing the vivacity of loud conversation in a small room. But through reference to external scholarship, readers may find that "Collar the leather" is slang for catching a ball, "Roun… boil" is Scots dialect meaning "Bring the ale round. Here, a strong ale for your brave Scotch Highlandman. Long may your chimney smoke and your soup pot boil" (*Ann*, Appendix), that "Leg before wicket" is rhyming slang for "that's the ticket" (*Ann*, 14.1491), and "sitinems" is usually printed "sit-in-ems," slang for trousers (*OED*), bringing the earlier "Leg before wicket" away from its rhyming slang and towards its literal meaning of a projectile hitting someone's legs, with disastrous results. "Give's a shake of peppe, you there" is one of Bloom's least cordial moments toward a stranger in the whole novel, however his impatience is explained when we learn that pepper in beer was a way of curing flatulence (*Ann*, 14.1492). Caraway seeds are another method of curing flatulence (*Ann*, 14.1493), hence Lenehan's "Caraway seed to carry away," something that is otherwise inexplicable as a joke. Understanding the joke explains a wonderful moment, Lenehan asking "Twig?" only for the narration to shift away from direct speech to the indirect "Shrieks of silence," as if Lenehan's woeful humour has gotten Joyce to break out of his neutral recording of characters' speech. All of this together allows a reader to go back over the passage and realise the precise Babel Joyce records, sporting metaphors used now for passing drinks round, now for a humorously agonistic compliment of the

beverages, now for a warning not to get too close to whoever has the sitinems. One feels in the middle of a pub, and the diversity of voices is reflected in the diversity of toasts from "Roun… boil" to "Leg before wicket." Cramming this diversity into a small space gives it excessive energy, yet by going through the tailpiece slowly the voices start to sensuously intermingle.

The Beatitudes passage also suggests the connections such multilayered reading allows us to form between this documentary realism, earlier parts of the book and the world outside the book, creating connections across time that were possible in the novel's earlier heteroglossia, but not in "Oxen"'s procession. Consider, for example, the phonetic rendering of drunkenness in "I vear thee beest a gert vool" [I fear you're a great fool (*Ann*, Appendix)], or more interestingly Dixon saying Bloom "Got bet be a boomblebee whenever he wus settin sleepin in hes bit garten," referring to Bloom being bit by a bumblebee. This connects forward to "Eumaeus"'s printing Bloom's name "L. Boom" in a newspaper, triangulating Hynes' mishearing Bloom's name at Dignam's funeral and that misprint. Our last reading about the bumblebee sting (*U*, 4.483-84) didn't specify that Bloom was sleeping, and the fact he was, introduced here, crucially connects Bloom to King Hamlet who was poisoned while sleeping in the garden (Hamlet, I.v.58-69, cited in *Ann* 14.1472), thickening the Hamletian parallel in Bloom and Stephen's relationship. Of course, it is in "Eumaeus" when Bloom and Stephen seem united, yet strangely apart, reading the same newspaper yet paying attention to completely different sections (*U*, 16.1274-94). And the newspaper itself reflects this, claiming Stephen was at a funeral with Bloom which he did not in fact attend (although it was on the way to the funeral when, unbeknownst to Hynes who has made the mistake, Bloom first sees Stephen and makes an equation between him and Rudy after Simon Dedalus bemoans Mulligan's influence on Stephen: "Full of his son. He is right. Something to hand

on. If little Rudy had lived. See him grow up" (6.74-75)). Like the separation of clauses in the Beatitudes, the phonetic rendering of Dixon's drunkenness might be hard to process initially, yet it allows us to sensuously connect different parts of the book and other literature, here adding layers of complexity to the Hamlet parallel and its related dynamic of recognition and misrecognition in Bloom and Stephen's relationship.

By taking time to understand these utterances seemingly divorced of context, what was a *Chockerlebnis* can become a *Chockerfahrung*. The three passages we have examined – the Beatitudes, the passing of drinks, and the phonetic rendering of Dixon's drunken speech – all attain their polyphonic power by holding juxtaposed realities and existences jammed next to one another, whether these are from the present scene or earlier in the book. This sense would be unattainable had Joyce lessened the shock impact, the energy within these utterances, through devices like speaker attribution.

The readerly effort I have been describing, the effort of understanding these shock-laden utterances which creates *Chockerfahrung*, is a form of dereified labour. It is indeed labour for the initiate: trawling across articles, reference-hunting in dictionaries, re-reading earlier parts of the book and annotations of it… I blame no one their foregoing the attempt to understand "Oxen" in this detail. Yet it is dereified in two senses. Reading this way bears fruit in a way reading, even veteran reading armed with scholarship, doesn't in the earlier sections of "Oxen." The reader takes on materials across different times – the characters' speech, the historical slang and literary works they utter or quote, the relevant events and dynamics from earlier in the novel – and connects these with one another into *Chockerfahrung*. This gives a sharp, temporally connected sense of the scene we cannot attain in the procession of prose styles, where readerly labour is reified into a *Chockerlebnis* that doesn't connect the parts we

read – the styles of the procession, the individual references within a single parody – across time.

