The Island of Cyclopian Saints: Cultural Nationalism and Religion in the "Cyclops" Episode of Joyce's *Ulysses*

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Problematizing the Issue of Nationalism in "Cyclops"

"Good puzzle would be cross Dublin without passing a pub," thinks Leopold Bloom in the early morning of 16 June 1904. It would be an equally good puzzle to work one's way through the amassed criticism on the "Cyclops" episode of Joyce's *Ulysses* without passing a reference to Irish nationalism. The chapter's engagement with Irish nationalism, noted by the first commentators, has remained one of the crucial issues of critical inquiry up to the present. The nature of this engagement has been continually reassessed, particularly vigorously after the introduction of the concerns and methods of postcolonialism into Joyce criticism in the early 1980s. This process of reappraisal has evinced a clear shift from associating nationalism with the xenophobic citizen's intolerance and violence against Bloom to problematizing the issue by contextualised readings accommodating the discourses of empire as well as cultural nationalism, and by discussing formal features in terms of engagement with ideological formations, among others those of nationalism.

Placing David Hayman's and Marilyn Reizbaum's essays on "Cyclops" beside each other illustrates this shift conspicuously[1]. While Hayman associates nationalism with the belligerence and self-pity of the citizen, which thus functions as the foil to the humanitarianism of Bloom "speaking for peace and reason in a den of violent fools" (245-50), Reizbaum examines how the cherished nationalist "subjects of sacrifice and heroism, in tandem with the politics of race and national identity are illuminated by the [. . .] recessed categories of gender and sexuality" focusing on the dynamic interaction between the abject othering of Bloom in the nameless narrator's zone and a list of women saints appearing in a mock-religious interpolation intruding upon the narrative space of Bloom's othering (168).

Reizbaum's essay partakes of a recently intensifying critical effort, perhaps answering Fritz Senn's invitation ("Entering Lists" 257), to tackle the rhetorical function of one of the most problematic formal elements of "Cyclops": its numerous lengthy lists. As Brigitte L. Sandquist claimed in 1996, critical habits had tended to duplicate the split structure of the episode. Critics had either privileged the nameless narrator's zone or they concentrated on the interpolations and their numerous lengthy lists producing new lists by annotating meticulously the individual items within them, but they had scarcely discussed the tensions between the two (305). The 1990s have seen repeated attempts to rectify this.[2] My present inquiry aims to further this ongoing critical enterprise by reassessing how "Cyclops" subversively stages the interaction between religion and nationalism. In particular, I will explore how cultural nationalism utilises religion for its ideological purposes by focusing on a list of saints. Owing to my

partly shared focus with Reizbaum, certain overlaps are unavoidable for the sake of the clarity of my argument, but because my reading examines the list through the conceptual lens of cultural nationalism rather than that of gender and sexuality, I arrive at quite different insights.

God Bless All Here Save a Few

Joyce's intention to dramatize the interaction of national and religious issues in "Cyclops" was an integral part of his design from the inception of the episode in June 1919. In the earliest notes for this chapter of *Ulysses*, in which "issues of nationalist politics and culture are played out most intensely" (Lloyd 106), "Religion-Saints (Isle)" appears as number one in a list of some features or events, with "Saints" reappearing after "Arrival Martin" (Herring 129). In the printed text a list of seventy-nine saints follows soon upon Martin Cunningham's arrival at Barney Kiernan's, and the mock-religious interpolation describing a religious procession and the consecration of Barney Kiernan's pub, which includes the list of saints, is most immediately triggered by Martin Cunningham's toast and the others' rejoinder:

> — Well, says Martin, rapping for his glass. God bless all here is my prayer.
> — Amen, says the citizen.
> — And I'm sure he will, says Joe.
> And at the sound of the sacring bell . . . (12. 1673-6)[3]