Here, it may be objected that I have returned to the ineluctable modality of the visible, the ultimate site of advertising's reification in *Ulysses*. But note that the excessive shock energy of the episode here means we are *not* engulfed in a visual intoxication, as the absence of specifying detail means there is always indeterminacy: I do not know who warns of their sitinems getting stained, nor who asks for the pepper, even if I might suspect it is Bloom. In the end it is the words themselves that bring vividness here, words that are linked with the concrete human practice that creates them. This brings us to the second aspect of dereification in the readerly labour discussed above. Benjamin's textual-*Erlebnis*/oral-*Erfahrung* fork might imply that referring to external scholarship for literary experience, and especially referring to something as rigidly demarcated as line-by-line annotations, leads to a temporally isolated experience. Indeed, one notch Lukács gives realism over modernism is its ability to link the subjective fragmentation of experience to the social totality which causes that fragmentation "without the need for any external commentary" (Lukács, "Realism in the Balance," 34-35). While he is referring to the modernist penchant for "commentary" by the author, "'inserting' [*Einmontierung*] theses into scraps of reality with which they have no organic connection" (34),[203] the commentary of external scholarship surely has an even less "organic connection" with modernism's "scraps of reality," and so reliance on it reflects an extreme form of reification. So be it – building a reading of this section from external scholarship is then another example of how deploying the energies of reification may lead to dereification. Its shock energy, the overwhelming number of references and sources it

[203] That Joyce would be associated with such a procedure comes from Lukács' interpreting him as a Surrealist ("Realism," 34).

provides, doesn't only enable our labour to form a uniquely vivid *Chockerfahrung*: labouring across these sources also embeds us within, and thus brings to our consciousness, the social process of transmission that facilitates linguistic interpretation. Words are not what they appear to be in the literary anthologies the procession is modelled off, goods lying in the past and free to be sampled by someone in the present. To have meaning, they must live for us within a historical social practice. Through scholarship, we see how the words we read in the tailpiece were used in a concrete social context like the one seen here, then they were often placed in dictionaries and word lists which Joyce in turn had to travail over, and finally they were brought to our attention, in a great deal of historical detail, through Joyce scholars' tireless and collaborative work. It is this social historical practice in which the readerly labour I have discussed inexorably embeds us.

The tailpiece also has the potential to create a *Chockerfahrung* in the form of a dialectical image. Despite its temporal reach into nineteenth-century literature and 1920s newspapers, there is not much in this scene that couldn't conceivably be said in 1904, reflecting the huge geographical and historical sweep at play in the demotic parlance of this community. The section is notably light on for quotes from the authors who made up the procession of prose styles. [204] This means we see the transmission of words in a particular epoch – the early twentieth century, which would have been a past epoch for all readers of this episode, serialised as it was after the First World War.[205] It is blasted into our present starkly, with a

[204] Some include "who the sooty hell's the johnny" (*U*, 14.1575), taken from "sooty hell" in Carlyle's *Past and Present* (*NBM*, 20.70; Carlyle, *Past and Present*, 366, quoted in Janusko, *Sources*, 155), "Obligated awful" (*U*, 14.1471-72), the first word of which Joyce took from Walter Savage Landor's *Imaginary Conversations* (the conversation with Scott) (*NBM* 19.31; Janusko, "Oxcavations"), and "Well, doc? Back fro Lapland?" (*U*, 14.1482), the last word being a slang term for female genitalia or female society which Joyce copied from Swift (*NBM*, 3.4, 4.80; Janusko, "Oxcavations"), but which was a popular slang term these speakers may have known (Eric Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1937), 469).

[205] It was serialised in December 1920 (James Joyce, "*Ulysses* (Episode XIV)," *Little Review* 7, no. 3, September-December 1920).

force that would be unattainable without the scene's shock energies and Joyce scholarship that gives us such a vivid picture of the social practice at hand. Again, we see linguistic transmission as a concrete social practice in this scene, with characters punning off each other and using words learned from the technologies of print capitalism (such as the American slang learned from popular fiction) in a concrete social life, just as Joyce himself redeployed words taken from dictionaries and word lists in writing this scene. The activity of word use is taken out of its reified existence in capitalist print culture – especially apparent to us after the procession – and placed in a concrete social world in which it may bear the fruit of social use, the vivacious bar scene. This is a glimpse of the dream of unalienated labour, still unredeemed when we read *Ulysses* today. It is, then, our responsibility to redeem it, to extend the dereified labour of reading outlined above to other areas of human life.