Most interpolations in the chapter counteract the monocular utterances of the barflies reported by the nameless narrator, several of them through the ironic performance of duplicating their verbal practices in, to use Fritz Senn's term, a "provective" manner. They carry them into the realm of grotesque exaggeration (*Scrutinies* 39). The mock-religious interpolation containing the list of saints serves as a particularly complex prism refracting diverse thematic and rhetorical elements of the nameless narrator's zone. Thus, while it literalizes and grotesquely swells Cunningham's metaphorical toast, it also counteracts the xenophobic citizen's attack on Bloom: "Saint Patrick would want to land again at Ballykinlar and convert us, says the citizen, after allowing things like that to contaminate our shores" (12.1672). Furthermore, the enumeration of seventy-nine saints participating in the religious procession—a sort of interpolation within the interpolation—can be seen as a grotesque visualization of the citizen's use of the much treasured nationalist epithet of Ireland as a punchline for his clinching ironic revelation of Bloom's identity: "That's the new Messiah for Ireland! says the citizen. Island of saints and sages!" (12.1642). The comic effect of the list, which accommodates the canonised versions of the barflies—S. Alfred, S. Joseph, S. Leopold, etc.—and such saints as S. Anonymous and S. Synonymous is evident. But beyond this, the saintly catalogue engages in a complex and intricate way with the crucial thematic issue of identity—both personal and national—the problematization of which is staged in multiple ways in the episode.

What the Hell is He?

The mock-religious interpolation, including the list of saints, occurs in the text at the point when despite Bloom's preceding declaration of his national and racial belongings, his identity—nationality, religion, virility—comes to figure in the discussion of the barflies as a multi-layered riddle.

— And after all, says John Wyse, why can't a jew love his country like the next fellow?
— Why not? says J.J., when he's quite sure which country it is.
— Is he a jew or a gentile or a holy Roman or a swaddler or what the hell is he? says Ned. Or who is he? No offence, Crofton. (12.1628-32)
— Isn't he a cousin of Bloom the dentist? says Jack Power. (12.1638)
— Do you call that a man? says the citizen.
— I wonder did he ever put it out of sight, says Joe.
— Well, there were two children born anyhow, says Jack Power.
— And who does he suspect? says the citizen. (12.1654-7)

This wholesale questioning of the coordinates of Bloom's identity derives from Lenehan's accusation that Bloom won money on the horse, Throwaway, which does not comply with the image most Dubliners have of him. Lenehan's figuring of Bloom as a "bloody dark horse," that is, inscrutable, unfathomable, having a secret life, is further strengthened by John Wyse Nolan's Cyclopian "fact" that it was Bloom who "gave the [Hungarian] ideas for *Sinn Fein* to Griffith." Once rumours are unleashed, they have the tendency to authorise themselves in the course of their circulation, no matter how dubious that authority may always remain.[4] "Cyclops" at this point, however, seems to promise an authoritative version of things beyond rumour: "—Well, it's a fact, says John Wyse. And there's the man now that'll tell you about it, Martin Cunningham" (12.1586-7). As a man from Dublin castle, a representative of colonial rule in Ireland, he is supposed to be in the know. Cunningham's efforts to pose as authority, however, repeatedly counteract this raised expectation, since his own words invalidate themselves, and as a result of this, rumour and authority collapse into each other.

— Isn't that a fact, says John Wyse, what I was telling the citizen about Bloom and the Sinn Fein?
— That's so, says Martin. Or so they allege.
— Who made those allegations? says Alf.
— I, says Joe. I'm the alligator. (12.1623-7)

Who the "they" may be is not explained, instead the issue trails off into a silly joke. A little later when Cunningham reveals Bloom's Hungarian origins, which confirms his alleged role as Griffith's advisor, the pronoun "they" changes into "we": "He's a perverted jew, says Martin, from a place in Hungary and it was he drew up all the plans according to the Hungarian system. We know that in the castle" (12.1635). Just a minor change, but enough to undermine the credibility of the report. It is impossible to decide whether he personally knows that Bloom is "mucking up the show," or he knows that others know. In a similar manner, when he tries to set nominal confusions around Bloom straight, his language counteracts his efforts, it fumbles and gets trapped by its own structures:

— Isn't he a cousin of Bloom the dentist? says Jack Power.
— Not at all, says Martin. Only namesakes. His name was Virag. The father's name that poisoned himself. He changed it by deed poll, the father did. (12.1638-40)

No matter how self-subversive Martin Cunningham's authoritative statements are, the citizen sums up Bloom's identity in the clinching ironic manner I have

already mentioned: "That's the new Messiah for Ireland! says the citizen. Island of saints and sages!" (12.1642), and a little later more threateningly: "A wolf in sheep's clothing, says the citizen. That's what he is. Virag from Hungary! Ahasuerus I call him. Cursed by God" (12.1666-7).