As mentioned above, the social process of linguistic transmission, blasted into our present in the dialectical image and which we ourselves are made to feel ourselves part of through our dereified readerly labour, is what is obscured in the reified procession of literary style in anthologies. We now have a sensory context in which slang that intrudes in the historical styles, like the Dublin argot intensifier "out of that" (Spoo, *Language of History*, 148; *Ann* 3.353) or the cockney slang at the end of an imitation of Goldsmith (*U*, 14.840-84; Gibson, *Revenge*, 182) is given a vivid social context. A more interesting example is the word "afeard," which we saw in the Elizabethan Chronicle imitation (*U*, 14.284). While it occurs in a Shakespeare quote, "Be not afeard," studying the genetic history reveals Joyce got it from Baumann: literary history itself survives through slang. As Spoo points out, "subliterary or extraliterary forms of language" that we see in the tailpiece are an "other" to the official literary history, "hovering like other voices in other rooms but occasionally becoming audible within the historical styles themselves" (Spoo, *Language of History*, 148). They were hiding

beneath the procession's reified vision of literary history, but having come to consciousness they can dereify what was previously reified in that procession: now that we have engaged in a sensorily vivid process of linguistic transmission, we might (however incompletely) imagine the social practice in which the words in the Elizabethan Chronicle imitation originally had their use. Recall that the positivist cultural history which Benjamin critiques as "reified" is one which views the past in terms of "treasures" (*SW*, 4:391) in the present's "inventory" (3:267). Such treasures, when looked at from the point of view of historical materialism, are revealed to "owe their existence not only to the efforts of the great geniuses who created them, but also to the anonymous toil of others who lived in the same period. There is no document of culture which is not at the same time a document of barbarism" (4:392). It is this anonymous toil, forgotten by some of the very writers in the history of English prose who critiqued wage labour, which Joyce had the grace to reveal beneath his work of genius, and which we further uncover through bringing this episode to light with scholarship.

Coda: flowers and Flowers

This answers the challenge Lukács posed to modernist art. Blanton neatly summarises Benjamin's view on Baudelaire's poetry as "a formal submission to the logic of reification that also seeks to absorb or sublate it, seizing upon the work's own divided condition as an instrument of recognition" ("Modernism and Reification," 812). It is this recognition we have seen in "Oxen," but not only that: readers witness and engage in a socially expansive practice of reading that dereifies through a form of labour, the primal scene of the logic of reification. History and Joyce still have their cunning up their sleeves, however: at the end of "Oxen" the commodity speaks through Alexander J. Dowie, the evangelist heavily advertised throughout

the novel, and we are brought into the world of "Circe"'s reifications, precisely through the sort of American slang we saw elsewhere in "Oxen"'s tailpiece:

> Alexander J Christ Dowie, that's my name, that's yanked to glory most half this planet from Frisco beach to Vladivostok. The Deity aint no nickel dime bumshow. (*U*, 14.1585-86)

Our own acknowledgment of the past's unredeemed dreams and engagement in a dereified social practice is also, alas, provisional. At the book's close, in Molly's monologue where she remembers getting Leopold to propose to her, she remembers how she "gave him the bit of seedcake out of my mouth" (18.1574), seedcake Leopold remembers as "warm and chewed" earlier in the day (8.907). Love seems a zone in which we may be unalienated from the fruits of our labour, in which the seeds we plant with our actions, warming and chewing, may blossom into "flower[s] of the mountain" (18.1576) through the soil of a shared life, the "sweetsour of her spittle" that lies in Leopold's mouth (8.908). And Molly's memories intrude on her consciousness rapidly, in vivid sensory detail, memories within memories as she remembers those she had when she was on Howth with Bloom sixteen years earlier:

> the castanets and the night we missed the boat at Algeciras the watchman going about serene with his lamp and that awful deepdown torrent O and the sea the sea crimson sometimes like fire and the glorious sunsets and the figtrees in the Alameda gardens yes and all the queer little streets and the pink and blue and yellow houses and the rosegardens and the jessamine and geraniums and cactuses and Gibraltar as a girl where I was a Flower of the mountain… (18.1596-1602)

Memories flow into one another, “that awful deepdown torrent O” needing only a conjunction to bring her to a more general memory of the sea in Gibraltar, the fire of its surface reflecting back a “glorious sunset” and the houses of Gibraltar nestled within its plant life. Yet here “Flower” is capitalised. In a chapter where so many words usually capitalised are not, any unnecessary capitalisation is notable. There are some examples throughout – “burns the bottom out of the pan all for his Kidney,” “like a Stallion,” prohibiting any general theory of what capitalisation means (18.568, 18.152). But perhaps this is Henry Flower re-entering, becoming one with Molly at the very same moment Bloom does, questioning what kind of flower the seedcake will bear, and whether their actions are sensuously connected to their results across time or isolated in the moment of their occurring. As always in our reading of *Ulysses*, reification touches the very point of dereification.

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