Now I will turn to the question of how the lengthy list of saints relates to this dramatization of the dissolution of Bloom's identity and his stigmatization as not authentically/originally Irish. Looking into the wider cultural assumptions that loom behind the citizen's utterances identifying Bloom first ironically as a redeemer, then as a contaminating presence, which hinders the redemption of Ireland, points towards a possible answer.

Island of Saints and Sages

As John Hutchinson in *The Dynamism of Cultural Nationalism* notes, the image of Ireland as a holy island—*insula sacra*—played an important role in the emergence of modern nationalist ideas of Ireland. The successive ethnic revivals—at the end of the eighteenth century, in the 1830s and 1890s—invariably appealed to the Gaelic past in their aim to recreate an authentic homogeneous national identity (49). In Kevin Whelan's words, they "sought to use the past to create the future, to utilize (or invent) tradition as the building force shaping and perpetuating the nation" (274). However, while all these revivals shared a vision of Ireland as the homeland of a primordial civilization, they looked to different aspects of the Gaelic past depending on their ideological purposes. Eighteenth century antiquarians and historians such as Charles Vallancey, Charles O'Connor, and Sylvester O'Halloran, and the "father" of the 1890s revival, Standish James O'Grady in his monumental four volume *The History of Ireland* all located the Golden Age of Ireland in its shadowy pagan past and "implicitly downplayed the documented achievements of the Christian era" (Hutchinson 58). As opposed to this, the representatives of the 1830s revival such as George Petrie, Eugene O'Curry, and John O'Donovan, and numerous other succeeding Catholic antiquarians and historians, saw the period of Celtic Christianity as the culmination of Ireland's Golden Age, and beside the heroism of the pagan martial period considered the achievements of the early Christian period essential building-blocks of Irish nationality. In the 1890s Eoin MacNeill, the chief architect of the Gaelic League beside Father O'Growney and Douglas Hyde, celebrated St. Patrick as the founder of the Irish nation itself. In MacNeill's vision the Irish descended from a pagan warrior civilisation, but it was St. Patrick who brought into being the Irish nation by infusing into an already existing, but divided society the religious ethos of Christianity thus rendering it a unique spiritual culture, the European centre of religious and secular learning. (Hutchinson 123-27).[5]

Joyce himself appeared to pose as an advocate of this latter vision in his Triestine lecture "Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages" (1907). His rhetoric teems with nationalist clichés: he describes Ireland in ancient times as "a true focus of sanctity and intellect spreading throughout the continent a culture and a vitalising energy," and as "an immense seminary, where scholars gathered from the different countries of Europe so great was its renown for mastery of spiritual matters," and from where Irish saints "carried the torch of knowledge from country to country as pilgrims and hermits, as scholars and wisemen" (*CW* 154-55). To demonstrate his point he briefly surveys the activ-

ities of several of these Christian heroes, some of whom like fiery Columbanus, St. Gall, St. Fiacre, and St. Fursey appear in the Cyclopian list of saints as well. On the basis of such evidence, he claims that "the Irish nation's insistence on developing its own culture by itself is not so much the demand of a young nation [. . .] as the demand of a very old nation to renew under new forms the glories of a past civilisation" (*CW* 157). However, in his usual Joycean manner what he offers with one hand, he takes away with the other. Paradoxically, this initial proud and sentimental glorification of his country's past is counteracted by a more rational conclusion at the end, denying the validity of such an appeal to the past in creating the future mostly because of intermittent historical developments that cannot be undone or thought away. While his rhetoric reinforces the cherished nationalist image of early Christian Ireland as the locus of a pure Golden Age, he emphasizes that the modern Irish nation and civilization is "a vast fabric [of racial and cultural hybridity] in which the most diverse elements are mingled," and in which "it is useless to look for a thread that has remained pure and virgin without having undergone the influence of a neighbouring thread" (*CW* 165).

It is the utopian nationalist attempts to invent such a pure and virgin thread in the image of early Christian Ireland that is caricatured in the citizen's windy appeal to St Patrick to rid Ireland of the contaminating elements like Bloom—a Jew and of Hungarian descent—and thus return Ireland to its Golden Age—to racial purity, that is a pristine, unadulterated, uncontaminated origins. Reflecting/refracting this plea, the interpolation stages a grotesque wish-fulfilment fantasy. As desired, the founder of the Irish church, Saint Patrick appears but rather like a "pedestrian straggler," to use Fritz Senn's words,[6] deprived of his saintly title and lagging behind the saintly mass by several lines: "And last, beneath a canopy of cloth of gold came the reverend Father O'Flynn attended by Malachi and Patrick" (12.1726-8). His companion, Malachi, equally decanonized, may refer to another Irish saint who lived seven centuries after Patrick, and was mostly venerated for his efforts to return the—by his time—corrupted Irish church to its original purity. The fact that he carried this out by introducing Roman ecclesiastical discipline instead of Celtic Christianity introduced by Patrick, would not make them the best of neighbours. Their subservience to the fictitious Father Flynn, who, according to the comic song Bloom thinks of earlier during the day "would make hares of them [Trinity fellows] all" (8.713), that is, would make them ridiculous (by exposing their ignorance), in turn, casts another Malachi's blasphemous shadow over the saintly gathering. In the context of this unholy trinity it is also worth noting Simon Dedalus's indignant description of Mulligan in Hades—the earliest prophet of Cyclopian/citizen-like language in *Ulysses*: "That Mulligan is a contaminated bloody doubledyed ruffian by all accounts. His name stinks all over Dublin. But with the help of God and his blessed mother [. . .] I'll tickle his catastrophe, believe you me" (6.63-8). Father Flynn's figure is equally surrounded by the aura of contamination at his earlier appearance in Bloom's mind envisioning communal kitchen years to come: "Rub off microbes with your handkerchief. Next chap rubs on a new batch with his. Father O'Flynn would make hares of them all" (8.712-3).

Contami-nation

The most striking feature of the lengthy list of saints is its heterogeneous nature. Although several venerated early Irish saints march in the procession, they form only one component in the vast fabric of the list woven of saints from diverse countries and

ages. True, most of the Irish saints are huddled up together forming a sort of Irish contingent—from S. Colman to S. Fiacre—nevertheless several stray traces are mixed up with others in the saintly mass. A look into the list's genetic development (see appendix) reveals a further irony: in its earliest printed version in the *Little Review* (1919) the list was made up of twenty-one saints altogether, and contained only one Irish saint bearing the Anglicized (contaminated) form of her name: S. Bride. Joyce augmented the list six times, and in the course of its evolution the list grew more and more Irish. It is worth noting that as opposed to the utter randomness of the final product, the chronological expansion of the Irish quality appears to reveal some kind of logic. In the first round of augmentation following upon S. Bride, one of the first domestic founders of monasteries at Kildare, several other such saints appear: S. Kieran associated with Kilkenny, S. Jarlath with Tuam, S. Finnbarr with Cork.[7] The next phase, in turn, introduces the first representative of Irish monastic expansion abroad, right away in a double nominal form S. Columcille alias S. Columba,[8] and the saint patriot S. Laurence O'Toole, bishop, later the patron-saint of Dublin, whose memory is cherished mainly for his heroic opposition to the foreign/English invaders in the twelfth century. The tendency to hibernicise the list proves steady, but it is only in the last round that Joyce adds the substantial Irish contingent containing, among others, several of those "carriers of the torch of knowledge from country to country" whom he praises in his Triestine lecture, such as S. Columbanus, S. Gall, S. Fursey, and S. Fiacre.

The initial list seems to be a random shuffling together of saints of diverse nature (martyrs and confessors), nationality (Spanish, Italian, Hebrew, Bohemian, English, Irish, Peruvian), descent (of noble or poor origin), and importance. Nevertheless, ironically enough, what all members of the initial list have in common is their apparent common origin in the pages of E. A. Greene's *Saints and Symbols: A Companion of the Churches and the Picture Galleries of Europe* (1908) that Joyce bought in Zurich and had at his disposal at the time of writing "Cyclops."[9] All twenty-one can be found in Greene, whereas most of the saints inserted in the succeeding rounds cannot. Certainly, any attempt to reconstruct the creative process itself would be a futile enterprise. Still, one cannot help imagining Joyce laughing to himself in the process of transplanting the almost successive couple of S. Bonifacius and S. Bridget alias S. Bride in Greene into his Cyclopian list.[10] Furthermore, one cannot help wondering whether it is due to the contaminating presence of her neighbour, the English S. Bonifacius, the Apostle of Germany that the only Irish saint at that stage in the list, who is one of the three patron saints of Ireland, is signified by the Anglicized version of her name, S. Bride.[11] Interestingly enough, as the Hibernian component gains territory in the list in the successive stages of augmentation, the female patron of Ireland reappears somewhat later among the female saints—sandwiched between a penitent whore, S. Mary of Egypt, and several virgins martyred in defence of their virginity—where lo and behold she regains her Irish nominal purity, S. Brigid.[12]

S. Homonymous/ S. Paronymous/ S. Synonymous

Brigid's nominal duplication reflecting her translation into another culture is not unique in the list. The third patron saint of Ireland similarly marches in a double nominal form in the procession. While in Ireland he was known as S. Columcille, as the first pioneer of Irish monastic expansion abroad this name became interchangeable with the Latin version, S. Columba. The comic highlighting of such nominal manipulations of the

most venerated Irish saints can be seen as an ironic comment on the citizen's denial of authentic Irishness to Bloom, partly grounded on Martin Cunningham's revelation that his name is a translation of the father's original Hungarian name, Virag.[13]

Furthermore, such narrative moves have wider thematic implications: they problematize the relationship between naming and identity in general. One could ask, for instance, which of the hundred and twenty five Irish S. Colmans are meant by the simple nominal label S. Colman in the list. Or which of the twenty Irish S. Senans by the name S. Senan. Early Christian Ireland earned its epithet "Island of saints and scholars" not only by the quality of her saints' service to European civilisation, but also thanks to their sheer number-many with the same names. As Seathrún Céitinn (Geoffrey Keating) claimed in the seventeenth century, Ireland "needs not to boast what a multitude they were, because the foreign authors of Europe admit this, and they state that Ireland was more prolific in saints than any other country in Europe" (79). In a similar manner two centuries later the eminent hagiologist Father John Ryan argued: "Our race [. . .] has shown itself capable of producing in unique abundance the very highest type of which humanity is capable, the saint. Therein lies our chief claim to recognition and to glory as a nation" (qtd. in Butler 24). While Keating, Victorian archaeologists, and Catholic hagiologists took the historicity of Irish saints for granted and their multitude filled them with national pride, it was the unique abundance of Irish saints that increased others' suspicion as to their identity and historicity. In the eighteenth century Vallancey discarded them as Christianized deities, while Edward Ledwich disparaged them as "monkish fictions" (qtd. in Butler 18). According to the twentieth-century country scholar Hubert Butler, early Irish saints were "the Christian by-product of the dying art of ancestor-making" (27). Around the year when the scene in Barney Kiernan's takes place, William Kirkpatrick John Eglington proposed the theory that the early saints were chiefly "bards cast loose from Druidism"(16). Such assessments of the Irish saints parallel the citizen's revelation of Bloom's identity: "a wolf in sheep's clothing." The list ironically comments on this judgement by getting carried away in a wholesale canonisation of the barflies including the dog and the owner of the bar, present only in name, the outsider Breen and his baiter Corny Kelleher, and the absent Molly Bloom, and Stephen and Simon Dedalus: "S. Simon Stylites and S. Stephen Protomartyr and S. John of God and S. Martin of Todi and S Martin of Tours and S. Alfred and S. Joseph and S. Denis and S. Cornelius and S. Leopold and S. Bernard and S. Terence and S. Edward and S. Owen Caniculus . . . ," and later fittingly among the female saints S. Marion Calpensis. Irony gives way to subversive nonsense at the point of the appearance of "S. Anonymous and S. Eponymous and S. Pseudonymous and S. Homonymous and S. Paronymous and S. Synonymous . . ." (12.1694-7).[14] Yet, S. Anonymous could also be seen as the canonized version of all those whose nominal identity remains unrevealed throughout the episode like the citizen and the narrator[15] or those whose straightforward nominal identification the barflies playfully avoid like Boylan.[16] In a similar fashion, S. Pseudonymous ironically comments on all those who use names to conceal their identity: Shanganagh or P. used by the historical Arthur Griffith, or in the narrator's report Dunne used by J.J. Molloy and Joseph Manuo by Bob Doran, to mention just a few. The unholy trinity of S. Homonymous and S. Paronymous and S. Synonymous could be read, in turn, as the canonised versions of the nominal economies of the episode on the whole,[17]and/or as a succinct self-reflexive summary of the possible modes of nom-

inal confusion abounding in hagiography: the first referring to the large number of saints with the same name—too many Maries,[18] a hundred and twenty S. Colmans, twenty five S. Senans—the second to the phenomena of deriving several later saints from an earlier one—eighteen saints originate from S. Fintan, fourteen from S. Ciaran, eleven from Brigid—and the third to the nominal redundancies that we have seen in the case of S. Brigid and Columcille (Butler 20).

Pannonian Saints

So far I have focused on some of those formal and thematic dynamics within the list that counteract the citizen's utterances and the cultural assumptions behind them. Finally, I will focus on one particular move within the list that instead of the citizen targets Martin Cunningham's voice of authority in the bar upon which the citizen's stigmatizing othering of Bloom lies. Among the canonised counterparts of the barflies only one appears in a double nominal refraction: S. Martin of Todi and S. Martin of Tours. Most of the bar saints were added at the same time, but S. Martin of Tours joined his namesake one stage later.[19] The two Martins were two different saints who do not have much in common beyond their name and that they were bishops. While the former was the last bishop of Rome venerated as a martyr, the latter was "one of the first holy men who was not a martyr to be publicly venerated as a saint" (Attwater 234). Indeed Martin of Tours, Christ's successful soldier, the father of monasticism in France, the reputed wonder-worker outshines his Italian namesake, who supported the lost cause of the holy Roman faith in the Byzantine Empire. Martin of Tours also has the advantage that "his story is woven very closely into Irish hagiography and legend" (Butler 144). He is said to have been the uncle of St. Patrick himself, S. Columcille found his wonder-working Gospel on Martin's breast after his death, and at least ten Irish saints are reported to have visited Tours. Yet, the glorious Martin also has a minor defect: although he was of Celtic stock, he was born in what today is Szombathely, Hungary, the birthplace of Rudolph Virag, Bloom's father. If this should discredit him in the eyes of the barflies, the hagiographic fact that he is the patron of penitent drunkards would surely make them restore his glory.

To sum up, the question of the engagement of the "Cyclops" episode of *Ulysses* with Irish nationalism is still a relevant aspect of critical inquiry capable of illuminating several puzzling rhetorical elements of the episode. Examining one of its hitherto rarely dwelt-on narrative items, a list of saints against the backdrop of the nationalist ideological formation of Ireland as *insula sacra* evoked by the citizen's windy rhetoric reveals and/or creates ironically meaningful formal and thematic dynamics operating within a comic and yet apparently somewhat tedious stumbling block of the narrative. Why not enter other lists?

Notes

[1] See the two collections of eighteen essays on the individual chapters of *Ulysses* by various leading Joyceans published in 1974 and 1999 respectively.

[2] Mark Osteen examines how the economies of excess in the nameless narrator's zone are duplicated and counteracted by the verbal excesses of the interpolations; Brigitte L. Sandquist discusses the general rhetorical function of the catalogues inductively focusing on the tree weeding catalogue; while Susan Bazargan inquires into how the theme

of injustice pervading the episode becomes manifest in the rhetorical strategies, especially in the lists of "Cyclops."

[3] Drinking and the act of blessing are associated a few lines earlier in the narrator's disgust with Bloom, who is supposedly full of money after gathering all the shekels he won on the horse race, but is not willing to give them his blessing; that is, to stand them a drink. The verbal exchange between Cunningham, the citizen and Joe, in turn, can be seen as a performative elaboration of Ned Lambert's potentially double-faced preceding question, which simultaneously conjures up the religious ritualistic aspect of the act of drinking, and its comic signification:

> — Have you time for a brief libation, Martin? says Ned.
> — Only one, says Martin. We must be quick. J.J. and S. (12.1668-9)

"Libation," on the one hand, means the ritual of pouring out wine or oil upon the ground as a sacrifice to a god, but it can also signify an alcoholic drink or the act of drinking in a humorous way.

[4] The best example of this process in Joyce's writings is the emergence of Hosty's "The Ballad of Pierce O'Reilly" in the second chapter of *Finnegans Wake* (30-42).

[5] Maria Tymoczko in her overview of the press around 1904 notes that early Irish saints were widely discussed in Arthur Griffith's *United Irishman*, O'Grady's *All Ireland Review*, and *The Irish Catholic* (237-54).

[6] A comment via email on my present argument.

[7] Their comic Malachian shadow is cast in the mysterious Pappin of Ballymun, who looks like a local saint for sure, but I have been unable to identify him. Furthermore, the neat equation between saints and places is upset by the introduction of S. Canice into the list producing the construct "S. Kieran and Canice of Kilkenny." Both were important saints subsequently associated with Kilkenny as a result of historical developments.

[8] S. Columcille's nominal duplication is comically counterbalanced by his neighbour, S. James of Dingle and Compostella, which contracts two saints with the same name but of different nationality and significance: while the former was a locally venerated saint of the Irish town, Dingle, the shrine of the latter was one of the most popular destinations of medieval pilgrimages in Europe.

[9] See Joseph Schork's recent *O! Saints Above: Joycean Hagiography* (189).

[10] That Joyce took names from Greene for his list can be clearly seen in the curious construct "the saints Rose of Lima and of Viterbo." The two have nothing in common—the former being a seventeenth century ascetic, the latter a twelfth century saint venerated for her boundless charity—except the first tag of their names "Rose" and the fact that one follows the other in Greene's book.

[11] The juxtaposition of S. Bonifacius and S. Bride can be motivated by a further potential irony: whereas the former, as Greene describes him, "converted many to the faith, and cut down the great oak sacred to Thor," the latter's convent was founded on the site of "a grove of oaks once sacred to idol-worship," where she retreated for solitude (52-53).

[12] In the final list the penitent whore S. Mary of Bethany and S. Brigid cease to figure as neighbours, since at a later stage S. Lucy comes in between them. As Dáithí Ó hÓgáin notes, however, S. Brigid to a limited extent is also a hibernicized S. Lucy, since Irish hagiographers imported an element from the legends associated with Lucy

into those of Brigid: the act of blinding herself in defence of her virginal purity (23). A particularly resonant detail in a Cyclopean context.

[13] It is worth noting that in the case of the most widely venerated St Patrick the situation is even more complicated. Nothing is certain about his identity, the time of his mission, the date of his death, the exact location of his missionary work. According to some allegations there were two Patricks, according to others the nominal duality, Patrick and Palladius, conceal the same identity. Palladius is generally considered to have brought Christianity to Ireland a century before Patrick without disseminating it to the degree that the latter did. This wholesale inscrutability surrounding S. Patrick is staged in the grotesque quarrel and final settlement of the exact date of Patrick's death in the interpolated execution scene of the hero-martyr earlier in "Cyclops."

[14] Although they do not form part of this contingent, the allegorical saints "Brother Aloysius Pacificus and Brother Louis Bellicosus," were introduced into the list at the same stage of augmentation.

[15] The citizen's and the narrator's namelessness and the chapter's play with anonymity at large can be seen as an ironic reflection on an essential hallmark of the modern nation according to Benedict Anderson: "remarkable confidence of community in anonymity" (36).

[16] Perhaps to tease Bloom:

> — I heard So and So made a cool hundred quid over it, says Alf.
>
> — Who, Blazes? Says Joe (12. 942).

[17] See the proliferation of metaphorical (synonymous) expressions for 1) beer: "wine of the country," cup of joy," "foamy ebon ale"; 2) the stylistic flourishes for the English: "Saxon robbers," bloody brutal Sassanachs," "the foe of mankind," "yellowjohns of Anglia," "mongrels," "British hyenas"; 3) the nominal transformations of Bloom: "cod's eye," "Herr Professor Luitpold Blumenduft," "Mr Knowall," "good uncle Leo," "Senhor Enrique Flor," Virag from Hungary," "Nagyasagos uram Lipoti Virag," "ben Bloom Elijah"; 4) the confounding use of numerous appellations for the participants of the boxing match: the Irish Myles Keogh is called "Dublin's pet lamb," "the Irish gladiator," "the pet," "the lamb," while the English Percy Bennett is signified as "welterweight sergeant major," "artilleryman," "the soldier," "the readcoat," "Pucking percy," "the military man," "the opponent," "Battling Bennett," "the Portobello bruiser." The homonymous imposture of names, in turn, confounds the barflies: the citizen's construct "that old ruffian sir John Beresford" welds sir Charles Beresford, the most famous naval officer at the turn of the century, whom Joyce mentions with pride in "Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages" and the notoriously corrupt eighteenth century politician, John Beresford. The narrator's paronymous multiplication of the Protestant Crofton into Crofter or Crofton or Crawford ironically counteracts Crofton's blatant excommunication of Bloom for his threateningly elasticated identity: "We don't want him, says Crofton the Orangeman or Presbyterian" (12.1634).

[18] See the muddle of Maries in the four Gospels and in cultural memory, which is exposed in the mismatched neighbours in the list: S. Martha of Bethany and S. Mary of Egypt. Bloom thinks of Martha and Mary of Bethany earlier during the day, but in the Cyclopian list instead of her sister Martha of Bethany is accompanied by a penitent whore, who, just like her sister, was often confused with Mary Magdalene.

[19] Indeed his handwriting shows that Joyce vacillated between the two. First he wrote Martin of Tours together with the other canonised barflies, then he crossed it out and

replaced it with Martin of Todi. At the next stage he inserted the originally intended Martin of Tours keeping the other as well (Groden 222, 230).

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Appendix

The genetic development of the list of saints:

Rosenbach MS *placard 1* *placard 3* *page proof 1*
typescript *placard 2* *placard 4*

S. Cyr and (1)
S. Isidore Arator and
S. James the Less and
S. Phocas of Sinope and
S. Julian Hospitator and (5)
S. Felix de Cantalice and
S. Simon Stylites and
S. Stephen Protomartyr and
S. John of God and
S. Ferreol and (10)
S. Leugarde and
S. Theodotus and
S. Vulmar and
S. Richard and
S. Vincent de Paul and (15)
S. Martin of Todi and
S. Martin of Tours and
S. Alfred and
S. Joseph and
S. Denis and (20)
S. Cornelius and
S. Leopold and
S. Bernard and
S. Terence and
S. Edward and (25)
S. Owen Caniculus
S. Anonymous and
S. Eponymous and
S. Pseudonymous and
S. Homonymous and (30)
S. Paronymous and
S. Synonymous and
S. Laurence O'Toole and
S. James of Dingle and Compostella and
S. Columcille and S. Columba and (35)
S. Celestine and
S. Colman and
S. Kevin and

S. Brendan and
S. Frigidian and (40)
S. Senan and
S. Fachtna and
S. Columbanus and
S. Gall and S.Fursey and
S. Fintan and (45)
S. Fiacre and
S. John Nepomuc and
S. Thomas Aquinas and
S. Ives of Brittany and
S. Michan and (50)
S. Herman- Joseph and
the three patrons of holy youth S. Aloysius Gonzaga and
S. Stanislaus Kostka and
S. John Berchmans and
the saints Gervasius, (55)
Servasius and
Bonifacius and
S. Bride and
S. Kieran and
S. Canice (60)
of Kilkenny and
S. Jarlath of Tuann and
S. Finbarr and
S. Pappin of Ballymun
Brother Aloysius Pacificus and (65)
Brother Louis Bellicosus and
the saints Rose of Lima and of Viterbo and
S. Martha of Bethany and
S. Mary of Egypt and
S. Lucy and (70)
S. Brigid and
S. Attracta and
S. Dympna and
S. Ita and
S. Marion Calpensis and (75)
the Blessed Sister Teresa of the Child Jesus and
S. Barbara and
S. Scholastica and
S. Ursula with eleven thousand virgins.